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ABSTRACT

The following papers (with nine in French) are included: "Refocusing the Multicultural Discourse in Adult Education" (Acton); "University Extension and the Service University" (Archer); "Linking Cases to Course Content" (Block); "The Effects of Education on Food Security among Low Income Urban Adults" (Blunt); "Adult Education Research Trends in Canadian Universities" (Bouchard); "Born of Different Visions" (Briton, Spencer); "Virginia Griffin's Path and Contribution toward the Holistic Orientation" (Campbell); "Learning a Living" (Church, Creal); "Art and Storytelling" (Crawford); "Economic Globalization" (Cruikshank); "Constructing a Need" (Davidson); "The Marginalization of Adult Education" (Deshpande); "Surfacing Tensions in Graduate Adult Education" (Dewar); "New Directions for Adult Education Programs in Community Colleges" (Feng, Hian); "Domination and Resistance in Workers' Political Learning" (Foley); "The Life History Method" (Gerding); "Looking Back, Looking Forward" (Grace); "New Realities" (Hian, Feng); "The Past, Present and Future of Adult Education in the Kitikmeot Region, Northwest Territories" (Isnor, McLean); "The Future Manager as Leader and Coach" (Leclair); "Recruitment, Retention, and Support Protocols for Women's Literacy Programs" (MacKenzie); "Antonio Gramsci and Adult Education" (Mayo);

"Educative Consequences of a Paradigm Shift" (Morin); "Continuing Educators as Learners" (Percival); "'Training for What?' An Educational Response to the Adult Unemployed in a Post-Industrial Society" (Pittas); "Restorying Living" (Randall); "Adult Education and Deinstitutionalization of Psychiatric Patients" (Roy); "Peripheral Visions" (Sanderson); "In the Beginning" (Selman); "Analysis of a Relapse Prevention Programme Designed to Help Penitentiary Inmates" (Shewman); "Codes of Ethics in Adult Education" (Sork); "What Makes a Successful Workplace Education Program?" (Taylor); "Meaningful Learning in Organizations" (Walker); "'Fraught with Wonderful Possibilities'" (Welton); "Distance Education Techniques in Community Development" (Baggaley, Coldevin, Gruber); "Why Do Community Workers Do What They Do?" (Cawley, Guerard, Campo); "Adult Education in an Emerging Postmodern Condition" (Deneff, Schmitt-Boshnick, Scott); "Languages of Inclusion & Creativity" (Hall et al.); and "CASAE [Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education] Peace Portfolio" (Rosenberg et al.). (MN)

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SYMPOSIUM / MULTIPLE SESSIONS

REFOCUSING THE MULTICULTURAL DISCOURSE IN ADULT EDUCATION

Rita Acton
University of British Columbia

The more one knows about their own cultural identities, the more likely they are to appreciate and understand the differences and similarities amongst diverse groups of people. This paper explores diversity training in the workplace as a response to organizations attempting to create an organizational culture which encourages many perspectives.

Plus l ' individu connaît sa propre identité culturelle, plus il est disposé à apprécier et à comprendre les différences et similitudes d ' autres groupes culturels. Le sujet de cette communication examine les possibilités de formation de "sensibilisation à la diversité culturelle" en milieu de travail; il tente de répondre aux organismes désireux de créer un climat de travail qui reconnaît les nombreuses facettes de la diversité culturelle.

Introduction

Understanding how the workplace manages diversity is one approach to understanding how more information, more points of view, and more ideas are brought together in a meaningful manner. Ellis & Sonnenfeld (1994) explain that managing diversity refers to the challenge of meeting the needs of a culturally diverse workforce. Confronting that challenge of sensitizing workers and managers to differences associated with gender, race, age, and nationality will foster more innovative and creative decision making, and satisfying work environments (Ellis & Sonnenfeld, 1994, p. 82; Thompson & DiTomaso, 1988, p. 366). This increasing demand for diversity training in the workplace is in response to organizations attempting to create an organizational culture which values and encourages more rather than fewer perspectives. In practice, these kinds of training programs may have negative effects if they are only planned for a one day intervention session.

There is agreement in the literature that fostering discussions to increase cultural understanding and tolerance must be done over time, and on successive occasions (Ellis & Sonnenfeld, 1994; Thompson & DiTomaso, 1988; McEachin, V.D., 1992; Simmons, 1994). The duration, context, purpose, facilitation, mix of participants, and whether the training is compulsory or voluntary will also contribute to the effects of the diversity training. In addition, much of the literature supports the notion that the training is most effective when it is supported from top management down. The values inherent in most organizational contexts are shaped, predominantly, by the attitudes and perceptions of

persons in higher levels of management. In order for an organization to value diversity, there needs to be more concern with structural change.

Valuing and managing the diversity of perspectives requires more than mandatory attendance at workshops (whose focus is on prejudice reduction) and having everyone "feeling good about feeling bad about doing nothing" (Lopes as referred to in Simmons, 1994, p. 27). Diversity training workshops are one part of a multifaceted struggle to get beyond guilt and paralysis and work towards change. Thompson & DiTomaso (1988) and Simmons (1994) offer that the most critical step in bringing about long-lasting organizational change is a reexamination of the organizational cultures. The discrepancies between the current culture and the desired culture should be identified (Thompson & DiTomaso, 1988, p. 364) and the organization should be redirected closer to the desired state. One of the ways to bring about the organization's desired state is to go beyond what Novogrodsky (1994) describes in Simmons' (1994) article "Sensitivity trainers and the real thing" as encouraging tolerant attitudes and addressing the ways in which racist thought becomes so embedded in institutional structure and practice that it is often hard to identify.

Literature Base

In the multicultural management literature, there is agreement that adopting a multicultural perspective that values diversity in the workplace begins the process of confronting the conflict that may exist within organizations (Thompson & DiTomaso, 1988; Simmons, 1994; McEachin, V. D., 1992; Martin & Ross-Gordon, 1990). Dealing with this conflict, organizations "recognize the uncomfortableness that exists on both sides and that it is better to deal with sensitive issues than to sweep them aside" (Thompson & DiTomaso, 1988, p. 369). Ellis & Sonnenfeld (1994) suggest that to minimize disruption in workplace relations "training programs should be philosophically oriented toward fostering respect for employees as individual actors rather than toward treatment of employees as members of groups with easily categorized differences" (Ellis & Sonnenfeld, 1994, p. 99). Fostering positive work relations involves a committment to diversity programs not superseded by what Simmons (1994) describes as the use of training programs to improve the organization's public image.

Although there is much discussion in the literature about the benefits of diversity training programs in the workplace, not enough emphasis is given to who makes up this group called diversity trainers. Simmons (1994) suggests that trainers may have two different purposes; trainers as "technicians" or trainers as "political educators." While the focus on encouraging tolerant attitudes is a very good beginning, the political educators are concerned with structural change. The race and ethnicity of the diversity trainer, therefore, becomes an important factor. The technicians "shy away from explaining to white participants that however non-racist their personal views, they derive certain benefits from being white in a racially discriminatory society" (Lee qtd. in Simmons, 1994, p. 26). It is not surprising, Simmons (1994) adds, that the radical activists do not get hired as often by businesses, and do most of their work in community organizations.

Multiculturalism from a critical theory perspective points to the necessity of making whiteness visible as a racial category. By making whiteness visible as a racial

category, multicultural discourse creates opportunities for, Giroux (1992) claims, bringing a wider variety of cultures into dialogue with each other. Simmons (1994) raises the issue that "the ground a workshop covers depends partly on the needs and situation of the participants and partly on the concerns of the facilitator" (Simmons, 1994, p. 27). In relation to Giroux's notion that multicultural discourse encompasses white culture, awareness of who the participants and facilitators of diversity training programs are becomes significant. On the one hand, Giroux (1992) suggests that multicultural discussions often exclude white culture. On the other hand, Simmons' (1994) article points out that most diversity training is designed for "white people who have had very little experience of or exposure to people of different cultures" (Louis qtd. in Simmons, 1994, p. 27). Diversity training can provide a framework for attempting to shift the focus from what Giroux (1992) identifies as the study of "others," to the study of individual perspectives.

Significance to Adult Education

There are many dimensions of individual diversities. One purpose of diversity training is to provide the opportunities for people to explore and gain a greater understanding of their diversities. The uniqueness and significance of the field of adult education is that the diversities of learners are what characterize the field. An important reoccurring theme in adult education is that the experiences and perspectives of learners become valued and incorporated. As organizations attempt to deal with how to value diversity in the workplace, adult education needs to continually find ways to include many more voices and shared perspectives. Including more voices in the discourse is challenging. Meeting that challenge requires an increased understanding of one's own diverse identity.

The works of Mezirow (1991), Freire (1970) and Brookfield (1986) have been influential in their explanations of transformative learning, critical reflection, and consciousness raising, but what is missing from these works is a more comprehensive understanding of how to begin developing an increased awareness of one's own multilayered identity. Unless one becomes critically reflective of their own subject positions, it is not likely that one will be able to understand what Mezirow warns against (namely, taking for granted social norms and cultural codes which distribute power and privilege). While there is much written and discussed in the field about connecting with learners and designing curricula to reflect the varied cultural identities learners bring to the classroom, there are not as many discussions about how to increase awareness of one's own diverse identity. There needs to be a moving beyond categorizing adult learners into clusters according to ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, physical abilities, gender and age to broader perceptions of diverse identities existing within each learner.

In practice, as educators who significantly shape and influence the perceptions of many groups of people, it becomes important to be honest and critique our abilities to how we "plug into" the varied experiences in diverse teaching and learning situations. It is my view that to begin the process of connecting with learners, one has to engage in a reflective dialogue with oneself, first, and ask in what ways is the teaching making spaces for as many perspectives as possible to be included? Further, understanding our

limitations as educators is a significant contribution in helping us connect with our learners. Listening to how we answer the following questions proposed by Flannery (1994, p. 23) begins this process of gaining awareness of our own assumptions, perceptions, and biases before attempting to understand the multitude of learners' perspectives. Have I allowed differences to exist, accepting them as a valid part of reality rather than trying to place them in competition with each other? Did I include contrary experiences and ways of thinking? Have I had people with different experiences and values review my ideas for bias and limitations? How do I work through feelings of being threatened when opposing viewpoints challenge me? Regardless of how inclusive I feel that I am, do I ask people who are different from me how they perceive me? And, finally, do I have what it takes to hear what is said, or do I use reason to dismiss the feedback that I receive?

Implications for Practice

There are many benefits of diversity training in the workplace, and Ellis & Sonnenfeld (1994, pp. 97-99) describe five of the benefits. The first is giving voice to historically underrepresented segments in the workforce. "Even well-meaning managers who do not understand the cultural backgrounds of their employees can sometimes misconstrue their requests and behaviors" (Ellis & Sonnenfeld, 1994, p. 97). Diversity training programs reinforce that "it is legitimate for employees to voice cultural needs and for managers to be educated in advance of needless conflict between corporate practices and employee expectations" (Ellis & Sonnenfeld, 1994, p. 99). Second, diversity programs introduce knowledge to substitute for myths and stereotypes among coworkers. Diversity programs foster understanding and teamwork. Third, training programs create "an even more positive embrace of the strategic advantages of the multicultural work organization in which individuals are encouraged to contribute their unique talents to the collective enterprise" (Ellis & Sonnenfeld, 1994, p. 99). Fourth, exposure to diversity issues is better, Ellis & Sonnenfeld (1994) assert, than ignorance of the complexity of workforce diversity. Finally, the discussion of diversity issues is a challenge to the organization as a social community.

In adult education, there are advantages and disadvantages of formal diversity programs. Amstutz (1994) argues that some disadvantages include that if the workshop topics appears to be superficial to the primary goal of the institution, learners often do not view the programs as an integral part of what instructors do. There is also the suggestion that the "pedagogical implications of learners' diversity are usually not clear" (Amstutz, 1994, p. 45). Furthermore, adult educators "may assume that knowledge of student diversity is not relevant to their particular program area, so they may not recognize its importance to their own activities" (Amstutz, 1994, p. 46). The main advantage of formal diversity workshops is that they "can stimulate awareness, which must be raised if behavior is to be changed" (Amstutz, 1994, p. 46).

The content for these diversity programs can include definitions and types of diversity, examinations of communication skills, and explorations of diverse cultures (Amstutz, 1994, pp. 46-47). It is critical, claims Amstutz (1994) that the terms diversity and multicultural be defined very broadly. These terms are often applied to minority

groups, females, and other groups whose norms do not reflect a white male perspective. White culture has its own characteristics, states Amstutz (1994), and if white, middle-class culture is included in the definitions of diversity and multiculturalism, then the unique characteristics of every culture can be valued. Understanding and valuing diversity acknowledges that people are individuals with unique and complex identities. Taking individual responsibility to overcome distorted perceptions of various groups of people "involves an honest examination of one's goals, values, and priorities as an educator and as a person" (Hayes, 1994, p. 79).

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University Extension and the Service University: The Past, the Present, and the Future

Walter Archer, University of Alberta

Recent commentary on the crisis in university education sees a threat in the "new" concept of "the service university." However, the same term was applied in the early 1900s to a type of institution with a heavy emphasis on extension activities. A return to this earlier model may ameliorate some of our current problems.

Perilous Times in Academe

During the past two decades there has been much discussion of the current crisis in university education. Much of this discussion has taken place in the popular press, and in books aimed at the general public. There has also been a spate of works on this subject written by and for academics. Canadian content within this body of literature includes Neilson & Gaffield (1986), Newson & Buchbinder (1988), Pannu, Shugurensky, & Plumb (1994), Smith (1991), and Watson (1985).

The volume by Newson and Buchbinder is of particular interest because it uses the phrase "the service university" as a label for what they see as an emerging and very undesirable model. Yet this very term, apparently unbeknownst to them, was also used in the very early 1900s in high praise of what was *then* seen as a new type of university. The "service university" of nearly a century ago was seen to be heralding a new, democratic era in higher education. Oddly enough, Newsom and Buchbinder use the same term for what they see as a strong trend in the opposite direction – i.e., away from democracy and equality in higher education. This apparent contradiction invites investigation.

The New Service University of the Late 1900s

In their discussion of university education in the late 1900s Newson and Buchbinder state that the liberal vision of the university was dominant in North America during the 1950s and 1960s. This vision was built around a consensus that access to the university, by all groups within society, should be increased. The result was to be a more egalitarian and democratic society. This increased access was also to benefit the economy by making all occupations accessible to anyone with the requisite abilities, regardless of background. However, the consensus around the liberal vision began to erode during the fiscal crisis that began in the 1970s. At that time, alternative visions (in some cases, recycled versions of old visions) began to surface in publications and public fora of various sorts.

Newson and Buchbinder identify three such alternative visions (pp. 54-66). The first they refer to as "the university as haven for scholars." This model emphasizes institutional autonomy, withdrawal from extensive involvement with the

surrounding community, and freedom from outside influences on research and teaching. The second vision identified by Newson and Buchbinder is "the university as tool for economic growth." This vision features a partnership between universities and the corporate sector that is to result in curricula more closely attuned to the needs of the marketplace. Adherence to this vision is to facilitate economic recovery and the transition to a high-tech society. The third vision is "the university as a social transformer." In this vision, the university takes on the task of helping to transform social consciousness in order to make possible long-term changes in social structures.

According to Newson and Buchbinder, elements from the first two of the alternative visions sketched above have now coalesced to inspire an emerging new model of university education which they refer to as "the service university." This model is compatible with the vision of the academic haven in that it emphasizes research, "quality," and "academic excellence." At the same time, deals that are being made with corporate partners to pay for new research facilities and equipment are to promote technology transfer and economic productivity, thereby fulfilling the vision of the university as a tool for economic growth (p. 66).

The catch in this vision is that the corporate sector gets a strong voice in determining the direction that university research and teaching will take. In this model of the service university, "Service to society is equated with service to industry." (p. 82). That notion of service is considerably different from the vision of the service university that developed in the early part of this century.

The Old Service University of the Early 1900s

Like all of the other commentators on university education mentioned above, Newson and Buchbinder seem to be almost totally oblivious to or uninterested in university extension or university continuing education. This is in marked contrast to "the Wisconsin Idea" enunciated during the very early years of this century. A central feature of the service university built around the Wisconsin Idea was the major, highly visible, and highly appreciated role of a new type of university extension. The English model of extension, which consisted essentially of professors delivering a watered down version of their campus lectures in off-campus locations, had been tried and found wanting in both Canada and the United States during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The new extension pioneered by the University of Wisconsin featured field agents scattered across the state whose job it was to listen to the concerns of all the citizens and translate these concerns into programs that would make use of the resources of the University. This type of university extension was demand driven, as opposed to the supply driven model that originated in England. At Wisconsin, there was little concern about whether a needs meeting program was "at university level" – only whether or not it met the need. And location within the state was not an issue. The slogan of the Extension Department at Wisconsin was that the boundaries of the campus were the boundaries of the state.

The process of "transmuting that university from a community of scholars into a community of citizens" (Schoenfeld, p. 49) generated tremendous popular support within the state – and very generous appropriations. By the mid-1970s Extension in the University of Wisconsin system had a budget of $42 million, involved over 800 faculty members, and directly affected one quarter of the residents of the state each year (Schoenfeld, p. 214). The "service university" represented by the University of Wisconsin and its imitators (including the University of Alberta and the University of Saskatchewan) was praised across North America by the media and by well known individuals such as Theodore Roosevelt and President Eliot of Harvard University (Schoenfeld, pp. 48-49, 72 ff.).

A similar story could be told about extension activities at the University of Alberta, which, from its establishment in 1908, was modelled quite explicitly on the Wisconsin Idea. A well known product of these extension activities is the Banff Centre for Continuing Education, which began as low-cost summer schools for drama and painting during the worst of the Depression. Less well known, but probably more illustrative of the Wisconsin Idea that needs are to be met, whether at "university level" or not, was the Extension Library at the University of Alberta. This mail-order library was the only public institution supplying fiction and non-fiction books to rural Albertans (a majority of the population until the 1950s) until the creation of regional public libraries during the past three decades. The Extension Library also supplied books to rural public schools, many of which would otherwise have had to close during the 1930s for lack of resources. Ralph J. Clark's doctoral dissertation (1985) sums up the remarkable history of the Department of Extension at the University of Alberta during this period with this comment: "For the period under consideration [1912-1956], the Department [of Extension] was by far the largest in the Canadian universities, and arguably the most innovative. It was also clearly the most important cultural force in the province of Alberta." (p. vi).

This highly visible service to all the people of the province was one source of the strong public and government support enjoyed by the University of Alberta in the first half of this century. The very well documented history of the Department of Extension at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, is perhaps an even clearer example of vigourous, non-elitist, and highly visible extension activity being translated into strong public support for a Canadian university.

What Happened to the Old Service University?

Why, if the concept of the service university was so successful during the first half of the century, did universities abandon it during the 1950s and 1960s and move toward the "haven for scholars" model? Penfield (1975) and Schoenfeld (1977) note that one major reason that universities have a tendency to drift away from a public service model (such as the Wisconsin model) is that professors avoid doing extension activities. There are a number of reasons for this. Perhaps the most important of these has to do with the impact of professionalism on the

professoriate. Neatby (1985) and others note that the Canadian professoriate up until the 1950s was poorly paid and lacked the characteristics of a profession. However, as the baby boomers neared university age and human capital theory came to dominate government policy, funding for universities was greatly increased, hiring proceeded apace, and a sellers' market developed for professors.

During the 1960s, in particular, professors' salaries and working conditions improved dramatically. Since professors were in short supply everywhere, they could and frequently did move from one university to another. Their increased power at their universities allowed them, to a large extent, to dictate to administration what their duties and reward structures would be – i.e., they developed the autonomy that is one of the defining characteristics of a profession. What resulted was a reward structure that emphasized peer-evaluated research as the basis for tenure, promotion, and increments. Logically enough, professors came to see themselves as part of the world-wide community of their academic discipline, rather than the geographic community of their university and its environs. Colleagues at other institutions were impressed by published research, not undergraduate teaching and particularly not service to the professor's geographic community. Professors who spent too much time on teaching or on public service were cutting their own throats.

The sellers' market for professors ended during the 1970s as enrollment, government funding, and public support for universities all began to decline, signalling the beginning of the current crisis and the drift toward the new model of the service university.

The New Service University – How Does It Differ From the Wisconsin Model?

The Wisconsin Idea was that the university would provide service to everyone in the state. Wisconsin, Alberta, and other universities that operated on this model sought out and offered their services to farmers, labour, local art clubs, aboriginal groups – to all groups, including industry. The new service university, according to Newson and Buchbinder, equates service to society with service to industry (p. 82). So the new model has subtracted something from the old. Who has effected this change?

The public is being fed one answer in some best-selling books with such charming titles as *Profscam : Professors and the demise of higher education* and *How professors play the cat guarding the cream: Why we're paying more and getting less in higher education*. And the authors of these books have a point: it was professors who altered their own reward structure so that anyone wanting to get ahead will concentrate on research rather than teaching. The same professors acquiesced to the elimination of their universities' extension budgets so that true extension of the resources of the university to all the people has nearly disappeared, to be replaced by continuing professional education offered only to those segments of society able to

pay its full cost. In the words of the immortal philosopher, Pogo, "We have met the enemy and he is us."

While scholars such as Newson and Buchbinder have announced the death of the liberal tradition in education, there is strong evidence (e.g., the study cited in Cochrane, 1985) that the public thinks this obituary is much exaggerated. A return to real extension, as in the original, liberal vision of the service university, is still possible and would be welcomed by the public. This could increase public support and public funding for our universities and lessen their dangerous dependence on industry for funding.

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LIRE PIAGET ET PENSER INTERVENTION ÉDUCATIVE : QUELQUES DIFFICULTÉS

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Résumé
La présente communication fait état de quelques-unes des questions que soulève le recours à Piaget en andragogie, et les relie au difficile rapport qu'entretiennent, en éducation, recherche et pratique. La notion d'éducabilité cognitive illustre le propos : présupposés qui la sous-tendent, pratiques qui se sont fondées sur elle et critiques qui s'en sont ensuivies nourrissent un questionnement toujours d'actualité.

Abstract
Adult education and Piaget : this communication discusses some of the problems linked with the introduction of Psychological theory into the field of adult education. The recent history of the notion of cognitive educability is examined as an illustration of these and of the problem of the relation between theory and practive in education.

Vouloir inscrire un questionnement dans la mouvance piagétienne présente un défi de taille, ne serait-ce qu'en raison de la prolificité du chercheur, de l'ampleur de sa pensée et de la valeur heuristique de ses thèses.
Ne serait-ce aussi que parce qu'il est abondamment lu et interprété.

En éducation, on a principalement vu en Piaget l'auteur d'une théorie de la connaissance ou l'auteur d'une théorie du développement cognitif.

Une première affiliation s'est effectuée du côté de la psychologie cognitive. Cognitivistes et piagétiens se rencontrent quand ils soutiennent que la connaissance est construite. Par là, on entend que la connaissance procède de l'activité du sujet, producteur de sens en constante interaction avec son milieu et capable d'abstraction réfléchissante. De façon très sommaire, rappelons que la connaissance est organisée, c'est-à-dire que ses éléments sont mis en réseaux dans une structure ou système général de pensée. L'apprentisage consiste à organiser et réorganiser les connaissances dans le sens d'une plus grande complexité des opérations pour l'un, des mécanismes de traitement de l'information pour les autres, et d'une meilleure adéquation aux données de l'activité du sujet.

En psychologie développementale, l'héritage piagétien a été repris, entre autres, par Loevinger et Kohlberg. D'autres auteurs ont, à leur suite, appliqué le modèle de développement piagétien à différents aspects de la personnalité, et tenté de repousser les frontières du développement au-delà de l'adolescence. Les constructivistes développementalistes soutiennent que le développement s'effectue suivant une séquence fixe, dont les stades, connus, se suivent en s'emboîtant, et qu'il s'oriente vers une plus grande complexité. Un stade est défini par une structure organisationnelle de la pensée, qu'expriment les opérations de pensée dont se montre

capable le sujet. L'équilibration constitue le facteur le plus important du développement (Limoges et Hébert, 1988; Green, 1989; Miller, 1989).

La question de rapporter les travaux de Piaget à l'andragogie combine deux ordres de difficultés. Le premier relève des rapport qu'entretiennent éducation et psychologie, dans la mesure où l'une doit puiser chez l'autre une partie de son savoir disciplinaire sans trahir sa spécificité.

La connaissance du sujet apprenant et celle du processus d'apprentissage sont fondamentales à l'éducation entendue comme discipline. Cependant, ces savoirs ne se pensent pas de la même façon dans un champ et dans l'autre. Toutes les questions méthodologiques liées à la pratique de la multidisciplinarité sont ici pertinentes et il y a lieu de s'interroger sur les précautions à prendre dans la formulation, dans le champ de l'éducation, de propositions dérivées de recherches en psychologie.

La seconde série de difficultés relève du fait d'appliquer les travaux de Piaget à une population adulte : rapporter quoi et comment, dans quelles limites, sous quelles réserves, avec quelles précautions. L'exercice soulève des questions d'ordre général fort intéressantes, qui fondent une problématique proprement andragogique :

- quelle est la spécificité de l'adulte par rapport à l'enfant, puisqu'il est d'abord question de psychologie de l'enfant ?
- comment définir le développement de l'adulte, puisqu'il est question de psychologie développementale ?
- comment l'adulte connaît-il, apprend-il et sait-il, puisqu'il est question de psychologie de l'apprentissage ?

Nous allons examiner ici comment se sont articulés, en France, ces questionnements autour de la notion d'éducabilité cognitive, qui a été l'objet de grands enthousiasmes et de bilans fort critiques en formation professionnelle d'adultes.

La notion d'éducabilité cognitive, ou modifiabilité de l'appareil cognitif, s'est posée au regard du développement de l'adulte. Elle ne peut certes pas, à elle seule, proposer une définition du développement de l'adulte. Cependant, elle le présuppose continu, c'est-à-dire inachevé, toujours possible et perfectible. Elle conteste, par là, plusieurs idées : celles de la stabilisation du développement au terme de l'adolescence, de l'existence de «périodes optimales d'acquisitions», de la rigidification, du développement spécifique et autonome de l'appareil cognitif (Sorel, 1987). Gillet (1987), plus prudent, préfère parler d'évolution plutôt que de développement.

Par ailleurs, l'éducabilité cognitive s'associe volontiers à une conception hétérogène du développement, où le fonctionnement cognitif d'une personne varie selon les situations ou les contenus. Moal (1987) parle d'hétérogénéité des niveaux d'acquisition, Cambon (1981) d'hétérogénéité intra-individuelle, Vermesch (1979) de registres cognitifs. Par là, la notion d'éducabilité cognitive peut aussi voisiner avec celle de zone proximale de développement de Vygotsky.

Les tenants de l'éducabilité cognitive la situent d'emblée dans la mouvance piagétienne par leur définition du processus d'acquisition et d'intégration des connaissances et des savoirs (Sorel, 1987; Moal, 1987). Les propriétés structurales du développement cogniti. sont reconnues, mais aussi les caractéristiques fonctionnelles des connaissances, une certaine plasticité des structures psychiques et la possibilité de ré-activation de structures psychologiques existantes (Gillet, 1987; Sorel,1987).

Ainsi posée, l'éducabilité cognitive va postuler possible l'amélioration des aptitudes cognitives de l'adulte, et possible l'apprentissage des opérations générales de pensée; «apprendre à apprendre» et métacognition entrent en jeu (Sorel, 1987; Merle, 1992; Huteau et Loarer, 1992; Chartier et Lautrey, 1992).

> «Parler d'éducabilité cognitive, c'est assumer l'idée que l'individu ne fonctionne pas à son niveau maximum, que pour des raisons liées à son histoire (biologique, affective, sociale, économique, culturelle ...), le développement de ses compétences cognitives n'a pas été optimal et qu'il est possible, par un traitement approprié, de remédier à cet état de fait.» (Moal, 1987).

Ouverte, mettant en relation des notions et des approches différentes, la notion d'éducabilité cognitive semblait fort prometteuse. et, surtout, apte à être investie dans des pratiques éducatives auprès d'adultes. Elle a effectivement fondé de nombreuses activités de formation en entreprise dont l'objectif était de rendre possible l'adaptabilité permanente d'une main-d'œuvre soumise aux transformations rapides du contenu du travail et des formes de l'emploi (Merle, 1992).

Engouement, effets de mode, usage intensif : le terme s'est dilué, pour désigner une notion plus très claire et un ensemble de pratiques portant sur les processus de pensée, se théorisant et s'attribuant des affiliations et des affinités diverses. Les bilans ont permis de soulever les problèmes, de reformuler certaines questions et, surtout, de recentrer le questionnement.

On questionne d'abord les pratiques auxquelles a donné lieu l'éducabilité cognitive : l'évaluation diagnostique et l'enseignement dit de remédiation. Ces termes mêmes sont mis en cause : s'agit-il vraiment de remédiation, peut-on mesurer l'état cognitif ou le potentiel d'apprentissage d'un sujet ? Les questions soulevées sont toujours d'actualité; certaines me semblent plus intéressantes :

- ° peut-on enseigner les opérations de pensée en soi, sans contenu, hors contexte?
- ° comment peut-on présumer de la persistance des effets et de la transférabilité des acquis?
- ° peut-on comprendre autrement la notion de style d'apprentissage ?
- ° qu'en est-il du savoir-dire ?
- ° aurait-on apporté une bonne réponse à une question mal posée?
- ° y a-t-il lieu d'investir la didactique d'une logique de l'utilisation des connaissances et savoirs?

Enfin, l'analyse de Sorel me semble replacer la critique dans le contexte plus général du rapport qu'entretiennent théorie et pratique. et rejoint par là mon propos.

«Or, à l'égal de l'intelligence, du développement des connaissances... l'éducabilité cognitive n'est pas susceptible d'être définie de manière absolue, en termes d'achèvement de sa connaissance. C'est à la fois un ensemble de pratiques dont la valeur heuristique est majeure, un corps d'hypothèses que l'expérimentation a validé grâce aux effets produits et un ensemble de travaux théoriques concernant le développement, le fonctionnement et la modifiabilité des structures de la pensée.

Il nous est apparu assez vite que le paradoxe auquel étaient confrontées les méthodes d'éducabilité cognitive résidait dans cette origine difficile entre théorie et pratique.»

(Sorel, 1992).

La réflexion à laquelle a donné lieu la notion d'éducabilité cognitive a été à la fois dérivée de grandes théories et modèles psychologiques et issue d'une formalisation de besoins et de problèmes concrets, socialement nommés comme quotidiennement vécus en classe. Elle est ici proprement andragogique et a porté sur tous les fronts : compréhension du sujet apprenant, détermination des besoins de formation, programme d'activités pédagogiques. Une mise au point s'imposait.

Le difficile arrimage entre théorie et pratique tient à la fois de ce que la recherche fondamentale et la praxéologie répondent à des logiques et à des exigences différentes, que l'une et l'autre lisent et problématisent différemment le sujet et la situation parce qu'elles ne les vivent pas de la même façon. Si chacune cherche à comprendre pour mieux orienter l'action, la pratique enseignante comporte, entre autres, d'interpréter en situation un «sujet global et [les] relations d'implications entre ses différents niveaux de fonctionnement» (Sorel, 1992).

La difficulté vient peut-être aussi que, dans ce chassé-croisé entre application de la théorie et la théorisation de la pratique, il y a confusion entre les lieux, moments et fonctions de la réflexion et de l'action éducatives, entre les voies et les modalités d'enrichissement de l'une et de l'autre.

L'aventure de l'éducabilité cognitive me semble pertinente en ce qu'elle nous appelle à l'ouverture et à la prudence, d'autant plus qu'en ces temps de renouveau pédagogique, la notion de compétence se trouve au cœur de... l'action comme de la réflexion. Et qu'elle aussi, elle pose la question de la didactique sous un jour nouveau.

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L'AUTODIDAXIE EN EDUCATION DES ADULTES: UN PASSE, UN PRESENT, MAIS QUEL AVENIR?

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RESUME

L'éducation des adultes a, dans le passé, profité de manière significative de cette forme d'apprentissage qu'est l'autodidaxie. Mais, l'émergence de nouvelles réalités sociales, culturelles , professionnelles et surtout, éducationnelles, nous forcent à donner encore plus d'importance à de nouvelles manières d'apprendre qui seront originales, personnelles et profitables pour l'apprenant adulte.

ABSTRACT

In the past years self-directed learning made major progress specially in adult education. We are now faced with new social realities in many different fields such as social, cultural, professional and educational. This means that adult education will have to adapt quickly so that the adult learner can develop original, personal, and profitable ways of learning.

I. L'APPORT HISTORIQUE DE L'AUTODIDAXIE.

C'est une place enviable que s'est parfois créée l'autodidaxie en éducation des adultes. Nous croyons même que plusieurs apprenants adultes ont su développer, grâce à cette nouvelle approche, le goût d'apprendre, la volonté d'accomplir quelque chose de pertinent, voire même un style personnel d'apprentissage. Il faut souligner cependant que l'autodidaxie, celle que Malcolm Knowles (1975) définissait comme " l'art et la science d'aider des adultes à apprendre " (p. 19, traduction libre), s'éloignait de manière importante de l'éducation dite traditionnelle dans laquelle le maître avait le devoir de transmettre et l'apprenant celui de recevoir le plus fidèlement possible. Robert Smith (1982, 1983) s'est également appliqué à montrer comment des étapes de l'autodidaxie

pouvaient être mises en application et conséquemment beaucoup plus profitables pour l'apprenant adulte lui-même.

Ce type d'autodidaxie, élaborée par des pionniers, dont Tough (1967), Kulich (1970), et plusieurs autres, permettait à des apprenant adultes de développer eux-mêmes les buts, les objectifs et les méthodologies de leurs apprentissages afin de mieux répondre à leurs propres besoins. Souvent, il convient de le mentionner, ces apprenants adultes ne trouvaient pas dans le système traditionnel d'apprentissage ce qui leur aurait permis de devenir autonomes, non seulement dans le monde de l'apprentissage mais aussi dans plusieurs autres domaines. D'ailleurs, dit encore Knowles (1975, p.14, traduction libre), "l'autodidaxie est beaucoup plus près de nos processus naturels de développement psychologique que toute autre forme d'apprentissage".

C'est de cette manière et en tenant compte de ses nombreuses possibilités que ce sont installées en éducation des adultes ces formes d'apprentissage, connues maintenant sous le vocable d'autodidaxie. Cette appellation est cependant loin d'être exclusive. Tremblay (1986), a fait un imposant relevé des terminologies utilisées et a également montré les genres d'études élaborées par les différents auteurs intéressés à cette nouvelle forme d'apprentissage.

II. L'AUTODIDAXIE, BIEN ANCREE DANS LE PRESENT

Point n'est besoin d'insister outre mesure sur le fait que l'autodidaxie, sous quelque forme que ce soit, connait une "carrière florissante " dans plusieurs disciplines. Il faut cependant souligner qu'un énorme parcours a été accompli qui illustre éloquemment ce que doit être l'autodidacte. En d'autres mots, il était primordial pour le succès de l'entreprise autodidactique que ceux et celles qui voulaient s'y lancer connaissent bien ce dans quoi ils ou elles se lançaient. La formule apparait alléchante, il va sans dire, mais il n'en demeure pas moins que des exigences précises sont non seulement requises, mais essentielles. Plusieurs théoriciens, en particulier Bédard (1988), Brockett (1985b), Brookfield (1984), Caffarella & Caffarella (1984), Chené (1985), Merriam & Caffarella 1991) etc. ont montré que l'autodidaxie était une formule d'apprentissage très appropriée pour des adultes mais à certaines conditions, comme par exemple la capacité d'autonomie personnelle, la volonté de percer "le mystère" de la recherche, l'acceptation de l'ambiguité, la tolérance de l'incertitude et bien d'autres encore. Le respect de ces dernières conditions, devient, en autodidaxie, un signe presque évident de l'éventuelle réussite de la démarche entreprise.

Il a aussi été mis de l'avant que l'adulte qui souhaite exécuter par lui-même, des projets d'apprentissage, dans quelques domaines que ce soient, doit également être personnellement équipé d'un ensemble de caractéristiques qui, d'une manière ou d'une autre, le disposent à entreprendre, à conduire et à mener à terme ce qu'il aura voulu accomplir. A ce titre, Guglielmino, (1977), dans une étude doctorale, dont les retombées sont encore d'une grande actualité (Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale, SDLRS), a démontré que toute une série de dispositions et d'attitudes, reliées de très près au concept de soi, à la responsablité personnelle, à l'amour de l'apprentissage, à la créativité, etc. étaient une nécessité chez les autodidactes.

Il n'en fallait pas plus pour que se créent et se déploient toutes sortes d'avenues qui permettaient à de nombreux apprenants adultes de se lancer à la poursuite d'apprentissages que l'éducation traditionnelle ne leur aurait pas permis. De plus, et il est ici très important de le mentionner, c'est non seulement le monde de l'éducation qui s'est permis cette nouvelle manière d'aborder le savoir et l'apprentissage. L'industrie, le monde des affaires et de la finance , l'univers manufacturier, la fonction publique, les arts, l'administration, etc, se sont eux-aussi trouvé des créneaux qui encourageaient leur personnel à se perfectionner, à améliorer leur performance, à créer de nouvelles alternatives, à devenir plus productifs et plus rentables. Dans un récent ouvrage, Piskurich (1993), illustre abondamment comment peut et doit se faire l'implantation de techniques qui permettront à plus d'employés de se familiariser avec l'autodidaxie et conséquemment avec une meilleure performance au sein de l'entreprise. Dans la même perspective, Candy (1991) insiste sur le fait que c'est l'autodidaxie qui permettra à des adultes de devenir et de demeurer des "lifelong learners" en utilisant au maximum " leurs ressources, leurs droits et leurs compétences (p. 424, traduction libre).

Tout compte fait, l'autodidaxie actuelle se trouve en fort bonne posture. Les expériences relatées dans ce domaine éclairent beaucoup et ne manquent surtout pas de surprendre les observateurs de la scène autodidactique. Depuis plusieurs années déjà, Long et ses associés (1987-1995) ont entrepris de réunir annuellement les chercheurs et les expérimentateurs de l'autodidaxie en vue de faire mieux connaitre ce qui se réalise dans ce domaine. Il va sans dire que les résultats de ces rencontres sont publiés pour qu'un large public soit saisi des découvertes rendues possibles en utilisant cette nouvelle manière d'apprendre qu'est l'autodidaxie.

111. L'AUTODIDAXIE AU FUTUR

Les bienfaits de l'autodidaxie, en éducation des adultes, ne sont plus à faire et les quelques réflexions qui précèdent l'ont brièvement démontré. Cependant, l'émergence de nouvelles dimensions sociales, culturelles, professionnelles ou éducationnelles indique que les éventuels tenants de l'autodidaxie auront très probablement à composer avec des données qui sont en voie de modifier, de manière importante, soit l'utilisation que nous en avons fait ou soit l'étendue de cette dernière. Les questions soulevées par l'autodidaxie au futur peuvent, en général, revêtir l'allure suivante: comment pouvons-nous améliorer, de manière significative et notable, en éducation des adultes, cette forme d'apprentissage en vue de satisfaire d'une part, et de répondre d'autre part aux besoins d'apprenants adultes aux prises avec des réalités qui évoluent rapidement, soit au plan de la qualité ou de la quantité. L'ouverture et l'accueil que font nos sociétés modernes et complexes à l'autodidaxie correspondent-ils adéquatement aux demandes de nos apprenants adultes et à ceux qui le deviendront? Comment, en d'autres mots, l'autodidaxie peut-elle se positionner pour que sa place en soit une qui soit vaste, significative, diversifiée et englobante?

L'AUTODIDAXIE DIVERSIFIEE

Il est fort probable que dans ses origines, l'autodidaxie ait été perçue presque exclusivement pour le monde de l'éducation aux adultes. Ce domaine s'y prêtait d'ailleurs très bien. L'on sait cependant que cela ne fut pas longtemps le cas et toutes sortes de disciplines, comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, utilisent maintenant l'autodidaxie et en tirent, pour leurs apprenants adultes des profits remarquables. Lorsque l'on prend connaissance d'un ouvrage comme celui de Piskurich (1993) dont le titre Self-Directed Learning: A Practical Guide to Design, Development, and Implementation. indique clairement qu'il sera question d'abord et avant tout de l'autodidaxie, il est même surprensant de constater que l'auteur de cet ouvrage indique que ce livre " is written in and for a business environment and uses businesss terms for the sake of simplicity and consistency...". Cela n'est pas sans indiquer que l'autodidaxie, en raison de l'attraction qu'elle exerce dans sa souplesse, son ouverture et ses possibilités, pourra très largement répondre aux besoins d'une industrie qui veut recycler ses membres, reclasser son personnel ou perfectionner une partie de ses effectifs. L'éducation en général et l'éducation des adultes en particulier n'auront plus le monopole de l'autodidaxie. Cela est certes manifeste depuis quelque temps mais les observateurs de la scène

sociale réalisent très bien que, de plus en plus, l'autodidaxie au futur prendra une importante place dans l'industrie et dans les disciplines connexes. Cela est une bonne nouvelle, il va sans dire mais il ne faudrait pas que cette autre approche au savoir se dilue et perde son sérieux, ses exigences et son professionnalisme. Nous ne doutons pas que cette forme d'apprentissage puisse prendre plusieurs formes, se diversifier, se créer d'autres alternatives, mais nous formulons le souhait qu'une certaine orthodoxie puisse établir et régir, s'il le faut, ses canons et ses paramêtres.

DE NOUVELLES REALITES SOCIALES

Contentons-nous d'abord de souligner ici que nos sociétés actuelles sont cousues, à tort ou à raison, de réalités qui sont nouvelles, différentes, dérangeantes mêmes. Nos institutions, même les plus traditionnellement solides sont elles-mêmes aux prises avec des réalités qui, hier encore étaient insoupçonnables. Elle doivent aujourd'hui faire face à des questions dont les réponses sont loin d'être évidentes. De plus, des nombres imposants d'adultes se voient dans l'obligation soit de transformer des carrières, soit de modifier des habitudes de travail ou soit de se reconstruire une manière de subvenir à ses besoins de base. Nous sommes en présence de ce que Welton (1993) nomme de nouveaux mouvements sociaux. Cependant, ajoute aussi cet auteur, ces nouveaux mouvements sociaux pouvent devenir de nouvelles occasions d'apprentissage. C'est ici que l'autodidaxie peut se révéler dans le futur d'une utilité remarquable pour ceux et celles qui auront à affronter ces nouveaux mouvements sociaux et conséquemment, ces nouvelles occasions d'apprentissage. C'est la raison pour laquelle les professionnels de l'autodidaxie, c'est-à-dire les accompagnateurs d'apprenants adultes, devront être attentifs et vigilants. Leur action et leur intervention pourront prendre des proportions importantes dans ce domaine de l'apprentissage auto-géré en tenant compte de tout ce dont cette approche exige et signifie pour plusieurs apprenants adultes.

Dans un récent article, Holford (1994), abonde dans le même sens et croit que les mouvements sociaux ne doivent pas être perçus comme étant marginaux mais plutôt comme faisant partie intégrante du mouvement de l'éducation des adultes. Encore ici, l'autodidaxie pourrait avoir un futur prometteur à condition, bien entendu, de pouvoir assurer à cette forme d'apprentissage une allure plus scientifique et un suivi plus sérieux.

DE NOUVELLES REALITES ACADEMIQUES

Nous croyons que c'est avant tout aux institutions académiques qu'il revient de donner un rythme de croisière à l'autodidaxie. Le monde académique a pourtant tout à gagner en s'impliquant beaucoup plus profondément dans cette direction. Sans vouloir généraliser ou simplifier outre mesure, nous savons que nos institutions académiques sont actuellement aux prises avec des questions de personnel, de finances, de programmes, d'éducation à distance, etc. Tout ne se règlera pas avec l'autodidaxie, nous le devinons bien. Mais nous avons le droit de croire que l'autodidaxie peut "faire des merveilles" (Bédard, 1993) si elle tente de s'introduire et de s'installer, de manière intelligente et tenace dans le monde de l'éducation.

Dans un futur, plus près de nous que nous l'imaginons, il faudra, comme le suggère Candy (1991), que nos institutions académiques puissent promouvoir l'autodidaxie, de manière beaucoup plus agressive, ainsi que tout ce qui peut faire en sorte qu'elle progresse, qu'elle s'élargisse et qu'elle deviennne une avenue possible pour de nombreux apprenants. Cela ne peut que signifier que les institutions doivent immédiatement prévoir le développement d'habiletés reliées à l'autodidaxie, d'éléments et de conditions qui l'encourageront et d'animateurs qui veilleront à l'important suivi qu'elle nécessitera.

Nous savons actuellement que des tournants importants sont en voie de prendre forme dans les institutions académiques, à quelque niveau que ce soit. Nous savons également, et plusieurs statistiques sont là pour le confirmer, que le système traditionnel de l'éducation, du primaire à l'université, veut se définir un espace qui fera face, de manière intelligente et significative, aux réalités du prochain millénaire. Que l'éducation dite traditionnelle conserve encore une partie de ses attributs, nous n'en doutons nullement. Mais la tendance actuelle ne peut être que la suivante, à savoir, " remettre entre les mains de l'apprenant sa responsabilité: celle de ses apprentissages (Bédard, 1994). Ce sont nos institutions académiques qui, dans le futur, devront prendre le leadership de cette voie en poussant, au maximum s'il le faut, une manière d'apprendre qui, comme le mentionnent très bien Brockett & Hiemstra (1991, p.223, traduction libre) " considèrera toujours l'apprenant comme étant au centre de l'autodidaxie. Ces auteurs ajoutent également que le contexte de l'apprentissage demeurera important et qu'il sera également primordial de bien établir l'interaction entre le contenu et l'apprenant.

CONCLUSION

Il n'est nullement exagéré de mentionner que beaucoup reste à faire

dans nos institutions académiques pour promouvoir l'autodidaxie. Des efforts sont tentés et plusieurs sont réussis. Plusieurs pas déterminants demeurent encore à franchir. Il nous semble cependant qu'un de ces plus important pas est celui qui fait en sorte qui les dispensateurs du savoir ne semblent pas suffisamment disposés à se lancer dans une avenue qui leur demandera beaucoup et pour laquelle ils n'ont que peu de préparation.

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LINKING CASES TO COURSE CONTENT

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Abstract

Adult educators encourage using student experiences (cases) to elaborate material in courses. Considered here is the specific problem of how to integrate such experiences into courses. Encouraging recall and recognition data showed students in an adult learning courses remember cases and connected them to psychological content.

Résumé

Les éducateurs d'adultes encouragent l'inclusion des expériences vécues par les étudiants aux contenus des cours (sous forme d'«études de cas»). Nous discuterons ici du problème de l'intégration adéquate de ces contenus aux cours. Les résultats de tests de rappel et de reconnaissance montrent que les apprenants adultes se souviennent des cas étudiés et les associent aux contenus psychologiques.

Long and varied histories of learning give adults a rich experience base helping them understand, interpret, and expand upon course material presented and discussed in class. While few persons would deny the pedagogical value of adult experiences, the problem is how best to integrate such experiences into courses. How can the individual experiences of adult students help to illustrate and particularize course concepts, stimulate new ideas for research, and foster new ways of thinking? How can student-reported experiences be recast by the instructor to support and extend the declarative knowledge in a course?

Researchers and thinkers from widely different fields have focused attention on this vital instructional problem. Within educational psychology, renewed attention is being given to the role episodic memory (a autobiographical record of personal experiences particular to an individual) can play in learning from classroom discourse and course material (Martin, 1993). It is suggested episodic memory is a mediator of knowledge, skills, and attitudes conveyed in a course (Martin, 1993, p. 173). Within adult education, the distinction is made between abstract, academic learning content (such as is the content of graduate courses) and the grounding of such content in multiple contexts (Laurillard, 1993). It is argued that both are required for extending the learning of students into new ways of perceiving and thinking about the world. An objective for adult education then is to develop and evaluate instructional methods which explicitly integrate general theories, related research and the instructionally relevant experiences of individual students.

This paper reports the implementation of a course where an important goal was to explicitly link student experiences to theories, methods, and generalizations obtained from scientific psychological studies of adult learning and reported in a recent text (Druckman & Bjork, 1994). Reported also is case recall and recognition data to determine what students remembered and learned.

The theoretical framework for this study consists of the possible ways to connect reports of experiences (e.g., narratives and cases) to expository material in conventional texts. Presumably, some designs function much better than others to support desired objectives of a course (knowing, understanding and problem solving). As an example it is possible that already-prepared casebooks might affect learning differently from the student-generated cases used in this study. A recent study of the use of cases in educational psychology textbooks showed there was very wide variation in several design factors: the nature of the case itself, the instructional strategy for using it and the aids for transfer (Block, 1995). Using cases in courses can happen in a variety of different arrangements and their associated variables should be spelled out and empirically studied. One set of variables concerns how cases and course content are linked and then to what extent learning happens. This latter is the focus of this study.

Method

The curriculum design of a graduate psychology of adult learning course was changed from a traditional knowledge imparting format to a more student centered, case oriented format. A modern text, Learning, Remembering, Believing (Druckman, D. & Bjork, R., 1994) representing basic and applied psychological research on primarily adult subjects was the content selection for this course. Students were instructed to select topic areas (e.g., transfer, cooperative learning) in which they could portray in depth an actual learning experience. On the first day, they were given brief explanations of each topic area, told to pick two areas, and were read a narrative as an example of how a story is told. They were told to write

their story prior to reading their chapter, and that it was the instructor's job to make links to the substance of the chapter. They were told there was no right or wrong, that there was just their experience and reflections. Kolb's (1984) four phase experiential learning model was used as an organizer for student and class learning processes.

To ensure wider participation in the relating of cases to text material, a "one-minute" (actually about one minute and a half) exam consisting of one basic question from the day's chapter was given at the start of each class session.

Students who prepared cases each session presented them. The instructor led a case discussion highlighting relations to the text. Case-to-text relations regularly illustrated included a) applications (examples) of text concepts and variables b) case facts consistent or not consistent with text generalizations and c) applications of text prescriptions and how they might or might not have affected the learner's experience or the outcome of the case. Inasmuch as cases are often reports of already completed experiences, it was necessary to adopt a more experimenting attitude toward completed happenings. Cases were queried for (a) the identification of evidence that a resultant opinion was true or (b) the development of some research designs to empirically evaluate stated claims yielded by a case or (c) the development of implications from a case experience, combined with the text, for future events and decisions. On these later occasions, analysis of the case in terms of text presented theories and research methods was done by the instructor primarily, although by the student when possible. To assess some effects of the course, students responded to recall and recognition questionnaires.

The questionnaire materials were given without warning in the 13th week of class. They consisted of free recall of two case studies "that influenced you", cued recall of case studies with chapter topics as cues and a twenty item recognition test with 15 case studies authored by students but titled by the instructor and 5 foils. Students were told there was no right or wrong, that the questionnaire assessed simply what has happened in the course: what they learned, remembered and valued.

Results

Free recall

At the start of the questionnaire session, students asked that names of other students attending be reviewed outloud. Student names were regularly mentioned in the test responses and functioned as key retrieval cues.

One student out of 14 tested, claimed no cases could influence her because they were "much too specific" and thus the total case citing students was 13. Free recall data showed students cited their own case study as influential upon them nearly as often as others' (6/13 "own" citations; 7/13 "other" citations). When others' cases were cited, one student's cases (on training in the LaMaze method and its transfer to actual birthing) was cited by 5 other students and was the most frequently cited, while another four students' cases were not cited by anyone. These latter students' cases were spread across topics thus it was not a particular topic that was avoided. The remaining 9 students distributed their choices across 8 other students. In all, the free recall data show some agreement among students about one instructive case (the LaMaze case) and also a spread of preferences across other cases (i.e. those reported by eight students) and a distinct lack of influence (or memory for) the cases written by four students. These data

also show students strongly appreciate writing their own case and thus feel the act of case writing itself is an influential activity as well (as listening to other's cases).

Students were asked to explain why the cases influenced them and what psychology ideas seemed to be involved when they recalled their influential cases. Student reasons given at free recall to justify their choice could be easily classified as a) confirm prior belief (n=1), b) illustrate concept or principle (n=17), c) valuable life experience (n=8; e.g., teaches me something); or d) no merit (n=1). These data clearly show this case method does support the proper linking of experience to concept and theory since 65% of the justifications contained reference to text content. To obtain a more exacting test, the idea of citing psychology concepts should not be mentioned in the test instructions.

Recognition

Out of 15 actual titles and five distractors students recognized a central tendency of 9 (mode, median = 9; $\bar{X}$ = 8.84) for an average rate of 58% recognition of correct alternatives. Of the 5 distractors, three were chosen by three students each and the remaining two chosen 1 and 0 times. The actual case title with the lowest selection frequency was also recognized by three students. Based on frequency of choice (f=3) it appears some actual case titles and distractors are equally likely to be seen as actual cases. However, this is measurement error. When two actual case titles having selection frequency of 3 and 4 were checked as to whether their actual authors recognized them, these authors did not. Therefore the titles given the cases by this instructor were not lucid. There does however seem to be discrimination between real titles and distructors: the five distractors attracted 10 total responses by students while the 15 true titles attracted 115 total responses from students (2.0 responses per distractor item versus 7.6 per real item).

Informal data

The instructor's impression is one of increased discussion and participation in this class by all students, not just the student presenting. Moreover, there have been numerous spontaneous comments from students as to the vitality and relevance of the course. The climate is quite different from the conventional course.

Discussion

These data are preliminary yet largely encouraging. Students can learn and remember psychology concepts, and their applications in a case oriented course. Future work must evolve more careful and detailed assessment methods. For example, only the case-to-concept relation was assessed in the free recall data. Although important, the analysis of experience by theory should extend deeper than, e.g., just recalling the proposition that the "LaMaze" study illustrated how training might not promote transfer". Some measures of elaboration and depth must be used.

Instructional experiments must also be done for example varying the degree to which students a priori try to link their experiences to the text. Here the issue is in part the balance between naturalism and "concept application" Other experiments should try to capture classroom process to document actually how cases figure into classroom discourse and the level (knowledge vs. problem solving) and type of

information manipulation and learning outcome considered. The above research should be closely tied to existing theories of learning and memory (especially developing work in episodic memory) to give valuable understanding and direction to studies of adult learning from case experiences.

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THE EFFECTS OF EDUCATION ON FOOD SECURITY AMONG LOW INCOME URBAN ADULTS

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Abstract

This study reports the results of a survey of 460 low income families in the City of Edmonton. Path analyses confirmed that respondents' education levels were associated with adult and child food security. For both working poor and highly marginalized families only women's education levels were associated with child food security.

Résumé

Cette recherche presénte les conclusions d'un sondage auprès de quatre cent soixante familles économiquement faibles résidant à Edmonton. Une analyse des pistes causales (path analysis) confirme que le niveau d'éducation des répondants est lié à la sécurité alimentaire des adultes et des enfants. Cependant, dans le cas des pauvres qui travaillent et des familles grandement marginalisées, seul le niveau d'éducation des femmes est lié à la sécurité alimentaire des enfants.

It is widely recognized that education level is a powerful variable influencing occupation, income and socio-economic status. Education is also associated with many indicators of health and physiological well being. Surveys and census data confirm that persons with low levels of education tend to have limited success in the labor market. They work in low paying jobs and experience long periods of unemployment. The data also reveal the undereducated experience lower levels of health, have inadequate diets and are at higher risk to food insecurity than the more highly educated. A common goal of adult basic education programs is to raise the education level of participants and it is an implicit assumption, widely held among adult educators, that with higher levels of education will come the benefits of increased employment opportunities, higher incomes and subsequently improved standards of living and health.

However, it is now apparent that as a consequence of changes in the national economy an improved level of education for many marginalized adults does not necessarily result in greatly improved employment and income benefits (See Blunt, 1991a & 1991b). The number of working poor has grown steadily over the last decade and unemployment has remained relatively high. In this situation, when improvements in labor market status are not readily achieved through improved levels of education, is it possible that improvements in the quality of health and living among the poor and marginalized might still result from higher levels of education? Do low income adults share similar experiences with food insecurity, as one indicator of health and quality of life, regardless of their levels of education and

employment status? This study seeks answers to these questions. The study was initiated under the assumption that adult education researchers and practitioners need to have a better understanding of the effects of education, if any, on life circumstances other than employment. While employment prospects may not be enhanced for all adult basic education participants, if other quality of life benefits may be derived from literacy and adult basic education programs, these benefits need to be identified and thoroughly explored.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to determine whether or not education level effects food security among low income families. The survey data were explored to identify relationships between education level and food security variables and to determine whether low income subjects with low levels of education differed from those with higher levels of education in terms of their experience of food insecurity.

Methodology

This study reports the secondary analysis of data from a survey of low income family households conducted to examine the incidence and experience of food insecurity in a large Canadian city. The targeted respondents for the original survey were low income families with children under the age of 18, or single adults, living in the City of Edmonton, Alberta. A low income family, for the purposes of the survey, was defined according to the Statistics Canada criterion as a family which spends 58.5%, or greater, of family income on shelter, food and clothing.

Samples and Data Collection

The respondents were 460 adults, each providing data on one low income household. Three different methods were used to gather the three survey data sets during November and December 1990. A random sample of 113 telephone interviews (Sample T) was conducted to obtain a generalizable profile of low income households across the city. 124 face to face interviews were conducted with a random sample of adults in households in public/subsidized housing complexes (Sample H) at various locations throughout the city. The third data set was obtained from face-to-face interviews with a convenience sample of adults referred to the investigators by social service agencies in the city (Sample A). The two random samples, T and H, each have an estimated confidence level for the data of plus or minus 9%, 19 times out of 20. The same interview schedule was used to gather data from respondents in each of the three samples. The data quality and completeness was judged to be very high.

Data Analysis

The two data sets (T & H combined, & A) were analyzed separately to establish a socio-demographic profile of the respondents (see Table 1), to conduct a series of path analyses to test a basic causal model of the effects of education on food security (see Figure 1). The path coefficients presented in figure 1 are standardized partial regression coefficients. Each coefficient indicates the direct influence, or net effect,

that a variable has upon another when the effects of all other variables are held constant. An increase of one standard deviation in the predictor variable is estimated to result in an increment (+), or decrement (-) in the effect on the associated variable as indicated by the path coefficient. For example (See Figure 1), in the T and H sample, an increase of one standard deviation in female education is estimated to reduce adult food insecurity by .116 standard deviations.

Results

Four theoretical propositions were tested in the causal model for each data set: 1) High levels of education will be associated with high levels of full time employment for males and females, 2) High levels of full time employment for males and females will be associated with high annual incomes, 3) High annual household income will be associated with high levels of adult and child food security, and 4) High levels of education will be directly associated with high levels of adult and child food security.

Telephone and Household (T&H) Sample.

Proposition 1) The effects of education on full time employment were in the direction expected for males (.274) and for females (.083). The strength of the association for females was lower for females as those young women with high levels of education and children did not fully participate in the labor market.

Proposition 2) As expected duration of full time employment for males (.506) and females (.141) was positively associated with higher annual income. Income from employment for working families is higher than income derived from social assistance and other sources. Also women tend to earn less than men.

Proposition 3) The effects of annual household income on food security for adults (-.161) was in the direction expected however, the effect on child food security (-.002) was virtually non-existent. After controlling for the effects of all other variables, children of the poorest families in this data set, were at no greater risk to hunger than children of working poor families with higher incomes. Further analyses indicated that adult food insecurity increases with child food insecurity (.164) suggesting that poor families feed their children first.

Proposition 4) High levels of education for males (-.186) and females (-.146) were associated with adult food security as anticipated. However the effect of males' education level (.019) on child food security was very low and in the opposite direction to that expected. The effect of females' education level (-.116) was much higher than for males and was in the expected direction. Women's education level appears to be a more important direct determinant of children's exposure to hunger than is the education level of males.

Agency Referrals Sample (A)

Proposition 1) The effects of education on full time employment were in the direction expected for males {.119} and females {.009} As expected the strength of the associations were lower for respondents from this data set as their attachment to the labor market was more tenuous.

Proposition 2) Although respondents in the agency sample worked fewer months and earned lower wages than the T and H sample, duration of full time employment by males {.311} and females {.091} was positively associated with higher annual household incomes.

Proposition 3) The effect of annual household income on food security for adults {-.123} was in the direction expected, as it was for child food security {-.090}. For families which rely on social welfare agencies for income and services, rather than income from earnings (as with the T and H sample), total annual household income, after controlling for other effects, is more strongly associated with food security for all family members.

Proposition 4) High levels of education for males {-.104} and females {-.149} were associated with adult food security as anticipated. As observed in the earlier analysis (sample T & H) the direct net effect of males' education {.007} on child food security was extremely low and in the opposite direction to that expected. The effect of females' education {-.109} on child food security was stronger than for males' education and was negatively associated. That is, higher levels of women's education reduced the risk of child hunger. For families which rely on community and government social welfare agencies for income, or income assistance, the educational level of women is a factor directly reducing children's risk to hunger.

Conclusions

Education has a direct effect on adult food security in low income families and an indirect effect through employment and household income. The education levels of female family members, but not males, impacts directly upon child food security in both working poor and highly marginalized families. The survey data suggests that at a time when higher levels of education may not result in employment and higher earnings, improved quality of life for poor families, through increased food security, may be an important outcome.

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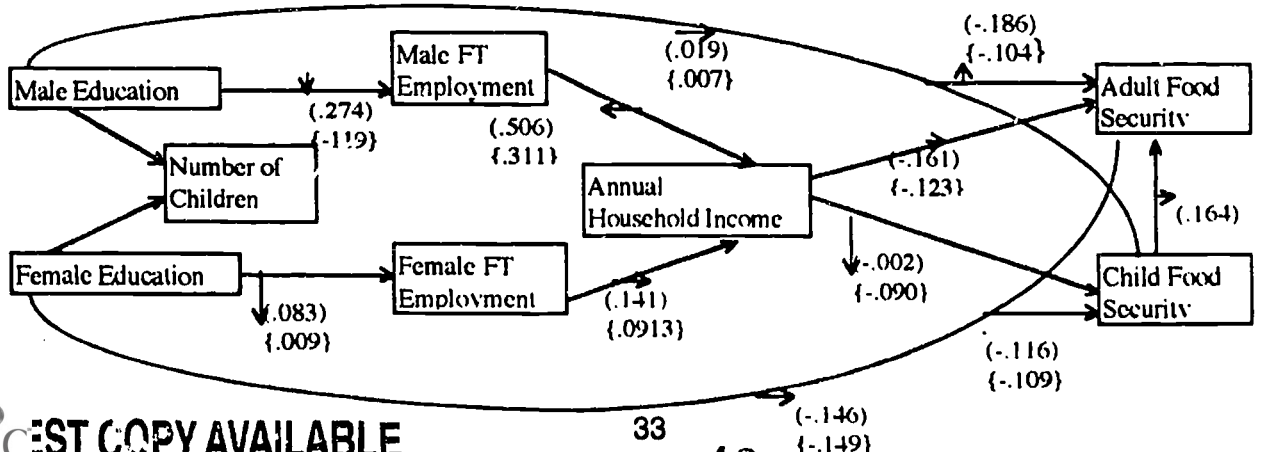
Table 1: Distribution of Respondents by Selected Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Variable	Samples T & H Combined (n=237)		Sample A (n=223)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Sex:				
Male	46	19.4	61	27.4
Female	191	80.6	162	72.6
Labour Market Status:				
Employed FT	41	17.3	14	6.3
Employed PT	44	18.6	34	15.2
Unemployed	31	13.1	78	35.0
In school	50	21.1	22	9.9
Keeping house	58	24.5	68	30.5
Disabled/Poor health	22	9.3	34	15.2
Spouse's Labour Market Status:	(n=70)		(n=53)	
Employed FT	26	37.1	15	28.3
Employed PT	11	15.7	7	13.2
Unemployed	12	17.1	24	45.3
In school	7	10.0	6	11.3
Keeping house	8	11.4	3	5.7
Disabled/Poor health	4	5.7	3	5.7
Social Assistance Recipient?	(n=162)		(n=203)	
Yes	90	38.0	153	75.4
No	60	25.3	38	18.7
Partial SA allowance	12	5.1	12	5.9
Education Level:				
Elementary or less	3	1.3	13	5.8
High school incomplete	95	40.1	121	54.3
High school completed	49	20.7	45	20.2
Post sec. incomplete	31	13.1	15	6.7
Post sec. complete	29	12.2	19	8.5
Univ. incomplete	21	8.9	6	2.7
Univ. dip/deg complete	9	3.7	4	1.8
Spouse's Education Level:	(n=70)		(n=52)	
Elementary or less	4	5.7	0	0.0
High school incomplete	23	32.8	27	57.7
High school completed	16	22.9	13	25.0
Post sec. incomplete	7	10.0	2	3.8
Post sec. complete	11	15.7	2	3.8
Univ. incomplete	2	2.9	4	7.7
Univ. dip/deg complete	7	10.0	1	1.9

Figure 1: Basic Causal Model of the Effects of Education on Food Security



ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH TRENDS IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES: AN UPDATE TO THE 1993 (OTTAWA) CASAE REPORTS

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ABSTRACT: It is possible to identify certain trends in adult education research in Canadian universities. There are areas of intense activity, as well as some important gaps in research interests. Significant polarizations were found between the various organizations' views of the purposes and applications of research in adult education.

RÉSUMÉ: Il est possible d'identifier certaines tendances de la recherche en éducation des adultes dans les universités canadiennes. Certains secteurs connaissent une activité intense, alors qu'il existe ailleurs des lacunes importantes. Les organisations consultées présentent une vision polarisée des objets et applications de la recherche en éducation des adultes.

In 1993, adult education researchers from 12 Canadian universities were asked to submit reports describing research trends in their respective institutions. The resulting papers were presented at the 12th annual CASAE Conference (Ottawa, 1993), and at the 61st ACFAS Conference (Rimouski, 1993). No operational definition of what constitutes a "trend" was given, and the researchers had no standard outline to work with. Consequently, it has been difficult to summarize the findings according to a common framework. Nevertheless, after sifting through the reports, I found it possible to offer a general overview, and to identify some tendencies concerning the state of Canadian university research in adult education. As a doctoral student at the time of my perusal of the CASAE Reports, my personal perspective has been that of naive discovery of the labyrinthine and somewhat perplexing world of university research. Some of the following observations may seem trivial or self-evident to more experienced academics, but represent genuine breakthroughs in my own awareness of the field.

For the purpose of this analysis, I retained four dimensions to characterize and differentiate adult education research trends in Canadian universities:

1) Organizational variables;
2) Objects of Research;
3) Research methodologies;
4) Funding.

These four categories account for some similarities, and some important differences between research agendas carried out in Canadian post-secondary institutions.

1. Organizational Variables

One important organizational variable that seems to affect research is the institutional orientation of each university administration. As part of their positioning and marketing plans, postsecondary establishments routinely issue policy orientations and mission statements. For example, some of

the larger, better endowed Canadian universities have declared their attachment to such goals as "excellence" and "distinction", while other institutions have expressed values that are more commonly in tune with social development and community service. It appears that the more elitist aims ("distinction", "excellence", etc.) tend to foster competitive environments for researchers, and to attract more research funds. On the other hand, institutions that are committed to "wider access", and that describe themselves as "community oriented" hold a lower priority when it comes to securing support from granting agencies. This phenomenon is so widespread that we can legitimately speak of two "classes" of institutions, one of them having better access to research funds than the other. Nevertheless, professor-researchers in both types of institutions are expected to carry out a full scholarly agenda as part of their normal workload. This unequal access to funding, in turn, affects the type of research that is carried out (see below, "Funding").

Universities that offer doctoral programs appear to have an additional edge when it comes to procuring research resources. Funding agencies typically take into account the trickle-down effect of their grants on graduate students, in effect killing two "birds" with one stone (i.e. funding research AND providing financial aid to students). Departments that offer M.A. programs do not seem to benefit from a comparable advantage, in part because the involvement of professor-researchers with doctoral and post-doctoral training is considered an important criterion for successful grantsmanship. (How many doctoral students have YOU supervised in the past?)

Another significant organizational variable with an impact on research seems to be the departmental and disciplinary affiliation of the researchers. In Canadian universities, specific departmental units that specialize in adult education have been vanishing at an alarming rate. Rather, the trend in the past years has been to integrate adult education within the structures of other departments such as Education, Extension, Counseling, etc. This tendency has resulted in the polarization of interests between researchers who profess an allegiance to the historical emancipatory purposes of adult education in Canada, and those involved with the daily concerns of performance-oriented training programs and methods. This split between "rational-technical", and "ethical-transformative" purposes of adult education has been observed, among others, by Blunt (1993). It seems that the integration of adult education within other administrative units translates into less basic and emancipatory research, and more applied research. This is due in part to the fact that these units are populated with researchers whose primary focus is on a specific disciplinary content, rather than on dimensions more generally related to adult learning. Another implication of these organizationally dictated "forced marriages" is that much of the research being done is not being designated by the term "adult education". For example, when asked about the state of research in adult education at Québec's Télé-Université, Deschênes (1993) wrote that there was "little, if any, specific research in that area" conducted at that institution. Ironically, Télé-Université is well-known for its pioneering work in distance education, which caters almost exclusively to adult populations.

2. Objects of Research

In her 1988 inventory of Canadian adult education research, MacKeracher found three categories of research interests, concerned mainly with (1) the adult learners; (2) the adult educators; and (3) the management and organization of adult education. After reviewing the 1993 CASAE reports, it appears that the third area, "management and organization", is the one with the lowest level of activity. In this vein, figures compiled by Kopps (1993) could be indicative of a more generalized trend. They show that research at University of Manitoba is concentrated mainly on educational practice (31%) and the teacher-learner transaction (36%). One important exception to this trend is the Center for Policy Research at UBC, where Rubenson (1993) reports an appreciable level of activity in the area of policy research.

According to MacKeracher, Chapman, and Gillen (1993), research into the characteristics and needs of adult learners has tended to become more differentiated over time. For example, previous studies in the area of "adult basic education" have been followed by more precisely defined research topics such as "literacy", "first and second language education", "numeracy", etc. Similarly, earlier studies concerned with education and "underprivileged groups" have given rise to more specific research interests such as "women as learners", "native Canadians", "young adults", etc.

One myth that was dispelled after reading the CASAE Reports was the reputation of Canadian adult education scholars as earnest patrons of critical and transformative research paradigms. It is true that adult education in Canada is rooted in a heritage of emancipatory social action and popular initiatives, in the tradition of the Antigonish Movement, the Radio Farm Forums, the Mouvement Desjardins, etc. These historical movements have inspired some Canadian scholars to write from a critical, liberatory perspective. This in turn has led to adult education researchers being criticized for pursuing such high-minded ideals as the advancement of "critical consciousness" and "community awareness", at the expense of more materially relevant concerns such as "economic development" and other sundry items on the postmodern capitalistic agenda. However, according to reports by Burnaby (1993), Blunt (1993), and Blais (1993) among others, it appears that such charges have been largely overstated. In fact, the bulk of adult education research projects undertaken both by professor-researchers and graduate students in Canadian universities appears to be primarily concerned with utilitarian applications. University faculty, no doubt in response to recent shifts in funding policy, have been typically involved in "strategic" and "pragmatic" research projects. Graduate students, on their part, overwhelmingly pursue research in areas closely related to their professional practice. Interestingly, the majority of adult education students are women, but there seems to be little overall interest in feminist frameworks. Of course, a wide range of faculty and student interests are represented in this sampling, and it is difficult to generalize. One relatively safe observation, however, would be that the "utilitarian" vs "critical" (including feminist) research paradigms are distributed unevenly among specific institutions. Indeed, certain establishments emerge as notably fertile hotbeds of social dissent, with a strong focus on participatory, emancipatory, and feminist research agendas. In other institutions, researchers and graduate students pursue more conservative research interests, concentrating on work-related issues and competency-based problems.

The tendency to direct funding towards "utilitarian" research has been at the root of some peculiar aberrations. For example, MacKeracher, Chapman, and Gillen (1993) relate an instance where funds were allocated for research that was clearly aimed at providing support for an ongoing government program. The impression was that the study's goal was to dispense an academic rubber-stamp for government policies of otherwise questionable fabric.

3. Research Methodologies

As is the case in most other areas of educational research, inquiry in adult education is dominated by qualitative research methodologies. Content analysis, interpretive inquiry, and ethnographic designs seem to be among the preferred methodological choices of researchers. Generally, qualitative methods are deemed more useful for investigation into the complex and subjective world of adult education. Conversely, empirical data derived from statistics, surveys, etc. are understood to be of doubtful value when it comes to studying human perceptions and their social/educational implications. One exception to this otherwise nation-wide trend is found at Université de Montréal, where Blais (1993) reports an *increase* in empirical research designs, primarily among graduate students.

Strangely, and somewhat ironically, the researchers themselves are the first to acknowledge that funding agencies generally hold an opposite view, whereby research that is not supported by "hard" facts and numerical data is considered of reduced credibility. For example, CASAE's research journal (CJSAE) has seen its funding compromised on at least one occasion because of the perceived scarcity, in its content, of empirically derived research results.

4. Funding

The CASAE Reports contain little information on funding policies and practices for university adult education research. Nonetheless, the writers mention that internal funding represents approximately half the resources available to researchers for doing research. At the risk of overgeneralizing, it could be said that half of all research projects (the "other" half) depends on external funding agencies for support.

In Canada, SSHRC(1) is the single largest source of external funding for research in adult education. From 1981 to 1993, that agency has earmarked between $1,5 million and $4 million yearly for projects in areas related to adult education. These figures, however, should be viewed in their proper perspective. First, SSHRC does not recognize a specific category of funding for adult education. Second, less than one tenth of the overall budget for "education" since 1986 can be traced to adult-related research projects. Third, the overwhelming majority of adult education research supported by SSHRC can be found in a "strategic" funding category called "Education and Work in a Changing Society". This tends to confine research to a limited set of work-related topics. Figure 1 shows the proportion of SSHRC funds allocated respectively to education, adult education, and education and work between 1986 and 1992. Funding for the "education and

(1) *Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada*

work" component is four times higher than the "adult education" category.

	EDUCATION		ADULT EDUCATION		EDUCATION AND WORK	
	n	*$*	*n*	*$*	*n*	*$*
1986-87	27	936,386	6	130,094	22	459,315
1987-88	57	1,655,643	3	133,509	20	651,277
1988-89	38	1,876,716	6	465,449	25	1,875,847
1989-90	52	3,211,978	6	469,336	25	1,057,172
1990-91	32	2,891,867	5	239,657	17	1,394,352
1991-92	56	3,969,000	7	468,636	14	1,083,468
TOTAL	262	14,541,590	33	1,906,681	123	6,521,431

Figure 1. *SSHRC funding for Education, Adult Education, and Education and Work from 1986 to 1992.*

Conclusion

The 1993 CASAE papers indicate that the scope and nature of academic research activities in adult education are determined to a significant degree by organizational variables, such as faculty groupings, types of programs offered, and administrative policy. Contrary to what is widely believed, critical, transformative, emancipatory and feminist frameworks are the exception rather than the norm. Qualitative research methodologies are widespread, but suffer from a low credibility rating. Finally, public funding agencies such as SSHRC offer little support for adult education research, unless it is directed towards short term economic problems.

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Born of Different Visions: Labour Education in Canada and the US

by

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Abstract: This paper compares labour education in Canada with provision in the US, noting similarities and differences. It explores differences in curricula and in the relationships between educational providers and clients, identifying circumstances and issues that have contributed to the development of differing modes of provision in the two countries. It concludes by addressing the implications of such findings for labour education and non-formal adult education provision in the North American context.

Résumé: Dans ce mémoire, l'auteur fait la comparaison entre l'éducation de la force ouvrière au Canada et ce qu'on offre à cette même clientèle aux États-Unis tout en précisant les ressemblances et les différences. Il examine les dissimilitudes des deux programmes d'études ainsi que les rapports entre les éducateurs et leurs clients. Les circonstances et les questions qui ont contribué au développement des divers modes de distribution dans les deux pays sont aussi notées. En guise de conclusion, il aborde les effets des résultats de cette étude sur l'éducation du travailleur et l'enseignement non formel des adultes dans un contexte nord américain.

Introduction

Contrary to their US counterparts, who draw extensively on the expertise of university- and college-based educators to design and implement their labour education[1] programming, Canadian labour unions have tended to develop their own, "in-house", programming with only marginal support from university- and college-based personnel. For many Canadian union officials this independence is seen as a source of strength: US unions are depicted as having "handed over" the education of their members to outsiders whereas Canadian unions alone are determining their educational priorities. This view has been contested by Friesen (1994) who basically argues both labour movements have arrived at similar educational provision which can be depicted as limited in its educational objectives to servicing the organizational needs of the union and the individual needs of the members. This paper will attempt to shed some light on these differences and clarify the nature of labour education today. This is particularly important considering both Canadian and US workers are being affected by the destabilizing and disorienting effects of the developed world's deindustrialization and globalization of production which is displacing the "relatively-well-paid-with-benefits" unionized blue-collar worker.

Given these circumstances, the need for educational programming that helps workers to make sense of and think through the far reaching implications of this new production era is becoming a particularly pressing one. However, efforts to develop and implement a new model of labour education provision may be prematurely thwarted if the factors, events, and

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[1] Labour education includes union and institutionally provided education. It has a social purpose (improving the collective representaion of workers) as well as developing individual (union members and representatives) knowledge and skills. Labour education is generally targetted at organized workers and grew out of the traditions of workers' education. The US literature refers to worker education, but this is confusing since worker education is also used to describe worker's vocational training and workplace learning. Labour education is the preferred term in this article although workers' education might be more appropriate to describe the earlier US provision.

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circumstances that have contributed to the development of North America's existing models of provision are not properly understood.

Labour Education in the US

The limitations inherent to a brief survey paper of this nature preclude the possibilty of developing anything like a comprehensive account of the development of labour education in the US. Consequently, while the following synopsis seeks to identify trends and tendencies in the development of US labour education, it should be remembered that such developments can neither be presupposed to have emerged in, nor have affected to the same degree, all regions of the US.

Two different but complementary ways of understanding the development of US labour education are advanced by Freeman and Brickner (1990) and Aronowitz (1990). Both describe the development of US labour education from a historical perspective, the former in terms of three "growth phases" -- the "premodern", "modern", and "neo-modern" (p. 5) -- and the latter in terms of three "models" -- the "ideological, instrumental, and service models" (p. 22). For Freeman and Brickner (1990), "the *premodern* period begins in the nineteenth century and ends with the Great Depression of the 1930s," while "the *modern* period finds its roots in the depression, but comes to focus in the period between 1945 and 1970"; the "*neo-modern* period emerges in the early 1970s and extends into the late 1980s" (p. 5). For Aronowitz (1990), "*ideological* education corresponds to a period of labor history...between 1880 and the New Deal" (pp. 22-23), *instrumental* education to the twenty years following the Second World II, and *service* education to the twenty-five years immediately preceding the 90s.

The Premodern/Ideological Period

According to Freeman and Brickner (1990), premodern labour education first surfaced in the US as a tool in the hands of liberal reformers and socialists. During this period, Labour's goal was singular: "the self-emancipation of the working class" (Aronowitz, 1990, p. 23). "Confined largely to Socialist- and Communist-led unions" labour education was "directed to instilling unskilled and semiskilled steel, electrical, and auto workers with the doctrine of labour power" (Aronowitz, p. 24). Reformers pursued this goal through the education of newly arrived immigrants and the politicization of US nationals. Their aim was to alert both groups to the inequities of industrial society and promote social change through political means. The needle trades unions -- e.g., the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) -- were among the first to establish internal literacy and assimilation centres toward this end. But along with the Brewery Workers, Machinists, and other emergent unions of the day, the ILGWU and ACWA also actively promoted classes that introduced workers to "the great works of world literature, philosophy, and the 'classics' of socialist thought, particularly Marx, Engels, and Kautsky" (Aronowitz, p. 23).

Universities remained largely uninterested and unsupportive of organized labour's goals during this period. But with the advent of the 20s, despite the misgivings of such influential labour leaders as Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), formal labour education programming began to take shape in the US. During the 1920s, for example, labour education programs emerged from Barnard College and the University of California's agricultural extension division; moreover, Bryn Mawr College's renowned Summer School for Women Workers in Pennsylvania first opened its doors, as did Brookwood Labor College's two year resident school for trade unionists and the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers (Peters and McCarrick, 1976).

The Modern/Instrumental Period

"The first wave of sustained growth in universtiy-based labor education," according to Freeman and Brickner (1990, p. 6), "occurred from 1945 to 1960." And while they advance "no single scenario that explains the emergence of all university-based labor education centers", the two note that there were, however, "certain necessary, if not always sufficient conditions for their development". By the 30s industrial unions had established a strong foothold in US primary and secondary manufacturing, and with the help of a liberal War Bond Board and the Wagner Act, they were able to stabilize these gains during the 40s. Union ranks continued to swell until World War II drew to a close, by which time organized labour had established itself as a legitimate political force. No longer social pariahs, unions were able to demand labour's share of the millions in public funds being devoted to education, precipitating the appearance of the first all university-based labour education programs and the demise of premodern/ideological US labour education.

It was during the Great Depression, in regions with large unionized, industrial workforces and liberal university administrations, that such programs first emerged. The state of Michigan, for example, with its highly unionized automobile industry, initiated programming that was to determine the direction and shape of modern/instrumental US labour education. Following Gompers, however, many labour leaders remained suspicious of academics, equating intellectuallism with radicalism and utopianism -- dispositions that tended to exacerbate rather than solve the problems of the hiring-hall and shop floor, and challenge rather than accede to Labour's status quo. Consequently, unions demanded workplace-seasoned program administrators who were familiar with and sympathetic to labour's problems and causes and a workplace-related curriculum designed specifically to help defend Labour's hard-won gains. What proved to be of equal if not greater significance in determining the direction and shape of US labour education, however, was Labour's refusal to endorse cost recovery programming.

Since Labour's demand for minimal tuition fees -- often around 10% of actual program costs) -- thwarted any hopes of integrating labour education programs into the university at large, labour education assumed the form of a Workers Service Program under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration. This educational endeavour, which employed over two-thousand instructors and enjoyed the support of the AFL and CIO, continued until the onset of the Second World War, when it was discontinued with the promise of a new federally funded Labor Extension Service. Although a federally funded Labor Extension Service never materialized, university-based labor education continued to grow during the 50s and 60s. But as Aronowitz (1990, p. 26) notes, during this period, "education becomes shop and industry specific and most characteristically directed to leadership", a leadership concerned primarily with "the strategic and technical issues of enforcing the contract". However, with the onset of the 60s, universities, persuaded by the "unreasonbly large amount of resources being expended on tool subjects" (Freeman and Brickner, 1990, p. 8) and an increasing concern for academic excellence, began to promote long-term, academically oriented, liberal arts credit programs to replace the assortment of noncredit courses being offered by labour education centres. While most of these twelve and fifteen week courses proved to be failures, they signalled labour education's move from its pragmatic roots.

The Neo-modern/Service Period

The 70s was a period of revolutionary change for US university labour education. During this period, the United Auto Workers (UAW) successfully negotiated a multimillion dollar tuition refund program. But to qualify for reimbursement under this program, education courses had to

be offered for credit and be related to occupational self-improvement -- a problem for many noncredit labour education programs. It was the nation's community colleges that came to the UAW's rescue, establishing comprehensive labour studies programs. Political wrangling within the union movement and between the colleges and universities, however, resulted in the emergence of "two-plus-two" programming. Under this scheme, workers, in order to qualify for a baccalaureate degree, had to complete two years of credit programming in labour studies at community colleges, followed by two years of credit programming at university. As Freeman and Brickner (1990, p. 10) note: "in Michigan, home base of the UAW, programs sprang up all over the state." But by the 80s, most community college programs no longer existed, while more traditional noncredit labour education programs continued to flourish. However, the impact of the community colleges on labour education programming proved far from insignificant: the University Labor Education Association (ULEA) became the University *and* College Labor Education Association (UCLEA), and many universities that previously offered only labor extension programs began to offer credit and degree programs in labour studies. This new field of labour studies, according to Freeman and Brickner (1990, p. 11), "transcended labor education by providing the possibility of developing a strong symbiotic bond between a credit curriculum, pragmatic research, and practical application."

For Aronowitz (1990. pp. 27-28), the emergence of such individual oriented education programming is simply one of a number of factors that signal the recent bifurcation of Labour into "users" and "providers". Education, on this model, is placed "alongside legal, health, and personal counseling services, all of which are funded through the contract in lieu of wages." In the case of "industries marked by small employers or widely dispersed work sites, services are frequently administered by the union." Aronowitz contends that this service model, of unionism and education, "may be understood as a legitimating function for a leadership that sees itself, and is increasingly viewed by the membership, as a mediator and administrator as much as a representative of membership demands upon employers." The problem is that "the union's cultural and ideological function is muted, if not stifled, under these conditions." This is a harsh judgement which can be contested, but first a review of Canadian provision.

Canadian Labour Education

While the same periodization can be usefully employed in examining the development of Canadian labour education a number of significant differences need to be noted. Firstly, union membership in Canada was at a much lower density in the interwar period and although examples of ideological union education can be unearthed the range and scope of labour education was limited. Also universities were not offering labour education programs in the 1920s and 1930s partly because of the small population of unionists: the social purpose university adult education provision which did exist was tagetted at broader communities -- eg in Antigonish (Welton, 1987). The Workers' Educational Association was active in Ontario and the Frontier College was established in the railway and logging camps, but these programs were not targetted at building the labour movement. Their programs could be described respectively as "liberal" and "citizenship" education.

The growth in university and college provision in the US, following the New Deal and the demise of ideological union sponsored education, is similarly not matched in Canada. Canada never experienced a New Deal and only reluctantly embraced unions as social partners in post-war reconstruction (Mackenzie King did not ask Canadians to join a union). Also the main growth in Canadian industrial unionism took place a decade later than that in the US. As a result of these factors public provision of labour education was slower to develop in Canada.

It can also be argued that the disastrous impact of the cold war on Canadian unions did not extend to their total abandonment of collectivist solutions to Canada's social problems -- Canadian unions did not retreat to business unionism to the same extent as unions in the US. National public sector unions became more influential in Canada from the late 1960s and they inevitably examined the impact of public policy, and hence politics, on their union courses. National unions, including breakaways from US Internationals such as the Canadian Autoworkers (CAW), have had a radical profile and contributed to the development of "social unionism" in Canada -- a unionism which seeks to link workplace and social issues. Therefore a rejection of broader labour education in favour of individual programming described by Aronowitz as typical of US provision did not occur to the same extent in the post-war "modern" or "neo-modern" period in Canada. While it is accurate to depict post-war labour education in Canada as largely focussed on skills training for representatives, union education had not been "handed over" to outsiders and therefore did not need to be so restrictive (reflecting Gompers' fear of utopian radicals influencing the membership). Nor have Canadian unions individualized membership education. In a number of cases, most notably the CAW, Canadian unions have pursued integrated and imaginative membership education policies (Spencer, 1994).

In the few examples where educational institutions -- eg the University of Manitoba -- have provided labour studies programs from the 1940s, the local unions and university have drawn on liberal adult education traditions in designing the courses. These courses are generally noncredit, broader labour studies rather than the "tools" training courses offered directly by the unions. The provision is similar to Canada's "premier" labour education experience, the eight-week residential Labour College of Canada (LCC). The LCC remains under Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) control and, unlike the Harvard Trade Union Program, uses university facilities but is not managed by the university, therefore its social purpose can be more explicit. LCC graduates generally remain active within their union and many progress to lay and full-time official positions.

The differences between US and Canadian labour education can be overstated, the programs offered by UCLA and the University of Oregon are similar to those available at Capilano College and Simon Fraser University. UCLA is also a good example of a centre which is trying to unite labour studies with labour's struggles -- it is engaging in reasearch and education linked to community based labour organizing. A similar point can be made about individual union provision in those cases where US unions run their own courses. However, the generalized retreat of US labour education to "service" and Canadian commitment to retaining some "ideological" as well as "instrumental" provision reflects historical origins and the greater commitment in Canada to a vision of social unionism.

A model of labour education for the Twentyfirst Century will need to draw on all this experience, on the resources available within and without unions. It will need to emphasise collectivism locally, nationally, and internationally if unions are to survive as representatives of workingclass interests.

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VIRGINIA GRIFFIN'S PATH AND CONTRIBUTION TOWARD THE HOLISTIC ORIENTATION: THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract

Virginia Griffin's metaphor for the learning of the whole adult is now integral to our understanding of holistic education. This report is intended as a tribute to her recent retirement, and to the continuing contribution of her path to Adult Education Field.

La métaphore de Virginia Griffin relativement à l'apprentissage de l'adulte complet fait maintenant partie intégrante de notre compréhension de l'éducation holistique. Le présent rapport veut rendre hommage à sa récente retraite et à la contribution continue de son cheminement dans le champ de l'éducation des adultes.

Introduction and Methodology

Modern education has been concerned with developing curriculum to the exclusion of developing human persons. But now it is becoming clear that we learn best through personal inquiry that involves the whole person, in a supportive environment, and in healthy interpersonal relations. Virginia (Ginny) Griffin (1988a, 1988b) is perhaps best known for her work in helping to make explicit the nature of learning capabilities. Her metaphor for the learning of the whole adult, "playing a six-string guitar," is now integral to our understanding of holistic education. Her concern is that educators tend to play a one-string "rational" guitar while ignoring the other five strings involved in the student's learning: the emotional, metaphoric, physical, social, and spiritual. I therefore address the following questions in the present report: How did the six-string guitar become her metaphor? With what other challenges did she struggle during the journey to her holistic orientation? What are the implications of her path for the future of the Adult Education field?

The theoretical framework for this inquiry was holistic. The key respondent was Ginny Griffin, and the other thirty-one respondents (including myself) were students in her courses. Data were primarily obtained through observation, in-depth interviews, and documents. The data was analyzed through the constant-comparison method. And since I was particularly interested in authenticity in this report, I used the key respondent's words wherever possible, and I presented the critical experiences in the order that Ginny lived though them.

Virginia Griffin's Journey

People who have studied with Ginny talked to me about her caring, authenticity, and inviting the student to take responsibility for one's own learning. And they each told me about collaboration with Ginny in planning a unique path for meeting the

course goals of learning how one learns best and of facilitating desirable learning by small groups of adults. Persons who have studied with Ginny talked to me about learning through visualization, through learning partnerships, and through the use of a textbook on learning partnerships. Students also told me about using the metaphor, the six-string guitar, in making sense of their own learning and in facilitating the learning of other adults. These discussions with students from Ginny's courses focused on some of the major holistic characteristics of her approach to teaching.

Initially, as a facilitator of adult learning, Ginny did not expect to be surprised. Nothing had prepared her for the changes she was to live through during the journey to her holistic perspective. A number of critical experiences emerged that caused disjunctures between her biography and her experience. As these disjunctures emerged and moved toward resolution, Ginny was continuously adjusting her orientation toward holism.

The first critical experience. Ginny prefaced the story of her first critical experience with a description of her original approach to facilitating adult learning: "I think it has always been easy for me to say, 'I don't know everything. I don't know everything to be known about this course. I know a little bit. I know some ideas". She characterized herself as independent and autonomy-focused: "The way I was approaching it was [that] I know what they can do. I had these ideas about what they can do, so I'll give them activities to do. And they do them. And they learn what they can from these activities." Ginny then talked about the first critical experience in the journey toward her holistic orientation. This struggle emerged from within the students. It involved "trying to plan --organize the course." Ginny told me:

> I would go to class and say, 'Here are two plans. You can do Plan A or you can do Plan B'. And they would say, 'Neither of these. We are going to do C.' They would create C. And I thought, 'Why don't they like Plan A? Why don't they like Plan B? Since they created it, Plan C would be best.' So I think that started me thinking they could be generating these things instead of me doing it all.

Ginny added, "Now I don't even give them the activities. It ends up their own activities".

The second critical experience. Ginny talked to me about a second struggle in making sense of facilitating adult learning in her graduate courses. This experience emerged from within the students, "A lot of [other] things happening in classes --I mean that didn't happen. They didn't go right." So Ginny shared her concerns:

> A friend I was seeing at the time: I would go to see him, and I would be very upset about something that was going on in my class. And he said, 'Why are you so upset? Well, why are you so upset? Why don't you just let them talk with you about what they are feeling? Go back to them, and tell them how you feel and say, Why? How are you feeling? What would you do about it?'

And as Ginny continued to observe and struggle with these things that do not go well, her approach became progressively more fine-tuned. For example, she told me, "I would think, 'There's got to be a better way to do this'. And I would think, and think,

and think. And boom --something would come intuitively".

The third critical experience. Ginny's journey toward her holistic orientation included a third critical experience that originated with her observation of unexpected consequences as two students worked on their theses. They were interviewing some of Ginny's students. Ginny told me:

> And because of those interviews, students would come to class, and I would know who was interviewed because they could talk more than others because they knew more than the others about what was going on. And it was so valuable for them to have those interviews, I thought, 'How can we have more of that and have the experience for everyone in the class? We can't have a research project every term -- a thesis every time we have a class'.

Over time then, Ginny made sense of this: "We could have them interviewing each other. So that became their learning partnerships."

The fourth critical experience. Ginny talked to me about a fourth struggle that emerged from her expectation that the students would research and compile a list of their learning processes. Each student was expected to bring their own list to class. Ginny shared her list "because I felt I was a learner in that class". However, "They hadn't done anything. Either they didn't know how or they didn't want to". After the class was over and the students were gone, Ginny thought, "I've got to do something with this. I'm so frustrated about it". She recalled:

> They didn't understand it. I thought, 'Is there something wrong with me? Am I not understanding clearly? I cannot teach it, nor do it so that they can understand it.' So I was angry with myself. And that particular class was a good class. But they didn't do it. They didn't understand it --didn't understand anything about it.

Ginny asks herself, "What am I going to do about this?" So she cut up and sorted her own list of learning processes into categories, and tried to make sense out of them: "All night I kept thinking about that. And I'd wake up and tape record it, and go back to sleep. And I did that all night". This experience culminated in the identification of a metaphor for explaining the categories of learning processes to students. Each category was represented by a moving part of the metaphor. Ultimately, this first metaphor was replaced through a related critical experience that emerged from within a student: "A student, whom I admired, confronts me, 'There is something really missing here. I'm surprised you don't have it here. You haven't got spirituality there. You ought to." Ginny told me that she thus began her exploration of spirituality in learning. She added, "That's become very important to me --my signature." And from this study emerged her metaphor of a six-string guitar. The importance of this metaphor to Ginny's orientation could not be overemphasized since:

> Each of us as persons needs to develop all of our abilities to be more whole as persons for relating to other people, and they help us in our learning. And then we relate this whole person to the whole world --some part of the whole world: political, economical, global, ecological --the things that we need to do. If we

relate all of the parts to the problem, we'll come up with different solutions.

The fifth critical experience. Ginny's path to her holistic orientation included a fifth critical experience that originated with the students:

> We started with learning partnerships. And then a lot of people were doing it and talking about it in other courses, as well as the ones I was teaching. Then two students said, 'There's so much value here. We ought to do something with this.' So we decided to write a book.

Not only did this book become a text in Ginny's courses, but many educators from outside of OISE requested copies for use in their adult-learning courses.

The sixth critical experience. Ginny told me about a sixth critical struggle that originated with trying to make sense of her health situation. It was discovered that she had a serious disease. She told me about this struggle beginning:

> A long period of being angry with the world --being angry at having this disease. And, of course, I went through a denial period before I got angry: 'Well it's not going to affect me.' And then it would come back. Then I began to have it more and more often. Then it began to happen very frequently, very severely.

Over time Ginny learned "to ask for help, and that I can't do everything." Some persons were more considerate than others of her condition. However she told me, "One request I was making of the students is that they could help me by coming to my home". For those who did so, "I satisfied myself by saying, 'Well, they're often saying that the trip out is like a great transfer-in because they have their learning partner to go with them." Over time, Ginny became increasingly knowledgable about her disease. She was trying to adjust to and even experiment with its effects. Ginny increasingly linked this experimentation with teaching the graduate students. She cited, for example, reading about a physician's use of imagery for helping cancer patients control their own disease. Her success in adapting the imagery technique for use with her disease led to inclusion of "learning through imagery" in the content for her graduate courses.

The seventh critical experience. Ginny's journey toward her holistic perspective included a seventh critical experience which emerged from her concern that the focus of the Adult Education Department at OISE was becoming less cutting-edge. This was because the present focus of self-directed learning was familiar to an increasing number of students who were entering the Department. Ginny was also beginning to make sense of the relationship between the critical experiences in her own journey and reports in the literature on the holistic orientation. It was, in fact, in drafting her first publications on the topic of holistic education that Ginny gained deeper insight into her own journey and into the challenge ahead. She described this challenge to me: "Not much is known about the holistic education of adult learners". The importance of this challenge was reinforced when, upon Ginny's suggestion, holistic education became the new focus of her Department so that they "could be on the cutting edge".

I this section of the present report I described seven critical experiences in

Ginny's path toward her holistic orientation. Many of these critical experiences emerged from within the students. Several originated from within Ginny. Having explored these struggles, I now turn to some of the implications of Ginny's path for the future of the Adult Education field.

Implications for the Future of Adult Education

Many students told me about continuing or extending Ginny's holistic path and contribution to the field of Adult Education through their own professional development, their research, and their facilitating the learning of adult students. They talked to me about striving to be authentic, caring, and even inviting the exploration of how one learns best and taking more responsibility for one's own learning. They talked to me about facilitating adult learning by inviting the use of learning partnerships, visualization and music, and by collaborative planning. And they told me about grounding learning in the metaphor of the six-string guitar. The following more specific examples were typical:

(1) coming to understand one's own transformational experiences through exploring the balance or dominance of the learning capabilities across the transformative phases of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis;
(2) researching dissertation topics such as facilitating adult learning through the use of music;
(3) having a learning partner in one's dissertation journey; and
(4) making sense of the holistic-education orientation as crucial for building a better future for humanity.

Conclusion

In this paper I addressed the following questions: How did the six-string guitar become Virginia Griffin's metaphor for the learning of the whole adult? With what other challenges did she struggle during the journey to her holistic orientation? What are the implications of her path for the future of the Adult Education field? Like many of Ginny's struggles, the six-string-guitar metaphor emerged from Ginny's trying to make sense of her own learning processes and the processes of the graduate students in her courses. Examples of her other challenges included how to respond to students' rejection of the learning activities she had designed for them, and how to duplicate the learning experience provided by researchers who had interviewed the students in her course. The implications of Ginny's path for the future of the Adult Education field are many. This is illustrated by what her former students told me about their own professional development, their own research projects, and their own facilitation of the learning of adult students'. These applications are contributions toward developing human persons in personal inquiry that involves the whole person, in supportive environments, and in healthy interpersonal relations.

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LEARNING A LIVING: COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS A SITE FOR ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract

Over the past two years a research team of the Toronto CED Network has conducted a qualitative study of healthy community economic development among people who are low-income and chronically unemployed. The method focused on story-telling by study participants and generated a series of tales which highlight the strengths and limitations of community businesses. One of the major conclusions of the study is that CED on the margins is a site for learning by both community organizers and employees.

APPRENDRE A GAGNER SA VIE: LE DÉVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUE COMMUNAUTE COMME MILIEU DE CHOIX PUR L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

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Résumé

Au cours des deux dernières années, un groupe de chercheurs du Réseau de développement économique communautaire de l'Ontario (CED Network) a mené un projet de recherche qualitative portant sur le développement économique communautaire chez des personnes à faible revenu, affligés de chômage chronique. La méthode employée se fondait sur une série de cas relatés par les participants. Les narratives ainsi recueillies permettent d'identifier certaines forces et faiblesses des entreprises communautaires. Notamment le développement économique marginal émerge comme un milieu d'apprentissage pouvant profiter tant aux organisateurs qu'aux employés.

LEARNING A LIVING: COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS A SITE FOR ADULT EDUCATION

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Toronto CED/Health Research Project

Background. In May 1993, the Toronto CED Network launched a two year study of health and community economic development (CED) sponsored by the Fred Victor Mission and funded by the Health and Social Development Office of Health Canada. The CED Network was a loose affiliation of people doing (or interested in doing) economic development with people who are low-income and chronically under/unemployed. Members met once a month to exchange information, particularly about funding, and to meet other people who were creating community businesses. The Network was predominantly white and male but it included some women, people of colour and recent immigrants. As well, it had a strong contingent of psychiatric survivors. While differently located, these groups shared a commitment to building alternative economies which, in some cases, were on the margins of CED itself. They also shared the belief that community economic development has a positive effect on the health and well-being of marginalized people.

The community organizers who proposed a research project for the CED Network hoped that it would address some of the issues they struggle with in their work. Are community businesses different from other types of businesses? If so, how? What makes a work environment supportive? Which employment forms, structures and practices are empowering for people? What can community businesses do differently in order to better respond to workers' lives? These were the initial questions. Once the proposal was funded, they became the subject of further discussion. Key organizers recognized that the research proposal reflected their beliefs about and perspectives on CED leaving silence around another significant group: workers In order to allow worker perspectives to emerge, the research was reformulated to become less exclusive and more exploratory: what are the meanings of "health" and/or "empowerment" in the context of CED amongst people who face severe barriers to employment?

Method. At the beginning of the project, there were a number of concerns about research method. Conscious of the power relations of research, key organizers felt that a qualitative study would be easier for employees of community businesses to engage with than a quantitative one would be. They did not believe that they would get the kind and depth of information they wanted about how community businesses operate from quantitative methods and they wanted the end product to be accessible to marginalized people. Finally, they

understood community economic development as a process which grew out of local conditions; they wanted research which did the same. Taking up these concerns, the research team designed and implemented a participatory study which targeted individuals and groups associated with the Toronto CED Network. The method used face-to-face interviews, focus groups, videotaping, participant observation and the team's own organizing activities as entry points. It relied on reciprocal relationships between researchers, organizers, and workers in an attempt to describe and analyze how people actually live "health" within community businesses.

The research team began its work by interviewing about thirty employees in community businesses and recording their responses to a number of open-ended questions. The notes from these conversations were sent back to interviewees for comment. A preliminary analysis of interview notes gave us a rough sense of key themes which we explored further through a series of "feedback dinners." The research team then added another layer of data by conducting focus groups with workers and organizers from five selected businesses. At the same time, we worked with a film company to videotape interviews with research participants. While all of this structured data-gathering was going on, the research team did whatever it could to become familiar with people, to observe, to talk casually, to generally be around in selected settings. We also involved ourselves with people economically. Community businesses cleaned our office, helped with our computers, delivered our mail, ran the camera for our video, catered our small group discussions and produced our materials.

Theory. Throughout this process, the place of theory was problematic. Early on, the research team discovered that members of the CED Network were preoccupied not with theory but with practice. Theory is an implicit rather than explicit feature of their work. There is a common understanding that structural inequality is a force in people's lives and a common orientation towards "empowerment." However, a range of interpretations and practices flow from this base. Part of the work of the research, therefore, was to bridge the gaps which existed between researchers, organizers and workers. The research team did this by giving primacy to "voice" and narrative, a decision which connects this project to feminist and postmodern theory. In our conversations with people it became clear that stories were the bridge across people's diverse locations and projects. Stories also closed the gap between us as "researchers" and our interviewees, the "researched."

Focus group questions in particular facilitated story-telling about community businesses. These sessions were taped and transcribed. The transcripts were sent out to group members for comment. The research team then developed a story from each of these transcripts featuring the extraordinary-ordinary things which people actually said about their work. After each story was written, draft copies were again sent out to group members for comment; feedback

was incorporated. Thus, the stories were written in a participatory fashion. The end result of all this labour is a compact 90 page document accompanied by a 45 minute video, both entitled *Voices of experience; five tales of community economic development in Toronto.* These materials are giving the research data back to the communities from which they were generated.

Findings. Our analysis of the preliminary interviews gave us a glimpse into the complex situation faced by marginalized people who attempt to take up the discourse of community economic development. One of the first things the research team learned is that CED does not necessarily relieve participants of their ongoing struggle to make a basic living. Creating a community business is a difficult way to make money. It is a no-frills endeavour with very little room for error. Earnings are low and unpredictable; workers who are on social assistance face disincentives in the form of government regulations which limit their income. Time pressures, equipment problems, underdeveloped skills and resources, uncertain markets and difficult working conditions were identified as sources of stress. In addition, employees experienced degrees of conflict with each other in the process of business development and change. At the same time, in spite of undeniable difficulties, interviewees were highly supportive of CED. They viewed it as a rare and significant opportunity for economic participation which addresses their need for income and their hopes for work with some measure of decision-making control.

The tales which emerged from the focus groups deepened our understanding of these issues. None of the businesses involved were unqualified success stories by mainstream standards. All of them had to contend with five inter-related issues.

1. With the development and maintenance of a "community." As the business end of a community business develops, it often becomes very difficult to maintain the community of people doing the work. For example, one of the businesses we studied was initially organized around the motivation of individual workers. Each employee was responsible for getting and keeping clients; people were paid according to the work they could draw in. Customers were the ones who said whether staff had done a good or bad job. This worked well for the first year but as time went on staff collegiality eroded significantly over the payment arrangement. Some employees felt that it set up a competition for customers and a reluctance to accept new workers. Established employees felt protective of customers; potential employees felt shut out. In working this through, the business learned the importance of income sharing as a means to facilitate co-operative employee relations.

2. Funding and sponsorship. Because they include people who are considered "unemployable," many community businesses survive only with the assistance of a sponsoring agency. This relationship can be problematic. For example, one of the businesses we studied was sponsored by an agency which was

going through major internal struggles. The presence of the business pushed the sponsoring agency to look beyond casework to an approach which offered its community something tangible in terms of jobs, dialogue and collective effort. In doing so, the business became the focus of intense conflict. Powerful individuals in the agency opposed the business and resisted the provision of any staff assistance. The project became so politically sensitive that potential supporters were afraid to get involved. After several months of struggle, the business was asked to vacate the building. It relocated but did not recover and eventually collapsed. At minimum, those involved learned the critical importance of a solid sponsorship agreement.

3. Organizational structure and decision-making. Community businesses frequently struggle with how to organize themselves, particularly in a non-hierarchical fashion. For example, one of the businesses we studied was required by its funder to establish a community board but no resources were available to educate that board in its responsibilities. The initial members had limited experience dealing with business and personnel matters. Two months along, a serious personnel situation developed which led to the departure of kev staff. This was a terrible situation for everyone to go through, one which pı friend against friend. In the process, the board too disintegrated leaving a core group of organizers to begin all over again. Those organizers recognize that their inexperience and a lack of leadership training led to the crisis. They learned the importance of securing external support for and advice about board development.

4. Conflict and conflict resolution. The presence of inter-personal conflict and the need for conflict resolution is a consistent theme of community economic development on the margins. It was familiar to all of the community businesses we studied. For example, one business experienced conflict as its core members engaged in the uncomfortable process of sorting out who would be the "boss." Critical decisions had to be made every day and this was difficult to do as a collective. Contracts came in a rush at about the same time as the business lost its free office space. There was no time for group members to do the basic work of establishing formal structures. Consequently, the business went through a "meltdown" which left one member with primary responsibility for the business and others on the outside with bitter memories of dashed hopes. The business learned the critical necessary of establishing effective means for working through inter-personal difficulties which arise as business structures develop.

5. Sustainability and marketing. So much effort goes into getting a community business off the ground that organizers are frequently unprepared for the complexities of sustaining it once it is up and running. This is a whole new set of difficulties. For example, one of the businesses we studied unexpectedly received a huge order for its products. The customer indicated that this was an initial test and that they might come back for more. In a frenzy of number crunching, business plans and sleepless nights, employees geared up to deliver this

order. Once the crisis of completing it was over, the business continued to believe that the customer was coming back. It hired more workers, borrowed more money and started to produce again. However, building up an inventory on expectation without guarantees or money on the table was a death blow. Within a few months the business was required to lay off its employees and took many months to pay off its debts. The group learned the hard way that it had to develop its business slowly, to consciously decide when and when not to accept big contracts and to diversify its product line.

Conclusion. Our research demonstrates the incredible diversity of community economic development within the limited scope (geographic, racial and gender-wise) of one Network. All of the people who participated were engaged in the complex and often heartbreaking struggle to develop alternative economic communities. Why do people do this difficult work? Political economic theorists Bowles and Gintis argue that : "Individuals and groups... act not merely to *get* but to *become*" (1987:22). While the "getting" is often problematic, all of these businesses give their participants much-needed scope for becoming. People who are excluded from the mainstream economy are given a chance to become productive. Some of these attempts are futile or painful; others are funny or brilliantly adaptive. In each case, the bittersweet learning is valuable. As this participatory research project draws to a close, one thing is clear: that community economic development on the margins is a site for learning by both community organizers and employees.

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Art and Storytelling: Gateways to Possibilities in Adult Education

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Abstract: Art and storytelling (stories from lived experience) are metaphoric forms of knowing that can be used in adult education to help learners reflect upon their lives, and create new possibilities for themselves.

Résumé: Les arts et la narrativ ə d'histoires vécues, en tant que formes métaphoriques de connaissance, trouvent une utilité en éducation des adultes en ce qu'elles stimulent la réflexion et l'action chez les apprenants.

Imagine this paper beginning with the absence of voice represented as *blank space*. It is to this absence that Kerby refers when he says: "Freedom relates to the possibilities for self-definition and expression allowed the individual within the system. Similarly, creativity is not so much the exercising of "freedom" as it is the exercising of the possibilities inherent in signifying networks. Because signifiers function in differential relations and not solely by a system of prefigured meanings, it is possible to generate new and often revealing significances by tropic transformations (metaphor, metonymy, and so on). A repressive society is one in which this expressive potential is consistently restricted or treated as renegade and antisocial"(1991:113)

What I would like to bring into *hearing* in this paper is how art and storytelling (stories from lived experience) can provide possibilities for teachers and students alike to come to know and to change self.

Through personal experience I have found the telling of my own story, and creating art to be powerful ways for self-reflection and the imagining of whnew possibilities. I have also found it to be a way of creating a *pedagogy of connection.*

In a world which appears to becoming dangerously fragmented, and where in their 'individuated selves' people have become increasingly alienated and separated from one another, art and storytelling are ways of knowing that can remind us of our connectedness. Collingwood says: "It is always through some transfer from Same to Other, in empathy and imagination, that the Other that is foreign to me is brought closer" (1978:185). "The root image of arts is "to join together" (Richards,1982:177) And Stephen Levine interprets D.W. Winnicott as saying that "imagination is the means by which we reach out and connect with otherness" (1992:32)

I had the opportunity to implement what could be called a *pedagogy of connection* in a university course for Korean teachers of English as a Foreign Language. This is a month long intensive course which is designed to help the teachers become familiar with new teaching methodologies, and to improve their listening and speaking skills through real language experiences. It is also an opportunity for them to engage self-reflectively in a cultural environment that is new to them. Based on what I had learned myself through making art, and writing my own story, I came to realize how art and storytelling could be used as the thread that connects us. Believing as Seonaid Robertson that "a teacher is a learner who wants to share her learning with others, and to learn from them" (1982 :103), I created my own metaphor of teaching with which to begin the program. I used clay as a medium, and allowed my hands to discover the form. What emerged was a circle of eight androgynous clay figures with their arms around each other; I added a wild flower garden, and two dancing Korean figurines. I brought this art piece into class the second day of the course, and explained to the Korean teachers how this metaphor spoke to who I was as a teacher, and as a person, and how I would like them to be thinking about how they would eventually tell their own stories in metaphoric form in the last week of the course.

At the end of the program one of the teachers wrote:

> *I will never forget Leslie's garden of heart. I will make my own garden of heart. Sometimes there will be little flowers, large flowers, lively flowers, or wilted flowers in my heart, but I will try to grow flowers that are always alive, and fresh with a beautiful smell. Through this program I did not only learn English, but it was very important for me to grow myself.*

Sam Keen says that "our culture does not ordinarily provide a forum where the stories of individuals are shared" (1970:72) This is unfortunate for there is much to be learned from telling our own story, and from listening to those of others. As Jo Anne Pagano says: "In telling stories we enact connection" (1990:81).

It takes time to tell stories, and in our program we only had four weeks. I had asked the teachers to bring magazine pictures, and personal photographs from Korea so that they could create what I called a 'teacher narrative vision' in the final week. We did some type of art and story work every week, but the last week was to be special. And some surprising things happened. Gadamer says: "The work of art is not an object that stands over a subject for itself. Instead the work of art has its true being in the fact that it becomes an experience that changes the person who experiences it" (1989:102). One of the participants, who understood and spoke hardly any English, had evaluated a storytelling exercise in the second week as not being very impressive because he said that they told and listened to each others stories all the time. I remember the day that this same person created his 'teacher narrative vision'. With great pride he went up to each of the cultural assistants and told them his story. In his art piece he had pasted pictures of where he came from, and he had also drawn some of his own pictures. The following is his story as he told it:

> *I was born in a small place as a farmer's son. See the beautiful Korean beach. My house is there. This is the Korean farmer's dance. I had a dream to be a doctor when I was young. However, I feel very proud of myself as teacher. This is a picture of I, my son, and my wife. My pose is small, my wife's pose is strong. Come back to Korea, my pose more strong. I feel better. I better husband, better father, and better teacher after I go back to Korea. Thank you.*

Margaret Denis says this about time. "Timing in the intuitive mode refers to a contemplative, poetic sense of time, which cannot be diagrammed on a flow chart. It is the timing that is inherent in things, not superimposed on them (1979:117).

One participant said: "It's very difficult to express your deep, deep feelings in words, but when you look at your picture, you have more of a feeling of who you are and what you believe in. It's not just language". Matthew Fox says almost the same thing. "Images are closer to our experience than words. Images are the midwives between experience and language" (1983:58)

Because his English language skills were also minimal, I suggested to one participant that he act out his art piece. This proved to be a very moving performance which revealed to us the terrible suffering of the Korean people over generations, and how the Korean teachers embody the memory of this suffering in present time. Later, in an evaluation, this teacher wrote in Korean: "Leslie asked me I could express myself through drama. If I had been able to speak good English, it would not have happened. However, it was a good experience for me. Now, I am a student, and haven't I always said to my students "Don't hesitate, be brave"? At the airport this teacher pushed a letter into my hand. In it, he thanked myself and the four people working with me on the program. He also said: "It was more than lucky for me to meet you. When I arrived here four weeks ago, I was like a small wounded fish. With your encouragement, I have recovered and am strengthened so that I am able to swim again".

Another participant said to the class before telling her story:

> *I know I am nobody, but when you listen to me I can be somebody.*

This student writes that since the program she has been much happier as a teacher since she now sees herself as the creative person she always has been.

Art and storytelling can be powerful catalysts for creating possibilities for positive change. And it is my perception that every change an individual makes for the better represents a step towards creating a better world for Other. However, as Bill Pinar points out "often those who take upon themselves a calling to intrude in the lives of others are precisely those have failed to intrude in, or study, their own lives" (1994:53) It is, therefore, very important that those who choose to use art and storytelling in the classroom take the time to write their own stories, and create their own art pieces before attempting this kind of work. When one feels ready to bring art and storytelling into the classroom it is also important to remember to do so with *reverence*. Stories have a sacredness about them. Importantly, the facilitator should also participate in the telling of stories, and the making of art along with the participants.

Can art and storytelling create a *pedagogy of connection* ? One of the teachers wrote this to me: "I think the most important thing that I got from this study was 'people' not knowledge only". I agree. Given the opportunity, we can learn a great deal from one another.

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ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION: IMPACT ON UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION

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This paper describes the impact of economic globalization on university adult education in Canada and Britain. It explores strategies to counter the threats we face as university adult educators.

Cette communication décrit l'effet de la mondialisation économique sur l'enseignement des adultes en milieu universitaire, au Canada et en Grande-Bretagne. Elle explore des stratégies pour contrecarrer les menaces auxquelles nous faisons face en tant qu'andragogues universitaires.

Economic globalization describes the transformation which places the world economy ahead of national economies. It is a doctrine "that justifies social hierarchy and inequality" (Laxer, 1993, p. 13), and has given transnational corporations immense power over national governments (Barnet & Cavanagh, 1994).

In the early 1980s, the "destruction of the so-called welfare state and the entrenchment of a neoconservative agenda became dominant themes in the politics of Britain, the United States and Canada" (Chodos, Murphy & Hamovitch, 1993, p. 3). The cornerstones of this agenda are "unfettered competition, deregulation of industries, privatization of public services and free trade" (Nozick, 1992, p. 26).

Economic globalization has "reinforced the power and enriched the lives of some and threatened the livelihood and impoverished the lives of many others" (Lind, 1992, p. 9). As currently practised, it "contains the clear understanding that those who are unable or unwilling to compete are going to get left behind. This message gets repeated so often as to appear inevitable, and this in turn is being used to disempower trade unions and intimidate critics of corporate power" (Chodos et al, 1993, p. 17).

What will be the impact of economic globalization on university adult education in Canada? Is it possible for university adult educators to challenge this agenda? If so, how? Using a grounded theory research approach and working from a social change perspective, I conducted taped interviews as follows:

1. In 1993, I interviewed nine extension staff and faculty from a number of Canadian universities to gain an understanding of the impact of economic globalization on Canada.

2. In March 1994, I interviewed seven adult educators at four universities in England (Manchester, Leeds, Warwick, and Sussex) (a) to explore the impact of the Thatcher budget cuts on British university adult education, and (b) to explore linkages with the problems we now experience in Canada.

3. In 1994, I interviewed four adult educators from Canadian universities to look at the current attacks on university adult education.

Building on the interviews and a review of the literature, I explore the impact of economic globalization on university adult education in Canada, describe how British adult educators attempted to deal with their financial crisis in the 1980s, and suggest ways for Canadian university adult educators to survive the present crisis.

Impact on Canadian universities

Both NAFTA and the FTA have been the "driving force behind a fundamental restructuring of Canada's universities" (Calvert, 1993, p. 104). Because of massive funding cuts, universities are looking to the private sector for money, a move that will result in a "dramatic increase in the commercialization of our post-secondary institutions" (Calvert, 1993, p. 104). While the commercialization of universities was apparent in the 1980s (Newson & Buchbinder, 1988), free trade is accelerating this process (Calvert, 1993).

NAFTA will push governments to make commercial viability the basis for continued funding of educational programs. It will speed up the trend to redirect funding to commercially-oriented programs, while reducing still further the allotments to traditional disciplines, including humanities, arts and social sciences. (Calvert, 1993, p. 105)

Educational institutions are being pressured to operate as businesses (Barlow & Robertson, 1994). Consequently, the values and language of business have been adopted by university administrators. Calvert (1993) explains:

> Faculty are paid employees. Education is a 'product' which managers 'market'. Students are 'consumers' and corporations are 'stakeholders'. In short, campuses are now dominated by a new breed of 'corporate' managers whose objectives are to run the institution internally, like a business, while promoting its services externally, like a company selling a product. And the 'product' is no longer solely education for students; it is commercially relevant research. (p. 116)

Impact on University Adult Education

Economic globalization is having a major effect on university adult education.

University Continuing Education/Extension

The market model has been part of extension practice for a number of years (Cruikshank, 1994). However, with the FTA and NAFTA, the situation has deteriorated. Most deans and directors are hired for their business, not adult education, experience. Extension units are expected to make a profit and staff evaluations place great emphasis on the amount of revenue generated. In the quest to make money, the needs of marginalized groups are ignored.

Academic adult education

Academic adult education units have come under attack in recent years. Both Collins (1994) and Sork (1993) address these problems, which can be attributed to inadequate funding and the status of adult education in the university.

The programs that seem to have survived the attacks have a vocational/technical/human resource development focus, and are designed to meet the needs of business and industry. For example, Margaret, an academic adult educator says, "I think the powers that be are saying, 'What is the economic benefit of a graduate degree in education?'" She believes her program is relatively safe, for the moment, because they are training people who will fill an economic need within the province. She says:

> Well, that's lovely, except that that determines our agenda. So, on the one hand we're being supported, but we're being supported only on an agenda that's really a minor part of what we're, in fact, doing. So long as we fit the economic scheme, we're okay. As long as we're seen to contribute, we're okay.

Comparisons with Britain

Martha, an academic adult educator, stresses that Britain has had a Conservative government since 1979, and that many young people have known nothing else. She says the Conservatives "have pursued a policy, quite explicitly, to bring market forces into a number of areas of public life, not just education."

Jane Thompson (1993) speaks of how people on the left "underestimated the relentless, ruthless and amoral quality of Thatcherism" (p. 244), and are now living with the consequences of these policies. McIlroy & Spencer (1988) describe the financial crisis encountered by university adult educators in Britain and the subsequent shift in direction whereby UAE now must make considerable money. This mandate has clear ramifications.

> The end results are clear. A *small* number of *de-academicised*--they have little time for rigorous research, they do little teaching, they initiate and administrate such a variety of courses that they know a little bit about a lot of things but they cease to have any deep or up-to-date understanding of any specific discipline--*entrepreneurs* organize and resource provision for internal lecturers and part-time tutors to teach. (McIlroy & Spencer, 1988, p. 125)

Barbara, a research participant, believes there has been a major shift away from education for community benefit, toward training for work. The main focus now is on accreditation. She says:

> What's happened to university adult education and to education in the community...is that it's increasingly just a vehicle for government attempts to upscale its labour force.

Barbara notes that, in order to get funding, university adult educators must design their programs around government priorites. "And that's a dangerous game to play. We are doing it within an agenda that we are not setting; we are doing it within an agenda set by the government, very clearly set." She adds:

> There is a tradition in Britain of debate and argument about the nature of adult education and there are some people who would argue that we have always had to be like chameleons. We have always had to take the money wherever it's coming from and use it for our end purposes. And I think that's still a very strong, sort of pragmatic view that we have always had to try and get what we can, and this is just another challenge.

She continues:

> But I actually think that what's happened is that the whole flavour of adult education has completely changed and that it's a different activity to what it was when I first began. We are actually engaged in carrying out government desires and wills, and the process of education is increasingly removed from anything which is radical and challenging and critical to something quite functional.

Thompson (1993) speaks scathingly of the current state of university adult education in Britain. She says:

> The discussion is all about institutional adjustments and market forces, in which students have become another niche market in the post-Fordist vision of flexible specialisation. In which big and powerful institutions sub-contract less prestigious work to small and struggling institutions. And in which grey men in suits, with executive briefcases and brightly coloured ties, skilled in business-speak, manage the decisions that deliver fresh batches of new consumers in search of educational commodities into lecture halls and classrooms, staffed at the chalk face by contract labour whose terms and conditions of employment have been so deregulated as to ensure maximum exploitation at minimum cost. (p. 244)

The parallels between university adult education in Britain and in Canada are clear.

Strategies for Change

Economic globalization instills a feeling of powerlessness, a feeling that "we have no choice." This was evident in my interviews with British university adult educators. For example, Susan, a research participant, speaks of the feeling of helplessness individual activists are experiencing. She says, "after all these years of Tory government and cuts and recession and market forces, there is less of a feeling that individual activists can make a difference to anything."

Susan spends much of her time working with a national adult education organization which, she hopes, will make a difference. She believes people should try to counter the prevailing trends through collective action.

Martha expresses feelings of resignation about the current state of university adult education in Britain. She says:

> People have generally worked in a way to accommodate the changes as best they can while still hopefully retaining some sort of integrity in terms of their personal practice. It is quite hard to see any major, collective movement. There are some people who have complained about it, but they tend to get buried (in the everyday work).

Bill Blaikie (1992), an NDP member of parliament for Winnipeg-Transcona, suggests there are two ways to respond to the present globalization agenda: accomodation or resistence. He says the accommodators believe that "this is the way of the world," that we can't do anything about it, and that we must try to find a place within the new economy or we will be "left behind." The resistors say that economic globalization is "a politically sanitized concept designed to cover up reality" (p. 1) and that we must resist this agenda. I believe we must resist the globalization agenda.

Collins (1994), McIlroy & Spencer (1988), and Sork (1993) raise a number of strategies for strengthening the position of adult education within the university. Collins (1994) believes adult education must be central to the work of the university and be close to a budget centre. McIlroy & Spencer (1988) argue that it is important to defend "the need for a body of adult education specialists" (p. 126) to the university. Sork (1993) argues it is vital to make internal and external alliances, and to cultivate the support of university decision-makers. While these strategies are important, I believe we must also look beyond the university and link with the broader community in the struggle against economic globalization. University adult education is part of a much larger picture.

The right wing has mounted a massive public relations campaign (Marchak, 1991; Nelson, 1993) to persuade people about the merits of economic globalization. This has been highly successful. The left wing has been unsuccessful in raising public awareness to the opposite viewpoint. Marchak (1991) says:

> Intellectuals on the left have produced perceptive and penetrating analyses of that agenda. However, those analyses are too academic: what the new right produced was a populist sloganeering attack on all the groups in society defended by the left. (p. 115)

The right wing has created a frenzied attack on deficit spending by government through the use of populist slogans. It has deflected attention away from corporate greed and directed its attack toward social programs. Consequently, many people now believe we can no longer afford these programs.

It is important to shift the debate away from the deficit and onto the globalization agenda. The unequal distribution of wealth is the problem--not social programs. The left must find ways of getting this message out through the mainstream media. There is a role for university adult educators to play. We can be involved in research, in public education, and in public information work. We should work with other groups who share our concerns. As long as people believe that social programs are too costly, university adult education will be in jeopardy.

Conclusion

It is important to develop strategies to counter the attacks on university adult education. However, this cannot be done in isolation.

Economic globalization is "a human creation and a social rather than a natural fact" (Lind, 1993, p. 9). Because it is socially constructed, we can change it. Raising awareness is a critical part of the change process. As university adult educators, we must contribute to this process.

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CONSTRUCTING A NEED: A CASE STUDY OF MAKING CRIMINAL ACTIVITY INDICATIVE OF A NEED FOR MORAL EDUCATION

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Using a historical sociological perspective, the author provides a case study of how productive processes signify criminal activity as a need for moral education.

À partir d'un cadre sociologique et historique, l'auteur produit une étude de cas où, dans le contexte des processus de production, la criminalité est considérée comme l'expression d'un besoin d'éducation morale.

An educational need is a condition that is signified as an educational need. My interest is in accounting for the productive processes by which conditions emerge and are sustained as educational needs. I call these processes needs-making activity. When speaking of production, I mean production under particular historical conditions. Thus, we must consider the historicity of needs in a society dominated by a capitalist mode of production, where the expansion of capitalism provides the foundation for the expression of needs as educational needs. This paper is a case study of how the expansion of capital provided the foundation for the production of criminal activity as indicative of a need for a form of moral education, in contrast to a need for hard labour or psychological treatment, for example.

The perspective taken here differs markedly from the perspective on needs in adult education that examines technical limitations to identifying and responding to educational needs among specified group (e.g., Sork and Caffarella, 1990). Critical investigations of that perspective identify political forces that influence the eventual outcomes of most needs-meeting activity, especially variations related to income, gender and ethnicity. That critique politicizes needs-meeting activities and illuminates how technical discourses function to conceal the power relations governing that activity, making it possible for adult educators to represent themselves as serving needs, not as participants influencing distributional variations (e.g., Cervero and Wilson 1994; Collins 1991). This critique is limited, however, because it does not account for the structural forces that influence needs production: How conditions come to be experienced/expressed as educational needs.

Constructionist theory in the sociology of social problems (Kitsuse and Spector, 1987; Schneider, 1985) and critiques of needs in political theory and marxism (e.g., Doyal and Gough, 1991) provide the conceptual framework for speaking about needs-making activities. Constructionist theory investigates how groups go about the business of claiming that activities are social problems, how those claims are sustained, and how they direct social policy. Constructionist theory accounts for the "emergence and maintenance of claim-making and responding activities" (Schneider, 1985: 211). In political theory, Condren has argued that "need usage" provides a "rhetorical device" for making political claims and counter claims: "To be able to formulate a

grievance as a violation of a need is to go a good way toward establishing a right for redress" (1977: 254). Like the constructionists, marxist critiques recognize that it is not the intrinsic quality of a condition that determines the signification of a need but its social properties. The constructionist, however, focus on the symbolic interactions which constitute conditions as needs (e.g. "needs talk"), while marxism locates the production of signification in the historicity of larger social forms, specifically in the impulse to expand capital through attempts to create new needs, new modes of gratification, and subsequently new forms of dependence on capitalist social relation (Lebowitz, 1978; Heller, 1973). Elsewhere I discuss the advantages of examining both communicative interactions and structural forces influencing needs-making activities (Davidson, in press). This paper attends to the larger structural forces. It explores a fragment of the processes by which the expansion of capitalism in the early 1900s in the United States provided a foundation for the production of criminal activity as a need for moral education. I emphasize fragment because even in an extensive paper it would be impossible to illuminate more than a partial account of this needs-making activity. As a necessarily incomplete account, this paper suggests what may be gained by taking this approach.

In the discourse of prison education a school of thought constructs criminal activity as indicative of a need for cognitive moral education (e.g., Duguid, 1992). Crudely put, good citizens behave appropriately because they make mature decisions when faced with circumstances that could lead to criminal activity. Prisoners, by contrast, are defined as immature reasoners. They fail to account for personal and social costs in their practical decision-making processes. To correct this cognitive deficiency prisoners require "correctional education." Adherents to cognitive development pedagogy trace the history of this perspective to a discourse on prisoner self-government that emerged in the early 1900s, specifically in the Mutual Welfare Leagues established by Thomas Mott Osborne (e.g., Duguid, 1979).

Prisoner self-government aimed to create citizens who would "conform by consent" and thus did not require the use of "iron-discipline" in order to behave. Prisoners could become good citizens by practising self-government. In 1919, Winthrop Lane, a central figure in the production of penal discourse during the early 1900s, wrote: "Self-government is simply an embodiment of the idea that if prisoners are to improve in the ways of normal living, if they are to be more self-reliant in dealing with other people, if they are to acquire the social habits of living in accordance with certain 'rules of the game,' and are to develop their own capacities to help make those rules, the time to begin is while they are undergoing punishment for their offenses."*

* Data and quoted materials for the self-government movement is cited in H. S. Davidson (1991), Moral education and social relations: Prisoner Self-government in New York, 1895-1923. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto.

Self-government models varied considerably. In some cases they were merely recreational committees operated by prisoners. The Mutual Welfare Leagues, however, were miniature democracies. Constitutions were written. Prisoners were elected to legislative, executive, and judicial committees that had control over the daily affairs of the institutions. For example, the Mutual Welfare League established by Osborne at Sing Sing prison had a judicial board that had jurisdiction over disputes between guards and prisoners, escapes, assaults, and visitations.

In 1915, the Leagues were acclaimed in the annual report of the Prison Association of New York (PANY) as "the most conspicuous event in prison reform in any period in American history." In the progressive media it was supported by the leading reformers of the day. But this support and the rapid growth of self-government experiments engendered considerable opposition. For example, at its 1915 meeting, the president of the American Prison Association (APA) claimed that the belief in "many quarters" that "among prisoners...there is a high sense of honor and an ability for righteous self-government that have not heretofore been recognized" is a "dangerous enthusiasm" promulgated amongst a naive public by "overzealous advocates".

In the discourse of "correctional education" Osborne's Leagues are examined as a prison reform. Its history is determined by the strength of the reformer's will against the "anti-educational" attitudes of guards and administrators, like the APA president just quoted. Nowhere is self-government mentioned as a fragment of a self-government movement that had greater influence in the schools and factories than it had in the prisons. In 1904, Richard Welling, who organized the National Self-Government Committee to promulgate self-government in the public schools, wanted to apply the method "not only in the schools but in factories, labor organizations and prisons to establish the great democratic principles of cooperation and sharing authority as opposed to autocracy and the atmosphere of conflict." Attending to this wider self-government movement is the key to appreciating how the expansion of capitalist production provided the foundation for the processes by which criminal activity becomes indicative of a need for moral education.

By 1917, the National Self-Government Committee had 5,000 members. Courses in self-government were taught at New York University, and applicants for a school principal license had to answer test questions on the method. In 1919, the National Conference Board counted 225 industrial self-government schemes. By 1924, 1.11 million workers in 814 plants participated in such plans. A normal school superintendent, considered student self-government the "best answer [to the] Bolshevik.... [Self-government was] a militant force for the protection and conservation of the integrity of the school." Through its means future teachers of America would learn to be "on the side of law, order and social uplift thereby offsetting the influence and propaganda of the bad and lawless student". In 1919 Glenn Frank, editor of Century Magazine, warned that if capitalists failed to replace autocratic forms of management with self-government, American industry would be threatened by "Bolshevik tendencies." Frank

argued that "the old autocratic methods of control" had to give way to "constructive liberalism", put forth by "forward looking business men and certain creative thinkers in the field of politics and economic theory."

The "Bolshevik tendencies" were attributed to the millions of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe imported to meet the demand for cheap labour required by an unparalleled and largely unregulated growth of industrial capitalism. New York's population of 6 million in 1890 doubled by 1920. About 80% of the common labourers employed by the steel plant were from southern and eastern Europe. Most earned $12 a week when a family needed $15 for subsistence. By 1910 the classrooms in Buffalo's public schools were jammed. The city's superintendent of schools warned that no classroom would "harbour little anarchists of the future." An adult educator believed schools to be the "natural instrument of the State" for "making good Americans from the raw material that is coming into the country from abroad."

Immigrants were in prisons, too. In 1907 the state prison population of New York was 3,300; by 1915, with 15% of New York City's workers unemployed, it reached 5,200. About 30% of these people were foreign born. Prison conditions were miserable. PANY damned the overcrowding, inadequate ventilation, vermin, and the epidemics of typhoid and tuberculosis. What PANY did not mention, although the radical and popular press did, was the fear created by the number of socialists, anarchists, and Wobblies in prison.

The fear was aggravated by legislated bans on the use of prison labour for the production of consumer goods. Corporate capitalists and organized trade unions influenced the state legislatures in the industrialized North to prohibit prison labour from competing with wage labour. The protest from wardens and small capitalists with an interest in exploiting prison labour was fierce but ineffectual. Thus, wardens were denied the use of prison labour as a form of control at a time when the prison population was escalating, as was the fear of "Bolshevik tendencies" among foreign born prisoners. The fear was real. Radical prisoners were able to organize strikes and to teach socialism in prisoner-run schools. They encouraged prisoners to consider new social forms and "radical needs" that only a social revolution could realize. These radicals, along with others in the schools and factories, gave capitalists good reason to fear a threat to "the common weal."

In the prisons, most wardens expressed these condition as indicative of a need for "iron discipline" to reduce "idleness and moral decay." In the factories and mines the "old autocratic methods" included the use of armed guards over workers, deportation of radicals, and the use of Pinkerton Gangs to control strikes. The president of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, feared that the autocratic mentality of 19th century industrialists and educators would encourage workers and students to become radicals, to adopt the idea of a "sharp and unnatural division of society into a few owners of land and machinery on the one hand, and many wage earners on the other." Eliot, like Osborne and Frank, promoted self-government as an alternative to socialism and to autocracy ("two despotisms"). In order to avoid these "two

despotisms", a self-government movement struggled to constitute criminal activity, "bad and lawless" students, and "labour unrest" as indicative of a need for self-government education.

Concluding note

The structural forces discussed here portray a fragment of the productive processes by which a need for cheap labour and the concomitant need to Americanize this labour was signified as a need for self-government as a pedagogy for moral education. A more complete study would uncover a multiplicity of related forces. For instance, when the United States entered the war in 1917 the prisons emptied and jobs became plentiful. Immigration was reduced to a fraction of pre-war levels and the need for Americanization subsided. Self-government became obsolete. Post-war conditions begin to construct criminal activity as indicative of a need for psychological treatment.

While these are just fragments, they indicate, as best as one can in a brief paper, how a historical-sociological perspective can illuminate the historicity of structural forces that signify needs as educational needs: needs-making activity.

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THE MARGINALIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL AND CONTINUING PROBLEM

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Abstract: Adult education is characterized as conceptually and structurally marginalized. Historically, the advocacy of groups ascribed marginal status challenged traditional conceptions of citizenship and fostered participation in societal processes. The strength of the field remains its ability to forge links with a diversity of specializations, organizations and approaches.

Résumé: En comparaison à d'autres professions basées sur la pratique, l'éducation des adultes est marginalisée tant au plan conceptuel et structurel que professionnel. Le domaine tire sa vitalité du fait qu'il est capable de forger des liens avec une gamme diverse de spécialisations, d'organismes et d'approches.

The topic of this paper - the marginalization of adult education - is intensified by the field's indistinct boundaries and fuzzy knowledge base in comparison to adjoining fields. To date the issue of identity has been resolved by defining the field of adult education in operational terms, as simply the collection of activities that people who call themselves adult educators engage in. Now there is no question that people who call themselves adult educators are concerned about problems and work in settings that are, especially in times of limited resources and shifting boundaries, pushed to the fringes politically and economically. So, if we classify adult educators by what we do, there is little doubt that the field has been, and will continue to be, a designated space for marginalized forces in our institutions and society at large.

Adult education has weathered its marginal status from its beginnings. However, an ironic turn of events occurred at a time when public investment in the field grew. Prior to the 1950's few voices urged adult education to take steps toward becoming a self-contained profession. Rather, the issue was whether the concepts and approaches that characterized adult education would be accepted and sustained within a host of social forces. The mid to late 1950's witnessed a surge in efforts to structure and standardize the field (Selman & Kulich, 1980). The ironic turn happened when, with the need for educational content and expertise in the growing number of university-affiliated programs, a theoretical template was required to overlay and organize adult education practice. Not surprisingly, within a society that was enthraled with the aura of technology and expertise, the field found itself cut off from its practical, common-sense roots.

This redefinition of adult education was heavily informed by the work of Malcolm Knowles (1978). Knowles' andragogical principles created the need for educationally communicable techniques that could move individuals from dependent

toward independent, self-directed learning. Andragogy discredited intuition and common-sense ways of understanding learning in everyday contexts. Uncertain about its mission and history, systemic problems were reduced to the level of the individual. Gradually, adult education turned its attention away from communities and systems towards the issues and learning needs of a growing middle class. Andragogy moved the field implicitly from diversity and community to a very diminished version of adulthood and participation. The field could no longer retain sight of its commitments to the whole person, to the community, and to reform. By serving individual and middle class interests we impaired our ability to address issues of social injustice in the long-term.

As societal needs shift, the ground underneath the knowledge base of adult education shifts as well. To some extent our marginalized state of affairs is rooted in the fragmentation and the individualistic pursuits of our societal structures. Currently, many fields are moving away from reductionist, overly simplified constructions of societal processes. The world is said to be shrinking in response to greater access to information and technological innovations. Institutionalized adult education welcomes this movement without apprehension at a time when critical discernment is required for global survival.

Marginalization conjures up images of a field pushed aside by an onslaught of forces. Reconstructing the image, we could just as easily make a case for the encapsulation of adult education. Encapsulation brings with it the image of a field chasing its own tail. Ironically, the field contributes to its own marginalization by ascribing greater status to technocratic approaches at the expense of other conceptions. The technocratic forces move the field toward professionalization. At the same time, these specialties drive other conceptions to the margins.

Adult education's weakened knowledge base can no longer support a meaningful response to individual, social and global challenges. The lack of a comprehensive foundation, (historically situated and reflecting the confluence of public and private theories), has set the field adrift. Three trends are apparent: (i) The first trend is characterized as an affiliation of persons who share a differentiated value system, episteme, and set of approaches but who are not formally established within university settings. The field maintains its primary identity as a collection of special interest, research and advocacy groups.

(ii) According to a second trend, adult education is housed within interdisciplinary programs much like many women's studies and international studies programs are right now. Problems link persons who share collegial interests but who retain their primary affiliations elsewhere.

(iii) Some strands of adult education are moving toward enhancing their autonomy as a profession. This trend is accompanied by calls for protectionist action in the form of licensing and certification. Professionalization requires adult educators to refine and take ownership over the products and processes of education and training, and to dismiss the link between the commercialization of adult education and the forfeiture of a critical perspective.

This third trend is often met with misgivings and yet it is a trend that is not likely to go away. Critical scholars support the need for a substantive base of knowledge and theory but without the frustrations of institutional domination. One way to respond to the professional-amateur schism is to avoid characterizing these trends in mutually exclusive terms but to look for ways to enhance the relevance of adult education for our particular historical times and context (Brookfield, 1992).

What I am describing here are shifts taking place in many related fields and professions. The field of adult education is not alone in its concern about its marginal identity. The way the problem has been constructed and framed, however, is misleading. Every field contains within its boundaries a growing countermovement who provide an alternative interpretation of issues related to health, well-being, and governance. It is within these alternative societal currents that adult education has the opportunity of finding credibility and strength. By joining other alternative voices, adult education can declare itself on the cutting edge and remain proudly and defiantly marginal. However, if adult education's relevance is sustained through this period of fragmentation, current and future generations must do as the early social movements did, define themselves rather than being defined by others.

The basic difference between being proudly and defiantly marginal and irrelevant is a matter of who does the defining. The aspects of the field used as evidence of marginalization are criteria set by established disciplines and professions. We need to recognize and critique the way institutional structures use the concept of marginalization to define, ignore, and control the field. In academia, for example, efforts to draw upon the knowledge base of other is construed as unscholarly. Labels such as nontraditional, idiosyncratic, feminist, and radical are used to further marginalize.

Seeking professional status during times of institutional backlash is analogous to playing musical chairs on the deck of the Titanic; scholars and practitioners have yet to anchor themselves in a place that reflects their current insights, and capacities. Some of the benefits and disadvantages of adult education's marginal status are considered in the next section.

Conceptual and Structural Marginalization

In our present construction of the field, marginalization is located in both conceptual and structural domains. Additionally, within each domain, marginalization can be further classified according to its costs and contributions to the field. Those who appreciate working from a marginal stance have grounds to resist politically imposed organizational boundaries and professionalization.

There are important advantages arising from conceptual or theoretical marginalization. Marginalization to date has broadened the range of perspectives and approaches that shape our understanding of phenomenon. Theories generated are recognized as a product of a particular learning site. Thus, knowledge is contextualized and construed as part of an ecology of knowledge systems. A

decentralized conception of theory construction substantially enhances the credibility and social relevance of adult education scholarship in the eyes of other practice-based professions.

On the margins, adult education scholars have a luxury denied many institutionalized minds: We can *go mad*. Sassower (1994) describes the process of going mad as "...a posture that propels one to venture outside of a system of thought into another or to the contours of the original system;...it is a feeling and an orientation, an attitude and a courage that allows one to plunge elsewhere,....One can think of the legitimation (in scholarly terms) of the study of subcultures as an example" (p. *Going mad* prevents scholars from being shaped into predetermined molds and ill-fitting paradigms. Graduate students appear to be most at risk of going mad in two directions: Creative madness is experienced within the presence of a open, supportive network of respectful relationships. Gloomy madness takes over in hostile, rigid academic environments.

These same conditions cost the field as well. Scholars endure intellectual isolation from the broader construction of mainstream education. Graduate students are confronted with the need to choose among competing intellectual allegiances, each with its own set of values, paradigms, pursuits and approaches. Those who work with marginalized problems tend to promote approaches where it is difficult to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of programs and research in the short term.

These constraints point to the need for addressing issues related to structural marginalization. Adult educators need to locate themselves within the political process. Constraints to participation point to the need for a national umbrella organization. In general, the umbrella organization serves an important advocacy and educational function by retaining the field's affiliation with other marginalized social and global forces.

Structural marginalization ensures that adult educators remains respectful of and responsive to individual, community, workplace and global needs, even when such needs come in conflict with mainstream conceptions. Working from a "critical theoretical" perspective (Welton, 1987), research and practice has bearing on a range of social arrangements and not just middle class constellations.

The down-side of structural marginalization is restricted opportunities for emerging scholars. Without secure access to a progressive graduate programs in academia, opportunities for collaboration with others practice-based fields are reduced. As scholars, we end up speaking primarily to ourselves about matters that require us to go far beyond the confines of established conceptions.

Closing Remarks

One issue confronting a new generation of scholars stands above the rest in terms of its relevance to our times: The issue of global survival. The costs of our dependence on technocratic solutions to complex, epistemic problems are rising. Our challenge is to address issues related to marginalized pathways to survival and creative

living. Such a challenge calls for increased discernment, the ability to reject technocratic junk, and social responsibility. In this light, adult educators might seriously consider doing away with notions of professional exclusivity altogether. Professions are hierarchical entities that work within designated work-spaces. Only the problems located within a given work-space are addressed. However, complex, multifaceted problems such as inequity and environmental exploitation cannot be meaningfully addressed within the boundaries of any given workspace.

Identity building is a divergent process, as emerging visions of the adult education enterprise claim the right to be heard. A new generation of scholars might consider working with *problem-determined systems* (Anderson, et al., 1986), systems defined by constellations of complex, multifaceted problems such as sexism, ageism, ethnocentrism, unemployment, and exploitation of workers. Each problem system, in response to a particular problem set, requires the development of indigenous approaches, methodologies, and knowledge base. Holding the systems together is our commitment to understanding the epistemological patterns that connects one problem to another. Perhaps, in this way, we might build our future together.

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SURFACING TENSIONS IN GRADUATE ADULT EDUCATION

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Six women adult educators in Canada participated in a learning circle to uncover their experiences of graduate work in adult education. Their experiences suggest that being an adult educator is about embracing tensions and, therefore, graduate work in adult education is connected to surfacing, living with, and welcoming these tensions.

Au Canada, six éducatrices d'adultes participèrent à un cercle d'étude dans le but d'analyser leurs expériences d'étudiants aux cycles supérieurs en éducation des adultes. Leur réflexion suggère que les éducateurs et les éducatrices d'adultes doivent s'ouvrir aux tensions, et qu'en conséquence les études supérieures visent la découverte et l'acceptation sereine de ces tensions.

The following paper is excerpted from a dissertation in progress by the author. Many thanks go to the learning circle participants - Jyllian Bonney, Tammy Dewar, Pat Fryers, Carol Gerein, Maureen Motter-Hodgson, and Jacquie Peters - for contributing so freely of their time and experiences. The following pseudonyms were chosen by the participants - Carley, Calliope, Elizabeth, Helen, Nahanni, PJ.

PJ

Learning was very significant when it was related to the work I was doing at the time and it had a practical application. And in terms of group members, just the thought that triggered in me is sometimes I don't remember what people say exactly but I remember how people are.

Elizabeth

The other thing that I found very contradictory is that here were all these people teaching me adult education who never used any practices of adult education. It's like you get into a university setting and you do things a certain way regardless of what you know. I mean here they're talking about needs assessments and being interactive and I thought "so, (laugh) let's see some of it" and I saw nothing.

The literature on graduate work in adult education is comprised mainly of descriptions of the program of studies of such degrees, peppered with a few evaluative studies, and the odd comparative and anecdotal study. All of the descriptive studies focus on the types, numbers and core curriculum of graduate programs in North America, while the evaluative studies focus on the extent to which courses and major concepts in graduate programs contribute in preparing people to work effectively as adult educators. It is ironic that the focus of these studies, identifying content or skill areas, while certainly mentioned by this

group of adult educators, is not accorded, in and of itself, the same importance that the literature would have one believe. As Helen notes,

> It's one of the things that I was hearing [from other members in the learning circle] and also that I had experienced is the self-directed aspect of the learning and that while there were courses and objectives, I don't remember what they were. I really didn't care what they were because there was enough latitude that you could set your own objectives pretty much and be self-directed.

What's important about course content is the manner in which it is used in the classroom, a tension that surfaced over and over with instructors. As Nahanni says

> What I'm hearing too is the integration of experience and learning and how important that is for all of us. I think for me it goes to another level where we were talking about received knowledge versus connected knowledge or whatever the other term is that Belenkey talks about. The fact that we get away from having knowledge given to us to creating our own knowledge base and are being validated and validating one another for that.

Carley later comments that this constructed view of knowledge (Belenkey et al., 1986) versus the banking model (Freire, 1970), still so prevalent in graduate experience, leads to "an empowerment. . . like you feel empowered to be able to do that, you feel free".

The results of Lawrence and McEllhinney's (1989) evaluation by graduates and faculty of doctoral programs in adult education add an interesting perspective to this focus on course content. They issued questionnaires to 92 alumni and 54 faculty which tested the question "Which courses and major concepts do alumni/faculty of doctoral programs in adult education judge to have contributed most importantly to their successful employment as adult educators?" (p. 241) Lawrence and McEllhinney found that "The 54 faculty generally rated courses and major concepts more highly than did alumni as contributing importantly to the successes of graduates." (p. 243) and that "there was limited agreement between faculty and alumni on the relative rankings of courses and major concepts" (p. 243). Perhaps Lawrence and McEllhinney, like the other researchers, are basing their evaluations upon the wrong assumptions, namely that the right types and combinations of courses are solely significant to graduate work, instead of assuming that what a graduate student "needs or wants to know" is contextually bound, socially constructed, and ever changing.

Even more ironic is that in a discipline whose defining characteristic is the theory of adult learning (indeed, a core course identified by all writers), that so little attention is paid to applying what's known about adult learning to the overall design of graduate programs. As Nahanni points out

> . . . then we really sat and talked about what learning was like for us. We kept a learning journal and for the first time in my life I think I was able to make a connection with the way I learn and have it affirmed and validated. Because I think all through my undergraduate time I had done well academically but I always felt (sigh) I think I always felt that there was something not, something was missing . . .

and it [participating in the experience] was all serendipitous. I mean it was all simply because I happened to see [instructor] on a day when he was looking for one more participant.

A personal exploration of one's learning ought to be a critical component in an adult education graduate program as opposed to a serendipitous happening. Ingham and Hanks (1981) provide a partial explanation when they suggest that "Like other forms of professional education, programs for the preparation of adult educators have been overly influenced by the arts and sciences model of graduate education." (p. 21), an observation I would echo. One often hears, "Graduate work in adult education is NOT adult education."

Merriam (1985) hints at some of the crucial issues in adult education graduate work when she points out:

> As with other forms of training, numerous issues with regard to graduate training have yet to be resolved. These include identifying the knowledge base unique to adult education, differentiating between a master's degree and a doctoral degree (and more recently an undergraduate degree), determining the best combination of theory and practice and of basic and applied research, determining what preparation professors in these programs should have, and establishing autonomy and identity as a field of study both within and outside the university. (p. 91)

Although she, too, is guilty of placing tremendous importance on identifying the "adult education knowledge base" without placing it in a social context, she does allude to the role of the professors in graduate education, another tension that surfaced over and over in the stories of the seven adult educators. As they say of their professors:

> and it was an opportunity for me to say this is what I want to learn, this is what I want to do and I just need someone to supervise me and [instructor] was gracious enough to kind of buy into that (Nahanni)

> Well, I guess another theme might be the respect that our professors show to us in terms of giving credit to our knowledge, providing constructive criticism for the work that we do, walking the talk. To me that's a respect for your students - honouring your students in the knowledge and experience and all of that. (PJ)

> Some of the ways that I was treated as a graduate student weren't always very affirming. Assignments were sometimes handed back with a grade with no comments. So in some ways, I've learned a ton but I felt like sometimes it was in spite of what the professors did. (Elizabeth)

> We all must have that sense of outrage [about professors] or something. (Nahanni)

> That was certainly a theme. People [professors] walking the talk. The importance of it. Or lack of. (Calliope)

What these adult educators point out is that graduate education is fundamentally about

relationships - with each other, themselves, the professors, the content - and the tensions that surface and must be dealt with in the course of having those relationships. As Nahanni says,

> I guess the company of learners is what I was hearing you talk about Elizabeth and this is really significant for me too in learning. I really need to have learners that assist me and that's one of the ways I learn by talking and sharing experiences with other people.

But along with this collegiality is tension as evidenced in the following exchange:

> Calliope - Well, you know what that brings up for me is the whole way that somebody's personal style very much influences what happens in the classroom discussion . . and even though we all talked about the significance of the group and how important the connections were there were times when I also felt like "ooh, I don't know if I want to be here."
>
> Carley - I think that's a contradiction and I think it sort of piggybacks onto the group thing and the self-directed learning. Wanting
>
> Helen - the connectedness on the one hand versus the separation
>
> Nahanni - and what you were talking about - the kind of reflective observation and going away from it, leaving the group to process
>
> Carley - and needing both. Not one or the other.

Perhaps the most insightful observation about graduate programs in adult education is Brookfield's (1985) that "graduate programs are reflective of their broader host culture, and that therefore such programs can only be fully understood if they are seen as socio-cultural products" (p. 300), for, indeed, the majority of comments made by these adult educators are aptly interpreted against a socio-cultural backdrop. Particularly fascinating, but not surprising given the make-up of the group, was their eventual discussion of gender issues. At one point Elizabeth asks,

> One thing that comes to my mind as we're talking about this ... is the gender differences. I wonder because of course we're all women here. Do men say the same things? Do they get most of their learning from the connectedness and the relationships and the discussions with other people and their peers or do they see it much more "yup, ticked that course off, got that requirement done."

This comment eventually leads to the observation that the participants in their graduate programs were almost entirely women, being taught almost entirely by men professors. At one point, the following conversation unfolds:

> PJ - We [some of her other classmates] have found that the female professors have higher expectations of us as students. We've had a much harder work load, like a

greater work load and more books to read, more papers to write and everything.

Carley - That's interesting.

PJ - And we were wondering. We were speculating about if there's sort of a need within - if the females have felt that they had to work so much harder to be female professors and, therefore, they pushed the female students or students overall.

Carley - My experience would have been I had one female professor . . . and she was not the hardest. (pause) She was maybe the best.

The tensions that spiral around graduate education for this group of adult educators are many, especially if placed against the rather stark, almost superficial, approach taken by most writers on the subject. While carving out the field's knowledge base and making sure that it is "deposited" into the heads of graduate students is no doubt important in dealing with the image problem of the field, it insults (and even damages) the adult learners. What they're looking for is authentic adult educators as models, those who walk the talk, and those who create a space for them in the classroom to explore the tensions inherent in their own learning and relationships, to ultimately construct their own knowledge. They are not looking for the "right course content".

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L'ÉDUCATION TRANSPERSONNELLE: Contexte et processus.

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Résumé

L'éducation transpersonnelle, issue de la jeune et sans cesse en développement psychologie transpersonnelle, offre des avenues à la fois conceptuelles et expérientielles permettant d'effectuer de façon constructive le virage amorcé par nos systèmes éducatifs. L'éducation transpersonnelle se fonde sur une nouvelle vision de l'humain; elle offre, entre autres, des postulats, de nouvelles méthodes et une vision élargie du rôle de formatrice et de formateur.

Abstract

Transpersonal education stems from the young and still developing transpersonal psychology. It offers us new avenues, conceptual as well as experiential, of how to deal in a creative way with the turning point education is currently facing. Transpersonal education is based upon a new vision of human being; it offers new methods, assumptions and a broader vision of the role of educator.

Introduction

L'éducation est en pleine crise de changement de paradigme. On assiste d'ailleurs depuis quelques années à des tentatives plus ou moins réussies d'introduire de nouvelles valeurs dans les écoles. A cet effet, la perspective transpersonnelle offre un cadre de références et des voies d'action très prometteuses. L'Institute of Transpersonal Psychology (ITP), à Palo Alto en Californie est une école qui tend à être aussi fidèle que possible aux principes d'une éducation transpersonnelle. ITP offre, entre autres, des programmes de maîtrise et de doctorat en psychologie transpersonnelle. Étudiante au programme de doctorat, je profitai de l'occasion pour poser la question:"Qu'est-ce que l'éducation transpersonnelle?" à des formateurs et des adultes directement engagés dans une formation transpersonnelle.

L'article suivant présente la synthèse des données recueillies lors 1) d'un sondage pré-recherche effectué auprès d'un groupe de 20 étudiantes et étudiants au doctorat et 2) de deux interviews réalisés auprès de Robert Frager et James Fadiman, co-fondateurs de l'école. Après avoir brièvement décrit la perspective qu'offre la psychologie transpersonnelle, j'utiliserai les catégories utilisées par Frager soit celles du contexte, du processus et du contenu, afin d'introduire certains principes de base de l'éducation transpersonnelle et je dresserai pour terminer un portrait de l'enseignante et de l'enseignant transpersonnel.

La psychologie transpersonnelle: une psychologie du potentiel humain

Quatrième branche de la psychologie, la psychologie transpersonnelle fêtait ses 25 ans d'existence officielle en 1994. *Transpersonnel signifie: au-delà du personnel, au-delà de l'ego.* Dans notre civilisation occidentale l'emphase est mise sur la dimension personnelle de l'individu. Les modèles habituellement présentés sont

ceux de personnes intelligentes, motivées, efficaces, qui ont confiance en elles, bien intégrées socialement, équilibrées, solides; en résumé des personnes dont la personnalité est bien développée. Si la dimension personnelle est essentielle, elle devient limitée lorsqu'on tente de saisir le sens ultime de sa propre vie et de la vie en général, et/ou lorsqu'on essaie de comprendre la réalité de certaines expériences non-ordinaires; ce genre d'expériences dont on n'ose trop parler de peur de passer pour folle ou dérangée.

Un des points essentiels de la psychologie transpersonnelle c'est qu'elle est une psychologie de la santé et du potentiel humain. Bien qu'elle reconnaisse et aborde la question de la maladie humaine, elle n'élabore pas son modèle de la psyché à partir du malade et du souffrant; elle regarde plutôt vers les saints, les prophètes, les grands artistes, les héros et les héroïnes de l'humanité comme modèles du plein développement humain et de la nature de la psyché humaine. Au lieu de nous définir tous comme partiellement névrotiques (sinon pires), la psychologie transpersonnelle définit la personne comme étant dans un processus de développement vers une humanité complète tel qu'illustré par les grandes femmes et les grands hommes. Holistique, la psychologie transpersonnelle recherche un développement équilibré des dimensions physique, intellectuelle, émotionnelle, spirituelle et communautaire de la vie d'une personne.

L'éducation transpersonnelle: contexte et processus.

Au cours des années 70, on commença à transférer la perspective de la psychologie transpersonnelle au domaine de l'éducation Frager (1970), Fadiman (1970), Miller (1980), Hendricks (1974). Il semble cependant que différentes tentatives ne firent pas long feu. Le terme éducation transpersonnelle ne passa pas, Miller (1993) le remplaça par éducation holistique, "Holistic education has become part of mainstream dialogue today, while transpersonal education, as a term, nerver caught up." (p. vii) La psychologie transpersonnelle gagnant d'année en année ses lettres de noblesse, peut-être est-il temps pour l'éducation transpersonnelle de refaire une entrée en scène et d'offrir aux systèmes éducatifs sa vision holistique de l'humain et de mettre à leur disposition les nouveaux moyens élaborés au cours des recherches effectuées pendant les vingt-cinq dernières années.

Le contexte

Selon les données recueillies lors du sondage effectué à ITP à l'hiver 1994, le contexte de l'éducation transpersonnelle est holistique, spirituel, en mouvement et se base sur une série de principes dont les plus fréquemment cités sont:

La vie est un voyage spirituel et les êtres humains sont des voyageurs spirituels.
Comme l'exprime Theilard de Chardin, nous ne sommes pas des êtres humains ayant une expérience spirituelle mais bien des êtres spirituels ayant une expérience humaine. Frager, quant à lui, affirme que l'éducation transpersonnelle est "a journey of increased understanding, a journey of spiritual development, and inner development." (p. 2)

Une *éducation transpersonnelle respecte et tient compte la globalité de l'être humain.* Selon Fadiman (1994) "An education which does not deal at least with the physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual dimension of the person is incomplete education." (p. 1) Il ajoute "Transpersonal education is normal education. Everything else is subknowledge." (p. 1) Aux quatre dimensions apportées par Fadiman, ITP inclut à son curriculum deux autres champs d'étude, soit la créativité et la communauté. Plusieurs étudiantes et étudiants souhaitent ajouter la dimension planétaire au curriculum déjà existant.

L'éducation transpersonnelle procure aux étudiantes et étudiants et aux maîtres des occasions de prendre conscience, de contacter et de développer leur soi supérieur. Le soi transpersonnel est une réalité et la vie intérieure est aussi réelle que la vie extérieure. L'adulte est encouragé à contacter son centre, à écouter son autorité interne et à découvrir et exprimer son potentiel le plus élevé. Cela exige des maîtres une attitude de respect, de détachement et de confiance en la sagesse et la divinité de la personne. L'adulte apprend à connaître et à utiliser des techniques d'expansion de la conscience et l'intuition est valorisée.

L'éducation transpersonnelle reconnaît le mystère de la personne, l'acte sacré d'enseigner et le rôle transformatif de l'éducation. Chaque être humain est un mystère. Cela seul rend le geste d'enseigner un geste sacré. L'enseignement est une des tâches les plus concernées par la transformation puisque chaque nouvel apprentissage transforme plus ou moins la personne en contribuant à l'élargissement de son image de soi et de sa vision de la vie. La question devient alors, comment puis-je, comme formatrice, formateur, toucher le coeur de cette personne et l'aider à contacter son dynamisme vital?

L'éducation transpersonnelle est amour et ouverture du coeur. L'amour est la clé des changements profonds et réels exigés par nos enfants et notre société. L'Esprit trouve son chemin dans un coeur ouvert car l'Amour et l'Esprit travaillent de concert. La relation est ici primordiale: relation à soi-même, à l'autre et à la création.

Un processus actif

Selon Frager, le processus de l'éducation transpersonnelle donne la direction de l'expérience éducative "And again, it seems it should move to greater inner power, (...) along the spiritual journey or it should help bring out the spiritual dimension." (p. 2)

L'éducation transpersonnelle implique une démarche intérieure vers le soi supérieur, une recherche intérieure vers la globalité. "Since wholeness is one of the ultimate goals of life itself, this process should be supported and encouraged by the educational institutions." (Frager, p. 4)

En éducation transpersonnelle *l'adulte est engagé dans son propre développement.* La personne devient co-créatrice de son éducation. Chacune est considérée comme remplie de ressources. Ses intérêts, passion, intelligence originale et collaboration sont accueillis et encouragés. En début de démarche, les adultes et les maîtres son invités à préciser leurs intentions. Selon Frager, l'intention permet au processus de fonctionner. Pour l'adulte préciser son intention revient à se poser des questions telles que:" Qu'est-ce qui est important

pour moi à ce moment-ci de ma vie? Qu'est-ce que je veux *vraiment* apprendre? Quel est le sens de cet apprentissage dans ma vie maintenant? Comment puis-je m'y prendre?" En précisant leur intentions, les formatrices et formateurs se demandent: "Qu'est-ce que je veux *vraiment* enseigner? Qu'est-ce que mes étudiantes et étudiantes savent à ce sujet? Qu'en sais-je moi-même? Quelles sont les sources d'information à ce sujet? Comment puis-je les amener à s'impliquer? Comment créer une résonnance entre le sujet et les personnes?"

L'éducation transpersonnelle priorise l'apprentissage actif. L'adulte est encouragé à être conscient, curieux, indépendant, à questionner, à explorer tous les aspects de l'expérience, à rechercher le sens, à tester les limites du monde et à vérifier les frontières et les profondeurs de son être.

L'éducation transpersonnelle enseigne que l'apprentissage et la croissance sont des processus interreliés et permanents. Les apprenantes, les apprenants aussi bien que les maîtres sont engagés dans un processus mutuel de croissance, ils voyagent sur le même chemin même s'ils sont à des étapes différentes.

L'éducation transpersonnelle favorise l'établissement de liens. Elle inclut et crée un pont entre la réalité intérieure et la réalité extérieure, l'intuition et le rationnel, le féminin et le masculin, notre réalité humaine et notre réalité spirituelle, etc... Elle enseigne aux personnes à vivre dans un monde de polarités, à soutenir la tension, à supporter les différences et à voyager d'une polarité à l'autre dans un mouvement organique qui va au-delà des jugements et des préjugés.

Le contenu et les méthodes

Une éducation transpersonnelle, en tenant compte de toutes les dimensions de la personne, offre dans son curriculum des cours s'adressant au corps, au coeur, à l'intelligence et à l'âme de la personne. Elle inclut également des activités favorisant la créativité, l'implication communautaire et l'engagement envers la planète. On souhaite que les méthodes d'enseignement et d'apprentissage fassent également appel à toutes les ressources de la personne.

Les nouvelles découvertes sur le fonctionnement du cerveau et l'apprentissage représentent pour les enseignantes et les enseignants des mines d'information et de méthodes toutes plus innovatrices et efficaces les unes que les autres. Ces méthodes tiennent compte des spécificités des hémisphères cérébraux et des différents styles et stratégies d'apprentissage.

La prise en charge est encouragée. Par exemple: à partir de contrats d'apprentissage individualisés précisés en début de démarche par l'adulte assisté de sa formatrice ou de son formateur, ce dernier détermine ses besoins de formation, la démarche qu'il entend prendre, son échancier; il devient responsable de sa démarche. Il est invité à innover et à proposer de nouvelles façons d'apprendre, que ce soit en institution ou dans la "vraie vie". Il va de soi que ses acquis expérientiels sont reconnus. Le travail d'équipe, l'enseignement et l'apprentissage multisensoriels, la recherche et les techniques permettant d'accéder à des états transpersonnels font partie du coffre à outils de la formatrice et du formateur.

L'enseignante et l'enseignant transpersonnels

Les enseignants transpersonnels sont-ils une race nouvelle à créer? Il ne semble pas. De tout temps il y a eu des maîtres transpersonnels. Voici les caractéristiques les plus souvent nommées. L' enseignante et l' enseignant transpersonnels sont en mouvement, vivants et engagés dans leur propre processus de croissance. Ils connaissent la souffrance de l'ombre et la joie de la lumière. Ils sont en contact avec leur être profond. Se connaissant eux-mêmes, ils savent aider l'autre à prendre contact avec ses ressources profondes. Il font appel à toutes les dimensions de la personne. Ils connaissent leur propre passion et peuvent permettre à leurs étudiantes et étudiants de découvrir la leur. Ils peuvent se mettre à la place de l'autre, savent écouter et supporter les différences. Ils sont capables de voir le potentiel, le divin en l'autre et, par conséquent, ne jugent pas, ne classifient pas, n'étiquettent pas et n'essaient pas de changer l'autre. Ils ne poussent pas et font confiance au processus de croissance de chaque individu. Authentiques et congruents, ils vivent ce qu'ils enseignent. Fadiman et Frager s'entendent pour dire que la qualité essentielle d'un enseignant transpersonnel est la capacité à manifester ce qu'il enseigne. Visionnaires, les enseignants transpersonnels portent l'espoir que l'humanité se dirige vers une plus grande évolution, que la personne est en progrès et ils savent être patients.

D'un autre côté, l'enseignante et l'enseignant transpersonnels sont en mesure de procurer une structure facilitant l'apprentissage qui soit à la fois sécuritaire tout en présentant des défis, exiger de la rigueur sans rigidité, poser les bonnes questions et confronter dans le respect. Jouant le rôle de miroir, ils permettent à la personne d'identifier ses conditionnements et d'accroître sa conscience. Enracinés, ils connaissent la société et les gens qui y vivent. Ils peuvent également aider les adultes à définir leurs buts et leurs intentions par petits pas, les encourager à accroître leur estime d'eux-mêmes et leur confiance et supporter l'acquisition des habiletés qu'elles ont besoin de développer à ce moment-ci de leurs vies. A la fois enseignants et guides, ils aident les personnes à "apprendre à apprendre" et savent les guider vers les plus récentes sources d'information.

Conclusion

Ce texte ne fait qu'effleurer le sujet de l'éducation transpersonnelle. Il soulève plus de questions qu'il n'apporte de réponses. Comment parviendrons-nous à effectuer le passage de l'enseignement traditionnel à l'enseignement transpersonnel? Quelles en sont les implications au niveau de la formation des maîtres? Que seront leurs nouveaux rôles et fonctions? Comment pouvons-nous profiter des expériences, réussies ou non, par d'autres commissions scolaires, d'autres provinces ou pays en voie de transformation? Etc. Au cours des prochaines décennies, nous, éducatrices et éducateurs habitants de Gaïa, allons devoir explorer des champs nouveaux, découvrir des moyens qui ne laisseront pas intactes nos vieilles visions et des façons différentes de faire qui nous transformeront. Beaucoup reste à inventer et nous devrons le faire ensemble.

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NEW DIRECTIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

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Abstract
This paper critically examines the relationship between current adult education programs found in community colleges and the social reality of changing learning needs.

Background
For decades, Canada has been engaged in the global marketing of Canadian education. This has resulted in the continuous influx of international students. Current immigration policies has also created a sizable number of immigrant enrollment in community colleges and post-secondary institutions. Recent global events have precipitated an accelerated flow, and created significant shifts in population demographics. Planetary economic havoc, geo-political changes, and consequential uncertainties precipitated by the end of the Cold War era, all have contributed to these new patterns.

Many of these migrant foreign students are enrolling in unpreceeded numbers in community colleges; to upgrade their education and train in select technically related skills. Unfortunately there is a problem of misfit; they have arrived at Canadian colleges but they are also learning in environments designed for traditionally native-born Canadians.

As the percentage of multicultural student populations increase nationally, more and more college administrators have become aware of the misfit problem. The solution is complex and cannot be done on a piece-meal basis. This paper notes that there is in fact a systemic crisis throughout the continuum, from curriculum design, instructional strategies, and program planning, to evaluation methods. Therefore the solution by definition, should also be systemic in design. Using the results from empirical analysis from the researchers' past studies, a suggested model using Andragogy is proposed for implementing the systemic change.

Previous Research
Language was found to be a predictor by Benetti (1978); her study recommended greater emphasis on language testing and screening, and established grade-levels as language prerequites. This was based on the notion t grade-levels prerequisites would ensure that the ESL student population at the college would have English language proficiency equivalent to local born English speakers. Benetti conjectured that there were other variables like previous education and

experience in the field, which also contributed variance in evaluating an ESL students' performance.

Nierobisch (1990) was highly critical of the English level proficiency assessment process for admission into vocational training programs and recommended training vocational instructors in knowledge and skills which would facilitate communication with ESL students. She also documented the misfit problem;

> "... our curricula, materials, methodologies and support systems were not designed with minority students in mind ..."

Within the larger context of access, the Access Task Force convened by the Advanced Educational Council of British Columbia (1992) also examined these population shifts, and found that a large proportion of the immigrant population had low educational attainment. As well, they recognize problems with enrollment quotas and capacity limitations, and underscored the urgency to establish among funding priorities:

> ...concerns about the social and economic costs of undereducated adults; especially those with low levels of literacy and those who do not speak English."

The Task Force further noted that persons aged 45 years and over will constitute 43% of British Columbia population in 20 years and were troubled with meeting their needs:

> "... painfully slow progress is being made in moving to a culture of lifelong learning, despite a consensus on its importance ..."
>
> "... the aging of the population will compound the effect of technological change and job redefinition, resulting in a huge need for skill upgrading."

Feng et. al. (1993) conducted a quantitative survey of all students enrolled in a diploma program in a large western community college. The research objective was to assess where the students were, by analyzing their CAAT (Canadian Adult Achievement Test) scores using a self-reporting questionnaire. A long term objective was to look into the feasibility of creating an extended curriculum. The questionnaire included the variables from the literature that were believed to affect achievement. The results from the CAAT were analyzed using a special item analysis program and provided a benchmark to identify students would benefit from an ESL enhanced curriculum. It was noted that the instrument was intended to be an inclusive rather than exclusive.

Along with the survey Graham (1993) conducted a qualitative needs analysis to identify a teaching approach for students lacking language and communication

skills, assess the current teaching and learning environment, identify program development options and to develop a program content guide. The needs analysis used quantitative data from the Feng et. al. (1993) analysis, instructor interviews, a second student questionnaire and classroom observations.

Methodology

Feng & Chan (1994) combined both the CAAT scores from the initial quantitative analysis and responses on a student questionnaire using Canonical Analysis. The analysis revealed two dimensions, which the researcher coined a "Linguistic" and "Mathematical" dimension.

Findings

It was found that the first dimension accounted for 43.1% of the variance and captured the linguistic components of the CAAT; vocabulary (.92), Language (.72), Reading Comprehension (.68), Spelling (.53); along with the length of stay in Canada (.85), the first language spoken (.82), and the length of ESL training (-.67).

The second dimension accounted for 25.9% of the variance and captured the mathematical components of the CAAT; Problem Solving (.41), Number Operations (.31) along with age (.76), gender (.65), educational attainment (.61). Furthermore, the relatively high negative loading of Spelling on this dimension also suggests that high scores on Mathematical Operations correlates with low scores on Spelling. What type of student would have this characteristic? Certainly not an average Canadian born student.

The results suggest a structure which is quite characteristic of multicultural students (high loadings on first language spoken, length of ESL training, length of stay in Canada, low spelling scores coupled to high mathematics score) but atypical of locally born Canadian students. In other words, if the CAAT had been administered to the latter, the researchers conjecture that the underlying structure found would have been quite different. Essentially, this last statement invalidates the use of the CAAT if the intended purpose is to norm, as the reference group was Canadian students.

Problems from anecdotal observations

Using the andragogical model to determine whether adult education programs in community colleges were congruent with established propositions of adult learning; the researchers found that often a pedagogical approach was still prevalent. For example the lecture, direct instruction was still the most favoured although other instructional strategies were employed. In fact the greater the organization demanded by the training (eg. accounting) the more this tended to be so.

Eurocentric text
Examples from the text often are Eurocentric in nature and generalized to Canadian audiences. Often the terminology used is only relevant to temperate climates (eg. a birch, a tunic, an overall, lame'). International students for example, cannot distinguish between deciduous and conifers, or understand the names of different types of temperate clothing.

Prior knowledge not addressed
As well as can be borne by the questionnaire responses, many of the students had advanced degrees in their home country but were never given any credit for them. Also students with rich experiences did not have these experiences taken into account when applying for admission. This lack of recognition seem to impact on both the learning and morale of the multicultural international students. They had a feeling of being marginalized, betrayed by the system and at-risk.

Knowledge and content
Learners' frustration is further compounded by the fact that although they may know the content in their own language, they may not recognize questions inquiring about such a content because of their limited vocabulary. A similar problem arises when they wish to relate their knowing but are unable to convey the answer, or articulate in an appropriate manner.

The inherited curriculum
The curriculum suffers from the general problem of inherited teaching materials. Often, it was designed for a completely different set of students of another time. For test questions, when problems are posed and a hint is provided, often it is indirect and intelligible only to a native speaker of English. As an instructor in computing, I know sometimes ahead of time that many of my students will not be able to solve a problem. I will then be torn between watching them fail or teaching to the test. Both are ethically unpalatable options. What does that say about the fairness of the test? Furthermore test have weights that are pre-determined. Why for example would a particular question be worth 20 points?

Assessment
Assessment as noted above is very problematic. How would one know if a student has the language proficiency to understand the content? Presently the community colleges often use the CAAT to assess a students level. One problem identified by the last study was the reliance on using grade-level equivalents to provide a cut-off. Initial findings from our last study shows that it is invalid to use the CAAT to norm to international students. At the risk of genralization and error, we call for replication.

As well, for certain content, it might be better to completely abandon norm-referenced evaluation. In such cases, we can have competency-based training

programs which are criterion rather than norm-referenced. This system would be less intimidating to international students.

Policy Implications

Our study reveals that the multicultural composition of the student population will be one of the most visible and influential characteristic in determining community colleges policies. The presence of this characteristic will require both structural and administrative changes to be made to college curricular, instruction and assessment. College administrators and counsellors should therefore focus on the prior knowledge, learning competencies, styles and expectations of learners and adjust their instruction and assessment accordingly to reflect both the qualitative as well as the quantitative aspects of students' performance.

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DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE IN WORKERS' POLITICAL LEARNING

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Abstract

Drawing on Australian data, this paper discusses aspects of workers' political learning. It is argued that it is essential for adult educators to develop an understanding of the diverse ways in which workers' political learning is determined by their place in the capitalist mode of production.

Résumé

À partir de données australiennes, cette étude se penche sur certains aspects de l'apprentissage politique des travailleurs. On y avance qu'il est essentiel, pour les éducateurs d'adultes, de saisir le lien entre la diversité des apprentissages politiques des travailleurs, et leur position dans le système de production capitaliste.

Domination and Resistance in Workers' Political Learning

[3693 words]

This paper is about aspects of workers' political learning. It discusses what is learned, how it is learned and the implications of the learning for the work of adult educators.

Oppression and learning

In the mid 1970's Roy Kriegler, a sociologist, worked as a labourer for three months in the ship yard at Whyalla, a single-company town in South Australia. He then resigned and approached his former work mates, asking them if they would be willing to speak of their work experiences. All but one agreed and Kriegler interviewed twenty-six men (ibid, 1-10). One of these was Joe, a Croatian (ibid, 12-16). Fifty-eight when Kriegler interviewed him, Joe had lost three members of his family during World War Two. He then joined the merchant navy, jumped ship in Los Angeles and worked as a French polisher there for eight years before being expelled from the US for being an illegal immigrant. Joe emigrated to Australia, worked on an automobile assembly line, then on the government-funded Snowy Mountains hydro-electric project, and eventually came to work at Whyalla where he lived in the single men's quarters. Freezing in winter, sweat boxes in summer, the tin sheds of the quarters were the antipodean equivalent of the miners' hostels of South Africa. Joe's two by four metre room, 'bereft of personal effects', 'barely accommodated a narrow bed, a metal locker and a small table and chairs'. He paid a third of his wage for this room and meals, all of which were cooked with steam, making the food into an unappetising grey mess. This food Joe contrasted unfavourably with the meals on the Snowy scheme, which were both cooked to order and more generous. At Whyalla, Joe was threatened with expulsion from the hostel for taking sugar for his on-the-job brew-time.

In constant pain from arthritis of the spine, developed from living and working through too many unheated winters, work was Joe's life. He had no close friends, knew no one in the town, could recall the names of only four of the hundreds of other hostel dwellers and only spent time regularly with the one or two men with whom he took his meals. Joe's leisure time was taken up in solitary drinking (he preferred not to go to pubs and clubs, where there were regular brawls), listening to the radio, buying lottery tickets and smoking. He spent up to a third of his income on lottery tickets, hoping that a win would enable him to retire to Yugoslavia. He spent another sixth of his income on cigarettes, from which he had developed a terrible cough. 'I will never forget the reply he gave me one day in the Shipyard when I suggested that he give up, or at least moderate, his smoking', Kriegler wrote. 'He simply said, " I have no other pleasure in life, so why should I give up smoking? I know it is bad for me, but I enjoy it, and it doesn't matter if it kills me".' Kriegler commented, 'The cancer of dying is only marginally frightening than the cancer of living, for although Joe is a cheerful and uncomplaining person, it is only too obvious that he has spent many hours contemplating the prospect of death'.

While Joe had little interest in Australian party politics and none in the nationalism of his Croatian workmates, his work experience had made him a staunch unionist and a socialist. He believed that trade unions were essential and could often be seen putting this view to his fiercely anti-union compatriots. His lifetime of observing 'the constantly erupting forces' which divide management and workers had convinced him that it was only a matter of time before capitalism is replaced by some form of socialism.

There is a lot that is important about political learning in the life stories of workers like Joe. Joe's political learning was about coming to terms with a hellish workplace and outside life, and keeping courage, intellect and hope alive. To move from the live complexities of Joe's story to a conceptual analysis is to risk simplification. But such analyses have to be developed. Because how else, as adult educators, can we understand and act on the horror that Joe's story represents?

Capitalist domination

The political learning of Joe and other workers is determined by the nature of capitalism. To say this is not to be determinist in any crude sense. It is simply to point out that capitalism provides the structure within which workers live and learn. Within that structure people have agency, the capacity to think and act. It is this dialectic of structure and agency that is the stuff of history and which we need to understand. We adult educators specifically need to develop analyses of the role of learning and education in the dialectic of structure and agency. In the development of such analyses, an understanding of capitalism is foundational. (This, of course, is to radically simplify the structure-agency debate within and between Marxism and other theoretical perspectives in the social sciences. For interesting perspectives on this debate, see Metcalfe, 1988 and Anyon, 1983).

The central fact of capitalist production is the *alienation* of workers from both the process and the product of their labour. With the development of industrialisation, the division of labour which began in earlier eras is carried much further. Work is removed from the home or village to separate large-scale institutions - the factory, the office, the school. Control of work is removed from workers and placed in the hands of management. The conception and execution of work are separated, and workers no longer control the product of their labour (Braverman, 1975). In the process what workers produce is 'consolidated into an objective power above them', and they 'become more and more enslaved under a power alien to them' (Marx cited in Freedman, 1961). Thus alienation (the separation of workers from what they produce) becomes *domination* (the control of workers by owners and managers). This domination has both a material and an ideological dimension. It originates and is constructed in relationships of production and power, but it is also played out in, and constructed in, *ideologies*

and *discourses*, i.e. in the ways in which people make meaning of situations and represent them. So domination comes to be *internalised*, to be embedded in consciousness. (This again is to radically simplify a complex argument, and to gloss over the hotly contested issue of the determination of domination.)

Social reproduction can thus be seen to be a cultural, as well as an economic and political process. (On the important debate on this issue within Marxism, see Eagleton, 1989, 165-175). Consciousness and learning are central to the processes of cultural and social reproduction. Yet, as with learning in social action, learning in social reproduction has been largely ignored in adult education theory, and cultural theory and sociology have not explicitly focused on the learning dimension of cultural and social reproduction.

Central to the reproduction of capitalism is the learning of alienated labour. Writers like Braverman (1975), Willis (1978) and Hochschild (1983) have shown what a torturous yet definite process this is. In twentieth century capitalism, the learning of alienated labour is accompanied by another, equally significant and learned process, *reification*. Reification refers to the tendency within capitalism for all relationships to become commodity relationships. At the heart of this process is what happens to workers' labour. In the capitalist mode of production workers sell their labour for wages. Their labour becomes a commodity, owned by them but apart from them. As capitalism develops 'the structure of reification progressively sinks more definitely' into people's consciousness (Lukacs, 1971, 93). Production becomes more complex and technologically dense, the division of labour intensifies. Gross and obvious exploitation of labour at the point of production is replaced by the more subtle exploitation of consumerism (Ewen, 1976). In 'high' capitalism, consumer articles no longer appear to be the products of people's labour. They are seen to be 'abstract ... and ... isolated objects, the possession or non-possession of which depends on rational calculations'. by 'consumers' (Lukacs, 1971, 91). Workers become consumers, and 'the sense of having' becomes dominant (Marx cited in Hill, 1988, 215, c.f. Hill, 204-205). Consumer credit, built-in obsolescence in commodities and marginal differentiation of products provide the technology for the endless creation of wants (Hill, 1988, 190-193). Advertising teaches people that commodities can satisfy all emotions, from power to guilt to anxiety to love (ibid, 191, 197-199, 213-215).

The tendency of capitalism, then, is to dissolve bonds of solidarity and community (ibid, 90), and to replace them with calculated, commodity relations (ibid, 96). People become atomised - separated from one another and from their inner selves. As Lukacs (1971, 88) points out, the organisation of work in industrialism also alienates and reifies people's very psyches and moral selves:

> With the modern 'psychological' analysis of the work-process [in Taylorism] this rational mechanisation [of work] extends right into the worker's 'soul': even his psychological attributes are separated from his total personality and

placed in opposition to it [so] as to facilitate their integration into specialised rational systems and their reduction to statistically viable concepts.

Thus we get the 'reliable' and 'diligent' production-line worker, and the 'conscientious' and 'impartial' bureaucrat. Reification also operates in apparently autonomous and creative occupations, such as journalism and academic work.

> The specialised 'virtuoso', the vendor of his objectified and reified faculties, does not just become the [passive] observer of society, he also lapses into a contemplative attitude vis-a-vis the workings of his own objectified and reified faculties ... This phenomenon can be seen at its most grotesque in journalism. Here it is precisely subjectivity itself, knowledge, temperament and powers of expression that are reduced to an abstract mechanism functioning autonomously and divorced both from the personality of their 'owner' and from the material and concrete nature of the subject matter in hand. The journalists' 'lack of convictions', the prostitution of his experiences and beliefs,[1] is comprehensible only as the apogee of capitalist reification (ibid, p. 100).

The process of reification extends to the very way we understand the world. 'The specialisation of skills leads to the destruction of every image of the whole'. Science become more and more specialised and 'tears the real world into shreds':

> The more intricate a modern science becomes and the better it understands itself methodologically the more resolutely it will turn its back on the ontological problems of its own sphere of influence and eliminate them from the realm where it has achieved some insight. The more highly developed it becomes and the more scientific, the more it will become a formally closed system of partial laws. It will then find that the world lying beyond its confines, and in particular the material base which is its task to understand, its own concrete underlying reality, lies, methodologically and in principle, beyond its grasp (Lukacs, 1971, pp. 103, 104.).

Much adult education theory is reified in Lukacs' sense. Adult education theory has 'become a formally closed system of partial laws': 'reflection', 'adult learning principles', 'learning styles', and so on. Adult education has become the province of professionals, and has 'turned its back on the ontological problems of its own sphere of influence', i.e. the complex processes, concerns and contexts of live,

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[1] For a view of this process from within the profession, see Pilger, 1990. For a definitive example of reified journalism, see 'Portraits in Oil', *Good Weekend, The Sydney Morning Herald Magazine*, 20/7/91, 19-26. Here the environmental disaster of the Kuwait oil wells becomes a story about a photo-journalist recording attempts to extinguish the oil fires. The photos are softened social realism, the photographer is a 'happy camper', with a 'Santa Claus face' who drives his Toyota Landcruiser 'with enormous pleasure', and 'rushes from well to well like an obstetrician from birthing room to birthing room, wanting to assist at each blessed event'.

complicated, adult learners. Yet is these very processes that adult educators must understand if they are to work effectively with workers.

Resistance and learning

But neither workers' learning nor adult education is simply about domination, reproduction, alienation and reification. There is resistance, and emancipatory struggle, in both. For workers, including adult educators, the struggle is for a decent life and for dignity. For radical adult educators there is an additional question: 'How can we use our understanding of learning and our educational capacities to assist fellow workers in their struggles?'

If a 'macro' understanding of capitalism is foundational for radical adult educators, so to is a developing understanding of the complex, contextual, contested and diverse nature of workers' political learning. Consider the following story.

> In an Australian open-cut mine, management a few years ago, as part of an effort to restructure the workplace and make it more productive, decided it wanted to foster more positive worker-management relations. In open-cut mines, draglines dig up the earth, and mechanised shovels load the earth on to large Euclid trucks. One day the workers who drive the Euclids in this mine came on shift to find the local sign-writer painting names on three new trucks. It turned out that the mine management had staged a competition to name the new trucks and a new shovel. The winning entry was 'Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs'. The shovel was to be called Snow White and the trucks named after three of the Seven Dwarfs: Dopey, Sleepy, & Grumpy.
>
> The drivers were taken aback. First of all, none of the workers in the mine had entered the competition, so they were puzzled about who could have won. It turned out that the 'girl in the office' had submitted the winning - and only - entry. But the miners were also irritated that the company, which was continually claiming that it was losing money, and which was supposed to be engaged with the workers in a serious attempt at workplace restructuring, should waste money and time on such a trivial, and obviously manipulative, game. The workers relayed their feelings to the mine manager, who said that in one mine that he'd worked at, the trucks were called after Melbourne Cup winners. To which one of the workers responded, 'I'd rather be called Phar Lap[2] than bloody Dopey'. Another worker told the manager, 'You won't get any harmony by blokes being called Dopey. "Come in Dopey" on the two-way. How's that going to

[2]A famous Australian racehorse, who died in the United States. Phar Lap is an Australian national symbol of pluck.

create harmony?' To which the manager replied, 'Get stuffed' and walked out.

Each of the three truck crews in the mine had a go at the manager about the proposed signs. One crew told the manager that they saw no need to have names on the trucks: 'They've got a number, we're only numbers'. Another crew told the manager that they would refuse to drive the trucks if the dwarf illustrations went on them; yet another crew said they would paint over the signs. Faced with this resistance, management dropped the idea.

Behind this story are the histories of a workplace, a class, a community and and a nation. Here I can only try to sketch some of what I see as the essential features of those histories, as they illuminate this particular story. The mine concerned, as is common in the industry, has a conflictual industrial relations history. The incident described above took place in the midst of protracted negotiations over an enterprise agreement. Workers did not want any form of enterprise agreement — the system of award setting through a government appointed tribunal had worked reasonably well for miners for many years. The workers in this mine, under massive pressure from the central office of their own union which was pursuing the accommodationist political agenda of the national Labor government, had reluctantly agreed to enterprise bargaining. The negotiations over this agreement dragged on for three years; the workers I interviewed gave detailed accounts of management bad faith, deception and intimidation in these negotiations. The Snow White story encapsulates all this, and also represents the management as blustering idiots, and in a sense, powerless. This powerlessness has to do with management's inability to seduce or trick miners. At a deeper level — and this is very important in understanding the nature of workplace learning — management failed yet again to make workers into what management wants them to be — compliant production mechanisms. The miners saw through the shallowness of management's ploy, wondered at their stupidity in persisting with it, and delighted in resisting and satirising it. In doing this the workers asserted their own strength and dignity. And in that assertion lies the emancipatory importance of this instance of workers' political learning.

It is useful to mention a few other factors that throw light on this example of workers' political learning. First, the workers in this mine come from an established rural community in which they have strong family and friendship ties. These ties both moderate the miners' militancy but also make them unwilling to trade their social life for increased wages. The workers are attached to a particular way of life, and they fight determinedly, but not altogether successfully, to preserve it. Second, Australian miners, in common with those in other countries, have strong traditions of industrial militancy and solidarity and these workers, despite many of them being relatively new to the industry have been inducted into these traditions. In other words, they have learned the tradition. Third, the

sardonic humour displayed in this story and its telling, and especially the delight in seeing a formally powerful person make a fool of himself, is a national characteristic, formed in the nineteenth century, when convicts and then 'free' workers struggled with landowners and other capitalists in the bush and the cities (see Ward, 1958).

Directions

Workers' political learning is determined by their place in the capitalist mode of production, specifically by their 'wage labour relation with those who control the means of production' (Metcalfe, 1988, 131). This relationship between capitalists and workers is, as we have seen, essentially one of domination and subordination. Capitalists and their agents (managers, supervisors, some workplace trainers) view workers as instruments of production and use a variety of means to try to coerce and manipulate workers to be optimally productive instruments. We have looked briefly here at two such means, the hostel system and a would-be motivational competition. We have seen how one worker survived the former, with his dignity and intelligence intact, and how miners successfully scuttled the latter. Both examples have a learning dimension. In both, people can be seen resisting oppression and learning from their experiences.

There is, of course, much, much more to be said about this sort of workplace learning. I will finish by pointing to a few directions which might be pursued. First, the theoretical framework outlined here needs to be fleshed out. As Metcalfe has pointed out, drawing on Satre, workers are in relationships with each other as well as with capitalists. Worker-to-worker relations are as much serial as collective, they are characterised by 'passive dispersal, interchangeability and potential rivalry' as much as by cooperation and solidarity. This means that the working class is best seen as 'a complex moving relation' which generates 'different and often inconsistent responses' to the 'shared challenge' of capitalism. It is therefore wrong, Metcalfe argues, to lionise the working class for its solidarity and resistance, or to berate it for its 'false consciousness' or desire for a comfortable life. Instead, we need to recognise the heterogeneity of forms of working class consciousness and action, and understand that these forms emerge as responses to the challenges that workers face in actual lived situations (ibid, 132-6). Second, the insights into the nature of working class experience and learning direct us to the importance of forms of writing like autobiography, biography, critical ethnography and people's history that chart the variety of ways in which workers have lived and learned. The almost total neglect of these forms of writing in adult education scholarship is a reflection of the professionalisation and embourgeoisment of the field. If adult educators are to work with other workers in truly educational ways it is essential that they develop a sophisticated understanding of workers' contextual, complex and contested experience and learning. It will thus be important to reread the existing large body of literature for

its learning and educational dimensions, as well as to conduct new studies of workers' experience and learning from an explicitly educational perspective. Third, if they are to work in solidarity with other workers, adult educators need to get clearer about their own class position and political stance. Far too many adult educators avoid the difficult thinking that this 'getting clearer' involves, preferring instead to feel a generalised sympathy with the 'disadvantaged' who are seen to be different from 'us' and as needing assistance that only professionals can give. The result, all too often, is invasive, patronising or otherwise oppressive 'education' which perpetuates negative and self-limiting forms of worker resistance. (For more on this issue, see Head, 1977, Gowen, 1990, Willis, 1978). Fourth, adult educators need to pay more attention to the small but important body of writing which provides detailed accounts of doing adult education with working people. I think immediately here of Tom Lovett's (1975) discussion of his and his colleagues work in pubs, clubs and other settings, and Mike Newman's (1993) account of his work with Australian trade unionists. There must be a good deal of other material in journals, memoirs and other sources. It would be useful for someone to survey and synthesise this material.

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The life history method

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What is the source of our first suffering?
It lies in the fact that we hesitated to speak.
It was born in the moment
when we accumulated silent things within us.
Gaston Bachelard

If story telling is one of the oldest arts--and indeed it must be--why do we neglect it potentially as a science? Social scientists use many methods in their research: everything from experimental research, open and closed ended questionnaires to in depth interviews. A question as to which research method is most suited in a particular situation, often revolves around a debate about whether qualitative or quantitative methods best answer the questions that are posed by researchers.

One needs to leave this question for a moment to consider the issue of research methodology more in depth. Much of the research done in the social sciences is quantitative in nature. Statistics in the field of education have been compiled on subjects such as: literacy, educational attitudes, and participation rates. There is a value in using these methods and often the underlying motivation for their choice has to do with practicality and affordability. It appears that in the last decades quantitative methods have also enjoyed more popularity than qualitative research, as the latter does not have the same aura of *truth*--it is not considered the "cold, hard facts." Results must be able to be generalized and numerical in order to be considered useful and satisfactory. In a time when society is demanding "hard" science and technology, such an attitude is predictable.

By the same token, quantitative research has it's limits--statistics perhaps give a general picture of a situation--but cannot precisely describe the underlying motives and assumptions that people have. Researchers must resort to inferential conclusions which, much like crossing a mine field, is fraught with danger. Here qualitative research can provide some solace. Research method books list the most commonly implemented methods with their pro's and con's. Unfortunately some qualitative methods that could pose as alternatives, are rarely mentioned. One such method is the life history approach. The following passages sheds light on the what, the how and the why of the life history method.

Denzin, an American researcher, points out that there is no apparent consensus regarding the definition of the life history (Denzin 1970:219)--it's description largely depends on the field to which it is being applied. It is a method that has been used extensively in anthropology and sociology, but also in medicine--each time with a different emphasis. In education it has not yet been used widely, although there are interesting ways in which the method could be implemented here.

Before going into the advantages and drawbacks of life history in adult education, it is necessary to define it as accurately as possible: The life history is a written document of a person's life. Research sources "include any record or document, including the case histories of social agencies, that throws a light on the subjective behaviour of individuals or groups". (Denzin 1970:220)

Life history, as a qualitative research method, is generally thought to have originated at the Chicago school of sociology, where it received a lot of attention between 1914 - 1933 (Warren 1982:215). The method was used to give a profile of people's lives in order to better understand them--lives of delinquents and immigrants for instance. As the emphasis of sociological work research shifted from qualitative to that of quantitative research, life history as a method faded into the background. In reference to the popularity of quantitative over qualitative research, mentioned above, Becker points out that:

> Sociologists became more concerned with the development of abstract theory and correspondingly less interested in full and detailed accounts of specific organizations and communities. They wanted data formulated in abstract categories of their own theories rather than in categories that seemed most relevant to the people they studied. The life history was well suited to the latter task, but of little immediately apparent use in the former. (Becker 1970:426)

Perhaps this is why the life history method has received so little attention in social science methodology books.

Advantages and possibilities:

The value and usefulness of the life history method is not to be found in the possibility of proving or disproving a previously stated hypothesis; it's basic theme is rather to construct a 'set of explanations that reflect one person's or one group's subjective experiences toward a predetermined set of events.' (Becker 1970:415)

There are several apparent advantages to the life history method. The first advantage Armstrong mentions is the fact it can give a broad picture of the person(s) being researched. It explores the life in various aspects giving a more complete picture than if research was only targeted to a single aspect of life. This has extra meaning in the lives of women who often have various roles of which many are intertwined; to focus only on one job or public function would limit the significance of their work or wrongly view it as an isolated activity. By ignoring aspects such as background, personal life, and other context factors, a lot can be lost in the understanding of the experiences and the perceptions of the subject.

A second advantage, Armstrong argues, is that the final product is readable and therefore more accessible to study. "The good life history reads like a novel." (Denzin 1970:471). In that sense it does justice to the person being written about, especially considering the time and effort that has been invested by the subject in sharing his/her experiences with the researcher. For the researcher it also means the manuscript will not only be accessible to colleagues in his/her particular area, but to others outside the field as well. This is especially satisfactory when looking at the time consuming activity of collecting and recording the data, analysing and consequently putting down on paper, a

coherent and worthwhile profile.

Another advantage of the life history method is that it can be done even after the death of the subject, using for instance diaries, letters--sources that fall under the heading private archives (Denzin 1970: 225). Public documents, such as newspaper articles, can also form valuable material if someone's life history is being pieced together after his/her death.

Other uses are discovered when one asks the question, "why do people write life histories?" (Warren 1982:221). The motives include: a desire for order, securing a personal perspective for self analysis, relief from tension, monetary gain, assistance in therapy, redemption and social reincarnation, scientific interest, public service and a desire for immortality.

Denzin has sub-categorized the life history into three separate forms. (Denzin 222-223:1970) The first, the complete life history where the whole life is shown, the topical life history which shows one phase or aspect of life, and the edited life history in which the researcher comments on the material that is being relayed by the subject. In the latter case the life history is in fact interspersed with remarks (Denzin 223:1970).

Drawbacks and considerations:

No single method of research, including the life history method is the answer to every researchers dreams. Like other methods, the life history has it's limitations. One apparent disadvantage of the life history method is that it is time consuming. In the past sociologists have spent years with their subjects, collecting huge amounts of material that has to be processed and analyzed. There is rarely time for research as extensive as the life history and although it would provide time for reflection in the busy life of the educator, the approach better suits the mentality of the historian!

Results from life histories can also not be generalized to other persons. Because a life history research usually deals with one or a few subjects it is difficult (perhaps even dangerous) to draw conclusions that are meaningful or applicable to others. (Denzin 1970:241) This is the problem of external validity.

Internal validity is another problem that is apparent in using this research method. As time progresses people's perceptions of their past changes and therefore their accounts of their lives may not be very accurate. (Denzin 1970:241) It is not always possible to triangulate to increase internal validity because other research materials may not exist or may no longer be available (as in the case of a lost diary, letter etc.). (Denzin 1970:242).

Life history is also difficult to analyze. A researcher using this method is constantly confronted with the question of "what am I really looking for?" and is in danger of making incorrect interpretations about the lives of others based on the researchers own life experience. Life histories also include so much information that not everything can be included in an analysis - it is therefore the researchers task to select, with the danger that important information is omitted. As it is not a quantitative method it cannot be neatly tied together with a statistical conclusion and is much more complex than most qualitative types of research. In the analysis of life history, there is a necessity to use the research question as a framework around which the story can be built and made sense of.

The ethical question also has a definite place in doing life histories. Because the research is probing into a person's life on a deeper level than most other methods, issues of privacy and respect must be considered. A consensus as to what will be researched and documented must be reached between subject and researcher and even then problems can arise. The researcher must make the subject part of the review and reflection process, which is something that researchers, through their academic training, have often unlearned. A relationship of trust and sharing must be created in order for the project to be successful -- even so it remains difficult territory. Often during the process of relating life events, intense emotions are triggered and must be dealt with as prudently as possible. The role of researcher and human must be intertwined as to not reduce the subject to a specimen simply being scrutinized under a microscope.

Note: *The intent of this article is to give a general idea about life history and it's advantages and disadvantages. The presentation in June, CASAE Montreal will bring forward more concrete ideas about how we can use the life history method in Andragogical research and practise. The way in which the method was used in my thesis as well as other possibilities will be used to illustrate this. A writing exercise will also be part of the presentation.*

Résumé: *L'art de raconter est sans doute l'un des plus anciens au monde. Cependant, cette méthode souffre d'un manque de reconnaissance scientifique. Bien que l'on constate un intérêt grandissant pour les «histoires de vie», la méthode empirique a dominé les sciences humaines au cours des dix dernières années. Or que nous offre cette approche? Peut-elle susciter l'enthousiasme et l'intérêt, ou être d'un apport significatif pour la science de l'andragogie? La présente étude tente d'apporter quelques éléments de réponse et à situer les histoires de vie dans le contexte de la recherche théorique et pratique.*

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Looking Back, Looking Forward: The Impact of Knowledge Production in Adult Education in the 1960s

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Abstract

Cette dissertation traite de l'impact des influences scientifiques, technologiques, sociales, et culturelles qui a imprimé la direction de l'éducation pour adulte durant les années 1960.

Le texte qui suit se penche sur les changements scientifiques, technologiques, sociaux et culturels survenus dans les années soixante, et leurs effets sur l'évolution de l'éducation des adultes.

1960s Change Forces and the Emergence of Adult Education

Diverse forces impacted the construction, exchange and distribution of knowledge in North American adult education in the 1960s. The field had been permeable to the effects of science and technology in the aftermath of the Second World War, a diffusion intensified in the post-Sputnik learning environment. However, social and cultural change forces also affected the adult educational landscape since the 1960s were a decade marked by tremendous social upheaval and rapid cultural change. An array of social movements emerged in these volatile times as Blacks, women, and other marginalized groups demanded voice. These groups confronted the dominant culture in overt ways in their struggles for identity and difference. In reaction to the pervasive social unrest, national efforts were mounted in Canada and the United States to address the problems of poverty, unemployment and undereducation. In this milieu, adult education experienced a period of rapid expansion. The forces of science and technology dominated this growth and development, and the field emerged as a scientized practice. Despite the presence of emancipatory social movements which could have shaped adult education as an inclusionary field tolerant of competing discourses, adult education in the 1960s devolved into a narrowly construed, exclusive and utilitarian practice.

The Nature of 1960s Knowledge: Everything New Is New

The 1960s began in the midst of a knowledge explosion, raising questions about the *nature* of knowledge in the postmodern world. Was knowledge an end or the means to an end? The debate proceeded vigorously in adult education, despite the sorry status of adult education's own knowledge base. Adult educators including Bergevin (1967) were attuned to this weakness in an emerging field. They contended that the knowledge base had to be expanded by drawing on philosophy, sociology, and empirical research among other sources of useful knowledge. The role and purpose of adult education had to be envisioned in broader, contextual terms supporting the notion that adult education was for work and for life. Adult education had to balance concerns for the individual and society and safeguard against a psychologistic turn. Bergevin cautioned that adult education had to be aware of its potential capacity to "manipulate other people to...[its] advantage by

using some of the very psychological insights that might be used to release [them]" (p. 163).

Knowledge was transitory in the bits-and-pieces decade, and people were shaken by the fleeting nature of what they could know. Knowledge had become unglued; in any moment it could be reconfigured. Seay (1958), reflecting on the constant acceleration in the rate of discovery of new knowledge, stated, "The startling realization that much content of today is outmoded for tomorrow is taking the 'punch' out of the current argument for a return in...education to content emphasis" (p.24). The 1960s became the days of process, the days when *knowing how* seemed the only way to experience some degree of control in the face of a mighty change comet.

The knowledge explosion pushed adult learners into the trajectory of this change comet. Adult educators *en masse* decided to send them down the path of lifelong learning. It is questionable how ready these educators were to lead learners down that path. Thomas (1958) recounted, "The very organization of knowledge needs re-examination in [adult education]...if we are to realize the educational opportunities of the present and future"(p. 343). The field's knowledge base continued its slow evolution throughout the 1960s with Axford (1969) still depicting the body of knowledge in adult education as scattered and diffuse at the decade's end. He also remarked, "There is a question as to whether because of the diversity and heterogeneity of the field of adult education we can build a coordinated and cohesive body of research" (p.216).

Adult Education in the Face of the 1960s Change Comet

Technological change, social violence, and conflict on many levels shaped the tumultuous 1960s when the social, cultural, and economic fabrics of North American society were being ripped apart. Adult education entered postmodern times in a still amorphous form. Part of the cloudy tail of an accelerating change comet, it was not a leader of social and cultural change. Instead its role was reduced to follower as the field scurried to cater to the whims of government and other institutions. Adult education faced a severe identity crisis as it tried to be all things to everyone who commanded its services. Making haste edged out making meaning as the order of the day. The field was lost in dreams of a new status that would be nurtured by increasing professionalization and institutionalization of adult education. It aspired to be a *discipline* (Verner, 1969), so it struggled for space and place within the university. This added to its identity crisis.

Adult education did expand rapidly, but its development was marred because the field failed to emphasize the historical and philosophical foundations that would guide the clarification of its form and function (Welton, 1991). Adult educators were tossed about as they rode the comet's tail. They sought answers to questions about their roles in education and society as notions of social education were lost in the drive toward a scientized practice. At the very time when adult educators needed to act as agents of social change, they were donning the new garbs of a practice individualized and technicized to satisfy the needs of institutions shaken by a host of social and political change reactions. In the flurry to take adult education into postmodern times, Lindeman's (1926/1961) words seem relegated to the wall of nostalgia: "Adult education is an agitating instrumentality for changing life" (p.104). "Its purpose is to put meaning into the whole of life" (p. 5).

Everything was moving in this decade, and time became fast-changing and cyclical (Jencks, 1986). Kempfer (1955) attributed responsibility to science and technology for the competing ideologies and rapid changes that were impacting the development of adult education in the post-World War II period. He contended the growing complexity of life had to be placed in a direct linear relationship with the need for adult education. Adults would have to learn throughout their lives in order to cope with change. Such thinking led to the entrenchment of lifelong learning or *education permanente* as a central tenet of adult education discourse in the 1960s. The knowledge revolution made this tenet necessary. Axford (1969), indicating the 1960s emphasis on change process, concluded, "To catch up, keep up, and to forge ahead are the goals of adult education" (p. 6) needed to assist displaced persons affected by such changes as technological unemployment and the trend to urbanization. Adult education would be a panacea for those treading in the tidewater of technological boons and worker obsolescence. Kidd and Selman (1978) reiterated the scud nature of 1960s change process in their reflections on the Canadian scene: They asserted that the decade was marked by "the discovery of the power of change itself, [and] the need to live with change as a constant [in order] to cope intelligently with a future of dramatic change" (p. 7).

The Fallout from Science and Technology

Science and technology supersaturated culture and society after World War II. By the time of the second World Conference on Adult Education in 1960, the destruction of mankind and the conquest of space had become technological possibilities (Thomas, 1961). People lived in a world that was expanding and contracting while its very existence was threatened. While adult education found a growing space in the midst of these changes, the emerging scientized practice seemed more like a Pavlovian response to institutional change stimuli than a social educational response designed to help adults survive in a fragmented, fast-changing world. It provided adult learners with an instrumental *knowledge for now* that would enable them to earn a living. However, it did not engage them in an *education for life* to give them the knowledge they needed to adequately address social and cultural concerns. Instead, it prepared them to function in technical niches that seemed to appear and disappear with similar frequency. It did not really tackle concerns with security and survival. In a world where people perceived volatility and erosion of existence as predominant, the enterprise did not emerge as a practice sufficient to "reveal the dialectics between fragmentation and globalisation" (Jansen & Klercq, 1992, p. 98).

Transcending Invisibility: Making Social Struggles Real

In the 1960s, America found itself with an ailing heart and little soul. The dreams of centuries of immigrants to live in a border zone where all could lay claim to democracy, freedom and social justice had been shattered by the jaded reality of human indignation and social abuses. America was a place where people hurt. The effects already wrought by "urbanization, industrialization, increased mobility of the population, reduction of family size, fragmentization of family life, and related social and economic circumstances increase[d] loneliness among adults" (Kempfer, 1955, p. 10). Social violence, a legacy of white, patriarchal hegemony in America, wore down the

marginalized and created a landscape marred by hopelessness and despair. As Verner (1975) summarized, disparate opportunities existed among races, generations, social classes and geographical areas with inequalities being differences in kind, quality, and degree. America's *forgotten people* (Rauch, 1972) dealt with "the twin tragedies of undereducation and underemployment" (Dorland, 1969, p.133). They struggled on a "social scene... disturbed by a staccato barrage of...crises and violence" (Knowles, 1962/1977, p. 286). This barrage included race riots, anti-Vietnam war rallies, and student protests on university campuses.

Canada in a variety of ways mirrored the social, political, and economic problems of its southern neighbor. It had its own forgotten people and invisible social problems. It was as white, as patriarchal, and as classist as its southern neighbor. Canada's Blacks, women, and First Nations peoples could claim no more space and place than their American counterparts. Canada also had its own unique struggles. It was a country of two solitudes where anglophones and francophones had to surmount social and cultural differences. It was also a land of regional disparities, and its provinces occupied an economic hierarchy. Atlantic Canadians were often depicted as lesser Canadians because they lived in *have not* provinces.

This milieu of social, economic, and political turmoil marked the 1960s as a decade of discontent across North America. The disenfranchised contested lives of exclusion in their own countries. They sought new prospects for life and work that they could describe as meaningful and worthwhile. Forgotten people, no longer willing to cater to the whims of the dominant culture, crossed lines of race, ethnicity, gender and class to rise up and fight for their space and place. Changes started to happen, but it was difficult to gauge how real or effective they were. Stubblefield and Keane (1989) noted the limited emancipatory effects of reforms sponsored by 1960s governments using adult education as their vehicle. They related that some critics saw the reform process as nothing more than a reaction mechanism designed to settle social unrest.

In the Afterglow: What the Change Comet Had Wrought

Despite the tremendous social and cultural upheaval in the 1960s, North American adult education did not predominantly progress as social and cultural education. Instead, it moved forward as an instrumentalized, scientized practice. This practice promoted *knowledge for now* designed to ensure the economic and technological advance of the dominant culture. Attempts to carry out a social agenda to enhance democracy, freedom, and social justice for North America's forgotten people were mired in government agendas to maintain the dominant culture in the face of the 1960s change comet. In the United States, the Vietnam War and the Nixon administration shattered dreams of President Johnson's Great Society (Knowles, 1962/1977). Too much of the people's money made its way from social programs into military budgets. Many of America's forgotten people continued to be lost in lives of hopelessness and despair. In Canada, the war on poverty had not been won and regional disparities remained a reality. Prime Minister Trudeau's Just Society was also still a dream.

Adult education experienced erosion in the late 1960s as the American and Canadian federal governments began to channel money elsewhere as political and economic agendas changed. The enterprise had not achieved desired prominence by

promoting the vagaries of a scientized practice. In fact, it had perhaps reduced its status by abandoning its traditional role and historical responsibility as a promoter of people's agendas. In the change decade adult education seemed to forget that its power came from people, not knowledge. To help people deal with the oscillations of life and work, the enterprise should have reduced *knowledge for now* to a subset of a broader knowledge base that could enable adults to position themselves as interconnected, proactive individuals in their struggles against economic hardship, social injustices and the erosion of well-being. Since it did not, it paid a price - a price that continues to affect the stability and survival of adult education to this day.

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New realities: Different ways of conceiving adult instruction

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Abstract

Using factor analytic procedure, six conceptions of adult instruction were found among adult education instructors.

Introduction

The way in which teaching is conceptualized and interpreted may affect and influence a teacher's behavior and teaching style. Conceptions of teaching are abstract, cognitive representations of how people think or understand the meaning of "teaching". They are like personally-constructed windows for viewing what teaching is all about. Conceptions of teaching represent normative beliefs about the relationship between the means and ends of teaching. Although individuals often hold two or three conceptions of teaching, one is usually more predominant (Pratt, 1992). Conceptions of teaching are also assumed to be rooted in teachers' cultural, social, historical, and personal realms of meaning (Pratt, 1992, p. 203). As such, conceptions of teaching held by teachers are presumed to be influenced, and even determined, by factors such as teachers' personal characteristics, professional training, experiences, and other socio-cultural variables.

Teaching or instruction constitutes an important process in helping learners acquire knowledge and skills, and "remains at the heart of the educational process" (Jarvis, 1983, p. 112). It is also a complex decision-making process in which a teacher has to plan and make critical decisions concerning the delivery of content, the use of instructional methods and evaluation of learning outcomes. Although adult learners are often thought to be self-directed, the teacher continues to occupy a significant role in adult learning and is considered the most important variable influencing the learning climate (Knowles, 1980).

Teaching as a concept is amorphous and has been defined in many different ways. Barrow and Milburn (1990) describe teaching as a polymorphous or "many-shaped" word (p. 306). Teaching is often defined as a set of actions undertaken by people to bring about some learning outcomes (Gage, 1978; Hyman, 1974). Teaching is also regarded as a craft and art (Knowles, 1980; Tom, 1984), in which competencies, professional judgement, creativity, and intuition are regarded as essential requirements. In his review of definitions of teaching, Smith (1987) found it has been conceptualized in different ways: (1) teaching is imparting information, (2) teaching implies a learning outcome, (3) teaching is an intended activity, and (4) teaching is normative behavior.

Using a phenomenographic study which involved interviews with 253 adult educators from North America (Canada and the United States) and Asia (China, Hong Kong and Singapore), Pratt (1992) identified five conceptions of teaching held by teachers of adults in various educational contexts. The five conceptions of teaching are: (1) Engineering (teaching is delivering content), (2) Apprenticeship (teaching is modelling values and knowledge), (3) Developmental (teaching is cultivating intellectual development), (4) Nurturing (teaching is nurturing personal agency) and (5) Social Reform (teaching is seeking better society). Conceptions of teaching are assumed to be composed of, and will "vary according to, three interdependent aspects: actions, intentions, and beliefs regarding the five elements within a general model of teaching" (Pratt, 1992, p. 205). The five elements are: the teacher (roles, functions, and responsibilities), content (what is to be learned), learners (nature of learners and learning), ideal (purposes of adult education), and context (external factors which influence teaching). Since teaching is a relational process, conceptions of teaching reflect the relationships between the elements, for example, the relationships between (1) learners and content, (2) learners and teacher, and (3) teachers and content. The beliefs held by teachers determine the nature of these relationships. Teaching is also assumed to be influenced by the educational context - an organization's missions and goals, and its administrative policies, rules and resources.

The purpose of this study was to assess an adult instructor's conceptions of teaching. An instrument was developed to assess conceptions of teaching. Such an instrument should provide insight into how teaching is understood by adult instructors, and would gauge what a teacher might do before and during teaching. From knowing how teaching is conceived by teachers, educational planners and administrators could better understand how teachers assumed their roles, beliefs and assumptions about adult teaching and learning.

Method

A 75-item instrument, known as the Conceptions of Teaching Scales (CTS) was developed to assess the different conceptions of teaching held by instructors. The instrument was pilot-tested for face, content and convergent validity and for reliability prior to the main study. Pilot study results revealed that the instrument had good validity and reliability. Test-retest reliability averaged 0.88, while Cronbach alpha averaged 0.79. Mail survey was employed to gather data from two groups of adult education instructors from two local school boards, namely Vancouver and New Westminster School Boards. A total of 471 instructors responded to the study, which yielded a response rate of 37.2%.

Findings

Factor analysis was employed to establish whether the CTS items were representative of Pratt's five conceptions of

teaching. A three-step procedure was carried out. First, all 75 CTS item responses from 471 instructors were factored. To determine whether items were clustered into meaningful and coherent factors that echoed the conceptions. Factor analyses using principal-component and generalized least squares extractions with different rotation methods (varimax and quartimax) were all examined. However the quartimax-rotation with principal-component extraction was finally selected. Principal-components factoring yielded 18 factors with eigenvalues greater than one, and they accounted for 63.2% of total variance. An examination of the scree plot revealed that an "elbow" occurred or kinked at the ninth factor. Table 22 displays the eigenvalue, variance and cumulative variance of the nine factors. The nine factors accounted for 48.9% of the total variance. The first six factors contained items which echoed the scales as intuitively developed. However, the Apprenticeship conception broke into two factors; one containing items which defined apprenticeship as practice, and another defined apprenticeship as modelling.

An inspection of the rotated nine-factor matrix revealed that 63 out of 75 CTS items (with significant factor loadings of $\pm$.33) were successfully clustered into the six conceptions (factors), including two versions of Apprenticeship. Of the 63 items, 14 belonged to Nurturing, 14 to Engineering, 12 to Social Reform, 12 to Apprenticeship and 11 to Developmental. The 12 Apprenticeship items were loaded on Factors 4 and 6, which suggested that there were two forms of Apprenticeship conception. Sixty-three items (or 84%) out of the original 75 CTS items successfully defined their expected conceptions.

In step 2, the factor loadings and item-scale correlations of 75 scale items were examined to determine which items should be retained or deleted from the scales, so that the items which eventually remained in the scales were sharp and well-defined. In other words, the purpose of this step was to identify and select items that assessed conceptions of teaching faithful both to Pratt's formulation and to factorial purity. Four criteria for deletion were developed after close examination of the factor loadings of all 75 items and their correlations with the original five conception scores. Items were deleted according to four criteria: (1) if an item loaded too heavily on different conceptions (factors) other than its own "home" conception, (2) if an item loaded on multiple conceptions (factors) including its own "home" conception, (3) if an item had a low factor loading (<.40), and (4) if an item had low a correlation with its conception scale (r<.40). Twenty-five items were deleted either on one or two of these criteria. Eleven items were deleted because they loaded on more than one conception and had low factor loadings. Another ten items were deleted because they loaded on different conceptions. Two items were deleted because they loaded on different conceptions and had low item-scale correlations. The remaining two items were deleted because one item loaded on more than one conception and the other had a low

factor loading. As a result of the deletion process, a total of 50 items were retained, and these items were clustered into six revised conceptions which now included the two facets of Apprenticeship - Practice and Modelling. The key characteristics of the six conceptions (as represented by factors) are described below.

Six Conceptions of Teaching

Engineering

The Engineering factor consisted of 10 items, of which five were intention items, three were action items, and two were belief items. These items emphasized content and transmission of content from the teacher to learners.

Apprenticeship-Practice

The Apprenticeship-Practice factor contained five items (four belief and one intention items) pertaining to the first (new) Apprenticeship conception. The items had a central focus on practice. Thus, this conception of teaching was related to the notion that learning was best achieved through practice, and that knowledge and practice were inseparable. Consequently, this factor was named Apprenticeship-Practice.

Apprenticeship-Modelling

The Apprenticeship-Modelling factor comprised of five items which pertained to the second Apprenticeship conception. There were three intention and two action items. The key focus of these items were on "modelling", whereby the role of the teacher was to function as a role model, to demonstrate desirable ways and values of working. This factor was named Apprenticeship-Modelling.

Developmental

The Developmental factor contained seven items related to the Developmental conception, of which five were action items and one item each for intention and belief aspects. The items focused on encouraging learners to challenge their current understanding and thinking, and to develop their intellectual ability to think rationally.

Nurturing

The Nurturing factor was made up of 12 nurturing items, with an equal number of action, intention and belief items (four each). These items were closely related to the key characteristics of the Nurturing conception, which emphasized self-esteem, emotional support and dignity in learners and promotion of a climate of trust between teacher and learners.

Social Reform

The Social Reform factor comprised 11 items of which five were intention items, four were belief items, and two action items. The items related teaching to social improvement and well-being.

Implications of the Findings

This study suggests that teaching is a multifaceted phenomenon, and that instructors have mixed and varied ways of looking at and thinking about their teaching. The implication is that in evaluating teaching, adult education administrators and program coordinators should consider instructors' conceptions of teaching in addition to instructors' professional skills, knowledge and relationships with learners. But, the CTS should not be used by administrators as a screening device to help make hiring, tenure or promotion decisions of instructors. The CTS is an instrument designed to assess and clarify instructors' conceptions of teaching.

It is recommended that conceptions of teaching should be included and discussed in all training programs for would-be and experienced instructors engaged in adult education. The CTS scores of instructors can be used as discussion points for reflection about their teaching. By analyzing and comparing different conceptions of teaching and by reflecting on their own dominant conceptions, instructors are made more aware of their actions, intentions and beliefs of teaching. Appropriate changes to the goals and assumptions of learning and education can then be made by the instructors to enhance their teaching.

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THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE KITIKMEOT REGION, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

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We examine the historical construction of adult education in the Kitikmeot, and then outline the current activities and future directions of Arctic College in the region. We find the historical establishment of Canadian administration, and the contemporary movement for self-government, to be integral to the evolution of Kitikmeot adult education.

Nous examinons l'évolution historique de l'éducation des adultes au Kitikmeot, et nous résumons les activités actuelles et les directions à venir de l'Arctic College dans la région. Nous trouvons que l'établissement historique de l'administration canadienne, et le mouvement contemporain pour l'autonomie sont au sein de l'évolution de l'éducation des adultes au Kitikmeot.

The Past: Creating Formal Adult Education

The Kitikmeot is one of three administrative regions in Nunavut. About 4,500 people currently live in the region's six hamlets, and about 90% of those people are Inuit. Within the past century, Kitikmeot Inuit have experienced fundamental social changes; since the 1950's, adult education programs organized by the Canadian state have been an integral part of such changes. The history of Kitikmeot adult education can be divided into three eras (McLean, 1994). First, prior to the 1950's, state-organized education programs simply did not exist in the region. Second, during the 1950's and 1960's, adult education was constructed through specific policy changes, administrative restructuring and programming intervention. Third, from the 1970's to the 1990's, adult education became a significant field of social experience in the Kitikmeot.

Institutionalized programs of adult education did not exist in the Kitikmeot prior to the construction of permanent settlements in the 1950's and 1960's. In past centuries, Kitikmeot Inuit lived in flexible, semi-nomadic collectivities, and survived by harvesting the resources of land and sea in annual cycles of subsistence activities. Until the early 1900's, no Euro-Canadians resided permanently in the region. Between the 1910's and the 1940's, Inuit became dependent upon trading white fox furs for Euro-Canadian goods, and a small number of fur traders, missionaries and R.C.M.P. officers began living in the Kitikmeot. During this early contact era however, the formal education of Inuit adults by Euro-Canadians was rare (Abele, 1989). Official policies discouraged Inuit education, on the grounds that schooling was irrelevant for hunters and trappers. Federal governments had no administrative agencies dedicated to Inuit education. Missionaries, traders and police did conduct informal adult education, but their efforts were typically restricted to proselytism and instruction in how to use implements such as traps, guns and outboard motors.

In the 1950's and 1960's, life in the Kitikmeot was transformed by the collapse of the fur trade and the intensification of state-organized activities (Diubaldo, 1985; Nixon,

1990). Inuit began living in administered settlements, and became increasingly dependent upon income from government transfer payments and wage labour. Official policies concerning Inuit education were quickly reversed; rather than being seen as a menace, education became seen as a means to help Inuit adapt to the requirements of life in the modern world. Adult education policies were explicitly assimilationist; officials saw education as a way for Inuit to overcome their putative cultural deprivations. Formal administrative structures for adult education emerged within the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1960. In 1969, the N.W.T. government, through the Continuing and Special Education Division, took administrative responsibility for adult education.

In the 1950's and 1960's, local programs for adult education in the Kitikmeot were mostly limited to informal evening classes. Such evening classes, typically organized by "welfare" teachers, involved activities such as English lessons, square dancing and watching films or listening to radio broadcasts. Some formal programs also emerged during these decades; a few Kitikmeot Inuit went south to Fort Smith or Edmonton for vocational training, and a housing education program was the first formal curriculum to be delivered to adults within the region. The majority of these adult education programs were designed to assimilate Inuit to the cultural and economic patterns of "modern" life.

Between 1970 and 1990, the context, structure and content of Kitikmeot adult education changed substantially. Permanent settlements, wage labour and government activities became taken-for-granted aspects of social life. Public policies concerning adult education continued to promote formal schooling, but no longer in explicitly assimilationist terms. Rather, a personal development model was adopted, within which education was seen as a means for the individual Inuk to meet his or her learning needs, and to access steady employment. Administrative structures for adult education evolved and grew substantially. The N.W.T. Advanced Education Division was created in 1984, Arctic College was founded in 1987, and a series of regional strategic planning committees on employment and training have existed since 1981.

In the 1970's and 1980's, Kitikmeot adult education programs expanded dramatically. In the 1970's, only one of six communities consistently employed a full-time adult educator. By 1986, only one of six communities did not have a full-time, professional adult educator. A few statistics from the period between September, 1979 and August, 1991 indicate just how intensive adult education activities had become in the region. In that twelve year period, a total of 421 adult courses were delivered in the Kitikmeot, ranging from full-time, two-semester programs in A.B.E., secretarial arts or skilled trades, to short courses and evening classes in typing, Inuktitut, computers, sewing, photography and suicide prevention. Sorting these 421 courses into their basic objectives, one finds that 34% sought to prepare people for specific types of employment 27% endeavored to upgrade academic skills, 26% tried to improve home management or life skills, and 13% aimed to satisfy a recreational or personal interest. In 1991, there were about 2,500 people in the Kitikmeot over the age of sixteen. Of these adults, 787 had registered in a full-time A.B.E. program since 1979, and over 100 women had participated in full-time Basic Office Procedures courses. When part-time and short courses are included, over 4,800 registrants participated in adult courses between 1979 and 1991.

The Present: Preparing People for Employment and Self-Government

In recent years, Arctic College programming in the Kitikmeot has concentrated on four areas, each of which is connected to increasing local capacities for self-government and economic development. First, academic upgrading programs in English, mathematics, science and life skills are offered each year in most communities. Statistics concerning levels of formal education attained by Kitikmeot Inuit reveal the need for such programs: in 1989, nearly 70% of adult Inuit in the region had less than a grade nine level of schooling, while only 2% possessed a high school diploma (N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics, 1990). While demand for academic upgrading programs continues, attendance in the Kitikmeot has decreased in recent years. To attract and sustain students for upgrading programs, Arctic College is finding innovative ways to deliver such programs. Instructors are using a variety of delivery methods such as computer assisted learning, and offering Arts and Crafts programs in combination with academic upgrading. These methods have led to increased student commitment to the programs and a higher retention rate. The need for academic upgrading courses will continue into the future, as people are still trying to compensate for the lack of formal education that they receive from the school system.

Second, Arctic College delivers certificate programs in a number of communities in the Kitikmeot. With the signing of the Nunavut Land Claim agreement, the demand for Management Studies courses has expanded along with the number of office and finance jobs available in the region. Certificate programs in Small Business, Community Administration , Financial Management, and Supervisory skills are also offered. Arctic College now delivers all staff training courses for the N.W.T. government, including management training for positions with Nunavut. In addition to the need for employment preparation programs, the requirement for social programming has escalated as a result of discussions concerning the future of Nunavut. A Diploma program in Early Childhood Education was delivered last year in Holman, and is being taught this year in Cambridge Bay. Other social development courses that are delivered in the region are Suicide Prevention, Grieving Processes, Parenting, and Problem Solving.

Third, Arctic College offers a number of training programs to prepare journeymen and journeywomen the various skilled trades. These programs include Pre-Apprentice Technology, Women in Trades, Pre-Employment Carpentry and Plumbing, Construction Worker I and II, and Introductory Carpentry. In addition to these courses, on-the-job Training is a significant part of most capital construction projects in the region. Trades programs have successfully connected many Kitikmeot Inuit with specific jobs. Trades training is needed as there are only about eight Inuit journeymen in the region. To meet the future demands for Inuit tradespeople, Arctic College will become more flexible in approaching training and certification.

Fourth, literacy programs in English, Inuktitut and Innuinaqtun are a high priority for Arctic College in the Kitikmeot Region. There have been a variety of literacy programs delivered during the past several years ranging from one-on-one tutoring, to cooking courses which used both English and Inuktitut recipes. The goal of these courses is to help people with communication in daily activities, such as shopping at the store, or talking with and reading to their children. The College has produced Inuktitut and Innuinaqtun courses that will be used next year in various programs and as an evening

course. Inuktitut / Innuinaqtun will become a compulsory course in all College programming since it has been designated as the working language of Nunavut.

In summary, Arctic College programs provide training in literacy and adult basic education, as well as employment preparation and social development. There is strong evidence that Arctic College programs effectively prepare people for employment. A 1989 labour force survey found that 31% of adult Inuit in the Kitikmeot were employed. While only 41% of Inuit with a high-school diploma had jobs, 73% of Kitikmeot Inuit with college certificates or diplomas were employed (N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics, 1990).

The Future: Becoming More Responsive to Community Needs

Major directions for adult education over the next five years in the Kitikmeot are outlined in Arctic College's (1994) corporate plan for Nunavut. This plan represents the official direction of the College, and was ratified by the Board of Governors and by Richard Nerysoo, Minister of Education, Culture and Employment. The plan provides the people of the region with the College's and the Department's strategic direction for post-secondary training within Nunavut. The following objectives are identified:

- to provide residents of Nunavut with more educational opportunities closer to their home community;
- to attract more Northerners to permanent positions at all levels of the College;
- to develop more regional balance in the distribution of ongoing College activities across Nunavut;
- to forge more partnerships and links with other community, regional, territorial and national organizations; and
- to match scientific activities with community needs.

In summary, the Kitikmeot Region will continue to see an increase in the availability and number of training courses. More courses will be offered at the local level, and more of them will be delivered using technologically mediated instruction such as video and teleconferencing, and computer assisted learning. There will be an increased demand for social programming as Nunavut Implementation Committees have stated that communities need to heal before people can be trained. Arctic College will continue its developmental work in Inuktitut and Innuinaqtun language courses, and there will be an increased demand for language training from the non-Aboriginal population, as English will no longer be the working language of government. Trades programs will continue to be a priority for the Kitikmeot, until sufficient numbers of Inuit tradespeople are trained.

Conclusions: Understanding the Evolution of Kitikmeot Adult Education

Adult education in the Canadian North is at an important historical juncture. Processes of Aboriginal self-government and land claims require forms of adult education quite different from the paternalistic and assimilationist programs of past decades. The fiscal crisis of the federal government makes future sources of funding for resource-intensive adult education in the Kitikmeot uncertain. The C.A.S.A.E. 1995 conference theme is very timely for those interested in Northern Canada. Future adult education policies and programs in the Canadian North need to be based on a critical

understanding of historical patterns of adult education, and of the political-economic and cultural forces that shaped those patterns.

Our paper has outlined the historical evolution of state-organized adult education in the Kitikmeot region. Past efforts were divided into three eras: the absence of formal adult education prior to the 1950's; the emergence of adult education during the transition to life in permanent settlements in the 1950's and 1960's; and the construction of adult education as a significant field of government intervention in the 1970's and 1980's. Current programs were summarized according to four basic types: literacy; academic upgrading; certificate programs in employment preparation and social development; and training for skilled vocational trades. Arctic College's future directions were sketched according to five strategic directions: increasing local delivery; employing more Northerners; enhancing regional equity; forging partnerships; and responding to community needs.

In understanding the past and present evolution of adult education in the Kitikmeot, one must recognize both political-economic and cultural dynamics. Each major change in policies and programs has been connected with a major change in the relationship between Kitikmeot Inuit and Euro-Canadian governments. The initial establishment of state-organized adult education in the region was connected with major social changes in the Cold War era. Such changes included the collapse of the fur trade economy, and the intensification of state activities in the North as a result of changes to military, transportation and communications technologies. The more recent re-orientation of adult education toward community needs and local programming is connected with the land claim agreement signed between the federal government and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut. This agreement will change, for the second time this century, the fundamental relationship between Kitikmeot Inuit and the government of Canada.

While political-economic forces have clearly set parameters on the evolution of adult education in the Kitikmeot region, cultural factors have also been significant. In the early decades of state-organized adult education in the North, Kitikmeot Inuit did not have the political structures needed to collectively resist the paternalistic and assimilationist programs of federal governments. Today however, Kitikmeot Inuit have strong political organizations and a history of collective action. In the movement for self-government, distinctively Inuit forms of adult education will be created.

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Enjeux et perspectives andragogiques de la réciprocité éducative

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Résumé : Le concept de réciprocité éducative est proposé comme fondement d'une andragogie de la personne. Ses enjeux et ses perspectives sont développés autour de l'éthique du rapport à l'autre et de ses conséquences stratégiques dans les situations éducatives.

Abstract : This paper aims at putting forward a new concept, that of educational reciprocity, which may analyse the learning process as distinctive in adult education, thus accounting for an andragogy of man as a person. The stakes and prospects deal with the ethic of otherness and its major strategic consequences.

Introduction

Plutôt que d'exposer, ne fût-ce que dans ses grandes lignes, une recherche fondamentale récente[1], je me limiterai ici à en indiquer quelques résultats et prolongements. Je le ferai à propos du concept de réciprocité éducative, de sa signification andragogique et de son opérationnalisation. Pour chacun de ces points, je soulignerai les résultats de mon travail, leurs enjeux et leurs perspectives ainsi que les voies à emprunter pour les poursuivre.

1 - le concept de réciprocité éducative

Chacun a fait l'expérience de l'enrichissement mutuel des partenaires dans l'acte d'enseigner et d'apprendre. L'histoire de l'éducation et la littérature pédagogique mentionnent occasionnellement ce phénomène sans que pour autant il ait été étudié pour lui-même. En lisant entre les lignes, on s'aperçoit au mieux que, selon les auteurs, le phénomène dont ils parlent renvoie tacitement à des conceptions fort diverses de la relation éducative, depuis l'égalité des protagonistes jusqu'à leur corrélation, en passant par leur réversibilité. C'est dire que nous restons dans une notion vague stratégiquement inexploitable. Or ce fait constitue un *enjeu* fondamental de

l'éducation qui ouvre des *perspectives* pour la pensée et pour l'action. Pour cette raison je décidai de le tirer au clair en l'abordant sous un éclairage original. En intégrant dans l'analyse du fait éducatif une réflexion métaphysique, j'ai transformé cette notion ancienne en un concept opératoire nouveau auquel j'ai donné un nom, celui de *réciprocité éducative*.

La réciprocité éducative rend compte du fait que l'accompagnant se découvre lui-même accompagné dans l'invention de soi par la personne qui cherche à se trouver elle même dans toute activité d'apprentissage. Ainsi l'enseignant apprend de l'apprenant. C'est ce fait que l'histoire atteste et que l'expérience de chacun confirme. L'hypothèse de la réciprocité n'est donc pas un a priori : elle découle inéluctablement d'une pratique dans laquelle les différents partenaires de la relation éducative expérimentent qu'ils apprennent les uns des autres. En gardant leurs différences, les uns apprennent des autres en enseignant les uns aux autres. L'enrichissement mutuel résulte du mouvement alternatif de réciprocité qui lie originairement et activement les acteurs de la situation d'apprentissage, à la condition qu'ils respectent leur singularité de sujet personnel. Mais sur quoi se fonde cette formalisation théorique et comment y parvenir ?

Les analyses purement comportementalistes des interactions demeurent insuffisantes en raison de leur point de butée, l'objet phénoménal lui-même : cet *endroit* observé, analysé, disséqué, a un *envers* caché dont il n'est pas question dans ces approches, car il est hors des prises du quantifiable. Il faut donc dépasser cette perspective de scientificité pour expliquer et rendre compte des phénomènes en accédant à leur structure ontologique. Pour le dire poétiquement avec Marguerite Yourcenar, j'ai voulu "retrouver sous les pierres le secret des sources" (*Mémoires d'Hadrien*). Ce socle invisible de ce qui apparaît est, selon la philosophie personnaliste, notamment celle de Maurice Nédoncelle, la *réciprocité des consciences*[2] qui est pour ainsi dire l'envers sans lequel l'avers des inter-relations demeurerait dans une description sans explication.

Autrement dit, c'est parce que la recherche se centre directement sur les relations des partenaires de l'action éducative que la théorie de la réciprocité éducative trouve tout à la fois ses points d'ancrage dans l'incapacité des approches expérimentales à dégager l'intelligibilité de ce qu'elles observent et ses arguments en appel dans une analyse phénoménologique et métaphysique de la relation interpersonnelle. Cette réflexion philosophique montre que la personne n'est pas un monde clos mais *conscience collégiale*. Ainsi, ce qui me constitue comme sujet personnel c'est mon ouverture radicale à l'autre, *avant* ou *en-deçà* de toute prise de position active à son égard. Le Tu est source du Je, et inversement, *en-deçà* de leur interaction perceptible. La réciprocité n'est pas d'abord un

trouverions dans cette réflexion concertante des arguments renouvelés pour éclairer la réciprocité éducatrice et lui conférer de nouveaux appuis. Cet entrecroisement réciproque d'études contemporaines nous situerait dans le champ de la *prospective*, telle que la concevait Gaston Berger. Pour ce faire, la recherche nécessiterait la constitution d'une équipe véritablement interdisciplinaire reposant, entre autres sur des philosophes, des sociologues, des psychanalystes, des linguistes et des andragogues. Nous pourrions ainsi mettre au jour et faire advenir de nouvelles façons de penser le sujet personnel qui fassent surgir autrui comme composante essentielle de soi afin que l'éducation des jeunes et des adultes travaille de concert sur l'épanouissement réciproquement individuel et sociétal de la Personne.

2 - sa signification andragogique

La réciprocité éducatrice ainsi comprise constitue à mes yeux l'un des fondements majeurs de l'andragogie. A sa lumière en effet, l'andragogie apparaît véritablement comme l'éducation de la Personne dont l'assise est le principe éthique du rapport éducatif à l'autre. Cette philosophie de l'éducation des adultes a pour enjeu et perspective le statut du sujet et de sa parole dans tout acte de formation.

La Personne, sujet spirituel-charnel de l'éducation, est au centre de l'apprentissage. Nédoncelle a écrit dès les premières lignes de sa thèse : "*Toujours nous attachons notre vie au triomphe d'une ou de plusieurs personnes. Sous une forme voisine, on pourrait dire que toute conscience est attachement*". Il en est ainsi de la réciprocité éducatrice, à la condition de ne pas confondre cet attachement avec la sentimentalité. Est ainsi à proscrire l'opinion de nombre de nos contemporains, y compris dans l'éducation, qui réduisent la réciprocité à la convivialité, souvent subrepticement démagogique. L'attachement éducatif est celui des consciences, il est la propédeutique de la communication véritable des personnes. Ne s'agissant pas d'une fréquentation mondaine, il a pour visée de rendre attrayante la compréhension du discours de la science et non d'aliéner l'apprenant aux caprices séducteurs de l'enseignant.

Construire une andragogie sur la réciprocité éducatrice, c'est d'abord reconnaître que la personne est intrinsèquement un être dialogal en relation avec autrui au plus intime d'elle-même. La dignité de l'esprit, qui fait de l'être vivant humain une personne, réside en sa radicale ouverture : tout enfermement, tout détournement de l'esprit militent contre sa dignité et ses valeurs. Il en résulte une égalité de dignité entre les différents acteurs et,

résultat de leur activité, de leur inter-relation observable, mais une condition constituante de leur être. Les sujets s'éduquent par la voie *collégiale* qui les suscite comme tels, et leurs actions éducatives découlent de cette causalité première. En conséquence, parce qu'elle est originaire et constituante, la relation entre la conscience apprenante et la conscience enseignante est par elle-même, au sens fort, *éducatrice*, plutôt qu'éducative. Nous pouvons dès lors comprendre que l'enseignant apprenne de celui-là auquel il s'adresse.

Ce bref rappel du soubassement conceptuel de la réciprocité *éducatrice* ne signifie pas que la pensée personnaliste soit la seule voie conduisant à la fonder, même si elle est pour moi la plus décisive. D'autres approches sont aujourd'hui possibles. C'est là que s'ouvrent des perspectives. Limitons-nous ici à quelques pistes.

La philosophie du langage est éclairante, notamment celle de Francis Jacques[3] . Elle contribue en particulier à faire la critique de l'idée de ce qui est "commun" du fait de la réciprocité interlocutive : ce qui est commun n'est pas un troisième terme dans lequel les singularités initiales se dilueraient, mais l'expression de ce en quoi les différentes parties se reconnaissent à la fois distinctes et unies. Ce qui est commun n'est pas un contenu de pensée susceptible de réunifier ce qui serait séparé, mais l'action même de chacune des intentionnalités engagées dans le discours et décidées à agir ensemble sans rien perdre de leur propre identité. La subjectivité interlocutive exprime en d'autres termes, en la renouvelant, la *comexistence* de Mounier.

Dans un autre domaine, Alain Touraine, dont l'oeuvre abondante marque la sociologie et la pensée depuis plus de trente ans, est un auteur avec lequel il convient de compter. Près de dix ans après "*Le retour de l'acteur*", sa "*Critique de la modernité*" parue en 1992 constitue un témoignage de poids dans l'insistance portée aujourd'hui sur le Sujet personnel. Même si le mot réciprocité ne s'y trouve pas, le développement de sa réflexion situe l'être humain comme étant à la fois particulier, universaliste et communautaire.

Ainsi, il y a convergence aujourd'hui de plusieurs approches pour souligner la place centrale du sujet. Si j'osais, à l'instar de titres de film et de livres, je parlerais du "retour de la Personne". Je rejoins ici Paul Ricoeur[4] lorsqu'il donne pour titre à l'un de ses articles "Meurt le personnalisme, revient la personne". Une nouvelle direction de recherche consisterait donc à mettre en perspective dans un dialogue à construire les voix de A. Touraine, de P. Ricoeur, de F. Jacques, de Jurgen Habermas et de quelques autres, comme Levinas et Rorty. Nous ne nous fixerions pas pour objectif d'élaborer une pensée fallacieusement commune et syncrétique, mais nous

en conséquence, un devoir de l'un vis-à-vis de l'autre dont la dignité serait menacée, bafouée, niée. Plus cet autre est démuni, plus il m'oblige, plus il m'assigne le devoir de l'écouter : c'est le Droit de l'homme. C'est à l'autre que j'obéis en l'écoutant, comme l'exprime le verbe grec *akouein*. L'écoute éducative est service d'autrui en soi. S'y soustraire, c'est se renier soi-même. Ne pas obéir, en ce sens là, à l'apprenant, c'est pour l'enseignant se déposséder de lui-même, avoir perdu le sens de sa propre dignité et celle de l'autre en ne le respectant plus. C'est renier sa fonction d'éducateur. Fonder l'éducation des jeunes comme des adultes sur la réciprocité éducatrice c'est s'inscrire irrévocablement dans la reconnaissance des différences. Le respect de l'autre ne va pas de soi : il va de l'autre. Il va et vient de l'autre à moi et de moi à lui, de sa dignité qui sollicite la mienne au titre commun de notre humanité.

Tel est l'enjeu fondamental de la réciprocité. Ce qui est en jeu, c'est l'avenir de l'autre ; en retour, c'est mon propre devenir dans et par notre rencontre. Les perspectives en sont considérables pour comprendre le développement de l'adulte à travers les apprentissages qu'il accomplit par autrui. Ceci ressort particulièrement bien aujourd'hui de la problématique des histoires de vie en formation. Il reste qu'une andragogie développementale est encore à écrire.

3 - ses conséquences stratégiques

Erigée ainsi en modèle, la réciprocité éducatrice entraîne des perspectives d'action. Elles concernent d'abord les stratégies mises en oeuvre dans les situations d'apprentissage elles-mêmes. Mais elles renvoient également à l'organisation de la formation dans les milieux éducatifs et professionnels car les démarches qui s'inscrivent dans le respect de la réciprocité comme valeur fondamentale mettent en relief des enjeux institutionnels et personnels.

Si l'andragogie est la science et l'art de l'éducation adulte dont la caractéristique est que la personne se conduit elle-même dans ses apprentissages, en tant que sujet collégial de ce qu'elle entreprend, il est indispensable que toute stratégie formatrice permette à l'adulte d'être l'auteur et le co-acteur de son éducation. Cet enjeu est source de conséquences concrètes dans le développement des actions de formation. Elle oblige à se poser à chaque fois la question du *but* poursuivi. On peut à cet égard se demander si l'engouement à définir des objectifs opérationnels ne relègue pas bien souvent dans le placard des accessoires la question fondamentale des finalités ! En effet, depuis les origines, bien des

philosophes de l'éducation et des pédagogues mettent l'individu au centre des dispositifs éducationnels. Aujourd'hui on parle plus que jamais de l'individualisation des parcours de formation et de l'autoformation. A-t-on pour autant toujours accéder aux enjeux que représente le passage de l'individu à la Personne ? Ma théorie de la réciprocité éducatrice apporte une pierre nouvelle à la construction d'une éducation de la Personne en la fondant sur les rapports interpersonnels, originaires et actifs. Par contrecoup, elle met en évidence et explique le rôle de l'enseignant comme *tiers* et lui trace des attitudes particulières à adopter dès lors qu'il s'inspire de cette éthique.

Ainsi, mettre en oeuvre une logique des acteurs et non des contenus conduit à reconnaître que toute prégnance des programmes qui ne laisse pas à l'esprit son espace de liberté n'est plus une éducation mais de l'endoctrinement. De même, toute confiscation des valeurs de l'esprit au profit d'illusions qui ruinent la personne dans son être et qui l'isolent de l'autre, n'est plus une éducation à l'autonomie et à la socialité, mais un acte qui la dénature.

Les perspectives d'une andragogie de la personne sont nombreuses et importantes, notamment dans le contexte de l'effectuation de la formation continue avec les entreprises et les organisations. Jamais autant qu'aujourd'hui il n'a été question de l'entreprise apprenante : a-t-on tiré toutes les conséquences de ce qu'implique concrètement, dans la gestion des ressources matérielles et la conduite des hommes, l'exigence de placer au coeur des dispositifs la Personne ?

En conclusion, la réciprocité éducatrice constitue ainsi le fondement et l'utopie d'une politique éducative véritablement andragogique prenant en compte l'altérité de la conscience apprenante comme fondatrice de la conscience enseignante, et inversement.

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THE FUTURE MANAGER AS LEADER AND COACH

Shirley Emma Leclair

Abstract

Re-engineering/restructuring, downsizing/rightsizing - the buzz words of government and non governmental organizations! Organizations are working leaner with less people power. Change in managerial style is the writing on the wall for the future manager with the challenge of being both a leader and a coach.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to provide a conceptual analysis of the manager as leader and coach. The content is based on a reflection of my personal coaching experiences. I have linked my experience as a coach with theory on coaching found in published literature in human and organizational development. As a coach, my population was approximately 450 managers who were responsible for other employees in a national service organization. They participated in a two day seminar on personal and organizational development (Wyspianski, 1990). The coach visited each manager three weeks after the seminar in his/her work environment, and revisited them on two more occasions.

Theory on management systems

Historically leaders have had different management system characteristics. For example, in the 18th and 19th centuries, the management system by "doing" displayed a pride of workmanship in a product that was built to last. Managers provided the model, and the labor structure was tightly defined with a lengthy apprenticeship. The individual worker was rewarded socially, and their work was psychologically satisfying. The product had a high quality design that was non-standardized and inspected on an individual basis (Torres and Spiegel, 1990).

In the early 20th century, management "directed" mass production. Management had a controlling style in a labor structure that was the extension of the machine. The individual employee reward was socially and psychologically lacking. The quality of work became average, standardized, and inspected by supervision. In the middle of the 20th century, the style changed to management by "results". The production method was automation that in a short time became obsolete. The trend was goal setting. The labor structure was divided, unionized, and the work environment was stressful. The reward to employees was given for higher thinking skills, while the physical labor was minimized. Work was of average quality, standardized and quality control inspected.

At this time, the trend in the late 20th century has the characteristic of management by "methods". The production methods include information and high-speed technology. The management style is collaboration with the labor structure, and partnership with management. The individual reward is socially and psychologically balanced. The work produced by the employee is of a high quality that enforces statistical quality control with inspection by work groups.

Leadership effectiveness may be situational, and the manager is free to chose his/her style. In this theory, leadership is based on the amount of direction (task behaviour) and socio-emotional support (relationship behaviour) that a leader provides his/her people. The leadership style may be determined by the level of readiness of the employee or group in relation to the task at hand (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982).

Limitations of coaching

In some organizations the manager is a controller and organizer. Managers have often said that they are firefighters with the task of getting the job done. They state that they are unable to devote time to any long-term planning or visioning. There is no time for staff development, and employees are sometimes sent on training courses with no additional follow-up to the training. Managers state that some organizations may not reinforce the idea of coaching, therefore senior management has to initiate the process (Whitmore, 1994). In some organizations senior management designs the vision, only for their employees, and not for themselves. The message to their employees becomes "do as I say, don't do as I do". The vision, or 'flavour of the month' is told/sold to employees and they in turn provide lip-service to coaching their people.

There are several interpersonal barriers that have the potential to exist between the manager and employee in the coaching interaction. At times the relationship may become personal, intimate or intense. When the relationship is personal or intimate the two person pairing may incite criticism or jealousy among the other employees. In an intense relationship the manager/employee personalities may clash. There is also the possibility of the employee becoming a clone of the coach. At times when the coaching interaction doesn't meet the needs of the person being coached, there may be a shift of responsibility for his/her lack of progress to the coach.

Controller versus coach

The internal motivators for the employee is money, job security, and quality of workplace life, and the role of a manager as a coach may enhance the internal motivators of the employee. The partnership relationship between the manager and employee is one of trust, safety, and minimal pressure. The role of the coach is one of: sounding board, facilitator, counsellor, awareness raiser. The qualities found in the manager as a coach are patience, detachment, supportive attitude, interest in their employees, a good listener, and perceptive nature (Whitmore, 1994). The different approach to staff demands proactive behaviour of empathy, integrity, and detachment. Many managers sometimes state that this is an ideal situation and question, "How can I argue against mother-hood and apple pie?".

So what, why change?

Organizations and companies around the world are using revolutionary methods of working to stay competitive and respond to customer demands. Fast paced change forces a manager to initiate the essential skill of managing change to move their organization forward. Organizations are forced to change in the reactive mode when they can no longer exist because of reorganizations, mergers, competition, economic fluctuations, and technical advances. Reactive, transformational change appears to be traumatic for those organizations concerned. On the other hand, proactive change as an effort to improve the organization, is more developmental in nature, and reduces the need for the fire fighting techniques (Costello, 1994).

On an individual level, when a manager is accountable it implies that he/she has used judgment and as result is functioning in a reactive mode of behaviour. In contrast, when a manager is responsible, it implies that she/he was free to choose a proactive behaviour. When a responsible manager is proactive, employees in turn are given responsibility and will give their best, thus creating a win-win situation. Research indicates that one of the leading causes of work-related stress is 'little personal control allowed' in doing one's job. There appears to be a need for change toward working practices that encourage personal responsibility (Whitmore, 1994).

Change begins on an individual level by examining your 'frame of reference' which is the way you perceive, think, and feel about your reactions to change. Paradigms, or sets of rules and regulations that establish boundaries for making business decisions are also related to organizational change (Costello, 1994). Change is

viewed as both a positive and negative process in the quest for balance or equilibrium. A sense of disequilibrium in a manager must be recognized and stabilized to adapt to change. The manager becomes a role model who extends herself/himself, and their people, in order to further develop and grow.

The attitudinal factors of awareness about what is happening around you, and self-awareness about what you are experiencing, as well as responsibility are the qualities that are crucial to performance in any activity. Top performance in business demands that the attitude of the manager is the key, followed by knowledge and experience. Coaches can negatively influence performance by using autocratic methods and obsession with technique. The mind of the manager/coach is the key and the management methodology chosen will enhance or inhibit the minds of the managed (Whitmore, 1994).

In reality, the manager holds the paycheck, the key to promotion, and sometimes the axe in a judicious application of the 'carrot and the stick' (Whitmore, 1994). The employee's internal motivators are money, job security, and quality of workplace life. These motivators can be greatly enhanced by coaching. The manager as a coach develops a partnership relationship and creates an optimal work environment of trust, safety, and minimal pressure. To function as a coach demands proactive behaviour in managerial empathy, integrity, detachment, and a different approach to staff. The attitudinal factors are an ideal state of mind with an awareness and responsibility that is developed throughout daily practice.

The benefits for the manager as coach

The traditional manager controls most functions of the work environment. In some cases there is little input from employees in the decision making process that concern them and their work. In the competitive market of this time, demands are made for a high level of performance from all employees. The compliance of rules, regulations, and supervisor obeyance are some expectations for employees, but there is more - organizations need employees who are committed. The work-team system approach has demonstrated a success rate to achieve production of a high quality with reduced overhead and high employee morale (Torres & Spiegel, 1990).

In the focus on team basics, three areas of concern are outlined: skills, accountability, and commitment. The performance results include skills such as problem solving, technical/function, and interpersonal relationships. A necessary prerequisite in this model is the whole group or mutual accountability, or an individual/small number of people who are accountable. Crucial to this design is commitment both in the collective work products and personal growth. Those people concerned have a commitment to specific goals, a common approach, and a meaningful purpose (Katzenbach & Smith, 1993).

Teams can help to identify the key challenges, and how to overcome them in their quest to build the behaviour changes that are demanded by performance. Performance, learning and enjoyment are intertwined and are enhanced by high awareness levels. If for example there is a focus on the development of performance without learning and enjoyment, then the factors of learning and enjoyment will suffer. The development of a team has stages: inclusion (forming); assertion (storming); norming (comfort level); and cooperation (performing) (Whitmore, 1994).

In the initial stage of team development, individuals form a group of people (inclusion), in a dependent relationship. The characteristic is energy turned inward within group members with the need to belong. The storming (assertion) stage of development displays an independent relationship with energy focused on the individual's internal competition. Internal competitiveness suggests greed, and the need is for self-esteem, and the esteem of others. The characteristic of the norming stage of team development is a transition from the storming stage to a comfort level within interpersonal interactions. The performing (cooperation) stage has the characteristic of interdependence, with the energy directed outward to common goals. There is a freedom among team players who are self-actualized and self-realized (Whitmore, 1994).

Discussion

...I summoned my best skill, and toiled, intent
To anatomize the frame of social life,
Yea, the whole body of society
Searched to its heart. Share with me, Friend! the wish
That some dramatic tale, endued with shapes
Livelier, and flinging out less guarded words
Than suit the work we fashion, might set forth
What then I learned, or think I learned, of truth...

(Wordsworth, W., The Prelude, l. 279-286)

Historically managers have displayed different leadership styles depending upon the task at hand, the socio-emotional relationship, and the readiness of the employees. The industrial era identified the manager as a model, the employees were satisfied with their work environment and their work was of a high quality. The mass production era identifies the director style of managing where the employee was an extension of the machine, the employee reward was lacking, and the results were an average work quality. Automation identifies the results oriented, goal setting manager style, with labour divided, unionized employees, and stressful work environment resulting in an average work quality. The present time identifies the methods manager with the concerns of high speed technology. Management and labour are collaborative partners with a balance between the employee's social and psychological rewards.

The employee rewards of money, job security, and quality of workplace life can be enhanced or inhibited by the leadership style of the manager as leader and coach. As a collaborative partner the manager is the model who creates a workplace environment of trust, safety, and minimal pressure for his/her employees. The manager displays proactive behaviour with the qualities of empathy, integrity, detachment, and responsibility that is nurtured and developed through her/his daily practice. The manager as a coach is a sounding board, a facilitator, counsellor and awareness raiser who displays the qualities of patience, support, detachment, employee interest, with good interpersonal skills.

Most managers state that they were never trained to be a manager. They were promoted because they did their job well, and they continue to do their jobs well, as firefighters in their organizations. Managers state that there is a lack of time for long term planning in their shops, and follow-up training for employees. Senior management has to reinforce the vision of coaching before managers make a commitment to coach. The manager as a coach may experience several interpersonal barriers that are part of the journey of personal growth. The manager is the employee's role model, and extends themselves and their people to further develop and grow.

Fast-paced revolutionary methods to stay competitive is forcing the manager to initiate the essential skill of managing change to move their organization forward. The buzz words of organizations today are re-engineering/restructuring, downsizing/ rightsizing. Reactive organizational change is traumatic for the people concerned, whereas proactive change is developmental. Attitudinal factors of self-awareness, environmental awareness and responsibility are necessary to perform an activity. Top performance in business depends upon the attitude of the manager as well as his/her knowledge and experience. In the competitive market, demands are made from all employees for their commitment.

The team approach has demonstrated a success rate to achieve high quality production, reduced overhead, and high employee morale. The team design includes the basics of problem solving, technical aspects, and interpersonal skills. Mutual accountability/responsibility as well as commitment to the work products and to personal growth. Clarification of the team goals/objective, a common approach, and a meaningful purpose are important to achieve performance results. Teams can help to identify the key challenges, and how to overcome them in their developmental changes within their organization. Performance, learning, and quality of workplace

life are intertwined and enhanced by high levels of awareness. Performance on its own cannot sustain and fulfill a person. Money, and job security are survival necessities, we know that quality of workplace life enhances a person's meaningful existence.

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RECRUITMENT, RETENTION, AND SUPPORT PROTOCOLS FOR WOMEN'S LITERACY PROGRAMS

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This paper explores recruitment, retention, and support protocols being successfully used for women in literacy programs. Interviews were conducted with staff of literacy programs and women learners to identify successful and popular methods.

Cette étude se penche sur les protocoles de recrutement, de rétention et de soutien ayant connu du succès auprès de femmes participant à des programmes d'alphabétisation. Des entrevues furent réalisées auprès de travailleuses et d'apprenantes en alphabétisation, de manière à identifier des stratégies efficaces et populaires.

Introduction

Recent years have shown a dramatic increase in the number of literacy programs offered and a corresponding increase in the numbers of learners enrolled in these programs. For example, here in Quebec the number of learners in school literacy programs between 1988 and 1992 more than doubled (from 15,000 to 31, 000) (Charest and Roy 1992). This increased interest in providing literacy instruction has been accompanied by research into how to better provide that instruction. One concern is to meet the needs of particular adult sub-populations because of research which has shown that different sub-populations have their own set of needs for participation in educational activities (McGivney 1990). Women are one such sub-population with needs unique to themselves (McGivney 1990), and how these needs for women's participation in literacy education should be accommodated are now being addressed (Atkinson et al. 1994; Carmack 1992; CCLOW 1988).

At least one group, at the YWCA of Montreal, has chosen to address women's needs for participation in literacy education by designing a program for women only. There are few programs which are wholly designed for women learners and even fewer guide or handbook materials to use for the development of women's programs. In response to this gap in available materials, the YWCA of Montreal is organizing the development of manuals which outline essential aspects of creating women's literacy programs. Before such manuals can be written, however, more research is required. The literature has provided suggestions for program design for women learners and has presented information on strategies used with individual literacy programs, but there is a need to determine program design strategies which have been generally successful when put into practice. As a beginning in such investigations, this author focused her attention on recruiting, retention, and support strategies which have been used successfully. The results from this preliminary investigation will be used as the basis for information presented in handbooks of protocols for establishing women's literacy programs.

Methodology

To identify successful recruitment, retention, and support strategies, semi-directed

interviews were conducted with two groups of respondents: literacy program staff and women learners. Staff from thirteen literacy programs (including two women-only programs) were interviewed: seven in Montreal, three in cities near Montreal, and three from different regions of the country (one each in Fredericton, Winnipeg, and Vancouver). Equal numbers of group and one-on-one programs were selected. Six women learners also were interviewed: four participating in a one-on-one program and two participating in a group program. The women were chosen with varying backgrounds (age ranges, origins, living situations) to elicit a range of experiences and viewpoints.

The interview model for program staff served to collect data on the operational characteristics of the program, a general profile of the learners, and the recruiting, retention, and support strategies being used for the women learners. Specific questions also were asked to determine which strategies were most successful overall and how those strategies were carried out. The interview model for women learners served to collect demographic data and the respondents' thoughts of, and experiences with, literacy education. It was investigated which recruiting strategies were effective in making the women aware of literacy education, what process they went through to find and enrol in that program, and their satisfaction with program approach (curriculum, timing),use of available resources (computers, libraries), and of the support services in the program.

Interviews were mostly tape-recorded and conducted in person. The information from the interviews was then analyzed in a form of content analysis. Information was recorded in the three main categories of recruitment, retention, and support defined in terms of Cross' (1981) category of barriers where retention strategies related to situational and institutional barriers, and support strategies related to dispositional barriers. The specific strategies used were noted as either most successful or those used with less success. Data from program staff was analyzed separately for strategies designed for both sexes and those designed for women only. Information from these two groups was then compiled with a focus on strategies designed specifically for women, and was further examined in relation to the experiences of the women learners and information from the literature.

Findings

While many of the strategies noted by staff from mixed programs and women's programs were similar to each other and to the experiences remarked by women learners, each of these respondent groups provided unique insight into recruitment, retention, and support issues.

Recruitment

Four main recruitment strategies used successfully for women were identified. These were word of mouth, referral from community service organizations, PSAs on television and radio, and referrals from schools. These general types of recruitment strategies were chosen both by programs oriented to women and programs oriented to both sexes. The difference between single-sex and mixed programs was found to be the ways in which strategies were carried out and what place of importance they were given. For example, the formation of collaborations with community service organizations was given more importance by staff at a women's literacy program than by staff of any of the mixed programs. In addition, the service organizations that were contacted for referrals

were different because of the literacy programs' interest in recruiting women only. Thus, the locations that programs contacted for attracting women included women's health services, child-care centres, women's support services, and so forth.

The experiences of the women learners added greatly to the information on recruitment. For example, they pointed to difficulties that they still face when looking for literacy education. As one woman said:

> I searched. I phoned everywhere... I looked on the phone book but it was for people already with some education... I started thinking [I] was like a private detective... It's too bad because if someone doesn't know how to read, I don't know how they would find out.

Another woman brought to attention the importance that timing plays in outreach campaigns:

> For someone like me I have a child so during school vacation or Christmas holidays, that would not be probably a good time. I would be more hesitant to join. For me, my son was in school. I can't just pick up and get a sitter all the time... My hours [for tutoring] now, I go during [his] school hours, so maybe to advertise more when kids are in school.

Retention

Three main strategies were identified for retention of women learners. These were course content and instructional approach, situational support services, and making a variety of learning materials available. It was mostly an individual approach to instruction that program staff noted:

> I think what they appreciate most is that... they are allowed to continue on at their own pace. There's not that threat of 'you go home and you do this homework or else when you come back there's going to be problems.' It's an adult setting... It's not like the school experience. A lot of them had bad experiences going through school as youngsters, and now they see they're being treated as adults, and it's set up as an adult situation.

When considering women learners specifically, staff spoke of strategies which planned for a more independent future for the learner and emphasized basic life skills in which literacy instruction was incorporated into other activities relevant to the women's lives. Another successful method that was noted was to provide situational support which could involve a wide variety of services such as legal aid, food provision, child-care, and housing. The materials made available to learners was also felt to be important to women learners such as library books with a "woman-positive" (Lloyd 1991) focus.

Some of the learners interviewed had tried in previous years to participate in literacy programs but had left for various reasons. Almost all spoke of a desire for individual attention which supports the impressions of program staff that this is an important factor. Of the retention strategies important to them, women also generally cited the same strategies which literacy program staff had thought were important, the program's course content and instructional approach as well as the work of their instructors because they were willing to use a variety of activities.

Support

Four main strategies for providing dispositional support to women learners were identified. These included recognition of the learners' work and progress, involvement of learners in program administration, holding social events, and creating a comfortable atmosphere for the learner by either choosing a comfortable and safe environment or by fostering peer support. Both women's programs found that inviting learners to participate in program administration was a successful means to encourage the women. Learners were asked or accepted to be involved in the programs in a number of ways including decision making, program planning, and daily administrative work, and the women were said to benefit as their knowledge and confidence grew from their experiences. Other aspects noted were the importance of organizing a system to be able to refer learners to community support services when needed, providing a confidential service for some learners, helping with personal development and empowerment, maintaining contact with learners (either for those who appear to have dropped out of the program or to check on learner satisfaction), and to offer women the opportunity to learn in a supportive group environment.

While the women learners who were interviewed noted that they liked the social events and recognition for their work, they most appreciated the day-to-day support of a confidential service, the social aspect of having lessons, and the way the tutors made them feel comfortable. When the women were asked who they turned to for advice and help for issues related to their studies, they said that they sought advice and counselling from their tutors or instructors at their school.

Discussion

Although the information collected is limited because of its reliance on experiences of mixed-sex programs and only two programs designed specifically for women, it serves as a beginning for research on successful protocols used in women's literacy education. To present a more complete picture of successful practices, it is important to consider together the three sources of information of program staff, women learners, and suggestions in the literature.

Program staff noted that they successfully recruited women learners by targeting specific locations for their promotions as was previously suggested in the literature for such locations as prenatal services, parent-teacher associations, and women's health clinics (Chlebowska 1992). Despite these attempts to provide information on literacy education in the community, women learners who were interviewed pointed out that they still have difficulties in finding this information. This suggests that the information available is not sufficient and is either too little, or it is not available in the places where women look for programs. For these women, schools were often the first place they contacted for information.

The primary retention strategies identified from program staff were course content (selected by learners, helping to build skills) and the instructional approach (individual attention) used in lessons, providing a variety of learning materials and devices (such as computers and woman-positive library materials), and situational support such as through child-care. Information in the literature also had suggested that situational support would be important to help retain women in the literacy programs, through child-care in particular (Garber et al. 1991; CCLOW 1988) but also as help with

transportation (Garber et al. 1991; Lloyd 1991). An individual approach was particularly important according to the women learners.

While learner recognition at events and special occasions was appreciated by the women learners interviewed for this investigation, they most often spoke of their need for day to day support such as from their instructors, from peer support, and from the confidential service provided at a one-on-one program. These were issues discussed by program staff but not with the same level of importance which is interesting considering the emphasis that the literature also places on providing day to day support for women learners (Lloyd 1991; Horsman 1988; Lewis 1985). The forms of support services suggested in the literature include women's groups for learners to meet and speak with others in similar circumstances (Garber et al. 1991), fostering understanding with learners' families to decrease the their tendency to block the women's participation in education programs (Rockhill 1988; Lewis 1985), and to provide support groups or counselling services through the program or through a referral service (Garber et al. 1991). The importance of having a referral service, and contact names in place for those services, was also noted as important by the staff of women's programs interviewed here.

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ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND ADULT EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT My article exposes in some detail Antonio Gramsci's ideas which are of relevance to adult education. The Italian theorist accorded certain forms of adult education an important role in the 'war of position' intended to confront, surround and supersede the bourgeois state. This article examines Gramsci's work concerning the Factory Council Movement, conceived as a politically educative movement, and his other writings advocating the need to generate alternative cultural associations and institutions. In addition, the article will also underline Gramsci's role as a committed adult educator.

RÉSUMÉ Mon article exposera en détail les idées d'Antonio Gramsci à propos de l' éducation des adultes. Ce théoricien italien pensait que les formes d' éducation pour les adultes ont un rôle important dans une 'guerre de position' qui aura pour but d'encercler, de renverser et de dépasser l'état bourgeois. Cet article examinera les oeuvres de Gramsci au sujet du Mouvement du Conseil d'Usine, conçu comme un mouvement politiquement éducatif, et ces autres écrits qui soulignent le besoin de générer d'autres institutions et associations culturelles. En plus, l'article souligne le rôle de Gramsci comme éducateur convaincu des adultes.

In his scattered and often cryptic writings appearing as political pamphlets, journalistic pieces, cultural reviews and as notes for what was intended as a comprehensive work *fur ewig*, Antonio Gramsci sought to formulate a revolutionary strategy for social transformation in Western Europe. It is common knowledge that Gramsci was, in terms of affiliation, first a socialist and eventually a communist militant whose goal was, ultimately, proletarian revolution. His politics were, therefore, comprehensive, involving an analysis of class politics in a variety of its forms. His was a project which extended far beyond an analysis and discussion of educational issues, even though one may argue that education, in its wider context and conception, played an important role in his overall strategy for social transformation. It is accorded an important role in his particular formulation of the concept of Hegemony. Echoing and slightly modifying Livingstone's statement (Livingstone, 1976: 235), I would argue that Hegemony refers to a social situation in which "all aspects of social reality are dominated by or supportive of" dominant social groups.

The emphasis here is on ruling by consent and not simply through force. This involves a process of 'learning'. For Gramsci, every relationship of hegemony is essentially an educational relationship (Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 350). The agencies which, in his view, engage in this educational relationship are the ideological social institutions, constituting *civil society*, such as law, education, mass media, religion etc. Gramsci argues that, in Western society, the State is surrounded and propped up by a network of these institutions that are conceived of as "a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks" which makes its presence felt whenever the State "trembles" (Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 238). As such, social institutions such as schools and other educational establishments are not 'neutral' but serve to cement the existing hegemony, therefore being intimately tied to the interests of the most powerful social groups, especially the bourgeoisie.

Implicit throughout Gramsci's writings on 'the State' and 'Civil Society' is a critique of educational establishments. Contained in his writings are elements for an analysis of the politics of education in the Western capitalist social formation. Education is perceived as playing an important role in cementing the existing hegemony. It is crucial in securing consent for the ruling way of life, one which is supportive of and is supported by the prevailing mode of production. Compulsory initial learning, mandated by the Capitalist Italian State, during the years of Fascist rule, is problematised by Gramsci in his critique of the *Riforma Gentile* and the kind of streaming it was intended to bring about. His critique of the Fascist regime's proposed separation between 'classical' and 'vocational' schools strikes me as being well within the radical tradition of opposing any kind of differentiation made on the basis of 'meritocracy' when, in effect, the whole process is one of selection made on the basis of class. In short, Gramsci's writings, of relevance to education, are imbued with the 'language of critique'. Is there a 'language of possibility'?

I would submit that such a language makes its presence felt throughout Gramsci's work. Gramsci was no economic determinist. As a matter of fact, his work is generally regarded as having marked a decisive break with the official Marxism of the time (cf. Diskin, 1993: 18). A strong sense of agency is conveyed throughout his writings. In an early article, entitled *La Rivoluzione Contro il Capitale*, Gramsci argued that the Bolshevik Revolution called into question Karl Marx's theory: *facts have overthrown the critical schema within which the history of Russia was supposed to be confined, according to the canons of historical materialism. The Bolsheviks deny Karl Marx, and affirm explicitly by their deeds that the canons of historical materialism are not so ironlike as might be thought, and has been thought...(the Bolsheviks) are not Marxists, that's all (Gramsci, cited in Clark, 1977: 51).*

Angelo Broccoli (1972: 28) argues that one of the reasons why the young Gramsci was attracted to the works of Benedetto Croce was simply because the Neapolitan philosopher affirmed human values in the face of the sense of acquiescence and passivity conveyed by Positivism and which Gramsci associated with the mechanistic and deterministic theories of the Second International: *For Croce, man (sic) was the unique protagonist of history. His (sic) thought stimulates action - concrete 'ethical-political' action - which is the creation of new history." (Fiori, 1970: 239).*

This sense of agency can be discovered in his theoretical formulations concerning Hegemony and the State. For Gramsci, hegemony is characterised by a number of features. It is characterised by its non static nature (it is constantly open to negotiation and re-negotiation, therefore being renewed and recreated). It is incomplete, selective (Williams, 1976) and there exist moments wherein cracks

appear. All this indicates that there can be room for counter-hegemonic activity, which can be very effective at highly determinate moments There are also excluded areas of social life that can be explored by people involved in such counter-hegemonic activities.

For Gramsci, the terrain wherein hegemony can be contested is the very terrain which supports it, namely that of Civil Society which is conceived of as a site of struggle. He argued that, because he regarded it as being propped up by the institutions of Civil Society, the State cannot be confronted frontally by those aspiring to overthrow it in order to bring into place a new set of social relations - what he calls 'a war of manoeuvre'. The process of annihilating the State and its coercive apparatus must, in Gramsci's view, precede, rather than follow, the seizure of power (Lawner, 1973: 49). People working for social transformation, in his case, the proletariat seeking to transform the bourgeois state, had to engage in a 'war of position', a process of wide ranging social organisation and cultural influence. It is through this process that the group creates, together with other groups and sectors of society, an historic bloc, the term Gramsci uses to describe the complex manner in which classes or their factions are related (Showstack Sassoon, 1982 : 14): *...every revolution has been preceded by an intense labour of criticism and by the diffusion of culture and the spread of ideas among masses of men (sic) who are at first resistant and think only of solving their own immediate economic and political problems for themselves who have no ties of solidarity with others in the same condition (Gramsci, in Hoare & Matthews, 1977 : 12).*

The primacy of cultural activity for the revolutionary process is therefore affirmed by Gramsci, an idea which reflects the influence of a number people, notably Angelo Tasca. As Clark (1977) has indicated, Gramsci wrote, in *Il Grido Del Popolo*, : *Socialism is organization, and not only political and economic organization, but also, especially, organization of knowledge and of will, obtained through cultural activity (p. 53).*

As a crucial area of 'Civil Society' , adult education has an important role to play in this 'war of position'. Gramsci's *Ordine Nuovo* group directed a lot of its energies, during the revolutionary climate which prevailed in Turin, prior to the Fascist take over, towards the Factory Council Movement that was, in effect, an adult education movement through which workers were 'educated' as producers rather than simply as 'wage earners' (Merrington, 1977: 158) and initiated into the process of industrial democracy. For Gramsci, the Factory Councils were intended to provide the means whereby the proletariat could "*educate itself, gather experience and acquire a responsible awareness of the duties incumbent upon classes that hold the power of the state" (cited in Merrington, 1977: 159).* This was to constitute an important step for the working class in the direction of "*exercising leadership before winning Government power" (Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 57).* The emphasis, in these writings, is on the acquisition of industrial democracy, the backbone of the workers' state. There was to be "*collaboration between manual workers, skilled workers, administrative employees, engineers and technical directors" (Gramsci, in Hoare & Matthews, 1977: 110).* Through such collaboration, workers were to experience " *the unity of the industrial process*" and see themselves "*as an inseparable part of the whole labour system which is concentrated in the object being manufactured.*" (ibid). As such, they were to acquire complete mental control over the production process to:*replace management's power in the factory (Gramsci, in Mancini, 1973: 5).* Furthermore, the knowledge acquired at the workplace would, according to Gramsci, lead to a greater understanding of the workings of society: *At this point the worker has become a producer, for he (sic) has acquired an awareness of his role in the process of production at all levels, from the workshop to the nation to the world (Gramsci, in Hoare & Matthews, 1977: 111)*

One assumes that the educational programme which the Factory Councils had to provide, in order to render workers capable of exerting such control, must mirror the spirit of democracy and collaboration it is intended to foster at the workplace and eventually in the envisaged democratic workers' state (cf. Gramsci, in Hoare and Matthews, 1977: 66). For the kind of environment generated by the Factory Councils was intended to prefigure that of the socialist state:*The Socialist State already exists potentially in the institutions of social life characteristic of the exploited working class. To link these institutions, co-ordinating and ordering them into a highly centralized hierarchy of competences and powers, while respecting the necessary autonomy and articulation of each, is to create a genuine workers' democracy here and now ...(ibid).*The Factory Council Movement brought Turin, regarded by Gramsci as " Italy's Petrograd", close to a revolution, the main reason for its ultimate failure being that its activity was not carried out in the context of the kind of alliance called for by Gramsci through his formulation of the 'historic bloc'. In retrospect, Gramsci noted that the insurgents, in Turin, were

isolated (Adamson, 1980: 60).

Yet the Factory council was not conceived of by Gramsci as the only agency responsible for the education of adults. In keeping with the idea of a 'war of position', that is to say, a cultural offensive on all fronts, Gramsci's writings convey the idea that different sites of social practice can be transformed into sites of adult learning. In point of fact, his scattered writings reflect a lifelong effort to engage in counter-hegemonic activities in all spheres of social life. Gramsci comes across, in these writings, as an indefatigable organiser and educator who would leave no space unexplored to educate members of the 'subaltern' classes. The area of industrial production becomes an important site of learning. These workplace educational experiences are to be sustained, according to Gramsci, by cultural centres. The *Club Vita Morale* , which he helped organise in 1917 and wherein workers read works and gave presentations to each other (De Robbio Anziano, 1987: 124), was one such centre. Another centre was the shortlived Institute of Proletarian Culture which was inspired by ideals similar to those of the Russian *Proletkult* (Caprioglio, 1976: 216) and the group associated with the French journal *Clarte'* (Broccoli, 1972: 47).

Some of Gramsci's writings reveal a yearning, on his part, for the creation of a cultural association for workers, one which creates space wherein workers can debate all that is of interest to the working class movement. Gramsci wrote that such an institution *"must have class aims and limits. It must be a proletarian institution seeking definite goals" (Gramsci.in Forgacs and Nowell Smith. 1985: 21).* He also felt that such an association would cater to the need to integrate political and economic activity with an organ of cultural activity (Gramsci, in Forgacs and Nowell Smith, 1985: 22). Gramsci may have been inspired, in this respect, by the writings of Anatoli Lunacarskij,who had an article on the issue translated into Italian and published in *Il Grido del Popolo* . The importance of such circles must have been recognised by Gramsci for a long time. Indeed there is evidence that the young Gramsci had, in 1916, delivered talks to workers' study circles in Turin on a variety of topics, including Marx, the Paris Commune, Romain Rolland and the French Revolution (Buttigieg, 1992: 68). His engagement as an adult educator therefore started at an early age during which time he was also greatly involved in journalism (ibid).

The ongoing commitment by Gramsci to explore opportunities for proletarian adult education is reflected in his efforts, despite obvious physical and external constraints, to create and teach in a prison school,' *scuola dei confinati'* , at Ustica (De Robbio Anziano, 1987: 125). At this 'school', different courses relating to different levels of study were held (Lawner, 1973: 66). For Gramsci, therefore, transformative education can take place in a variety of sites of social practice, and this strikes me as being well within the tradition of radical, non formal adult education, particularly the tradition which incorporates the efforts of movements seeking structural change. These efforts within the various sites were also sustained by such media as cultural reviews which Gramsci, no doubt drawing on his own experience as a journalist, must have regarded as important instruments of informal adult education. *L'Ordine Nuovo* was intended as a review of socialist culture and therefore an important source of adult education. It constituted the means whereby cultural productions of the period were analysed from the standpoint of the 'subaltern' class whose interests the review purported to represent. Such a review must therefore have been intended as an important means of assisting the Turin workers in the important process of critically appropriating elements of the dominant culture, as well as elaborating the more emancipatory aspects of popular culture, with a view to creating a new culture reflecting a different *weltanschauung*.

Once the adult education agencies have been identified, it would be pertinent, at this stage, to determine who, in Gramsci's view, are the adult educators and whether there exists a potential target learning group with whom the responsibility for agency lies. The agents who, in Gramsci's view, play a pivotal role in this 'war of position' are the organic intellectuals - cultural or educational workers who are experts in legitimation. They emerge "in response to particular historical developments" (Ransome, 1992: 198), as opposed to 'traditional intellectuals' whose 'organic' purpose is over as society enters a different stage of development (ibid).

Adult educators engaging in counter-hegemonic cultural activity are to be conceived of. according to the Gramscian conception. as intellectuals organic to the 'subaltern' groups aspiring to power. This implies that they should be politically committed to those they teach. Unless this occurs. there can be no effective learning. One of the reasons why Gramsci did not believe that the Italian

'popular universities' operated in the interest of the proletariat was that the intellectuals involved were not organic and therefore committed to this class (Broccoli, 1972: 41). Furthermore, he also questioned the approach to learning adopted by the teachers who failed to adapt according to the needs and background of the learners. In short, they do not start from where the adult learner is at, and "more care is taken to impress than to teach effectively.." (Gramsci, in Forgacs, 1988: 67). For this purpose, Gramsci argued that it is imperative for the working class, the social category to whose cause he was committed, to produce its own intellectuals or else assimilate traditional intellectuals, the process of assimilation being a crucial aspect of the 'war of position' itself. It is most likely that a social group's endeavours, in this regard, would be characterised by a combination of both processes.

As for the issue of whether there exists, in Gramsci, a social category with whom the responsibility for agency lies, one can argue that, despite his first hand knowledge of the peasant dominated South, it was to the industrial proletariat, located in Turin, that he looked for revolutionary potential. Although he attempted to deal, at some depth, with the *Southern Question* (cf. Gramsci, in Ferrara & Gallo, 1964: 797-819) and advocated an historic bloc characterised by a 'national-popular' alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, he ascribed to the former the role of leadership or directorship (direzione) in the alliance :*..we favoured a very realistic and not at all 'magic' formula of the land for the peasants; but we wanted it to be realised inside the framework of the general revolutionary action of the two allied classes under the leadership of the industrial proletariat (Gramsci, 1957:30; Gramsci, in Ferrara and Gallo, 1964: 799) [my emphasis].*

Most of Gramsci's writings, which are of relevance to adult education, and which reflect an essentialist vision of social change, focus on the educational needs of the industrial working class. The issue of adult literacy, an important concern for anyone dealing with adult education in the Southern Italian regions, where illiteracy was widespread, is given lip service in Gramsci's writings. a very short piece explaining the causes of peasant class resistance to compulsory education, being one of the very few extant pieces, if not the only piece (Gramsci, in Ferrara and Gallo, 1964: 235 - 236). In short, there is an identification, in Gramsci's writings, of a specific adult education clientele and this can be explained by the fact that these writings are the product of his first hand experience as activist, organiser and adult educator, which experience was confined to the city of Turin. He therefore wrote specifically about the area in which he was directly involved.

There is also something to be said about the kind of pedagogy which ought to be encouraged. That Gramsci was concerned with mitigating hierarchical relations between those who 'educate' and 'direct' and those who learn can be seen from his writings concerning Hegemony and the role of intellectuals. He advocates a relationship which has to be "active and reciprocal", one whereby *"every teacher is always a pupil and every pupil a teacher" (Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 350).* The same applies to his views concerning educators. In his piece 'On Education',which led certain authors to argue that he advocated a conservative education (cf. Entwistle, 1979; Senese, 1991), or elements of such an education (De Robbio Anziano, 1987), for working class empowerment, Gramsci refers to the teacher who limits himself or herself to a straightforward transmission of facts as "mediocre" (Gramsci, 1971: 141; Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 36). Such a teacher is closely associated with the 'old school' which, according to Gramsci, has its merits. He underlines these merits to move to one extreme in order to expose the shortcomings of the other, in this case, the *Gentile Reforms*. This school was, nevertheless, considered wayward enough by Gramsci to justify the struggle for its replacement (Gramsci, 1971: 141; Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith,1971: 36).

He highlighted the merits of the conveyance of facts, an aspect of the old school, in reaction to what he perceived to have been the emerging practice of carrying out dialogue in a vacuum. The implication for adult educators seems to be that a certain degree of instruction needs to be imparted to render any dialogical education taking place an informed one.

The pedagogy is directive (it is intended towards a political goal) and the organic intellectual/adult educator is equipped with a body of knowledge and theoretical insight which, nevertheless, needs to be constantly tested and renewed through contact with the learners/masses. This explains Gramsci's advocacy of a dialectical relationship between adult educators/organic intellectuals and the learners/masses. The reciprocal educational relationship which he advocates and which was cited

earlier (see p.10),*exists throughout society as a whole and for every individuals relative to other individuals. It exists between intellectual and non intellectual sections of the population...(Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 350).*

There is something to be said about what Gramsci considered as worthy of being learnt by the working class. Quite often, we come across worker education programmes which consist of nothing more than a discussion of areas connected with the process of production. This includes courses in negotiation theory, economics, labour studies and so forth. Areas which cover a wider terrain, including that which features prominently in the repressed historical tradition of independent working class education and which provided the basis for the kind of cultural studies developed in adult education, in England, are often overlooked. Gramsci considered as highly relevant to a subaltern class needs a broader education encompassing all those areas of knowledge which constitute a terrain wherein values are conveyed and subjectivities are shaped. Gramsci focuses, in his writings, on both aspects of the conventional and problematic 'high' and 'low' culture divide. Referring to the traditional school, in his piece on Education, Gramsci argues that pupils learnt Greek and Latin for no immediate practical reasons but "*to know at first hand the civilization of Greece and Rome - a civilization that was a necessary pre-condition for our modern civilization: In other words, they learnt them to be themselves and know themselves consciously*" *(Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 37).*

His focus on both aspects of the 'high' and 'low' cultural divide are made as part of a constant search for a synthesis between the potentially emancipatory aspects of both with a view to providing the basis for a proletarian culture. It is perhaps for this reason that he expresses great concern, in the *Quaderni* , for the way in which areas of popular culture are incorporated by the dominant culture. For this reason, he expresses great interest in works like Dostoyevski's novel which draws on the serial, and therefore popular, fiction to produce 'artistic' fiction, and, in so doing, reveals the interplay between the 'popular' and the 'artistic' (Forgacs & Nowell Smith, 1985:12).

Several elements of the 'canon' were considered, by Gramsci, to be of relevance to the needs of the working class. This could explain the enthusiasm he shows, in some of his reviews, for plays and writings by established figures which contain themes and moral actions that, he felt, resonate with the experiences of members of subordinated social groups. For instance, he seems to have seen in the figure of Ibsen's Nora Helmer, the protagonist in *A Doll's House* (cf. Gramsci, in Caprioglio, 1964: 246, 247; Gramsci, in Forgacs & Nowell Smith, 1985: 72), the basis for the 'new feminine personality' about which he speaks in the piece on 'Americanism and Fordism' (cf.Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 296)

The inference that I draw from the foregoing is that such knowledge should feature in a programme of cultural preparation of workers developed on Gramscian lines. This knowledge should not, however, be treated unproblematically. The process involved is one of critical appropriation:*Creating a new culture does not only mean one's own individual "original" discoveries. It also, and most particularly, means the diffusion in a critical form of truths already discovered , their "socialisation" as it were, and even making them the basis of vital action, an element of co-ordination and intellectual and moral order."(my italics) (Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 325).*

The issue of mastering the dominant culture in order to transform it is also developed in other aspects of Gramsci's work. For instance, Gramsci advocates mastery of the dominant language for members of the 'subaltern' classes not to remain at the periphery of political life. This has implications for adult literacy programmes. In the short piece, dealing with illiteracy, referred to earlier, he emphasises the need for peasants to learn the standard language to transcend their insular environment characterised by *campanilismo* (parochialism) (Gramsci, in Ferrara & Gallo, 1964: 236):*If it is true that every language contains the elements of a conception of the world and of a culture, it could also be true that from anyone's language, one can assess the greater or lesser complexity of his (sic) conception of the world. Someone who only speaks dialect, or understands the standard language incompletely, necessarily has an intuition of the world which is more or less limited and provincial (Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith,1971: 325)* Moreover, he also felt that the proletariat would achieve greater unity through the ability to speak one common language. Such unity would not be achieved if various regional groups, within the subaltern classes, confine themselves to merely speaking their own particular dialect.

For Gramsci, it is not only the dominant culture which has to be mastered in processes of adult education but also knowledge of history. As with the Canon, which has its roots in the past, history too needs to be confronted, mastered and transformed. History should be a feature of working

class adult education . He states:*If it is true that universal history is a chain made up of efforts man (sic) has exerted to free himself (sic) from privilege, prejudice and idolatry, then it is hard to understand why the proletariat, which seeks to add another link to the chain, should not know how and why and by whom it was preceded or what advantage it might derive from this knowledge (Gramsci, in Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971: 41).*

There are, however, other issues, in so far as content is concerned, which are emphasised by Gramsci. The earlier discussion on workplace democracy highlights the importance which Gramsci attached to the workers' sharing of knowledge of the entire production process and of their learning economic and administrative skills. Being first and foremost a Marxist, Gramsci must have considered important a process of education through praxis. And the notion of praxis which comes across in his writings is one that entails an absolute fusion between education and the world of production. It is for this reason that he revealed a fascination for forms of art that stressed the relationship betwen human beings and industry. In fact, he reveals a fascination for the Futurist movement for its having "*grasped sharply and clearly that our age, the age of big industry, of the large proletarian city and of intense and tumultous life, was in need of new forms of art, philosophy, behaviour and language*" *(Gramsci, in Forgacs & Nowell Smith, 1985: 51).* It is this preoccupation which led Gramsci to affirm, somewhat idealistically, the virtues of what Marx would have regarded as a 'polytechnical education': *Having become dominant, the working class wants manual labour and intellectual labour to be joined in the school and thus creates a new educational tradition (Gramsci, in Forgacs & Nowell Smith, 1985: 43).*

To conclude, I would argue that Antonio Gramsci saw in the education and cultural formation of adults the key towards the creation of counter-hegemonic action. Such processes were considered essential, by the Italian political and cultural theorist, for subordinated social groups to successfully engage in the 'war of position' necessary to overcome the bourgeois state and transform it into one which represents the workers' interests. It is for this reason that I regard his work of great relevance for the development of a theory of radical adult education. The challenge is to build upon his insights in order to develop an adult education strategy intended to contribute to the transformation of society into one which represents the interests not only of working class people but of all those groups of people who, under present circumstances, occupy a subordinated position in the power structure.

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EDUCATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF A PARADIGM SHIFT

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Abstract: Giddens' (1991) framework for analyzing post-modernity as a paradigm shift is used to examine social changes affecting our lives. Adult education is presented in this new context, and the changing roles of education and learners are discussed.

Résumé: Le cadre d'analyse de Giddens (1991) sur la post-modernité - ou changement de paradigme, sert d'outil pour regarder les changements sociaux qui affectent nos vies. Ce nouveau contexte modifie la vision de l'éducation des adultes, le rôle des éducateurs et celui de l'apprenant.

In this presentation I want to show that the process of change transforms our life on a global and collective level as well as it impacts on individuals. I will use an adapted Giddens' global framework of «post-modernity» and «radicalised modernity» to describe the general context (Giddens, 1990). Important consequences for an individual's development will be described as a specific transformation that everyone goes through which we commonly refer to as an identity crisis. Some impacts on adult education will be exposed, including the changing role of the adult educator and learner.

Paradigm shift and or high modernity

Some authors, such as Capra (1983), Ackoff *et al.* (1985), Edgar Morin (1990) view these major changes in terms of a paradigm shift which renew our vision of the world (from Newton to Einstein) and of reality (from static mechanism to dynamic energy flow). The paradigm which one adheres to determines his or her conception of social and individual realities and interpersonal relationships. Giddens (1990, 1991) looks at the present change as a continuum within the system he calls «modernity» which moves towards a «high, late» or a «post-modernity» order without the major ruptures that the paradigm hypothesis is seeing as an inherent part of the process. Wildemeersch (1992) uses both frameworks making a link between the two concepts; he also utilizes the concept of paradigm (1994). In my view, both are describing the same reality with different terms. Whatever it is called, these studies bring some interesting new aspects that could enrich our vision of reality.

Giddens (1990) defines modernity as a social order in which institutions - nation-states, material power and machinery in production processes, were established in post-feudal Europe; it is roughly equivalent to the industrialised world. The major characteristics of high modernity which Giddens (1991) identifies are: capitalism as a major axe, globalising tendencies as a process of the development of genuinely

world-wide ties, the rise of organisations who's size and bureaucratic character concentrate on the task of the reflexive monitoring of society, control of the means of violence associated with the industrialisation of war, «risk culture», future oriented and a peculiar dynamic character. This last feature is explained by three main elements which strongly impact on people's lives: (1) the separation of time and space, (2) the disembedding of social institutions and (3) an institutional reflexivity.

The separation of time and space is the dislocation of local social relations towards an articulation of wide spans of time-space to global systems. The disembedding of social institutions concerns the «abstract systems» which are symbolic tokens - money, and expert systems - and technical knowledge. These two types depend in "an essential way on «trust»"; which is "confidence in the reliability of a person or system, regarding a given set of outcomes or events, where that confidence expresses a faith in the probity or love of another, or in the correctness of abstract principles (technical knowledge)" (p. 34). This dislocation and rearticulation of social relations in time and space are the key to a tremendous acceleration of events. Associated with the mass printed media and electronic media the world, through distant events, is irrupting in our living-room at anytime. Another consequence of this globalisation is the fact that no one can «opt out»; everybody is concerned, humanity is now a «we». The institutional reflexivity is a regularised and ongoing use of knowledge as a constitutive element in the organisation and transformation of the circumstances of social life. Through the framework of a paradigm shift these elements can be seen as part of the emerging paradigm. Giddens also acknowledges that modernity produces differences, we could even say deep inequalities, exclusion; illustrated by social classes, and marginalisation that one recognizes in the access or denial to specific resources.

Psychological transformation within the individual

Transitions have always demanded a psychic reorganisation; the «rites de passage» were practised in traditional societies; post-modernity has its own rites of passage. Traditional habits and customs are radically undercut; these changes are deeply altering our day-to-day life and more importantly, affecting the most personal aspects of our own experience. Our self-identity has to be redefined; new mechanisms are emerging. Because of the many opportunities, self-identity has to be a «reflexive project» for there is a puzzling diversity of options; this "reflexively organised endeavour" has to take into account the increasing amount of risks that we encounter daily in the sustaining of life. It explains the chronic insecurity in which many individuals live and the «protective cocoon» that most people build as a defence against potential danger. On the other hand, basic trust counterbalances anxiety, it allows creativity to take place.

The present time also sees the transformation of intimacy where «pure relationships» become what Giddens calls "prototypical of the new share of personal life" with trust and commitment. A sequestration of experience as well as an

institutional repression are found where "mechanisms of shame" rather than guilt come to the fore. Personal meaningless which could become a psychic problem, can be seen as a repression of "moral questions which are denied answers" (p. 9). Existential isolation could be looked at as a kind of incapacity to reach the proper resources to enhance the quality of life. Therapy becomes a means of coping with anxiety as well as one's expression for the exploration of the self which allows the individual to balance opportunity and potential catastrophe, for "we are ... what we make of ourselves" (p. 75). Authenticity is as much a pre-eminent value as a frame-work for self-actualisation. I want to point out the self-referent aspect of the individual reflexivity; a link can be made with the biological work of the self-organising system (Varela, 1989).

Looking at lifestyles, Giddens (1991) expresses its reconstitution in terms of a dialectical interplay of the local and the global with a diversity of options and choices. Therefore the personal life has a broader scale than in a traditional setting. He indicates the standardising influences through the capitalist production and distribution which shape institutions. He also sees an openness of social life with the pluralisation of contexts of action and a diversity of «authorities». It can be said that day-to-day life is deeply intertwined with abstract systems involving processes of reappropriation and empowerment as well as processes of expropriation and loss for modernity creates mechanisms of suppression, rather than actualisation of the self, affirms Giddens (p. 6).

Impact in Adult Education

Facing these big changes, Adult education has no choice but to look at its fundamental premises; it is facing a paradigm shift (Apps, 1989; Morin, 1993). Apps uses an image illustrating what is happening right now; we have "fallen behind and out of step with the main body of the parade, which has turned the corner with its trumpets blaring and its drums setting a new beat for adult and continuing education" (p. 24). We were learner centered in order to fulfil his needs and help him to reach his objectives and goals; we were mostly reactive. We were fairly ambitious regarding the emancipation of individuals and groups. A powerful neo-conservative ideology is now taking over the interpretation of social reality. Under that influence educational policy-makers' priorities have radically changed, we no longer do what we used to. All of us are conscious of the fact that our field has changed quite drastically in the last few decades, but we are left alone to make difficult choices. How should we react when the «language of possibility» become the «language of despair», according to Giroux's expression? (in Wildemeersch 1992, p. 7). Add to that the precarious status of adult education and the absence of public debate about new policies, some crucial questions have to be asked. What are we going to do?

Adult education is facing what Giddens (1991) calls «fateful moments» which are the "result of problematic events which necessitate decisions with far-reaching consequences" (in Wildemeersch, 1992:155). According to Apps (also Boud, 1985)

adult educators have to reexamine their assumptions about who is and ought to be an adult educator and about adults as learners. We all know that many educators or instructors are giving training to many people in different settings, but they do not ask for any «official» recognition. Shall we not broaden our scope who was traditionally the individual learner first and then revisit our purposes? Numerous emerging social problems such as global pollution, the greenhouse effect, family violence, drug abuse, homelessness, etc. call for a commitment? These are the challenges that all societies are facing today. Can we be a neutral observer and let others take care of the problems? Missing the opportunity to influence the reorientation of the sector could be a tragedy (Apps, p. 29).

In order to free adult educators of their paradoxical emancipatory ambitions, Wildemeersch suggests relating education to the concept of «justification». The concept of justification "relates to the insight, ... that we can no longer attribute intrinsic superiority to one perspective or a set of perspectives. It acknowledges the contextuality, historicity or particularity of any human judgement" (p. 161). Therefore, the educator is no longer an outside observer; he or she has to take full responsibility for his or her judgement and actions while precise or definite standards are unavailable. Education then becomes «a patient dialogical search» which is, that people are trying to give honest answers to others who call for justification of irsights, attitudes and actions. Responses will necessarily be partial, particular and contextual. The result will be a "growing acceptance of cultural pluriformity or of tolerance towards a pluriformity of cultures" (Id.). The call for justification of others and answers given, create a «commitment». To be an adult is to be responsible and to accept to be questioned; it is part of each partner's identity. Interaction becomes education's rules.

Shall we forget about the concerns of emancipation? Wildemeersch's answer is yes and no. In a completely different context, working with the model of dialogue, emancipation remains a fundamental issue. But one has to realise that emancipation seen in terms of individual freedom of choice, faces «limit-situations» or a complete deadlock. According to Giddens (1991) in a modernity situation individuals face a multiplicity of choices in many sectors of his or her life. However, in high-modernity, because of the globalisation factors emerge «life-issues» which bring to one's awareness that "personal liberty may not be dissociated from mutual and global concerns" (Wildemeersch, p. 162) otherwise internal criteria jeopardizes other's rights. Other elements must be considered in decision making, the scope has to be broaden. This one-dimensional character of emancipatory politics has to be complemented by life politics as presented by Giddens' diagram (1991:215); it brings complementary aspects to emancipatory politics. Adult education has to be redefined according to the new context created by radical modernity. Wildemeersch sees it

> as a process which takes place between persons who mutually justify their choices. In this process of justification the participants in the dialogue explore and motivate in a multi-sensitive way their mutual stances. This

process may result into the confirmation or the transformation of original insights, attitudes and motivations. In addition to this the practice of adult education is conceived of as the intentional improvement of the quality of mutual justification. It skilfully puts into practice the principles of non-exclusion and heterogeneous interaction (p. 164).

This definition has the quality of offering a reorientation to the work of the adult educator as well as the adult learners. Interaction in the process of justification becomes the key word. The discussion is now open.

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LE REHAUSSEMENT DU NIVEAU DE COMPETENCE LANGAGIERE REQUIS EN MILIEU DE TRAVAIL: UNE ETUDE DE TRENTE POSTES DU SECTEUR DES SERVICES

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Résumé - Les exigences en matière de connaissance de la langue écrite en milieu de travail ont-elles tendance à augmenter au fur et à mesure que progresse l'informatisation du travail? Une analyse détaillée des exigences de postes de premier niveau d'insertion professionnelle du secteur des services montre qu'effectivement le niveau de maîtrise requis est élevé, mais qu'il est variable pour des postes exigeant un niveau de qualifications comparable au sein de la même entreprise.

Abstract - Is the level of literacy required in the workplace increasing as the use of the computer is spreading? A detailed analysis of the literacy requirements of entry-level service jobs shows that the level of language competence required is rather high, but that it varies among entry-levl jobs requiring similar qualifications within the same enterprise.

Il y a de plus en plus d'indices à l'effet que le niveau de compétence langagière requis en milieu de travail va en augmentant, principalement à cause des changements organisationnels et technologiques (Canadian Business Task Force on Literacy, 1988; Deslauriers, 1990; Eubanks, 1990; Feuer, 1987) qui surviennent constamment. La capacité de satisfaire à des exigences de plus en plus élevées de connaissance de la langue orale et écrite est souvent problématique pour les locuteurs natifs de la langue, qu'il s'agisse de jeunes adultes entrant sur le marché du travail ou de travailleurs plus âgés. Pour les locuteurs non natifs, les allophones, qui sont de plus en plus nombreux sur le marché du travail, cela représente un défi encore plus difficile. L'importance d'une évaluation juste de la compétence langagière requise pour occuper les emplois de premier niveau d'insertion professionnelle découle de la diversité ethnoculturelle croissante de la main-d'oeuvre et des résultats de plusieurs enquêtes au Canada et aux Etats-Unis montrant qu'une proportion non négligeable de la population ne possède probablement pas le niveau d'alphabétisation requis. L'usage de plus en plus répandu de la technologie représente l'un des facteurs déterminants dans le rehaussement des exigences alors que les employés doivent avoir recours à des processus cognitifs de haut niveau pour être en mesure de traiter les documents écrits nécessaires à l'accomplissement de leurs tâches (Grover, Seager et De Vries, 1990).

Certaines études récentes permettent de donner des éléments de réponse à la question de la crise des compétences langagières en milieu de travail, en particulier en regard de la lecture, de l'écriture et du calcul. Par exemple, les évaluations des populations (Kirsch et Jungeblut, 1986, 1992; Nesbitt, 1987; Statistique Canada, 1989) donnent des indications au sujet des compétences de lecture et d'écriture des employés, alors que certaines études qualitatives en milieu de travail permettent de dresser une liste des compétences requises (Grover, Seager et DeVries, 1990; Kirsch et Guthrie, 1984; Mikulecky, 1982, 1990; Miller, 1982; Norback, Wilson, Rosenfeld et Wattay, 1992; Rush, 1986). On ne connaît pourtant ni le niveau de ces exigences ni sa relation aux compétences des populations.

L'objectif de ce texte est de faire état des résultats d'une recherche réalisée dans la région montréalaise auprès de trois entreprises différentes dans le but d'évaluer les niveaux d'alphabétisation effectivement requis pour accomplir les tâches d'une trentaine de postes de premier niveau d'insertion professionnelle.

Cadre théorique et méthodologique

La démarche d'analyse de notre étude est basée sur les travaux en évaluation des compétences en lecture, en écriture et en calcul, appelées «littératie», menés par Irwin Kirsch et Peter Mosenthal à Educational Testing Service. La littératie est définie comme l'utilisation de l'information écrite pour fonctionner dans une société, pour accomplir ses objectifs personnels et pour acquérir de nouvelles connaissances (Kirsch et *al.*, 1986). Il est à souligner que cette définition fonctionnelle des compétences en lecture, en écriture et en calcul met l'accent sur la variété de documents lus ou écrits et sur la variété des usages de l'écrit dans la société. De même, lorsqu'on parle plus particulièrement de la littératie comme moyen d'acquisition de nouvelles connaissances, l'accent est mis sur un ensemble d'habiletés cognitives reliées à l'usage de l'écrit. Comme conséquence de cette conception élargie de la littératie, Kirsch et Mosenthal (1993, 1994) proposent d'en évaluer la difficulté non pas en fonction d'un seul critère ou d'une échelle de difficulté unique, ce qui est le principe de l'évaluation critérielle traditionnelle, mais plutôt d'établir un profil de difficulté en fonction d'un ensemble de critères et d'échelles. Grâce à cette approche d'évaluation par profil, nous pouvons comparer la difficulté de différentes activités de lecture, d'écriture ou de calcul en utilisant le même ensemble de critères et les mêmes échelles d'évaluation.

Les données sur la réalisation des tâches de lecture, d'écriture et de calcul analysées dans le cadre de cette étude proviennent des descriptions officielles des postes qui nous ont été fournies par les employeurs, des entrevues avec les employeurs et les employés ainsi que des observations des employés dans leurs postes. Au total, une centaine de sujets, occupant une trentaine de postes ont participé à l'étude. Nous avons également une grande variété de matériaux écrits qu'utilisaient les employés. Ces textes se divisent en trois catégories:

- la prose, définie comme texte continu organisé en paragraphes. Nos textes de prose sont exclusivement de types informatif ou procédural, par exemple, les étiquettes des produits ou les mesures de sécurité;
- le document défini comme texte non linéaire organisé en liste, matrice, etc. Ce type de texte est le plus fréquent dans nos données. Les employés de premier niveau d'insertion professionnelle semblent travailler la plupart du temps avec les formulaires, les annuaires, les cartes, les tableaux, les graphiques, etc.;
- finalement, nous disposons d'un échantillon d'activités de calcul relatives, en général, à l'utilisation des formulaires par les commis aux achats ou par les magasiniers.

Il est à souligner que les travaux de Kirsch et Mosenthal portent sur des tâches développées dans un contexte expérimental, alors que nous disposons de données qualitatives recueillies en contexte naturel. Il a donc fallu développer notre propre procédure d'analyse, basée sur les principes de l'évaluation par profil.

L'analyse de la difficulté des postes comporte deux niveaux: le niveau du poste et le niveau de la tâche. La première analyse porte sur le poste et consiste, d'une part, à identifier, dans l'ensemble des données, celles rattachées à la réalisation des tâches de lecture, d'écriture et de calcul qui se prêtent à l'évaluation par profil. D'autre part, il s'agit de définir la difficulté du poste. La deuxième analyse se situe au niveau de la tâche. Elle vise à identifier les variables qui permettent d'établir son niveau de difficulté.

La première étape de l'analyse permet d'identifier les opérations du travail relatives au poste étudié qui impliquent des tâches de littératie. Par exemple, le messager effectue l'opération de distribuer le courrier qui implique la tâche de littératie de lire sur l'enveloppe le nom et l'adresse du destinataire afin de lui livrer l'envoi. En même temps que nous identifions les opérations et les tâches de littératie, les matériaux écrits correspondants sont identifiés.

La deuxième étape de l'analyse vise à vérifier l'applicabilité des tâches à l'évaluation par profil. En effet, le système d'analyse de Kirsch et Mosenthal a été conçu pour analyser les tâches de littératie de type «recherche d'information dans le texte», ce qui est une forme particulière de résolution de problèmes. Par conséquent, les tâches ne nécessitant pas la résolution de problèmes, par exemple, la lecture pour acquérir de nouvelles connaissances ou

la rédaction de textes, ne sont pas analysables dans le cadre de l'approche de Kirsch et Mosenthal.

Les étapes trois à six relèvent de l'analyse micro-cognitive de la tâche. À ce niveau d'analyse, nous suivons de près le modèle de Kirsch et Mosenthal. La troisième étape consiste à identifier l'objectif de la tâche de littératie ou de l'opération du travail comportant une série de tâches. Les étapes quatre, cinq et six constituent le pivot de la démarche, dans la mesure où elles permettent d'identifier et de mesurer les variables pertinentes pour l'évaluation de la difficulté.

Finalement, la septième étape de l'analyse nous permet de regagner la perspective du poste entier où, à partir des évaluations de la difficulté des différentes tâches de littératie relatives au poste analysé, le niveau et le profil de difficulté du poste lui-même peuvent être établis, comme nous le verrons par la suite.

Résultats

Les résultats de l'étude peuvent être présentés dans la perspective de la difficulté des tâches et des emplois, ou encore, on peut faire une analyse comparative des niveaux de difficulté de la lecture, de l'écriture et du calcul pour un ensemble de postes.

Toutefois, certaines des tâches comportent également d'autres activités de littératie, comme par exemple, l'écriture et exigent en conséquence une prise en compte de facteurs supplémentaires de difficulté.

Une fois les niveaux de difficulté et les profils spécifiques pour chaque tâche établis, nous pouvons décrire la difficulté des différents postes. Étant donné que les échelles de difficulté sont constituées de 5 niveaux où le niveau 1 correspond aux tâches les plus faciles, alors que le niveau 5 aux tâches les plus difficiles, le niveau 2 représente la difficulté intermédiaire basse.

Finalement, en disposant de niveaux de difficulté pour un ensemble de postes, on peut comparer les postes entre eux. Les résultats d'une telle comparaison pour 18 postes d'une des entreprises ayant participé au projet sont schématisés au tableau 1. Celui-ci montre clairement une hétérogénéité des exigences de littératie à l'intérieur d'un même niveau administratif. Il n'y a pas, non plus, de progression évidente de la difficulté de lecture, d'écriture et de calcul en fonction de la hiérarchie des niveaux d'emploi. Même si le seul poste observé au niveau B-6 représente le niveau supérieur de difficulté de littératie et si les postes B-5 sont majoritairement de niveau élevé, on n'observe pas la même correspondance pour les emplois de catégorie B-4 et B-3 où trois niveaux de difficulté de littératie co-existent, allant de l'intermédiaire au bas. Il convient également de constater que même si les niveaux de difficulté peuvent être comparés entre eux sur les bases d'une micro-analyse cognitive, ce ne sont pas les mêmes éléments qui contribuent à l'établissement du niveau de difficulté.

En effet, d'une part, le corpus des postes analysés comporte un nombre important d'emplois de bureau au sens strict: secrétaire de direction, secrétaire, secrétaire réceptionniste, commis téléphoniste, réceptionniste, commis aux commandes, commis administratif ou commis aux activités de formation. Tous ces postes comprennent des activités de littératie relatives à l'utilisation du téléphone, du télécopieur et du photocopieur ainsi que la dactylographie ou la saisie de données à l'ordinateur. Les logiciels utilisés sont soit le traitement de texte (Visio 4 ou WordPerfect 5.1), soit la banque de données (par exemple, Dataease), soit le courrier électronique. Les différences de niveaux de difficulté de littératie entre les divers emplois de bureau sont dues principalement aux tâches qui nécessitent le traitement de texte (les activités de recherche d'information lors de la lecture du logiciel et les activités d'écriture) où, en règle générale, l'utilisation de Visio 4 est plus facile que celle de WordPerfect 5.1.

Tableau 1

Comparaison des niveaux de difficulté inter-postes

Titre du poste	Département	Échelle administrative[2]	Niveau de difficulté
Commis spécialisé aux achats	Placement	B-6	Supérieur (5)
Secrétaire de direction	Crédit	B-5	Intermédiaire (3)
Secrétaire de direction	Placement	B-5	Élevé (4)
Secrétaire de direction	Systèmes informatiques	B-5	Élevé (4)
Secrétaire réceptionniste	Systèmes informatiques	B-4	Intermédiaire (3)
Commis téléphoniste	Crédit	B-4	Intermédiaire bas (2)
Secrétaire	Crédit	B-4	Intermédiaire bas (2)
Commis aux activités de formation	Conseil en gestion	B-4	Intermédiaire (3)
Secrétaire	Conseil en gestion	B-4	Intermédiaire (3)
Commis administratif	Ressources humaines	B-4	Intermédisire (3)
Secrétaire	Ressources humaines	B-4	Intermédiaire bas (2)
Commis aux opérations de compensation	Compensation	B-3	Intermédiaire (3)
Commis à la préparation des effets	Compensation	B-3	Bas (1)
Opérateur de machines diverses	Compensation	B-3	Intermédiaire bas (2)
Réceptionniste	Ressources humaines	B-3	Intermédiaire bas (2)
Commis au standard téléphonique	Services administratifs	B-3	Intermédiaire (3)
Commis aux commandes	Placement	B-3	Intermédiaire bas (2)

Ainsi, les postes de niveau «élevé» sont ceux comportant une grande variété de tâches de lecture (prose et document), d'écriture et de calcul, en lien avec le logiciel WordPerfect. Le niveau de difficulté «intermédiaire» correspond généralement aux postes impliquant les tâches les plus complexes effectuées avec Visio 4 ou les tâches plus routinières effectuées avec WordPerfect 5.1, alors que le niveau «intermédiaire bas» fait référence à l'accomplissement des tâches plutôt simples avec Visio 4.

Par ailleurs, le corpus des postes analysés comprend un certain nombre d'emplois à caractère technique concernant la comptabilité (commis aux opérations de compensation, commis à la préparation des effets, opérateur de machines diverses), l'achat de fournitures (commis spécialisé aux achats) et la gestion du magasin (magasinier). Pour ces postes, même si leurs niveaux de difficulté sont comparables à ceux des postes de bureau, impliquent des tâches de littératie très différentes de ces derniers. Ainsi, la difficulté du poste de commis spécialisé aux achats ne réside pas dans la complexité des logiciels utilisés, mais bien dans la diversité et la complexité des matériaux lus, et en particulier, des catalogues consultés. Les activités d'écriture susceptibles d'augmenter le niveau de difficulté des postes de bureau, sont minimes pour le poste de commis spécialisé aux achats. L'employé doit donc posséder une compétence élevée en lecture, alors que sa connaissance du traitement de texte et ses habiletés en écriture peuvent être moins élevées, ce qui s'oppose aux compétences requises pour le poste de secrétaire. Le niveau de difficulté de littératie du poste de magasinier, pour sa part, relève d'une combinaison de la lecture des documents et du calcul, pour presque toutes les tâches de littératie analysées. Finalement, en ce qui concerne les trois postes rattachés au département de la compensation, les tâches de littératie se caractérisent principalement par la présence de données quantitatives et ce sont les variables de ce type de littératie qui distinguent entre les trois niveaux de difficulté de ces postes.

Les enjeux de la formation langagière

À travers la trentaine de postes analysés, notre étude montre une grande hétérogénéité des niveaux de littératie requis. En effet, certains postes, par exemple celui de préposé à l'entretien ménager ou celui de préposé à la maintenance, exigent des compétences minimales

de lecture. L'écriture est complètement absente des opérations du travail de ces postes. Les niveaux deux à cinq de littératie sont également représentés dans notre étude. Par exemple le poste de téléphoniste requiert le niveau deux de littératie et implique une grande quantité de lecture de type recherche d'information dans le texte. L'écriture et le calcul effectués dans ce poste sont de difficulté minimale. En revanche, le poste de secrétaire, représentant les niveaux trois ou quatre de difficulté, exige principalement des compétences supérieures d'écriture et de traitement de texte. La lecture dans ce poste est principalement de type recherche d'information et le calcul prend des formes rudimentaires. Finalement, les postes tels qu'infirmière ou commis spécialisé aux achats exigent des compétences supérieures de littératie. La difficulté du poste de commis aux achats est tributaire de la complexité et du volume des activités de lecture, par exemple, la recherche d'information dans les catalogues, la lecture des bulletins pour s'informer ou encore, l'acquisition de connaissances grâce à la littérature spécialisée ou à la documentation technique. Pour sa part, la difficulté du poste d'infirmière relève de facteurs multiples. La lecture effectuée par les infirmières est très variée (la recherche d'information dans le texte, l'acquisition de connaissances ou l'apprentissage de procédures). Les documents lus sont divers et leur volume important. Les infirmières effectuent des tâches d'écriture de niveau supérieur de difficulté, telle la rédaction des rapports ou de comptes rendus, la mise à jour de la documentation relative aux patients, la rédaction de notes, etc. Lors de l'établissement du niveau de difficulté d'un emploi, il convient également de tenir compte des enjeux relatifs à l'usage de l'écriture. On constate, par exemple, que dans les postes de commis aux achats ou d'infirmière, la lecture, l'écriture ou le calcul concernent soit le traitement de commandes dispendieuses, soit la santé du patient. En conséquence, aucune erreur n'est admise lors de la réalisation des tâches de littératie.

En conclusion, on peut affirmer que les postes de premier niveau d'insertion professionnelle du secteur des services présentent une grande variété de types et de niveaux de littératie. Afin de répondre aux exigences du milieu de travail, le jeune adulte doit donc posséder non seulement des compétences linguistiques se traduisant par une bonne connaissance du vocabulaire et des structures de la langue de travail, mais également des compétences langagières, c'est-à-dire un ensemble de stratégies cognitives qui lui permettent de manipuler la langue dans des tâches différentes: recherche d'information, résolution de problèmes, synthèse d'informations provenant de sources différentes, acquisition de nouvelles connaissances ou de procédures, etc.

À ce titre, les études statistiques des compétences des populations sont révélatrices (par exemple, Statistique Canada, 1989; Kirsch et Jungeblut, 1992). On constate que les diplômés de l'école secondaire accomplissent, en moyenne, des tâches de littératie de niveau trois, par exemple, localiser une information dans un article de presse ou comprendre une garantie de produit. Toutefois, notre étude montre que de nombreuses tâches de littératie en milieu de travail, dont certaines de grande importance pour le poste, sont de niveau quatre ou cinq et exigent des habiletés cognitives supérieures. Dans cette catégorie on peut citer la tâche de rédiger un rapport en utilisant un logiciel de traitement de texte, de commander des produits ayant le meilleur rapport qualité/prix ou encore, celle de s'informer à partir de sources écrites différentes.

Quelles sont les implications de cette réalité pour les politiques et les pratiques de formation en milieu scolaire et en milieu de travail? Il semble qu'à l'heure actuelle la formation langagière à l'école est toujours centrée sur le développement des compétences de lecture et d'écriture des textes narratifs et informatifs. La formation en milieu de travail, par contre, mise sur le développement de la littératie de base. Les recherches menées en milieu de travail montrent toutefois que l'employé a besoin de posséder des habiletés cognitives et métacognitives variées, principalement en regard de la résolution de problèmes. Le nouvel enjeu, autant pour l'école que pour la formation en milieu de travail, serait donc de mettre davantage l'accent sur le développement d'une variété de stratégies relatives à la lecture, à l'écriture et au calcul ce qui préparerait adéquatement la main-d'œuvre pour les défis que présentent les emplois d'aujourd'hui et de l'avenir.

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CONTINUING EDUCATORS AS LEARNERS: A STUDY OF CHANGES IN PRACTICE AND THE ROLE OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE LEARNING PROCESS

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How is program planning practice learned? This paper reports on a case study of program planners in university continuing education. The study examines, from the perspective of practitioners, changes in practice and the role assigned to learning in the change process. Professional development activities and their impact on practice are also explored.

Comment apprend-on à élaborer des programmes éducatifs? Cette étude de cas analyse la démarche de planificateurs d'activités d'éducation permanente en milieu universitaire. Seront abordés, du point de vue des praticiens eux-mêmes, les changements survenus ainsi que le rôle de l'apprentissage dans le processus de changement. Les activités de développement professionnel seront décrites, ainsi que leur impact sur la pratique éducative.

Background and Methodology

What do program planners do and how do they learn to do it? It might surprise those outside the field to discover that there are no ready answers to these seemingly straightforward questions. Incongruous perhaps, but the real paradox is that, as we learn more about the nature of practice, answers to these simple questions become increasingly qualified and uncertain. Growing appreciation of the indeterminate, context-specific nature of practice, of the role of constructed knowledge, and of the importance of political and ethical judgments to practice, complicate our notions about practice and challenge many of the assumptions inherent in the professional literature on program planning. Although the current language of practice remains based in a technical model of planning, that model fails to describe the complex, workaday world of practice. Since program planners are the principal source of knowledge about planning (Cervero and Wilson, 1994), an understanding of what they actually do, and how they go about learning the things they need to know, compels us to study everyday practice.

This paper reports the preliminary findings of a case study of program planners in university continuing education. The focus was on understanding how practice is learned by examining, from the perspective of planners, changes in practice and the role assigned to learning in the change process. The method was adapted from a study of change and learning among physicians (Fox, Mazmanian, and Putnam, 1989). An underlying assumption is that, while not all change necessitates learning, learning is often instrumental to change. The critical questions in this investigation relate to the forces for change, the nature of change, and the relationship between change and learning. Practitioners also were asked about their professional development activities and the impact of these activities on practice.

The study employed semi-structured interviews conducted with twelve program planners responsible for the nondegree programs offered through the continuing education unit (CEU) of a large Canadian university. The interview guide was adapted from two prior investigations: i) the Fox et al. study cited above; and, ii) a study of the form, function, and worth of continuing education to adult educators (Hentschel, 1981).

The Practice Setting

Eleven of the planners interviewed hold academic positions in the CEU. The twelfth is on a term contract. None of these planners had formal training in adult education prior to entry; four have since completed doctorates and one

has completed a masters degree. Each planner is responsible for developing and delivering a designated group of programs. Assistance with administrative/clerical work is provided by program support staff. In total, the nondegree area offers over 30 certificate programs and dozens of short courses and seminars. The primary focus is on management and professional development programming.

Until two years ago, the area was administered as two separate areas, management and the community based and professional programs. The management area was generally able to recover direct costs and contribute to salaries, but its sister area incurred significant annual operating deficits and little pressure was exerted on planners to improve financial performance. The decision to amalgamate the areas was based on the hope that, by working together, the two areas could realize economies of scale, share "best practices", and improve the overall financial performance of nondegree programs. Since amalgamation, the annual operating deficit of the area has increased and the organizational response to the situation has changed. With better financial reporting, all costs incurred in nondegree programming have been identified. Planners are now expected to recover direct expenses and overhead costs, including salaries, telephone, and computer equipment usage, for each program under their responsibility. Planners responsible for programs that do not recover costs are under considerable pressure to reduce costs or increase revenue. One year ago, in response to the area's "growing" deficit, the CEU's administration reduced the area's staff complement and, in doing so, increased the work loads of most staff. The administration's rationale rests with the potential threat that cuts to university funding pose to the CEU. There is no immediate threat to the CEU as it continues to generate a significant operating surplus.

Forces for Change and Their Relationship to Learning

In response to the question, "What changes have you made, or have occurred, in your practice as a continuing educator within the last year?", planners identified a total of 65 separate changes, approximately 80% of which were related to some type of learning. Planners were asked to identify separate change occurrences, but often identified changes were interrelated; that is, change, particularly change that is perceived to be significant, tends to be related to other changes of equal or lesser significance.

Planners identified 8 different forces for/causes of change; while a change was often attributed to more than one force, a single force tended to predominate:

1) planners' personal philosophy--change is related to what planners feel they ought to do in their role as adult educators (internal force);

2) the environment of planning--change may be related to personal philosophy but external forces, such as learner or community interests, appear to act as catalysts;

3) the desire for improved competence--again, change may be related to personal philosophy but the desired competency is task specific;

4) organizational interests--change is attributed to the requirements or interests of the CEU's senior administration;

5) relations with internal colleagues--pressures for change come from other planners in the area;

6) career development--change is attributed to planners' career goals or interests;

7) personal well-being--change is attributed to planners' "survival"

needs independent of their planning role; and,

8) curiosity--change is related to planners' personal interests.

The first three forces, which are essentially professional forces, were associated with approximately 35% of the changes identified by planners. The third and forth forces, organizational interests and relations with colleagues, are primarily social forces; together they accounted for about 55% of the changes identified. Organizational interests were associated with approximately 46% of all changes making this force the most frequently cited by planners. The significance of this force is due, in part, to the financial pressures planners were facing at the time the interviews were conducted. Of the 13 changes identified that involved no learning, 10 of these (15% of all changes) were attributed to social forces. Personal forces, which include the last three types of forces listed, accounted for approximately 10% of the changes identified.

Nature of Change

In their study of physicians, Fox et al. (1989) identified four types of change, varying in size, complexity, and emotional response: accommodation; adjustment; redirection; and transformation. The majority of changes (80%) identified by planners could be similarly classified: accommodation (27% of classified changes); adjustment (56%), redirection (13%); and, transformation (4%). For example, a simple act of compliance with the CEU's informal edict regarding office attire would be an example of accommodation; adjustment, a larger, more complicated change, might involve working with instructional designers to convert an existing program into distance delivery; redirection, which involves a major change in practice, might be experienced with a significant change in a planner's program portfolio; transformation, which entails "restructuring and redefinition of many elements" (Fox et al., 1989, 22) of practice, might occur as a planner integrates a well developed rationale for practice into day to day activities.

Social forces accounted for most accommodations; these tended to be perceived negatively by planners. Over 60% of adjustments were attributed to professional forces and generally associated with little emotion; adjustments were most often associated with negative emotions when they were attributed to social forces (30% of adjustments). Redirections were evenly distributed across the three types of forces and were generally associate with strong, positive emotion. The two examples of transformation were associated with professional forces and strong, positive emotion.

When change was perceived to be coerced or its rationale poorly understood, or when change was not deemed to be in the planner's best interests or contrary to the planner's philosophy of practice, change was associated with negative feelings and, often, resistance. The nature of resistance tended to vary with the planner's perception of the risk associated with resistance. Social forces, more than other forces, were associated with negative feelings and resistance.

Change and Learning

Despite a long standing concern with professionalizing practice (Wilson, 1993), adult educators do not meet the generally accepted definitional criteria for professionals (Hunt, 1992). Of interest to this discussion, adult education practitioners are not required to complete standardized preservice training or to demonstrate defined practice competencies. This raises an interesting question: as practitioners engaged in learning, how do adult educators, including program planners, compare to other professional workers? In the professional model, education is the basis for practice. Similarly, with continuing professional education, the assumption is that

education impacts or changes practice. In their study, Fox et al. (1989) demonstrated that, in fact, changes in the practice of physicians often resulted in deliberate and purposeful episodes of learning. Such episodes could be classified in terms of purpose (conceptual or problem-specific), method (deliberative or experiential), and resources (formal or informal). Learning from practice was related to only a small proportion of changes reported by physicians (Fox, 1991).

In describing learning associated with changes in practice, planners described examples of purposeful learning that paralleled those described by physicians. In changes that involved learning, the proportion of learning episodes that could be classified as predominantly conceptual equalled those classified as predominantly problem-specific; however, in over 50% of the examples of conceptual learning, planners also cited occurrences of problem-specific learning. Too, while the majority of learning episodes involved methods that were either primarily deliberative/reflective (40%) or primarily experiential/hands-on and participatory (20%), approximately 40% of all learning episodes cited by planners involved both deliberative and experiential learning. Among this group of planners, a "trial and error" approach to learning from practice, or what Schön (1987, 27) depicts as a "pattern of inquiry [that] is better described as a sequences of 'moments' in a process of reflection-in-action," prevailed. This pattern has been suggested by other research on program planning practice (Percival, 1993). In this study, planners provided numerous examples where learning did not appear to be undertaken as a deliberate strategy, but rather was the by-product of practice in which change was a condition. Learning neither preceded nor followed change but was concomitant with the change process.

Planners showed an overwhelming preference for informal resources in learning related to change; second to their own practice, planners relied on the experiences of/discussions with internal colleagues and others involved in the planning process (e.g., instructors, advisory group members). Considerably down on the list, at least where learning related to change was concerned, is professional reading--it was not mentioned by 4 planners. Last in the list of preferred resources in dealing with change was formal instruction. In general, learning strategies that integrated multiple resources tended to be associated with complex changes and conceptual problems.

Of particular note is the extent to which planners attempted to use, or identified the value of using, collaborative learning strategies in relation to change, both with internal colleagues and with others involved in the planning process. This appears to be related to recognition (often implicit) of the importance of local or practical knowledge to practice.

Professional Development

Planners were asked about professional development (PD) initiatives undertaken in the prior year as well as future intentions. To date, this data has not been fully analyzed, but some observations warrant reporting. As with learning related to change, learning that planners associate with PD can be understood in terms of purpose, method, and resources. In terms of purpose, a distinction appears to exist between initiatives that are job-related (i.e., primarily focused on learning needs associated with current job assignments) and initiatives that are career-related (i.e., primarily focused on learning needs and personal interests that seem broader than the planner's current job assignment). In this sample, 4 planners described PD that was primarily job-related while 8 described PD that was primarily career-related. Of the 4 planners who focused on job-related learning needs, 2 described methods that were experiential (formal resources), and 2 described deliberative methods (informal resources). The 2 planners who used deliberative methods did not engage in PD as a deliberate strategy but viewed it as an outcome of their experiences in practice. Professional reading played a minor or nonexistent role in PD for these 4 practitioners. None of these practitioners have formal

training in adult education.

Planners who described career-related PD were more likely to articulate clear career goals, tended to use both experiential and deliberative methods, and tended to use a wider variety of resources, both formal and informal. In all cases, these planners indicated that professional reading was important to their professional development.

Conclusion

Studying changes in practice seemed, to this investigator, to be a fruitful way to gain understanding about how the practice of program planning is learned. The results suggest that the concept of reflection-in-action, which assumes a body of professional knowledge as a foundation for practice and is intended to explain how professionals construct knowledge in unique, uncertain, and conflicted situations, is also an important learning strategy associated with changes in program planning practice. One might reasonably infer that the concept of reflection-in-action is also one of the primary strategies used by program planners to develop their knowledge about practice. This study enabled the investigator to pilot an interview guide and to develop some preliminary concepts related to change and learning in program planning practice prior to conducting a larger study of planners in university continuing education.

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"TRAINING FOR WHAT?" AN EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE ADULT UNEMPLOYED IN A POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.

BY: Heather (MacQueen) Pittas

Abstract: This descriptive/qualitative study addresses the "Training for What?" question through an analysis of the structural economic causes of unemployment, the impact of technology on the workplace and the psycho-social effects of job-loss. Findings indicate that program provision for displaced workers does not deal with the psychological pain of job-loss or encourage collective analysis of the socio-economic contextual forces.

Résumé: Par le biais d'une analyse des causes structurelles du chômage, de l'impact de la technologie dans le monde du travail et des conséquences psychosociales de la perte d'emploi, cette étude qualitative/descriptive s'efforce de répondre à la question: «À quoi sert la formation?». Les résultats montrent que les programmes pour travailleurs licenciés ne tiennent pas compte des séquelles psychologiques de la perte d'emploi, et ne conduisent pas à l'analyse collective du contexte socio-économique.

My interest in the area of training for the unemployed has grown out of personal experience. In March of 1991, I lost my job as an employee with one of the chartered banks. I had been with the bank for ten years and found the experience of "severance" to be quite shattering. The way that I was treated by the bank after ten years of service was extremely cold and bereft of feeling. I then went for outplacement counselling which included vocational and financial advice but no advice on how to deal with the feelings resulting from traumatic job-loss. I soon discovered that the experience of job-loss had been individualized through much of our program provision and counselling techniques and that even though thousands of workers were losing their jobs, they were not encouraged to see themselves as part of a collective movement.

As an adult educator, I then examined program provision for displaced workers in Britain, the United States, Canada and Metropolitan Halifax. Was there anything out there that recognized the psychological effects of traumatic job-loss, the transformative learning readiness resultant from this psycho-social transition (Mezirow,1990) and that encouraged its constituency to re-define work within a post-industrial context (Gorz 1983; Hart 1992; Zuboff 1988)? My assumption was that well-rounded program provision would address the instrumental and transformative needs of its learner group. The outcome would then be that a displaced worker would leave the learning experience with: 1) a heightened awareness of the socio-economic context; 2) a sense of wholeness or re-valued persona; and 3) an instrumental tool kit of practical skills relating to employability and job search.

Descriptive research findings uncovered one program model that allowed for adult educators to address the instrumental and transformative needs of the learner group. A.G. Watts (1983) provides an integrated approach to curricular content and focus. This approach makes both individual growth and critical collective reflection possible. His model has conceptual categories that classify program curricula according to their broader societal aims. The primary conceptual category distinguishes between those that *focus on the individual* and those that *focus on society*. His secondary conceptual category distinguishes between curricula that *focus on change* versus *maintenance of the status quo*. The programs that I reviewed other

than Watts' model mainly fell into the category of narrow vocationalism or what has been termed the "vertical individual progression model (training for employment or individual progress through education)" (Ward & Forrester,1991, pp.49-50). This last category also incorporates an entrepreneurial ideology.

Qualitative research findings were collected from interviews with three sample groups: outplacement / career counsellors (O/CC); program providers / administrators (PA/P); and lastly program recipients / displaced workers (DW). The themes that emerged from these interviews were many; however, I have selected three themes that examine the effect of worker displacement or job-loss on the *individual, adult education* and *society as a whole*. They are as follows: 1) Getting the News... A Distorted Message; 2) The Paradigm Shift and How it's Handled; and 3) Who Must Answer the Question "Training for What?"

I: Getting the News....A Distorted Message

This theme was selected because the research findings reveal that *the way the worker gets the news of his/her job-loss has direct impact on how he/she deals with the reality of the job-loss.* One common element was evident: the message was delivered bereft of human feeling. The words of a displaced worker articulate this point.

> But, what I don't understand is, why anybody would expect a human being to give such devastating news to another human being and remove all human elements from it. (DW #3)

Unfortunately, my research informed me that this is the way that outplacement firms advise employers to give the news. They provide a script and behavioural guidelines to assist employers with the termination interview. These guidelines include advice on: a) what to say; b) how to say it; and c) how to handle emotional responses from terminated employees. Outplacement counselling follows immediately on the heels of the exit interview and attempts to help the individual to normalize the experience. Although Kubler-Ross' (1969) grieving cycle theory is briefly explained, there is no therapeutic intervention to help the client deal with the distorted cognitive thoughts like self-blame or personalization that may result from the job-loss experience. In fact, one outplacement counsellor actually reinforces self-blame or personalization through his approach to counselling. He told me that quite often the first question he asks is: "What could you have done better in your last job" (OCC #2)? His explanation for asking this question was that in "at least two-thirds to three quarters of the people that we see, there are identified performance problems" (OCC #2). The apparent lack of honesty behind much of the downsizing sends a mixed message to the displaced worker. Employers aren't always honest in the exit interview because they are afraid of potential liability. However, while lawyers and outplacement firms are advising the employers on what they can and cannot say, no thought is given to the fact that the employee who is receiving the message might be left with a lingering sense of confusion and/or betrayal. It is at this juncture in a person's life when he or she will have to re-assess career aspirations and make some critical decisions as to what direction to take. This task becomes complicated by the mixed and distorted message.

II:The Paradigm shift and How it's Handled

The concept of a major life event such as job-loss triggering changes to an individual's life space and assumptive world is reflective of Mezirow's (1990) theory of perspective transformation. Mezirow (1990) describes how the psycho-social transition can inspire individuals to examine their cultural and psychological assumptions thereby opening up the possiblity of transforming their personal paradigm. When I asked outplacement counsellors if they felt that the experience of sudden job-loss triggered a shift in the belief systems of the displaced worker, they all agreed that indeed, a shift took place. One counsellor indicated that he felt that the shift took place on two levels: the emotional and the intellectual. Another referred to the job-loss experience as one that precipitated a "shattering of beliefs" (O/CC #3). However, the outplacement counsellors seemed to expect that the displaced worker must shift from a dependent role and begin to see him/herself as an independent, marketable commodity. This restructured view they thought would assist the person in moving from a "dependent on an employer" role to an independent identity of one who has services to market to a prospective employer. One outplacement counsellor (O/CC #2), referred to this process as one whereby his clients "re-assessed and re-packaged" themselves. The re-assessment phase is seen as a critical component in the process because individuals must know their strengths and weaknesses as well as their likes and dislikes if they are to re-package themselves in the best light. The shift therefore, translates into a displaced worker's realization that he or she must change in order to regain entry to the workforce.

Program providers have the same expectancy of what displaced workers should learn from the experience of job-loss. The emphasis is entirely focused on how the individual should change in order to re-enter the workforce. Most of the respondents (outplacement counsellors and program providers) agreed that labour market information would be helpful in terms of assisting the displaced worker in a "smart" job search but anything beyond that would be too academic or irrelevant. One program provider felt that displaced workers already understood the structural economic causes of unemployment (PA/P #5). Three of the outplacement counsellors felt that a discussion of structural cause might make the displaced worker either blame society or lose hope and give up on the job search (O/CC #2,4,5). Another counsellor stated that he would engage in a group discussion of structural cause " if the door was opened" (O/CC #3) to the discussion by one of the participants. However, he would not purposely have it on the agenda. We must conclude from these research findings that counsellors want displaced workers to accept personal responsibility so that they can take "control of the situation" and "move forward". Within this paradigm, moving forward in most cases entails the necessity for *individual change* coupled with *"adjustment of expectation"* (PA/P #3). The *implicit* message here is that the displaced worker has no power or control to change what happens on a societal level.

III: Who Must Answer the Question "Training for What?"

While world leaders struggle to find an answer to the question "Training for What?" local Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) offices expect displaced workers to find the solution. The onus of answering the "Training for What?" question has been removed from the program providers and placed on the shoulders of the displaced worker. This is justified by HRDC as a way of forcing displaced

workers to take control over their career development and become more empowered through the process. If the displaced worker fails to link the request for training to a potential job, then HRDC will not fund the request. This process of surveying prospective employers is also meant to help displaced workers adjust their expectations to reduced job possibilities. They are also pressured to lower their salary expectations.

One of the objectives of my research was to determine what the program providers and outplacement counsellors understood of the post-industrial context. The responses that I received ranged from: *there are jobs out there if you have the right attitude* (O/CC#1) **to** *a person will be left out in the cold if they don't embrace technology* (PA/P #3,5) **to** *the impact of technology on the workplace is overblown* (PA/P #3,5). There was general consensus, however, that many of the jobs that have disappeared are never coming back. As well, many agreed that within the displaced worker population, not everyone is cut out to be an entrepreneur. However, the conversation seemed to stop there. Displaced workers were encouraged to adjust their expectations and take control over their own destinies. But, no one suggested that because of our post-industrial context; we, as a society, must radically change our outlook on work and the work-ethic.

I am reminded of the displaced worker who when asked to introduce himself stood up and before he said his name uttered: "I have a strong work ethic" (DW#6). He felt shame and embarrassment because of the stigma attached to unemployment. When it comes to unemployment the mindset of many people remains in the past when the cause of unemployment was largely voluntary. Many employers are making this worse by perpetuating a distorted message and not being honest with their reasons for downsizing. In this type of climate, the "dead wood theory" (PA/P#5) still haunts those workers who have been let go and Michael Lerner's (1986) "theory of meritocracy" reigns. Coupled with this, the emphasis that the outplacement counsellors and program providers are placing on having the displaced worker take responsibility for his or her destiny removes all responsibility from society.

Finally, the effect of asking displaced workers to answer the question "Training for What?" has economic and political implications. Are the program providers dealing with the post-industrial context? What will the effect be of reinforcing a work ethic ideology when there may not be enough jobs for everyone? What will the human cost be if the program providers and outplacement counsellors continue to promote an entrepreneurial ideology to all displaced workers regardless of personal circumstance and/or capability?

IV: Concluding Thoughts and Modest Recommendations

How we respond to the social learning challenge will depend on our understanding of several critical factors.

First, what is our understanding of the post-industrial context? Do we see structurally-induced unemployment as a temporary or a permanent phenomenon? If we see it as a long term phenomenon, then we must revision traditional industrialist paradigms, such as the work ethic paradigm. We also have a responsibility to try and understand what the future of work will be within the post-industrialist context. This understanding will be informed by our knowledge of global formal and informal economies, labour market forecasts, and the impact of information technology on the

retooled and redesigned workplace.

Second, what is our understanding of the effects of job-loss on both individuals and society at large? How does or should our understanding of these effects inform our practice? My research findings clearly illustrate that the psychological effects of job-loss on individuals can be mentally crippling. The Canadian Mental Health Association has studied both the short and longer term effects of job-loss and has found that the effects of internalized anger coupled with feelings of low self-esteem have led some displaced workers to depression, mental breakdowns and even suicide. My recommendation, therefore, is that adult educators have an ethical imperative to address the human cost of job-loss by tailoring their program provision to address the psychological needs of the learner group. If we do not attend to these psychological needs then the social costs of unemployment can only continue to escalate.

Third, what do we believe the practice of adult education should be about? The social learning challenge presented by worker displacement necessitates an adult educational response that allows for a re-valuing and tranformation of the displaced persona within a collective co-investigation of the socio-economic context. As adult educators we must be proud of our rich heritage and continue in the tradition of educators like Moses Coady, Jimmy Tomkins and Paulo Freire. The vocation of adult education requires the commitment of educators who understand the social significance of transformative work. Displaced workers deserve this commitment and are awaiting our response.

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LES PRATIQUES SOCIALES D'AUTOFORMATION DANS LE MILIEU ASSOCIATIF DES CENTRES SOCIO-CULTURELS .

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De Tocqueville à aujourd'hui, l'association a fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches mais son mode spécifique d'éducation est resté largement méconnu . La présente recherche porte sur les rôles que les micro-milieux éducatifs des associations jouent dans l'autoformation de certains de ses participants bénévoles : la question de cet auto-apprentissage collectif est abordée à travers une enquête par questionnaires et des entretiens semi-directifs auprès d'acteurs des centres sociaux et socio-culturels .

Until now, many researches are concerned by voluntary associations or non profit associations but few studies exist on this specifical way of learning . The actual research shows the role of educational micro-mediums in associations and their determining influence in self-learning processes of social actors . This individual and collective self-learning process is explored through a both quantitative and qualitative investigation regarding association members in social and socio-cultural centres .

Depuis Tocqueville, les associations ont non seulement droit de cité au même titre que les autres institutions de base de la société mais elles constituent avec les libertés fondamentales les conditions de la vie sociale démocratique . Leur croissance ininterrompue depuis 1980 se manifeste par une visibilité et une vitalité plus forte dans la société : en 1994, elles sont évaluées à environ 700 000 (1) . De quelles pratiques sociales cette création constante d'associations est-elle le révélateur ? L'hétérogénéité du monde associatif est à souligner ; par ailleurs, l'adhésion à une association ne signifie pas automatiquement une participation active et réelle à son fonctionnement : les attitudes de consommateurs qu'adoptent les adhérents face aux activités proposées sont souvent l'objet de critiques . C'est oublier l'importance que les associations ont toujours eue en tant que milieu éducatif pour leurs responsables, leurs bénévoles et leurs militants de façon extrascolaire et extraprofessionnelle .

Traditionnellement, la sociologie a toujours appréhendé le phénomène associatif comme l'institutionnalisation d'une troisième force face au pouvoir de l'Etat et à celui du commerce . Rares sont les observations sur les fonctions autres que celles de correctif politique et économique qu'elles peuvent remplir : ainsi, l'action éducative informelle développée dans la plupart des associations ou des groupes non structurés . L'observation révèle en effet que les associations peuvent être, sous certaines conditions, le cadre de pratiques de formation permanente . Cette dimension éducative et formative du milieu associatif est largement méconnue . Elle est tout à fait distincte de celle de socialisation politique mise en évidence par G.Poujol qui montre le rôle des associations dans la formation et l'émergence de leaders sociaux et politiques (2) . Nous avons donc voulu connaître les conditions associatives favorables à l'émergence de processus d'éducation permanente . Quelles sont les chances d'une contribution des associations au développement d'une société éducative ?

"Seconde école" pour des publics en échec scolaire ou en quête d'engagement social, les associations constituent un micro-milieu alternatif à l'école : une éducation permanente entre les publics est possible sur la base de la pratique d'activités, de responsabilités militantes et bénévoles, que celles-ci soient artistiques, technologiques ou scientifiques .

Ph.Coombs, directeur de l'Education à l'Unesco observe à l'échelle mondiale l'émergence de ce qu'il appelle "a non formal education", une éducation non scolaire en relation forte avec le développement d'une formation associative plus diversifiée, plus souple dans ses rythmes, ses programmes, ses objectifs et ses ressources que le modèle scolaire . Il souligne l'importance pour l'éducation de l'implication "d'associations éducatives, d'entreprises et d'organisations civiles et de fondations privées" (3) . L'éducation non formelle peut également s'appliquer "aux éléments de formation de projets sectoriels relevant d'autres ministères (que l'éducation) ... Les diverses formes d'aide à l'éducation sont dissimulées dans les activités des autres bureaux sectoriels, dans le domaine de l'agriculture, de la santé ou de l'industrie" . Pour l'auteur, l'éducation formelle est complétée en permanence par l'éducation non formelle mais aucune étude approfondie des formes spécifiques de celle-ci n'a été réalisée jusqu'à présent .

La dimension éducative non formelle du milieu associatif semble avoir été de tout temps absente des travaux de recherche en éducation . Or dès le 19ème siècle, les associations ont été des micro-milieux éducatifs générateurs "d'autoformation permanente" pour leurs membres : cela concerne non seulement les "écoles socialistes", issues de l'émancipation ouvrière mais encore l'émergence d'une opinion publique, "sujette à prise de conscience, à information, à culture . Le 19ème siècle est l'inventeur, démocratie oblige, des cercles, associations, sociétés et plus tard syndicats organisés en principes d'influence" (4) .

Contrairement aux représentations dominantes, la formation ne se produit pas seulement dans les stages de la formation professionnelle continue ou dans les cursus scolaires, elle existe aussi dans les associations . C'est à travers une enquête sur le public des bénévoles associatifs que j'ai pu rencontrer des "cas" d'autoformation associative (5) . Ce public en échec scolaire ou privé dans ses aspirations éducatives se trouve parfois soit insatisfait par l'offre éducative scolaire et universitaire, soit encore fort éloigné pour des raisons personnelles, professionnelles ou sociales des structures éducatives classiques .

Notre hypothèse directrice est que les associations ne remplissent une fonction éducative que sous certaines conditions : c'est par un mode spécifique d'utilisation sélective de ce milieu associatif que l'autoformation individuelle se trouve facilitée à travers l'autoformation collective . Ce mode d'utilisation n'a d'efficacité éducative que si les usagers construisent eux-mêmes activement ce que nous appelons un micro-milieu nourricier . Donc, une démarche active des usagers d'association face à un milieu ressource s'impose . Ce milieu est d'autant plus stimulant qu'il est porté par un mouvement social qui tend à secouer les conformismes culturels dont toute institution, même associative, est constamment menacée .

Vers une définition de l'autoformation : prémices des recherches sur l'autoformation comme formation informelle .

Plusieurs courants de travaux s'intéressent à l'autoformation, généralement en dehors du milieu associatif . Dès 1973, B.Schwartz affirmait que "seul un système basé systématiquement sur l'entraînement progressif à l'autoformation peut répondre à l'objectif (de développer l'autonomie)" (6) . Il préconise une "autoformation assistée" s'appuyant sur une nouvelle approche du rôle du formateur : assistance technique de médiation, assistance pédagogique de guidance et d'orientation, assistance au niveau des attitudes et enfin assistance assumée par une équipe .

J.Dumazedier distingue dès 1980 plusieurs formes d'autoformation variant selon le type d'aide recherché . L'apprenant choisit les modalités de sa formation en ce qui concerne les objectifs, les moyens, les méthodes, le rythme et l'emploi du temps . L'autoformation peut se situer graduellement sur un continuum comme "indépendante", "orientée" (choix autonome de son rythme et de son emploi du temps), "guidée" (choix autonome de ses objectifs et de son emploi du temps), "dirigée" (choix autonome de ses rythmes, de ses méthodes et de son emploi du temps) (7) .

G.Pineau pose la question du renversement de pouvoir et de culture dont l'autoformation est porteuse (8) . L'autoformation est un processus vital de construction de soi qui utilise l'histoire de vie comme un moyen privilégié pour réaliser ce processus . "D'une culture d'échange reçue par et pour les autres on passe à une culture d'usage construite par et pour soi (...). L'école de l'autoformation n'est plus seulement la contre-école des autres mais aussi et surtout l'oibos, l'école de la vie" .

B.Courtois et G.Bonvallot montrent que la caractéristique de la démarche autoformative, au delà des appareils éducatifs et scolaires, est son ancrage dans un processus de socialisation, dans une dynamique collective (9) . L'acte d'apprentissage, loin d'être un acte individuel et isolé, se produit dans une alternance dialectique de rupture et d'interaction avec un milieu organisationnel et social . L'éthique de la "relation de partenairetê" favorise cette pratique de formation mutuelle et volontaire, individuelle et collective .

A.Pain indique que "l'autoformation se caractérise par un changement d'optique basé sur la prise en charge individuelle de la gestion de la formation personnelle . L'individu devient maître du processus en fixant ses objectifs (...), les délais, les rythmes et les moyens à employer" (10) . L'éducation informelle prend place spécifiquement dans une "situation ouverte" qui se caractérise par l'absence de définition stricte du formateur et des rôles, le rôle décisif du cadre institutionnel qui valorise et reconnaît l'initiative individuelle et du groupe, enfin la capacité du professionnel médiateur à répondre de façon adaptée en termes d'éducation aux demandes du terrain .

Ph. Carré observe le développement de l'"open learning" en Grande Bretagne dans le cadre de l'entreprise . L'éducation informelle constitue avec l'aptitude à apprendre et à l'autoformation un enjeu du devenir des organisations de production . L'idée d'une "autoformation accompagnée" loin de nier le rôle du médiateur externe, la renouvelle dans la perspective d'une "pédagogie de la responsabilité" . "L'autoformation se caractérise par un haut degré de contrôle par l'apprenant sur les trois dimensions sociale, pédagogique, psychologique de la formation " (11) .

Les différents courants de recherche évoqués ci-dessus concernent un large spectre de milieux favorables à l'émergence de l'autoformation . Tous les contextes institutionnels semblent être touchés par cette dynamique : l'organisation productive, la famille, l'école, les groupes formels ou informels du loisir et enfin les associations volontaires . Parmi tous les temps régis par les institutions de base de la société, c'est le temps social du loisir qui semble représenter la ressource la plus utilisée pour la pratique de l'autoformation, a fortiori dans le cadre associatif . C'est également le temps de loisir qui apparaît comme le cadre essentiel d'accomplissement de l'autoformation dans sa dimension existencielle .

Notre définition préalable à l'observation des pratiques d'autoformation dans les associations la spécifie comme une pratique éducative volontaire et autonome en dehors des cadres scolaires et universitaires . Cette définition partait de l'hypothèse d'une détermination planifiée et consciente d'un apprentissage ou d'un savoir à acquérir ainsi que les travaux d'Allen Tough sur les projets d'apprentissage adultes semblaient l'indiquer (12) . Les résultats de la recherche ont conduit à une définition plus riche directement issue des témoignages de l'expérience vécue des enquêtés . Un ensemble de caractéristiques marque ces pratiques : le volontarisme, l'engagement bénévole dans des responsabilités, l'appartenance à une organisation sociale, le rôle de l'expérience, l'autonomie, l'affectivité, la valeur existentielle, le dépassement de l'expérience scolaire, enfin la marginalité de la démarche autoformative .

Les caractéristiques de l'autoformation associative et celles de son public :
La question s'est posée des conditions spécifiques de l'émergence de l'autoformation dans le milieu des associations et plus particulièrement celles oeuvrant dans le champ de l'action sociale, éducative et culturelle . L'hétérogénéité du milieu associatif est un fait connu de tous . D'où le choix d'observer une catégorie spécifique d'associations : celles intervenant dans le champ de l'action sociale et culturelle et plus particulièrement dans les centres sociaux et socio-culturels . Ces associations nous sont apparues comme un lieu privilégié de développement personnel et collectif des usagers . En effet, l'action des centres sociaux s'inscrit dans une double problématique du temps de loisir et de l'action socio-culturelle et socio-éducative .

Ces associations tendent donc à rassembler des sujets sociaux autour de projets d'action sociale et à faire plus largement appel à l'adhésion à un système de valeurs, un projet de société, une philosophie éthique ou politique . Le recours au bénévolat et l'intervention directe sur les réalités sociales est plus caractéristique de leur mode de fonctionnement (13) . Malgré la précarisation de l'environnement social, les dysfonctionnements économiques et structurels des années 80, ces associations volontaires se situent dans la mouvance de l'animation socio-culturelle, elle-même héritière du mouvement de l'éducation populaire .

Les associations oeuvrant dans des temps sociaux hors des institutions du travail et de l'éducation, se caractérisent comme des organisations plus ouvertes à l'initiative, à l'action individuelle et collective que les institutions scolaires et professionnelles diverses (normes d'autorité, organigramme des relations hiérarchiques, participation aux lieux de décision) . Ces associations constituent un milieu favorable à l'autoformation individuelle et collective bien que ce ne soit pas leur vocation première et qu'il s'agisse plutôt d'un phénomène corollaire de leur activité . Il s'agit d'identifier la spécificité de cette autoformation associative et les facteurs contextuels favorables ou déterminants .

Tout d'abord, une articulation des dimensions individuelles et collectives s'opère : ces deux dimensions alternent, se combinent, interagissent dans l'association et ses micro-milieux et dans l'organisation qu'est le centre social . Différents travaux montrent le rôle des groupes et des collectifs dans le déclenchement de processus d'apprentissage ou de prise de conscience (théorie des conflits socio-cognitifs) . Les situations de luttes et de conflits sont souvent marquées par des évènements déclencheurs, catalyseurs ou analyseurs des situations vécues collectivement .

Dans ce champ hors des temps contraints du travail professionnel ou domestique et propice au loisir, les associations représentent un micromilieu nourricier d'une autoformation "sauvage" ou "contrôlée" . L'association met en oeuvre des modalités spécifiques d'engagement dans l'organisation en lien avec l'adhésion à un projet social, socio-culturel, socio-politique porté par l'association : l'engagement de bénévoles ou de salariés se fait en priorité sur la base d'une reconnaissance et valorisation de ce projet . Le recrutement s'opère plus sur la volonté d'implication dans l'action que sur des pré-requis de qualification comme dans les organisations de production .

Le fonctionnement de l'association comporte une dimension collective et démocratique de principe, liée à la prise de décision technique et politique ainsi qu'au vote . Les décisions sont l'objet de travaux préalables, de discussions et de négociations internes . L'intervention de l'association sur son environnement accentue cette dimension de confrontation voire de conflit avec des pouvoirs institutionnels locaux ou centraux . L' association semble bien présenter les caractéristiques de ce qu'un sociologue du travail, P.Zarifian qualifie d'"organisation qualifiante" (14) c'est à dire "une organisation qui favorise les apprentissages et le développement des compétences" .

L'organisation associative dans sa forme "démocratique", qui n'est pas seulement idéale, peut être définie comme une organisation qualifiante du temps libre . Elle mobilise différentes conditions : la participation bénévole à un projet d'intervention supposant la production permanente de compétences ; des modes de régulation et de décision collectifs produisant une ressource collective de savoirs constitutive d'un micromilieu nourricier ; la discussion des orientations stratégiques de l'association permettant de poser des actes, d'accéder à la conscience du pouvoir et au pouvoir d'agir sur les décisions associatives mais aussi dans sa vie personnelle ; un engagement bénévole permettant de conjuguer l'adhésion à un projet d'action collective et la réalisation d'un projet personnel d'accomplissement de soi ; l'exercice de fonctions à caractère politique, stratégique mais aussi technique requérant l'actualisation des savoirs pour assumer les fonctions au sein du bureau ou des activités .

L'association constitue un système relativement ouvert d'apprentissages qui ne peuvent être programmés ou planifiés à l'avance parce qu'ils relèvent essentiellement d'une confrontation aléatoire aux événements et aux situations . Les apprentissages comme le projet se construisent au fur et à mesure de l'engagement dans l'action selon des voies diverses . L'autoformation associative instaure une relation active, critique et sélective à une organisation instituante, elle permet l'émergence d'un sujet social apprenant en distanciation critique et sélective par rapport à l'institution, elle s'appuie sur un réseau informel hétérogène de personnes ressources et de savoirs fonctionnant plus sur un mode non hiérarchique du fait de statuts moins formalisés que dans d'autres institutions .

Les déterminants sociaux des pratiques d'autoformation associative :
Malgré la diversité de leur mode de gestion et d'animation, les centres sociaux répondent en majorité à quelques critères de fonctionnement requis pour les agréments administratifs : diversité des activités à caractère social, familial, médico-social et culturel ; ouverture à tous les publics sans distinction d'origine, d'âge, de situation sociale, d'opinion ; participation des usagers à la gestion, aux activités et à l'animation globale . L'enquête a donc porté sur des usagers participant activement à la vie associative des équipements et identifiés par des observateurs de proximité comme étant en situation d'autoformation .

L'hypothèse, reprise des travaux d'Allen Tough sur la planification des projets d'apprentissage a conduit, au vu des résultats, à distinguer deux groupes sur le critère de la conduite ou non d'un projet d'autoformation : en effet, un ensemble de participants à des activités associatives, soit environ 40%, ne se reconnait pas dans la conduite d'un projet d'autoformation . La reconnaissance par les sujets sociaux d'une pratique d'autoformation, au travers d'un ou plusieurs projets, a donc servi de critère discriminant et comparatif pour l'étude quantitative des réponses au questionnaire auto-administré . L'étude comparée des deux groupes de participants associatifs a permis d'identifier ou de nuancer le poids de facteurs déterminants dans l'émergence des pratiques sociales individuelles et collectives d'autoformation .

L'effet discriminatoire des niveaux de scolarisation .
Il est tout d'abord apparu que la pratique de l'autoformation n'est pas directement liée à la possession d'un niveau de formation initiale supérieure : la majorité a un niveau de scolarisation inférieur ou égal à l'enseignement secondaire du premier cycle (61%) . Il en est de même pour la catégorie des usagers dits "autoformés" (59%) .

En général, la pratique de l'autoformation se manifeste surtout chez ceux qui ont un niveau faible ou moyen de scolarisation : 81% des praticiens de l'autoformation se répartissent entre l'enseignement primaire (22%), l'enseignement secondaire de premier cycle (37%) ou l'enseignement secondaire long (22%) . Contrairement à une représentation dominante, un haut niveau de scolarisation n'est pas une stricte condition à l'autoformation associative : le désir et la volonté de s'autoformer se manifestent aussi chez les sujets sociaux de faible formation initiale . Quelles que soient les catégories sociales auxquelles ils appartiennent, ces sujets sociaux se caractérisent presque tous comme des minorités déviantes, critiques sur les plans culturel et social par rapport aux pratiques habituelles de leur milieu d'origine .
En ce qui concerne les formations complémentaires et post scolaires, il apparait qu'une majorité a complété sa formation initiale soit par une formation complémentaire (15%), soit par une autoformation (31%), soit encore par l'une et l'autre (29%) . Des différences de pratiques existent entre les hommes et les femmes : après leur formation initiale, les uns tendent à entreprendre une formation complémentaire (28%) alors que les autres s'orientent vers une pratique d'autoformation (34%) .

L'influence des catégories socio-professionnelles :
La population est répartie de façon sensiblement égale entre les actifs (51%) et les inactifs (49%) . Les praticiens de l'autoformation sont majoritaires à la fois dans la catégorie des usagers actifs et dans celle des inactifs (61% et 60%) . Les employés (25%), les enseignants (10.5%), les agriculteurs exploitants (9%) devancent largement les ouvriers spécialisés (5.5%), les ouvriers (3%) et les cadres moyens (5.5%) dans les pratiques d'autoformation . Les autres catégories ne sont pas représentées de façon significative . Pour les inactifs, les femmes au foyer (40%) et les étudiants (10.5%) devancent les retraités (5%) et les chômeurs (0.5%) . L'autoformation associative tend plutôt à concerner un public situé à mi-chemin des classes populaires et des classes moyennes . Les enseignants y sont également fortement représentés .

L'expérience de l'engagement associatif :
L'appartenance passée et présente à des courants associatifs semble être un facteur important dans l'émergence de l'autoformation . Le public enquêté se caractérise par une participation associative relativement forte . Dans le passé, elle montre une moyenne de 1.7 engagement pour les femmes et de 2.8 pour les hommes . Dans le présent, cette participation baisse : elle représente 0.6 engagement moyen pour les femmes et de 1.4 pour les hommes . Les praticiens de l'autoformation sont plus fortement représentés dans toutes les sortes d'associations sauf les associations sportives . Ils sont particulièrement majoritaires dans les associations à caractère social et culturel (43%), dans les syndicats (21%) et dans les associations de défense (10%) .
L'approfondissement de l'enquête par une série d'interviews centrées a permis d'affiner en quoi le milieu des associations et la participation à l'action de ce milieu sont générateurs d'apprentissage . Le milieu associatif se présente comme un milieu de socialisation communautaire et de socialisation secondaire permettant une itération entre le groupe social d'appartenance et le groupe social de référence auquel le sujet social aspire .

Les "autoformés associatifs" :
Plusieurs questions se posent à propos de cette formation informelle dans les associations . Certaines associations tendent à plus générer des désirs d'apprentissage et des dynamiques de formation chez leurs membres : les associations militantes tournées vers un projet ou une décision sociale sont plus incitatrices et stimulatrices d'apprentissages, notamment à travers la mise en oeuvre de projets d'action . Elles sollicitent l'implication active des membres dans l'exercice d'activités requérant la prise de décision . Elles tendent à constituer un milieu conscientisé développant des attitudes actives de formation personnelle finalisées vers l'intervention sur l'environnement .

Les apprentissages et les savoirs acquis se caractérisent souvent par l'absence initiale de projet de formation construit et méthodique : les apprentissages ne sont pas programmés et se vivent en fonction des actions ou des prises de décision à engager . Ainsi, des parcours d'autoformation s'opèrent au fur et à mesure des fonctions occupées dans la structure associative et dans son réseau institutionnel fédératif . Les apprentissages s'identifient plus en termes de savoir faire, de savoir être, c'est à dire de compétences, qu'en termes de savoirs académiques et théoriques . Ils sont souvent liés à un progrès de la personne et de son identité . Les dynamiques de la formation non-formelle (conférences, séminaires, stages) , de la formation formelle (enseignement par correspondance, etc) et de la formation informelle (réunions de bureau, de commission, négociations) se combinent du fait de l'offre institutionnelle et des investigations individuelles .

Quelques portraits d'"autoformés associatifs" : Bernard et Naema .

Exclu du système scolaire à seize ans sans diplôme, Bernard trouve un emploi dans une étude notariale et milite au sein du mouvement rural de la jeunesse chrétienne . Engagé au départ dans une action de réflexion et d'animation sur le devenir socio-économique d'une vallée, il participe à la création d'une association pour son développement social, économique et culturel . L'association milite pour la construction d'un centre social et culturel . Bernard participe aux négociations et à l'élaboration des statuts du centre à la suite de ceux de l'association . Parallèlement à l'engagement au centre social, il anime des activités d'échecs dans plusieurs MJC locales . Il conduit la séparation du centre social avec l'association d'origine pour la défense et la promotion de la vallée . Il devient administrateur de l'association et membre du bureau puis s'implique dans le conseil d'administration de la Fédération départementale des centres sociaux . Cet engagement l'amène à faire partie de la commission nationale de formation puis à devenir administrateur de la Fédération nationale des centres sociaux . Ce parcours dure huit ans, de vingt à vingt huit ans . Cette expérience militante dans le réseau des centres sociaux et dans les associations s'accompagne d'une formation professionnelle en vue de la qualification de clerc de notaire (niveau deug) . Son autoformation associative est sous-tendue par un "projet de société", "une action sociale promotionnelle" . "Je dis souvent que pour moi les centres sociaux, c'était mon université à moi" . Au moment de l'interview, Bernard venait de créer parallèlement à son travail notarial un bureau d'études en coopération avec un collectif d'intervenants . Son autoformation dans l'action collective associative a amené des progrès et des apprentissages dans plusieurs domaines : "la prise de conscience, l'élargissement du champ de vision", une facilité d'expression, de communication, de négociation et des connaissances de gestion, une amélioration des relations humaines et interpersonnelles, une compréhension du fonctionnement de la vie sociale, politique et des institutions, une ouverture sur les pratiques associatives des centres sociaux dans d'autres régions . Il lui semble toutefois difficile de théoriser et de formaliser les expériences et les apprentissages qu'il a réalisés . Le milieu associatif offre des possibilités de réalisation de soi qui ne sont pas envisageables dans d'autres institutions : "je me payais de mon engagement bénévole parce que je pouvais faire tout ce que je ne pouvais pas faire ailleurs" . La médiation vers l'apprentissage et le savoir est le fait d'une relation privilégiée avec quelques responsables qui jouent le rôle de personnes ressources . "Les heures passées avec X dans le train pour aller à Paris, c'est aussi de la formation . C'est une relation privilégiée qui a existé entre X et moi mais qui m'a permis d'évoluer . C'était déterminant dans ma vie . Il y a eu d'autres personnes comme M.G., sociologue .

Naema :

A dix huit ans, Naema quitte l'école avec le niveau d'un CAP d'employé de bureau mais sans diplôme . Après un an de travail en usine et le chômage, elle est engagée comme jeune volontaire dans le centre social de son quartier . En relation avec différents responsables d'activité, elle intervient dans une activité cuisine, un groupement d'achats de produits frais, un atelier d'animation d'enfants, un atelier de couture et une activité de diététique . Pour cette jeune femme de vingt ans, de culture maghrébine, l'implication dans l'activité du centre social est une source d'apprentissages multiples : l'acquisition d'une confiance en soi, une expression plus libre et moins timorée, une affirmation de sa volonté de travailler même mariée et de régler les problèmes administratifs quotidiens dans l'autonomie et la responsabilité . C'est aussi un dépassement de la crainte des autres, un souhait de confrontation et de gestion des problèmes en cas de conflit, un recentrage sur elle-même et l'affirmation d'un dynamisme pour la recherche d'informations la concernant . Toutes ces formulations rendent compte d'un processus d'acquisition de compétences lié au développement personnel, aux savoirs sociaux et relationnels, au développement d'une nouvelle identité de soi même . Un processus identitaire et d'acculturation est en jeu face à un milieu culturel et social qu'elle ignorait . Elle acquiert également des savoirs faire et des savoirs pratiques : suivi de la tenue comptable du groupement d'achats, dactylographie, cuisine française, encadrement socio-éducatif d'enfants . La diététique a nécessité une organisation méthodologique pour apprendre par soi-même : utilisation de livres pour la constitution de fiches, de tableaux, sélection-classement-mémorisation des connaissances . Cet apprentissage théorique autonome est vécu comme difficile . Pour Naema, ses apprentissages sont marqués par les relations affinitaires et affectives qui sous-tendent l'acquisition de savoirs et de compétences . "C'est différent quand même parce qu'à l'école on se fait former et l'autoformation on se forme nous-même (...) Quand on est à l'école il y a toujours un prof qu'on craint, il avait beau m'expliquer il n'y avait rien à faire, je n'arrivais pas à comprendre, il avait l'air sévère, ça me bloquait" .

En conclusion, l'engagement associatif génère des apprentissages plus volontaires, plus profonds, plus variés que les apprentissages scolaires . Ces apprentissages tendent à porter plus sur des savoirs faire ou des savoirs être que sur des connaissances théoriques ou académiques . Les personnes médiatrices ou personnes ressources sont le plus souvent des pairs, des éducateurs informels ou des formateurs non professionnels .

Notes

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RESTORYING LIVES: TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING AND THE NARRATIVE TURN IN THE HUMAN SCIENCES

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This paper reviews trends in thinking within the human sciences that underline the narrative dimensions of human identity and interaction and that invite adult educators to re-vision transformative learning as "re-storying".

Le texte qui suit présente un survol des tendances en sciences humaines qui sont associées à la dimension narrative de l'identité et de l'interaction humaine. Dans cette perspective, les éducateurs d'adultes sont invités à envisager l'apprentissage transformatif sous l'angle d'un «remaniement de la narrative».

Everywhere we listen today, certainly in the helping fields (of which adult education is arguably one), we hear the word *story*. To the sceptics among us, it is simply the latest in that parade of buzzwords - like creativity and empowerment - by which our imagination is regularly bewitched and our thinking befuddled. My aim in this paper is to help reduce such scepticism by pointing to recent developments in the human sciences generally that show a shift to story to be not merely fashionable but also respectable. While this exercise consumes the lion's share of my space, in the final section I advance the view that "story" offers a meaningful metaphor for how learners both construct and *re*-construct their lives and their worlds - or "re-story" them, which I propose is a lively but accurate image for the phenomenon we call transformative learning.

The Narrative Turn in the Human Sciences: Sources and Signs

It is folly to think that, in five pages, one can trace all the trends that constitute the current turn toward narrative in the human sciences, for which Polkinghorne (1988), Sarbin et al (1986), and Bruner (1992) provide helpful overviews.* By such folly was I gripped last fall, however, when I proposed to accomplish precisely this. Humbled by the intervening months of reading and research, I offer here only a sample of relevant voices that have been emanating from certain fields which impinge on theory and practice in adult education but whose influence may not normally be noted, given the tendency today to highlight the relevance of critical social theory. I refer primarily to voices from cognitive science, anthropology, psychoanalysis, and psychotherapy, though I allude to others from literary theory, philosophy, religious studies, and women's studies. One cannot be clear, of course, which of these voices constitute *cause* and which *effect*, so tightly intertwined are their respective domains of knowledge (regarding story at least) in an increasingly interdisciplinary age. Hence my subtitle, Sources and Signs, is coined in the conviction only that in intellectual history which comes first - the chicken or the egg - is often impossible to answer.

Within that web of fields to which the label "cognitive science" first came to be assigned, the original, guiding question was with what goes on inside human minds - that is, not with how

* I use 'human sciences', as does Polkinghorne, to include not just the 'social sciences' but any field or discipline whose concern is the nature of distinctively human (as opposed to merely biological) being. Thus, we can include in this class the study of history, philosophy, literature, and art.

people behave but with how they make meaning (cf. Gardner, 1985). This represented a reaction to the dominance of the anti-mentalist, anti-meaning model of Watson, Skinner, and company who had insisted on reducing psychology to the science of behaviour, and behaviour to stimulus-response. Oddly, with the meteoric rise of the computer in the first quarter of the Cognitive Revolution, this guiding question got quickly eclipsed by the conviction that the workings of the mind were best envisioned in terms of information-processing. In recent years, however, Jerome Bruner, co-founder in 1960 of the first Centre for Cognitive Studies, at Harvard, has made a plea for cognitive scientists to see the poverty of the computational model and to return to meaning-making as the mind's central activity, for which the computer provides only one analogy. Against the background of his influential distinction between paradigmatic and narrative thought (1986), the two dominant modes in terms of which he believes humans operate, Bruner calls for a revaluation of "folk psychology" to appreciate the complex yet everyday ways in which, nested within families and communities and cultures, we construct our selves and our worlds, and have them constructed *for* us, by narrative means - that is, by, in, and through stories. Again from a different angle, yet still within the computational model, Roger Schank (1990) has put forward the strong if unorthodox argument that in order to duplicate human mental processes artificially we must program computers to tell and exchange stories. Indeed, for him, such activity is indispensable to any definition of memory, knowledge, and intelligence (p. 16).

One discipline pivotal to the cognitive revolution has been anthropology. Gregory Bateson was one of the early figures in this field calling for less reliance on "energy, spatial, and mechanical metaphors" and more on "metaphors drawn from the humanities: drama, game playing, ritual, rhetoric, and text" (Geertz, quoted in Sarbin, 1986, p. 10). In his widely acclaimed *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (1972) is the central idea that "we create the world that we perceive"; that "we *select and edit* the reality we see to conform to our beliefs about what sort of world we live in" (p. vii; emphasis mine). Implied in this idea is the postmodern perspective that "the world ... is an 'emergent fiction,' something that, like artists, we fabricate anew in every moment of our lives" (Andersen, 1990, p. 251). Accordingly, "the world" or "reality" is less received ready-made than construed or constructed, a perspective that sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann had formalized five years before Bateson in an important book entitled *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966). From a different angle, though still within anthropology, Joseph Campbell sparked much attention in and beyond the academic community from the 50s on with his encylopedic efforts to catalogue the many "myths" that have informed and shaped ancient and modern cultures alike the world round. His posthumous bestseller, *The Power of Myth* (Campbell & Moyers, 1988), popularizes the enchanting notion, for example, that each of us is the "hero" of our own adventure (pp. 123-163).

Within the realm of psychoanalysis, parallel phenomena have been taking place. Concurrent with the demise of the dominant Freudian approach, in which human processes and problems have been conceived in basically mechanistic terms (re. drives and instincts), more constructivist approaches have had the chance to emerge. Among those pushing for a story model are Roy Schafer (1983; 1992), who writes unabashedly about analysis as "co-authoring" and as "retelling a life", and Donald Spence, who believes analysis is a process less archeological than exegetical in nature, in which lives are texts mutually reworked by client and analyst, and where "narrative truth" is more desirable (and feasible) a goal than is "historical truth" (1984). Must reading for anyone interested in the narrative turn is a collection of articles edited by Theodore Sarbin (1986) under the title *Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human*

Conduct, the central concept informing which is "the narratory principle: that human beings, think, perceive, imagine, and make moral choices according to narrative structures" (p. 8). Finally, from a Jungian angle, analyst James Hillman, who advocates a complete "revisioning" of the psychological enterprise, insists that it is not the life of the person that needs doctoring so much as the story in terms of which that life has been imagined. Of one of his patients, he says "she was ... a victim, not of her history but of the story in which she had put her history" (p. 79).

In the broader world of psychotherapy, many voices from many schools have come to espouse a story model. In the field of family therapy, Michael White and David Epston conceive of therapy as the deliberate "restorying of experience". In other words, "persons experience problems, for which they frequently seek therapy, when the narratives in which they are 'storying' their experience, and/or in which they are having their experience 'storied' by others, do not sufficiently represent their lived experience" (p. 14). In *The Call of Stories*, Harvard psychiatrist, Robert Coles, writes of the importance of treating clients not as cases but as collections of stories; thus, of listening "in the special way a story requires; note the manner of presentation; the development of plot, character; the addition of new dramatic sequences; the emphasis accorded to one figure or another in the recital; and the degree of enthusiasm, of coherence, the narrator gives to his or her account" (p. 23). Joseph Gold, Coles Canadian counterpart in the practice of *bibliotherapy*, claims the use of novels helps clients make sense of their own disordered experience because "novels ... are the figuring out of other life experiences by other people who are human like you" (p. 49). In *Every Person's Life is Worth a Novel*, Erving Polster lays out a compelling case for the parallels between the work of the therapist and that of the novelist: "using the same creative process as the novelist," he says, the former "accentuates key experiences and provides leverage for the emerging dramas" of a client's life (p. 10). Carol Pearson, whose concept of the hero archetypes by which people construct their lives reflects Jungian roots, insists that "we make stories about the world and to a large degree live out their plots. What our lives are like depends to great extent on the script we consciously, or more likely, unconsciously, have adopted" (1989, p. xxv). Throughout her book, she thus stresses "the power of making explicit the myths that govern our lives." The reason? "When we do not name them, we are hostages to them and can do nothing else but live out their plots to the end" (p. xx). Finally, Oliver Sacks, less a therapist *per se* than a psychoneurologist specializing in memory disorders, has movingly argued to readers of his popular *The Man Who Mistook His Wife For a Hat* (1985) that "each of us *is* a biography, a story. Each of us *is* a singular narrative, which is constructed, continually, unconsciously, by, through, and in us" (p. 105). "Biologically, physiologically," he says, "we are not so different from each other; historically, as narratives - we are each of us unique" (p. 111).

However numerous the names dropped in it, this list is far from exhaustive of the scholars integral to the narrative turn. From the side of literary theory, for instance, Wayne Booth has pointed compellingly in *The Company We Keep* (1988) to the ever-blurred boundaries between the realms of fiction and everyday life. Paul Riceour explores this boundary in a deeper, more philosophical manner through three volumes of his *Time and Narrative* in which he argues that the language of narrative (emplotment, etc.) is our principal means for comprehending and communicating our experience of lived time. In the philosophy of history, where Ricoeur's inquiries have had special impact, the story-reality debate has been brewing for two decades (cf. Mitchell, 1980; Carr, 1986). A parallel preoccupation can be found in present-day religious studies, where a growing number of scholars understand story-making, not only of ourselves but also of our world, to be our primary activity as human beings (cf. Hauerwas & Jones, 1989;

Cupitt, 1991; Swimme & Berry, 1992). In a sense, the first within this circle, though his work has been widely referenced in the narrative community as a whole, is Stephen Crites who in a ground-breaking article argued forcefully that "the formal quality of experience through time is narrative" (p. 292); that is, "the form of active consciousness, i.e., the form of its experiencing, is in at least some rudimentary sense narrative" (p. 298). Within women's studies, scholars have come to lament the dearth of narrative patterns by which women can story their lives and do justice to their uniquely female experience of the world. Among these are Caroloyn Heilbrun, who in *Writing a Woman's Life* insists that woman has "the right to her own story" but that women generally "have been deprived of the narratives, or the texts, plots, or examples, by which they might assume power over - take control of - their own lives" (p. 17). In a less direct way, Mary Catherine Bateson (daughter of Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead) points to a narrative approach in understanding gender matters in *Composing a Life*, where she proposes that life-making, and by implication meaning-making, is "an improvisatory art". Her book is devoted to discerning "the ways we combine familiar and unfamiliar components in response to new situations, following an underlying grammar and an evolving aesthetic" (p. 3). Lives thus seen as "works of art, still incomplete, are parables in process, the living metaphors with which we describe the world" (p. 18).

Restorying Lives: Toward a Poetics of Adult Learning

The prevalence and power of the narrative turn in the human sciences place us in a position to re-vision the sort of change in learners' lives that adult education has always been concerned not merely investigate but also to effect. In the foundation of such a revision, I believe, are three key planks.

First, we understand and define our identity as persons not in terms of the actual events that have constituted our lives but of the *interpretations* we lay on them - or at least on those we make any interpretation of at all. Accumulated over a life-time, these interpretations take the form of a complex collection of memories and fantasies, of anecdotes and anticipations - that is, of stories (Schank, 1990; Randall, 1995). Not fact, but fiction, or at least "faction" (Steele, 1986, p. 260), is thus the basis of self-knowledge, self-concept, and past experience: pivotal variables in the process of making meaning that is central to adult learning (Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980). To invoke story imagery for all aspects of personal *identity*, however, is necessarily to invite into any analysis of personal *change* an application of common story elements, such as plot, character, point of view, genre, theme, style, and so on. As these elements become the critical concepts in our vocabulary, however, we quietly cross the line from an exclusively scientific paradigm to a more aesthetic one - i.e., from a perspective rooted less in sociology and psychology than in poetics.

Second, these personal stories do not arise or exist in a vacuum. They acquire much of their characteristic form (Bruner, 1987, pp. 16ff) and even content through their embeddedness in the swirl of myths and still-unfolding stories of the various cultures that have shaped our lives from the beginning - e.g., our family, community, class, creed, gender. These larger stories, too, may be analysed in terms of plot, etc. As they change, so do we. Because they are bigger than our personal narratives, we are merely characters within them and our own "life-course" (Runyan, 1984, p. 82) only a more or less consequential sub-plot in their unfolding. Yet the opposite is true as well. Thus, within a poetic perspective on human change, the personal and the political are

impossible to pull apart.

Third, neither of these stories, individual or cultural, personal or political, is cast in stone. *Re*-storying is a fact of life, on all levels. On the individual level, most such restorying occurs naturally; it is unintentional. But some we occasionally undergo or undertake intentionally - e.g., because we realize we have been "miscast in the family plot" (Kopp, 1987) or, as Mezirow puts it, describing the kind of learning associated with perspective transformation, because we become aware how "we are caught in our own history and are reliving it" (1978, p. 101). Much such intentional re-storying occurs through therapy proper, a certain amount through religious programming or seeking, and much through our own unsystematic efforts just to make sense of things. But a significant amount takes place within educational settings, in which case the work that we do as educators can also be re-visioned. Elsewhere (Randall, 1995; in press), I have proposed that there are at least three vital roles that, like therapists, we can play in people's re-storying process: as *co-auditor* as they tell their story, in pieces and as a whole; as *co-editor* as they stand back from this self-narration as told in order to critique its plot-lines, its central conflicts, its genre, its themes, its characterizations (of themselves and others); and, finally, as *co-author* of a new self-world-story that they can both tell and live, one that enables them to make more meaning of the unstoried or inadequately storied aspects of the old.

Many of us have been lured into adult education because of our strong if unstated belief that, unlike the more "academic" fields on which it draws, it is in a unique situation not just to study change in human affairs but to stimulate it too - change in the direction of more fully developed lives lived in more just and growth-encouraging contexts. For too long, though, we have permitted ourselves to feel inferior to these same fields because of the activism with which, in their view, our academic endeavours are always tainted. Given the strength of the narrative turn in the human sciences and its subtle but sure shifting of official discussions of human nature and the human condition from "the sciences" to "the humanities", this passion, directed toward restorying lives, is decreasingly out of place.

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TRANSITIONS PROFESSIONNELLES ET FORMATEURS D'ADULTES

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Résumé: Cet article présente les grandes lignes conceptuelles d'un programme *"Transitions professionnelles: choix et stratégies"* qui s'adresse aux formateurs d'adultes afin qu'ils puissent, au moyen d'ateliers spéciaux, aider les adultes à vivre leurs transitions professionnelles de façon positive et surtout à poursuivre leur évolution tout au long de leur vie au travail. Des résultats de l'évaluation de ce programme sont aussi présentés.

Abstract:This article sets out the main conceptual features of a program *"Career transitions: choices and strategies"* allowing adult continuing education (ACE) practitioners who work with adults to help them, by the means of special workshops, to go through their professional transitions in a positive way and, above all, to continue their vocational life span development. Results of the assessment of this program are given.

Selon Touraine, "il faut pour défendre la démocratie, recentrer notre vie sociale et culturelle sur le sujet personnel, retrouver notre rôle de créateur, de producteur et non pas seulement de consommateur" (1994, p.186). Pour remplir cet objectif de société, l'éducation des adultes a un rôle de premier plan (Keierleber et Hansen, 1992; Sork et Cafferella, 1990). D'ailleurs Toffler et Toffler (1994) ne cessent de répéter que le savoir est, à l'aube du XXIè siècle, le nouveau pouvoir des sociétés post-modernes. Surtout, au sein de ce tournant des sociétés post-modernes, l'adulte se retrouve aux prises avec un milieu socio-économique rempli de bouleversements et qui exige forcément des transitions professionnelles fréquentes. A ce niveau plus précis, l'éducation des adultes a également un rôle très important à jouer. Et c'est dans cette perspective que se situe le programme d'aide à transition que nous proposons.

Cet article présente ainsi les grandes lignes conceptuelles d'un programme qui s'adresse aux formateurs d'adultes afin qu'il puissent, au moyen d'ateliers spéciaux, aider (en groupe de 12 à 42 participants; individuellement) les adultes à vivre leurs transitions professionnelles de façon positive et surtout à poursuivre leur évolution tout au long de leur vie au travail. Il faut souligner que ce programme, tiré de l'ouvrage *"Transitions professionnelles: choix et stratégies"*, s'inscrit dans la lignée de nos recherches antérieures, ayant mené à la réalisation de *"Etapes de vie au travail"* (1993; 1984), *"Carrières et classes sociales"* (1993; 1990), *"Personnalités et travail"* (à paraître). Rappelons que ces investigations mettent en lumière les différentes étapes de vie professionnelle que les adultes traversent au fil des ans. Ces dernières, avec leur cortège de remises en question souvent stressantes et parfois douloureuses, s'avèrent autant de transitions à négocier. Sur la base de ces travaux, nous avons proposé des nouveaux éléments d'intervention susceptibles de faciliter le passage ou les transitions de ces diverses étapes vécues par la très grande majorité des adultes. Les interventions proposées sont conçues à partir d'une réflexion profonde sur soi et sur la collectivité socio-économique mais surtout, sur le renouvellement continu des rapports à entretenir entre ces deux réalités.

Ce programme d'aide à la transition s'appuie sur le principe original suivant: pour pour réussir à négocier ses transitions professionnelles, il faut apprendre à redéfinir les quatre principaux

modes d'interaction (analogique, relationnelle, organismique et transactionnelle) P-E (personne-environnement). Sur la base de ces divers modes d'interaction, près d'une vingtaine d'ateliers ont été élaborés. Il y a ainsi les quatre parties du programme ayant les objectifs particuliers suivants: 1. se connaître d'une façon plus précise et approfondir sa connaissance du marché du travail (approche analogique); 2. prendre conscience de l'influence qu'on exerce sur l'autre et que l'autre exerce sur soi (approche relationnelle); 3. identifier son projet professionnel et le sens qu'on donne au travail (approche organismique); 4. apprendre à négocier avec l'imprévu constamment présent (approche transactionnelle). Quant à l'approche d'intervention privilégié dans ce programme, celle-ci s'inspire de l'approche cognitive où le formateur d'adultes y joue un rôle assez proche de celui d'un professeur utilisant des méthodes actives pour atteindre ses objectifs.

Le concept de la transition

Nombreux sont les événements qui provoquent des transitions professionnelles (Gibson et Brown, 1992). Nicholson et West (1989) les ont toutefois classés dans diverses formes de mobilité intra et inter-organisationnelle, volontaire ou imposée. Il faut cependant noter que, vue sous l'angle des événements déclencheurs, la conception de la transition se rallie surtout à une perspective socio-psychologique. Dans ce courant de pensée, le concept de la transition est d'abord utilisé, selon Magnusson et Redekopp (1992), pour représenter toutes sortes de changements de statut au travail et de rôle occupationnel. Cependant selon cette perspective, ces modifications à connotation davantage sociologique ont également un impact relatif sur l'expérience psychologique de l'individu (Fassinger et Schlossberg, 1992; Schein, 1992). Cette réaction peut se traduire, par exemple, par des discontinuités ou altérations dans la manière dont ce dernier se définit et perçoit l'organisation-employeur ou le monde du travail.

Le concept de la transition professionnelle réfère surtout, au sein de cette perspective psycho-sociologique, à un phénomène comprenant divers stades cognitivo-émotifs (Fassinger et Schlossberg, 1992; Nicholson et West, 1989) que la personne doit négocier, suite à un événement dissonant. Ce dernier peut être une contrainte amenée, entre autres, par le milieu du travail (Minor, 1992; Caplan, 1987) ou une remise en question le plus souvent inhérente à une étape de vie vocationnelle (Abrego et Brammer, 1992). Selon cette perspective cependant, ce n'est pas tant la nature de ces événements contraignants ou dissonants qui influe sur la façon de négocier les transitions mais bien le sens que l'individu y accorde. L'expérience de la transition implique alors un changement provoqué, entre autres, par les fluctuations du milieu du travail. Cependant, elle fait surtout référence à la réponse de la personne à ce changement au sein de son développement vocationnel ainsi qu'à la signification qu'elle donne à cette perturbation selon l'étape de vie au travail qu'elle parcourt.

Dans le présent programme, la perspective psycho-sociologique de la transition se traduit surtout par sept principes particuliers dont les troisième, cinquième et sixième sont relativement inédits. On les décrit ici brièvement.

Le processus transitionnel est cyclique et continu. Il s'agit là du premier principe. Celui-ci met en lumière que ce processus s'avère, tout compte fait, un cycle inter-transitionnel, appelant lui-même, comme on le verra plus loin, un cycle intra-transitionnel (cinquième principe). Un second principe soutient que, pour négocier positivement ses transitions, la personne "P" doit renouveler son rapport au monde du travail. Etant donné que les deux pôles personne-environnement vivent des changements constants, il va de soi que les modes d'interaction entre ces deux entités

doivent, eux aussi, se redéfinir d'une façon cyclique et continue. Ainsi, quelle que soit la nature des transitions professionnelles, celles-ci se définissent toujours comme des remises en question concernant de nouveaux modes de rapport à entretenir avec le monde du travail. Dès lors, elles imposent implicitement une révision complète de l'interaction que la personne "P" entretient avec l'environnement "E". Ainsi, dès qu'un événement est perçu comme perturbateur, l'individu doit, pour réussir ses transitions professionnelles, remodeler son interaction avec le milieu.

Le programme d'aide à la transition se base également sur un troisième principe. Celui-ci prétend que le renouvellement, complexe et crucial, du rapport au monde du travail, exige de tenir compte de quatre dimensions interactionnelles distinctes "P-E". Stokols et Altman (1987), après avoir souligné que peu d'auteurs ont étudié de façon approfondie les substrats philosophiques et méta-théoriques sur lesquels se fondent les différentes conceptions de l'interaction "P-E", proposent une terminologie servant à décrire quatre types d'interaction. A notre connaissance aucun auteur jusqu'à ce jour n'a appliqué ces différents modes d'interaction "P-E" au phénomène singulier de la transition professionnelle.

Ainsi tel qu'annoncé précédemment, le présent programme conçoit, sur la base des travaux de Altman et Rogoff (1987) que, pour réussir chacune de ses transitions professionnelles, la personne "P" doit renouveler son interaction avec l'environnement "E" et ce, selon les quatre dimensions analogique, relationnelle, organismique et transactionnelle. On peut résumer comme suit la signification de cette interaction multidimensionnelle appliquée au phénomène de la transition. 1. Confrontée à une transition, la personne doit faire la connaissance de nouveaux éléments du moi et de l'environnement ainsi que des appariements possibles entre ces redéfinitions récentes du "P" et du "E" (approche analogique). 2. Il faut que la personne soit en mesure de saisir les nouveaux effets réciproques de ces deux entités modifiées (approche relationnelle). 3. La personne doit également se repositionner en tenant compte de la réorientation future de sa vie vocationnelle ainsi que d'une nouvelle projection de la trajectoire du marché du travail (approche organismique). 4. La personne "P" doit réapprendre à jongler avec l'inconnu ainsi qu'avec la globalité (aspect multi-référentiel) des choses où tous les principaux éléments (le "P", le "E" ainsi que le contexte "C" et le moment "T" particuliers de l'interaction) se conjuguent pour former et recréer sans cesse des situations singulières (approche transactionnelle).

Le programme d'aide à la transition se base sur un quatrième principe. Celui-ci stipule que ces quatre dimensions se hiérarchisent selon un ordre de complexité croissante. Un cinquième principe, également inédit, du présent programme d'aide se formule ainsi: la redéfinition du rapport au monde du travail de la personne se réalise au moyen d'un cycle révisionnel comprenant quatre étapes qui correspondent aux quatre modes d'interaction "P-E", soit l'analogique, le relationnel, l'organismique et le transactionnel. Il s'agit ici d'un cycle intra-transitionnel; le cycle inter-transitionnel a déjà été signalé lors de l'explicitation sommaire du premier principe.

En somme, si les transitions sont elles-mêmes cycliques et continues (premier principe du présent programme d'aide), si elles impliquent une révision de son rapport au monde du travail (deuxième principe), si ce rapport au monde comprend quatre dimensions "P-E" (troisième principe) et enfin, si ces dimensions "P-E" se révèlent dans un ordre de complexité croissante (quatrième principe), il faut alors, pour réussir ses transitions professionnelles, enclencher un cycle révisionnel de son rapport au monde du travail comprenant quatre étapes, elles-mêmes associées aux quatre dimensions "P-E". Ainsi à chaque fois que la personne "P" se voit confrontée à une transition, elle doit revivre un cycle révisionnel de ses principaux rapports au

monde du travail dont les étapes doivent préférablement (mais non de façon absolue) correspondre à la hiérarchie inhérente aux quatre dimensions de son interaction avec cet environnement "E". Ces principales dimensions ou étapes forment d'ailleurs précisément le coeur des quatre parties composant le programme d'aide à la transition.

L'éducabilité à la transition

Ce programme d'aide à la transition s'appuie également sur d'autres éléments conceptuels pour faciliter l'occurence de ce cycle révisionnel et, ainsi augmenter les chances de réussir ses transitions professionnelles. Ainsi le présent programme d'aide postule (sixième principe) qu'il faut quatre stratégies éducatives différentes correspondant respectivement à chacun de ces quatre modes interactionnels distincts "P-E". On peut résumer ces stratégies comme suit: 1. La stratégie d'appariement "P-E", apparentée à l'approche analogique, se traduit par des objectifs d'information sur les similarités, affinités ou différences "P-E"; 2. La stratégie éducative de l'interrelation, s'associant à l'approche relationnelle, mise surtout sur des objectifs de conscientisation accrue aux actions réciproques "P-E", et de développement d'habiletés interpersonnelles telles celles de la persuasion et de l'interinfluence; 3. Les objectifs visés par la stratégie éducative de l'anticipation, reliée à l'approche organismique, sont associés au développement d'habiletés à projeter le "P" et le "E" dans des perspectives à venir ainsi qu'à entrevoir les interinfluences complexes entre ces deux séries de réalités en tant qu'elles sont elles-mêmes inscrites, chacune dans une orientation future particulière; 4. Quant à la stratégie de la globalisation se situant dans l'approche transactionnelle, ses objectifs s'apparentent au développement d'habiletés à effectuer une lecture globalisante d'une situation ainsi qu'à détecter la singularité de cette dernière. Enfin, ces objectifs de la stratégie de la globalisation s'associent également à l'éducation à la tolérance à l'ambiguïté vis-à-vis le caractère inconnu et imprédictible qui est forcément rattaché à l'unicité de chaque situation de la transition professionnelle.

Quant à la conception éducative globale, il faut par ailleurs noter que ces quatre stratégies s'inscrivent dans l'approche dite de "counseling cognitif" (Gladding, 1988; Patterson, 1986). De plus, en vue d'opérationnaliser ces quatre stratégies (appariement, interrelation, anticipation, globalisation) on a emprunté à l'approche du counseling cognitif, plusieurs techniques éducatives (questionnaires, leçons, guides, aide-mémoires, discussions structurées de groupe, exercices d'apprentissage structurés dyadiques et triadiques oraux, devoirs) pour la réalisation des divers ateliers.

Enfin, le programme d'aide à la transition s'appuie aussi sur un septième principe. Celui-ci prétend que, pour redéfinir ses rapports au monde du travail et ainsi augmenter ses chances de réussir ses transitions professionnelles, il soit nettement plus efficace et pédagogiquement plus riche de se confronter à un groupe hétérogène de participants représentant en quelque sorte les différentes instances de la société. Ce faisant, l'individu s'éduque à redéfinir ses quatre modes d'interaction "P-E" avec l'ensemble des principales composantes de l'environnement "E". Pour arriver à une composition hétérogène du groupe qui reconstitue en quelque sorte une mini-société active, le présent programme a opté pour une modalité inédite de sélection des participants. Cette sélection particulière des participants se base sur certains postulats de la théorie de Holland (1992). Selon ce dernier, le monde socio-économique est composé de six environnements professionnels, lesquels sont eux-mêmes constitués d'une majorité de gens appartenant au même type de personnalité vocationnelle. Ces six environnements professionneles ou ces six types de personnalité sont l'artistique, le conventionnel, l'entreprenant, l'investigateur, le réaliste et le social. Or, le mode de composition du groupe proposé dans le présent programme est précisément qu'il y ait un nombre à peu près égal de représentants de

chacun de ces six types de personnalité vocationnelle. Ce faisant, chaque famille de participants appartenant au même type de personnalité représente un des six environnements professionnels du marché du travail avec lesquels le "P" aura éventuellement à se confronter. Ainsi, la personne pourra s'éduquer à redéfinir ses quatre modes d'interaction "P-E" à la faveur d'une miniaturisation de tous les milieux professionnels composant la société dite active. En situant le "P" au coeur même de l'hétérogénéité, le présent programme d'aide à la transition peut augmenter les chances de cette personne de réussir ses transitions professionnelles en l'habilitant mieux à réagir à l'une ou l'autre des diverses composantes du marché du travail.

Évaluation du programme

Quant à l'évaluation du programme d'aide à la transition, elle a laissé observer des résultats positifs lors d'investigations menées, à date, auprès de travailleurs licenciés (deux groupes d'adultes âgés entre 18 et 45 ans) et de finissants du post-secondaire (un groupe d'adultes âgés entre 23 et 47 ans) (Riverin-Simard et Voyer, 1993). Les résultats de l'évaluation des *intrants* (forme de validation du traitement expérimental ou des activités du programme; validation inspirée par l'approche *"goal-oriented"* de Stecher et Davis, et réalisée à l'aide de trois juges) et du *produit* (données comparatives des groupes témoins et contrôles, choisis au hasard, sur les résultats au test validé *"Inventaire des préoccupations de carrière"* de Dupont, Gingras et Tétreau (1991) ont donné des résultats positifs significatifs avec un seuil de signification de $p<.10$. Par ailleurs, deux autres évaluations ont été effectuées par *Ressources Humaines Canada* lors de l'application de ce programme à des travailleurs licenciés suite à des fermetures d'usine à Trois-Rivières et à Montréal; elles ont également obtenu des résultats positifs.

Conclusion

Enfin, on ne saurait suffisamment rappeler l'importance capitale d'un tel programme d'aide à la transition professionnelle. Toutes les instances de la collectivité doivent conjuguer leurs efforts pour aider les adultes à négocier positivement leurs bilans et transitions professionnelles. Il s'agit là d'une urgence sociale. Si des remises en question aussi cruciales semblent à la fois quotidiennes et généralisées, on doit multiplier les interventions afin que ces événements se transforment en autant d'occasions de croissance personnelle et vocationnelle. La communauté socio-économique ne peut se permettre de gaspiller le potentiel de ses membres actuels et chercheurs d'emploi en leur laissant vivre certains déclins dont les conséquences personnelles et collectives sont toujours trop graves. Et l'éducation des adultes doit accentuer ses efforts en ce sens par divers moyens appropriés.

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ADULT EDUCATION AND DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PSYCHIATRIC PATIENTS: AN EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

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This paper outlines the evolution of Angrignon Adult Education Centre (AAEC) at the Douglas Hospital; an adult centre, which provides patient education programs designed to support the deinstitutionalization (DIS) of a psychiatric hospital and assist individuals in their rehabilitation by helping them acquire specific skills and behaviours.

Le texte qui suit décrit l'évolution du Centre d'éducation des adultes Angrignon (AAEC), situé à l'Hôpital Douglas. On y dispense des services éducatifs visant à faciliter la désinstitutionnalisation de patients psychiatriques et à contribuer à leur réadaptation en favorisant l'acquisition d'habiletés et de comportements spécifiques.

Purpose

The importance of education and training has been well documented in the DIS of individuals with intellectual disabilities but there is sparse literature regarding education and the mentally ill, in particular hospitalized adults. I felt therefore that it would be a valuable research project to review the literature regarding the DIS of individuals with psychiatric disabilities, to identify successful rehabilitation programs and techniques which assist the patient to remain in the community, and identify possible links to educational practice which could provide a source of information for adult education programs.

The DIS Movement

Many factors influenced the DIS of the mentally ill from the state hospitals and their transfer to community care. When the first psychoactive drugs appeared, it was believed that the chronic psychotic patients would no longer need the structured confinement of the psychiatric hospital. There was a conviction that the mental patient would receive more humanitarian treatment in the community. This belief was the philosophical corner stone in the origins of the community health movement. There was also concern regarding the civil rights of a psychiatric patient. The systems then employed, that of commitment and institutionalization, in many ways deprived individuals of their civil rights. Legal decisions defending patient's rights to treatment in the least restrictive environment, plus legislative establishment of community mental-health centres were all elements in the evolution of DIS (Lamb, 1984). Another powerful motivating force was financial.

State governments wished to shift some of the fiscal burden for these patients to federal and local governments. Thus the DIS of the mentally ill from state hospital and their transfer to community care was largely a social movement backed by politicians who responded to public interests and feelings of guilt.

Since the early 1960's DIS and community treatment have been the official policy of the United States Mental-Health System. This movement has been replicated in other countries, namely, Great Britain, Scotland, Wales, Australia, Canada, Italy, Russia & Japan.

At the beginning of DIS, community integration of the mentally ill was idealistic as many arrangements and policies were not clarified before the process was initiated. In many cases community services were slow to develop, and lagged behind the discharge of patients. This resulted in many individuals becoming drifters or worse, homeless (Lamb, 1984). Although there is government funding, Welfare and other pensions, to assist handicapped individuals reside in the community, this money has to be carefully managed. Individuals who have had little training and practice in the functional skills of everyday living and budgeting are doomed to failure. A review of the literature has demonstrated that patient education, preparation and support are essential to ensure successful community integration (Anderson, 1993; Carling, 1987; Boyd 1991; Farkas, 1987; Liberman, 1986; Shepherd, 1990; Redman, 1985).

Families of individuals with mental illness also need to be prepared for the process of DIS. Many families are frightened and wary as they remember difficult times prior to the hospitalization and care of their kin. They need to be reassured, given education and support. The public too needs preparation and information as they are largely unaware of the progress that has been made in the field of mental health and remain fearful and apprehensive of the concept of community integration of individuals with mental illness.

In many cases staff retraining at the hospital level is necessary. Continuous education programs should be offered to all levels of staff which promote the new image of the individual with mental illness, as a developing person who can be trained to function adequately and appropriately within his capabilities (Guy, 1985). Education and preparation are also necessary for the care givers, the individuals who will be receiving persons with mental illness into their community programs and residences. Thus education and training, plus careful matching of patient to environment and community program (Kruzich, 1985) appear to be key factors in promoting successful DIS practices.

The literature identifies that there is growing support for community care of the mentally ill if services would be revamped to provide a continuous system of care. This would require increased funding and support by government, a redesign of the present system of mental-health services, increased education and training of patient, staff, family and community at large (Bemak, 1985; Carling, 1987; Anderson, 1993; Friedman, 1985; Olkin, 1985; Finch, 1985; Glen, 1985; Tansella, 1987; Basaglia, 1985).

Psychosocial Rehabilitation

Psychosocial rehabilitation (PSR) has gradually developed over the last 30 years as a practice modality to assist people with mental health disabilities. PSR is one of the leading approaches of caring for people with emotional disability, and is currently gaining wide range acceptance. The definition of PSR (1APSRS, 1985) is commonly stated as:

> ... the process of facilitating an individuals' restoration to an optional level of independent functioning in the community. While the nature of the process and the methods used differ in different settings, psychosocial rehabilitation invariably encourages persons to participate actively with others in the attainment of mental health and social competence goals. In many settings, participants are called members. The process emphasizes the wholeness and wellness of the individual and seeks a comprehensive approach to the provision of vocational, residential, social, educational, and personal adjustment services. (p.iii).

PSR is based in two assumptions: first, people are motivated by a need for mastery and competence in areas which allow them to feel more independent, and second, new behaviour can be learned, and people are capable of adapting their behaviour to meet their basic needs. PSR is not based on exclusive independent theory but on a set of principles designed to foster the independence and development of people with emotional disabilities. The PSR model was developed incremently over the last 40 years as a social alternative to the more dominant medical model of treatment of individuals with mental health needs (Cnaan et al., 1988).

Bachrach (1992) identifies eight essential elements and concepts of PSR, which she believes enables an individual who suffers from mental illness develop to the fullest extent of his capacities. They include: individually tailored interventions, environmental support, a focus on patient's strengths, a positive atmosphere, a vocational emphasis, appropriate recreational and social activities, patient involvement in the rehabilitation process, and ongoing care.

Literature Review of PSR Programs

A review of the literature demonstrated that the most successful PSR programs included the components of patient choice, involvement, goal determination, meaningful work and adult activities (Schramski, 1985; Hierholzer, 1986; Shepherd, 1990; Wolf, 1992; Moxley, 1990). These essential components are found in the community PSR programs based on the Club House model (Horn, 1982; Beard, 1982). In these models the staff and clients are considered equal members. They work together to plan programs, establish rules and design activities for their members. The success of these community clubhouse rehabilitation programs can be largely attributed to the fact that clients are treated as capable, responsible, individuals. They are given the opportunity to actively participate in the design of their rehabilitation programming - to make choices and face the consequences of their decisions. Their ideas and views, not the staffs, are used to formulate the programs and activities. The opportunity to shape one's

daily vocational and recreational activities as a powerful motivation that encourages client participation. The concept of group inclusion is also a contributing factor to the success of this particular model of psychosocial rehabilitation. It encourages clients to be part of a social network and demonstrates that clients can provide support and assistance for one another (Shelton, 1980; Phillips, 1992).

Angrignon Adult Education Centre

The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal's Adult Education program at the Douglas Hospital has been designed to provide varied and specialized educational services for community and residential patients. The AAEC is located in the Newman Rehabilitation Centre within the grounds of the Douglas Hospital.

The students are all individuals with diagnosed mental illness who wish to participate in one of several programs: Pre-secondary, Literacy, or Programme D'insertion a la Vie Communautaire, which addresses social integration skills in the areas of community living, pre-vocational and/or vocational. Students are referred to AAEC by their psychiatrist, head nurse, or social worker. Individual programs are designed for each student to attain specific academic, vocational or social goals based on identified needs which are determined by standardized assessment, observation and collaboration between PSBGM staff and hospital personnel. The overall goal of AAEC is to promote responsible, independent and autonomous behaviour in their students by offering courses which teach functional academic skills, and programs which promote appropriate social interaction and communication.

AAEC was founded in 1979 and during the last 10 years the program has evolved from a basic literacy program for a limited number of students to a more sophisticated model which now offers pre-secondary courses, computers, French, work experience, communication and daily-living skills to a more varied population. A community resource program has been introduced which provides opportunities for students to attend social events in the community and thus practice their interpersonal skills in the appropriate milieu. These occasions also permit them to become familiar with the public transportation system, develop an appreciation of Montreal culture plus acquire a repertoire of public places of interest.

Teaching techniques have progressed from the traditional teacher-student structure to include cooperative learning in which the students work in pairs or teams and collaborative planning in which staff and pupils organize community meeting and school projects.

Similarities Between Adult Education & PSR

The concepts and philosophy supporting AAEC are concurrent with the principles of PSR. The educational services which are offered are designed to recognize that each student is an individual who has specific skills and abilities relative to his experiential background, culture and environment. (Knowles, 1980) The atmosphere at AAEC is positive. Daily activities are focused on the present,

not the past. The teacher is ready to assist the student to progress from his existing level of ability. Together, teacher and students work collaboratively to establish goals and programs which reflect students' needs and interests. The teachers inspire and motivate the students, providing support whenever necessary. The teachers strive to create an atmosphere of cooperation in which students can assist each other in the process of learning. They recognize that above all, students need to be seen as valuable and worthwhile persons.

AAEC at the Douglas Hospital is more than a school that teaches specific skills, it is also a social centre where students can meet daily to support one another and grow emotionally and psychologically as well as cognitively.

As a complementary service to the Douglas Hospital, AAEC provides many opportunities for its participants to acquire skills which will assist them to function more effectively in community settings. Research has repeatedly demonstrated the link between higher literacy skills and the ability to function in today's society (Coles, et al., 1978; Laffey & Carlson, 1988). Students who wish to return to community schools may also use this facility to up-date their skills, learn study techniques and improve concentration. As many of the students are in a period of transition and are about to move into community group homes, this is the ideal time to acquire self-help and independent living skills. Supervised community outings familiarize students with the public transportation system and permit them to acquire the necessary behaviours for community interaction.

As professional educators, the staff are able to assess each individual's present functional ability, determine their needs and match their educational plan to the hospital's rehabilitation treatment plan. The staff also creates stimulating, meaningful activities which teach specific identified needs. They model appropriate adult behaviour and provide an atmosphere which fosters congenial, cooperative behaviour. AAEC provides a secure environment in which the participants are treated, first as individuals with special qualities and second, as students who bring specific capabilities and interests to their group. This supportive environment encourages the student to make decisions and take risks which in turn promote social growth.

As the treatment and rehabilitation of individuals with mental illness has progressed it is clear that education has played and continues to play a critical role. A review of the literature has demonstrated that patient education, preparation, and support are essential to ensure successful community integration. Adult education centers, such as AACE can work in unison with hospital staff to teach and reinforce specific skills and behaviours which will assist the patient in the process of DIS.

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PERIPHERAL VISIONS: LEARNING ABOUT PROGRAM PLANNING FROM FIRST NATIONS' IDEOLOGY

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines program planning from the peripheral perspective of non-First Nations adult educators who work for/with First Nations' communities. Their learning about traditional ways is a primary focus.

RÉSUMÉ: Le texte qui suit considère l'élaboration de programme selon le point de vue périphérique d'éducateurs d'adultes non-autochtones oeuvrant au sein de communautés autochtones. La transmission des traditions séculaires constitue l'un des principaux aspects étudiés.

AUTHOR IN CONTEXT

I am a Canadian woman of Scottish, English and French extraction. Until 1972 I had known the world only through the eyes of the dominant Canadian culture of which I was a member. Quick glimpses of other cultures were thought about, deciphered and critiqued from my Euro-Canadian world view. A new reality surfaced in the fall of 1972 when I was engaged in teaching and learning with four teenage First Nation young women. We researched their Cree culture, and for the first time I began to comprehend reality from a multi-layered perspective. There were layers of different ways of knowing the world; layers of power, control and oppression; layers of assimilation, stereotyping and racism. For the next twenty-three years my learning about First Nations continued, my respect grew and my connectedness deepened. These experiences affected my philosophy and practise of adult education. I often wondered how other non-First Nation adult educators have synthesized their cross cultural experiences. Although many of us feel accepted and loved in our 'adopted culture' we will always hold a peripheral position (not necessarily a marginalized position), because we will always be outside of the experience of being a First Nations person. It is from this vantage point that I examined program planning. Some historical information regarding First Nations education may help to contextualize the research findings.

HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

First Nation peoples have played a minimal role in determining their education agenda since contact with European immigrants (Comeau & Santin, 1990). Government policy determined the occupations which Indian people would assume -- farming, homemaking and occasionally the ministry. Adult training revolved around these activities. 'Traditional' education of the adult community members had involved a continuous cycle of deepening spirituality, sharing child rearing responsibility, honing the specific gifts of individuals such as Medicine women and men, developing the hunting, fishing and gathering occupations and continuing the political process which involved the entire community and resulted in ever growing abilities at negotiations, oration, mediation and cooperation. The Indian Act eliminated free movement from community to community, infringed on survival occupations such as hunting, made spiritual and political gatherings illegal and allowed education to be the sole responsibility of missions forcing parents to give up their children for most of the year (Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, 1980).

The movement toward self-determination and self-government on the part of First Nations has challenged that oppressive reality (The Four Worlds Development Project, 1984). The past several decades have seen the development of First Nation adult education organizations across Canada on reserves and in urban centres. Many programs have been incorporated which reflect the mainstream adult education agenda, ie. adult basic education upgrading programs. More and more, however, First Nation politicians, educators, learners and communities are unwilling to use strictly a 'cultural borrowing' approach to program development by mirroring Euro-Canadian philosophies, theories and processes. If these approaches had been successful in providing the positive development which Native leaders want for their people and communities, perhaps the resurgence of 'traditional' First Nation ways of knowing and doing would not have become such a powerful movement. The reality is, however, that the 'ways' of dominant society have not been successful at providing First Nations with the means to empower their communities and nations and creating the opportunity to participate in Canadian life fully and equally. It is within this context that First Nations have (to a great extent) taken back their sovereignty, and have re-assumed the determination of adult education and programming among other responsibilities (Barndt, 1992).

RESEARCH PROJECT

Program planning has form and process that may look similar when you move from community to community and even from nation to nation. The nature of being human connects us through commonalities, but our desire to be unique as peoples is also a common thread. As I examine First Nations' program planning (on a small scale) some commonalities may be obvious. I hope the uniqueness will emerge clearly, as well, because sameness and difference are often embedded in one another.

I examined First Nations program planning from the peripheral perspective of non-First Nation adult educators who has worked in/with Native communities for ten years or more. I looked for the learning they had experienced formally and informally pertaining to the philosophy and process of program planning. The information shared in four interviews is an initial attempt at exploring the uniqueness (and perhaps the similarities) of First Nations' approaches to adult education program planning.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

All participants who contributed their learning experiences agreed that not every process of program planning with First Nation communities would reflect what they chose to share for this paper. The information that appears in this paper was drawn from the experiences which, in their opinion, seemed the most positive and useful, and which gave them a deepener understanding of First Nation ways of knowing and doing and of program planning.

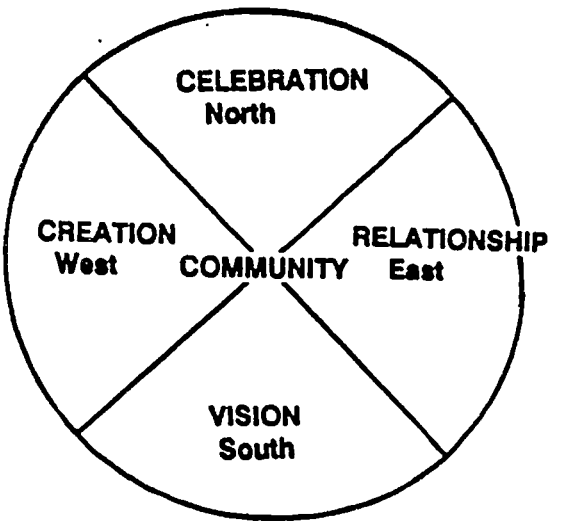
Dialogue between myself and the educators who were interviewed began by a request to raise issues of concern or clarification. An important recognition expressed by several respondents was that the human characteristics which resulted in First Nations' ways of approaching life (and, therefore, planning) are not unique. They are human characteristics, but the shaping of those human characteristics has created a unique perspective often very different from the Euro-Canadian experience. This helped to surface and clarify the connectedness that all humans have, while specifying that differences are a result of culture and/or experience. However, the fact that not all First Nations peoples can be

lumped together as if they have one monolithic experience was emphasized. I wish to re-emphasize that this paper reflects a few ideas of a small number of adult educators, and is not intended to be symbolic of ALL First Nations' program planning or of ALL non-First Nations adult educators' experiences. It is intended to be added to the mix of program planning knowledge as one small communal story.

The concern was also raised that the non-First Nations educators who have worked for many years with/for Native communities and organizations will experience, over time, a subtle shift in their way of filtering the world, particularly if their bond with First Nations people and culture is conscious and strong. There was a shared experience among the respondents of being in solidarity with First Nation peoples. This reality creates a situation in which the people sharing information for this paper no longer have a Euro-Canadian perspective nor can they have a First Nations perspective. It is this hybrid worldview which tells the story in this research. I can only underscore my hope that it reflects a respectful image of some program planning experienced in First Nations' development.

The stories gleaned from these particular adult educators began to entwine as I read them over and over. Aspects of needs, program planning and evaluation began to form one larger story as the themes were linked together. A flowing process evolved which began to fit itself into a circle which, of course, reflects my hybrid mentality, and the learning I have experienced within the 'cultures of the circle'.

PROGRAM PLANNING SYMBOL



As I examined the symbol I was developing, an issue arose that I wanted to address. Even when a cyclical symbol is used, the Euro-Canadian mind-set may translate it as linear -- first you do this, then this, etc. What is intended is an understanding that the separate sections are not separate at all, but have been honoured as important and essential aspects of the whole experience. While in the 'ideal' situation program planners might start in the East, Elders have often said to me, "You can enter the circle anywhere". Important, as well, is the recognition that when you are engaged in one aspect of program planning from this cyclical perspective, you are engaged in all the others at the same time.

For explanatory purposes I will begin in the Centre. Community holds this symbolic space because it grounds the entire process of program planning, as Mother Earth grounds humans' physical reality. The circle represents oneness and the importance placed on participation of the entire community is a traditional principle which the research bore out. All interviews reflected the importance of community involvement. The contrast between the Western worldview of individualism and free enterprise and an ideology of the strong collective reality was repeated throughout the findings. As one respondent stated it, "...community grounds the [First Nations] individual historically and psychologically. It is an essential aspect of identity formation and a possible source of support". Another explanation of the importance of participation in program development came to a respondent via an Elder's comment, "To develop as the Creator intends we must all be around the same campfire".

Relationships, found in the East on this symbol, were a repeated focus. The nourishing and fostering of the connections between people, nature and the Creator was one of the most important issues raised as part of the program development process. Everything that one does is imbued with the spiritual connection to the Creator. The relationships between the circle of people working to develop new programs or renew old ones was seen as vital to the success of specific programs. Relationships between this group and the community at large were vitally important, as well, for it was here that all the voices could be heard. The concepts of visiting and gatherings with an informal, social flavour were considered the most appropriate form of relating. Anyone who wanted to move from this circle to the smaller circle of program planners would be welcomed to do so. The links between the program developers and other agencies in the community who may have a vested interest were also priorized. The political relationships which were most often the source of funding were perceived as the most challenging, but reinforced the commitment the planners had to the spiritual relationships and the importance of community relationships. The common ingredient in relationship development was dialogue; a process of 'going out and talking, and coming back and integrating' was the ongoing ebb and flow of the planners' process. Needs were addressed in this manner, but so was input into the program vision, content and process. Evaluation was ongoing and participative through this 'to and froing' of relationships.

In the South, growing out of relationship building and spirit nurturing a vision of what the people saw in the future evolved. Whether it was a vision of a community day care with all its splendid community involvement or a carpenters course teaching how to build circular buildings, the vision became the guiding light. Respondents expressed the powerful creativity they repeatedly observed when a community could 'see' what they needed, and worked toward that prophesy. As more and more people participated in the process, the vision would expand in breadth and depth like a snow ball being given mitt fulls of fresh flakes.

The creation of the program would stay connected to the relationships and vision, deepening and clarifying both. Once the specifics began to be outlined many traditional teachings were integrated into the program. Some respondents mentioned only two or three of these teachings from the circle while others shared ten or more that they had seen woven into the development of various courses. The most commonly mentioned were the following:

* humans have multiple aspects that all need fostering in their

learning -- these are emotional, physical, mental and spiritual;
* humans are always in relationships in the physical world and each of these needs recognition in their learning -- self, family, community, nation;
* humans go through cycles in their lives and each can be honoured in their learning -- child, youth, adult, Elder -- remember that we are all of these at any given time;
* humans are both physical beings and spiritual beings, and as such balance between the seen and the unseen needs attention in their learning;
* human communities have varied functions and each can be better understood through attention in their learning -- social, economic, political and spiritual;

What is being emphasized here is that no matter what the content of a program may be there are certain principles that, if attended to within the content and process, will enhance learning, reinforce relationships, create positive change and development and create true community over and over.

Celebration was seen as part of the program planning process by the respondents. It would not necessarily be at the end point (although for sure there would be a gathering then), but ongoing throughout the process of planning moments/hours/days would be set aside for thankfulness, gratitude and honouring to be expressed. There is truly a sense that "the honour of one is the honour of all". Always the spiritual relationships would be part of celebration, but solemnity would be balanced with exuberance and fun. For those of us who have been part of developing programs in First Nation communities the empowerment through ceremony and socializing is as real and as palpable as the dollars that are needed to support program development. Community, relationship, vision, creation are multiplied through celebration.

This glimpse at program planning experiences does little to provide a map of where to go as planners, unless it directs us inward to the heart and outward to the people. The circle takes us deeper into peoples hopes, possibilities, visions and spirit.

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IN THE BEGINNING: THE CAAE'S FIRST JOURNAL

Gordon R. Selman

The Canadian Association for Adult Education was established in 1935 and for three years, beginning in November of 1936, published a journal entitled Adult Learning. This paper examines the 21 issues of this journal from the point of view of its general character, leading figures, philosophical points of view, reflections of the times and of the sponsoring organization.

L'Association canadienne pour l'éducation des adultes, créée en 1935, publia dès novembre 1936, et durant les trois années qui suivirent, une revue intitulée Adult Learning. La présente étude jette un regard sur 21 de ces parutions, retenant les dimensions suivantes: le contenu général, les principaux collaborateurs, les positions philosophiques, le reflet de l'époque, et les organismes commanditaires.

In the beginning was the word, of course, and this paper examines the "words" which the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) produced at its beginning, in the latter half of the 1930's. The CAAE's first journal was called Adult Learning. The first issue appeared in November of 1936 and in all, there were 21 issues published over the subsequent three years, the last appearing in November of 1939, just after the beginning of the Second World War. After a brief pause the CAAE began publication of a new journal in 1940, called Food For Thought which then ran for some twenty years. The purpose of this paper is to focus on Adult Learning, for what it reveals about the times, about the way in which adult education was viewed in those years, and about the development of the emerging national organization.

There has been considerable attention paid to the period involved in this paper, although very little to the subject of this article. Corbett's delightful and important We Have With Us Tonight (1957) deals with these years, of course, as do three other well known works in our field, by Coady (1939), Faris (1975) and Armstrong (1968). The author has given considerable attention to the period, having produced a monograph on E.A. Corbett's time as Director of the CAAE (1981) and several other papers. In addition, there is a graduating essay by a University of B.C. student, Walter Stewart (1983), in which he studied the CAAE journals at intervals over the decades, giving some attention to these early years. Taken together, these various works provide useful background for an examination of the Association's first journal.

The CAAE was formally established in 1935, after a period of organizational work set in motion by a preliminary conference held the previous year. Ned Corbett was selected as the first Director of the Association and he took up his duties in September of 1936. A good part of his first year on the job was given over to extended tours of all the Provinces, at the end of which he established a more normal routine, dividing his time between organizational tasks at the centre and "showing the flag" across the country. For the first

several years the priorities of the Association were focussed on service to the rural areas of the country and on promotion of the study group as a setting for learning and as a base for social action (Armstrong 1968).

General Character of the Journal

It is well known that Corbett was instrumental in shifting the emphasis of the Association's work from that of being a "clearing house" and source of information about the field (which had been the intention of the founders) to providing active leadership and programming in citizenship education (Armstrong 1968; Faris 1975; Selman 1981). In the period covered by the life of Adult Learning, however, which was prior to the creation of National Farm Radio Forum, the emphasis on education for citizenship was not as pronounced as it subsequently became. In this period, although citizenship was one of several themes which were represented in the pages of the journal, more space was given over to articles about particular programs and organizations than to anything else. In this connection there was a remarkable amount of emphasis on handicrafts and the fine arts. There was also considerable coverage given to particular areas of practice, such as the study group as a setting for learning, the use of radio, correspondence study and recreation. As one would expect in the formative years of the sponsoring organization, there was also considerable emphasis on the affairs of the organization itself. In short, there was not in this period a very obvious foreshadowing of the organization's impending move to such strong concentration on citizenship education. The foundations for such a future were certainly there--the emphasis on liberal studies, frequent references to education for citizenship, the focus on the small group as a setting for learning and for social action--but these topics might just as easily have been part of a general discussion of the aims and nature of adult education. Although many of the factors were on hand and "ready" for a move into citizenship education programs, it took the outbreak of the war (which happened at the very end of the run of Adult Learning) and the preoccupation with "reconstruction" thinking which followed to create the context in which the shift to concentration on citizenship education could be made with broad support within the organization.

Stewart, in his study of the CAAE journals (1983), concludes that Adult Learning reflected predominantly the original "clearing house" function of the organization, by contrast with its successor, Food For Thought, which he saw more as an instrument of adult education rather than a commentary or attempt to report on the field. Although other themes did appear in Adult Learning, Stewart's general conclusion is borne out. Just as the C.B.C. and the N.F.B. were created in this period to "tell Canadians about Canada", so Adult Learning told Canadian adult educators about Canadian adult education. It was part of a process of building a sense of common cause among adult educators across the country. There were many articles about programs and organizations in the field. The first issue, for instance (Nov. 1936), carried items of varying lengths about the "Knights of the Round Table", the Workers' Educational Association, the extension evening class program of The University of Toronto, and the League of Nations Society. Other issues featured activities in handicrafts, recreation, rural-based programs, programs involving radio, and so on.

The People

A list of the authors represented during the three years in question is a long one. Most names appeared only once, many of them people who wrote about particular programs or organizations in which they were involved. Some of the leading figures in the CAAE appeared several times during the period, which is not surprising. In a category by themselves were Corbett himself, who had a column or prominent article in most issues; and Adelaide Plumptre, (school board member and subsequently alderwoman of the City of Toronto), who served as Editor beginning in October, 1937, wrote editorials and as well, the occasional article. The first three Presidents of the Association: W.J. Dunlop (University of Toronto) H.F. Munro (Superintendent of Education, Nova Scotia) and Wilfred Bovey (McGill University) each had at least two items. A few prominent educators of the day such as David Smith, Donald Cameron, Peter Sandiford and Watson Thomson each had more than one article. Other well known adult education figures such as Moses Coady, Alex Sim, Leonard Harman, H.H. Hannam, and S.F. Maine wrote for the journal. A few prominent persons from outside adult education, Sir Ernest MacMillan, H.A. Innis, Sidney Smith and R.C. Wallace, among others, were represented as well.

Philosophical Considerations

One looks in vain for any cohesive philosophical position arising from the pages of the journal. In fact Corbett pointed out at one stage that an association such as the CAAE needed to be broadly inclusive in its view of the field (Corbett 1937). There is reference by various writers to the ideal of lifelong learning and to the goals we associate with liberal education; and the connection is frequently made between liberal education and democratic citizenship. A fairly constant theme is that of the value of the small study group as a setting for learning and as a starting point for social change. For instance, Corbett, in an article in the early fall of 1939, stated that the CAAE should have two objectives in mind, the promotion of the idea of lifelong learning, and "by emphasis on the value of group study as a preliminary to social action [the CAAE] should show that adult education is a vitalizing force in any movement toward the realization of social justice through democratic methods" (Corbett 1939:12). It is clear from this statement and others of the period that the emphasis on the small discussion group as a desirable context for learning was not based on a technical view--that people learned more effectively in groups--but rather on a philosophical one, based on the desirability of linking learning with citizenship and with social and cultural development. Two articles by Watson Thomson (1938;1939) also put stress on the small study group, but in this case he was stressing the value of such groups as vehicles for encouraging "social intimacy" and the creation of free "individuals-in-the-context-of-the-group". As the war drew nearer and then actually broke out in the final months of publication, several articles stressed the value of adult learning as a means of strengthening democratic convictions for the struggle to come.

A significant area of philosophical disagreement appeared in the pages of the journal early in the period. It took the form of an article by S.F. Maine of The University of Western Ontario (and a Vice President of the CAAE) in which he distanced himself and the role of the public universities from the active involvement in assisting and promoting social change. He asserted that only a private university such as St. Francis Xavier could do the kind of work it was

doing, which he described as striking "at the source of income of a considerable segment of the community", and though he was careful to make no specific references in this connection, he accused some elements in the field of "prostituting the educational ideals which they represent" (Maine 1937:6). Such a position was clearly at odds with the dominant goals of the CAAE at the time and this became even more the case in subsequent years. Corbett clearly "believed firmly in the relationship between education and social action" and felt that "the adult educator should be a social activist" (Armstrong 1968:68). Such a philosophical position reached its zenith in the organization, perhaps, with the approval of the "1943 Manifesto" a few years later (See Kidd 1963:108-09). This difference of view about the proper aims of adult education has accounted, at least in part, for the sense of distance which has existed over the years between the CAAE and many of those in university-based extension or continuing education work.

Professional Concerns

Although the present writer has demonstrated elsewhere that the spirit of professionalism emerged in Canadian adult education mainly in the 1950's (Selman 1987), there were signs of the wish for some such development in the pages of Adult Learning in the late Thirties. The formation of the CAAE itself was born of two main forces perhaps, one an idealistic desire to promote and strengthen what was seen to be a force for good in individual and community life, and the other a belief that practitioners could be assisted to improve their performances by learning from the experience of others. What might be seen as professional concerns as they were reflected in the late Thirties focussed on three issues: the desire for training of adult education leaders, the promotion of co-ordination of services, and the emergence of a sense of identity within the field. In the case of the desire for training, this was mentioned in quite a number of articles. In his survey of adult education in Canada which was carried out in 1935, Sandiford had made brief references to the subject. He returned to the topic in an article in an early issue of the journal. Several writers, in reporting on developments in the field in the regions made reference to the need for "leadership training" for adult education workers. As early as the fall of 1937, the Director spoke to his Executive in terms of "the insistent demand for trained leadership"; J.G. Rayner's report (1938) of the first Western Regional Conference on adult education (a significant step in itself). which was held in Saskatoon in March of 1938, reported a demand for leadership training; and an extended article by a Dalhousie University professor which was carried in early 1939 (Fletcher 1939) identified leadership training as one of the "growing points" required by the field. Sandiford (1935) also pointed out the need for co-ordination in the field of practice, as did Fletcher (1939) near the end of the period under review. Little evidence can be produced of a growing awareness of adult education as a field with its own identity, (although the very creation of the CAAE and the publication of its journal are significant) but in successive issues in the spring of 1939, there was an article describing the Danish Folk School movement (Moore 1939) and Corbett's first run at an historical article about the field (Corbett 1939).

The Association

It is clear that Adult Learning was seen from the beginning as, among other things, an instrument for promoting the growth and development of the CAAE as an organization. Every issue carried information about CAAE affairs. This

took various forms, such as organizational news contained in editorials, accounts of the Director's travels, articles by the Director on developments in the regions, and such columns as "Notes By The Way", "Out of My Notebook" (by Corbett), and "Note and Comment". Reports on significant Executive meetings and on the Annual Meetings appeared frequently, sometimes with no by-line and at others as articles prepared by one of the senior officers (See for instance Dunlop 1939). Such items gave an account of developments within the organization of a factual kind--for instance the appointment in the fall of 1939 of a part time staff person (Neil Morrison) to liaise with the C.B.C. about listening group activities--and in some cases also explained the significance of policies adopted by the organization. These latter included such items as the decision to place emphasis on serving rural areas, to support the small study group as the priority means of organizing adult education, to engage in joint planning with other organizations, and to build up a co-operative relationship with the C.B.C.

Conclusion

In his account of the Corbett years, Armstrong (1968) describes Adult Learning as a "somewhat folksy" journal. He made reference to the inclusion at times of brief quotations, snippets of news, quotations from hymns, etc. Stewart (1983) refers to this as similar in style to aspects of the Reader's Digest. Such tendencies were more pronounced in the middle years of Adult Learning (when Adelaide Plumptre took over) than before or after that period. There clearly was an effort made throughout to have the journal be sprightly and up-beat--part of the strategy of attracting people to the journal and to the CAAE. But there was as well a great deal of serious content and sustained discussion of significant issues. It appears to have been engaged in a continuing effort to establish its identity, just as the CAAE itself was doing in this period. The journal was a reflection of the "clearing house" function of the parent organization in these years, with many aspects of adult education in Canada being reflected in its pages. It is clear, however, that whatever it had established after three years of publication was judged by the leadership of the organization to be expendable. With the outbreak of the war and the decision that the CAAE would become a programming agency in the field of citizenship education, it was decided to cease publication of Adult Learning. A few weeks later, Food For Thought was launched, each issue of which was devoted entirely to some significant issue of public affairs and public policy. It was only in the fifth issue of the new journal (May, 1940) that any news at all about the adult education movement in Canada was included. As Stewart (1983) has appropriately concluded, the new journal was predominantly a vehicle of adult education and less than its predecessor, about adult education.

The pages of Adult Learning are a fascinating reflection of issues of the day in the field of adult education and of the mosaic which made up adult education activities in Canada at the time.

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Analysis of a Relapse Prevention Programme Designed to Help Penitentiary Inmates:A Case Study

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The purpose of this study is to explore the possible linkage of adult education strategies and clinical treatment among offenders involved in a substance abuse relapse prevention programme. This work aims to expand upon the work of behavioral scientists in the treatment of relapse to include adult education principles.

Cette étude explore les liens possibles entre les stratégies d'éducation des adultes et le traitement clinique offert aux contrevenants inscrits à un programme de traitement de la toxicomanie. Le but de la recherche fut d'élargir le répertoire des traitements d'inspiration behaviorale en leur juxtaposant un cadre issu des principes de l'éducation des adultes.

1. Introduction

A significant problem within the inmate population in many prisons is addiction to drugs and/or alcohol. The addictions are present at arrest, continue in the prison and persist upon release. In a survey of Canadian Federal offenders (Lightfoot and Hodgkins 1988), 75-80 percent were found to have alcohol and/or drug problems. Although the precise relationship between substance abuse and crime is unknown, alcohol and drug dependence are nonetheless obvious and important targets for rehabilitative programming. According to Corrections Services Canada (Living Skills Programming Preliminary Assessment 1990:3) a fundamental difference between programmes that "work" and those which do not is in the conceptualization of the criminal behaviour on which the program is based. The behavioral approach has had wide application in the field of substance abuse. The rationale being that how one attempts to change behaviour of inmates should be determined by how one defines, views, interprets or explains their criminality. It is difficult to offer a workable definition of criminality. However an attempt at defining criminality would neccesarily borrow from sociology, psychology, psychiatry and anthropology. Therefore there is tendency for scholars to focus these specific areas and neglect the importance of other factors.

A cognitive approach to substance abuse would possibly serve as an alternative to behaviourist models. If criminal behaviour is based on cognitive experience or learning then, it follows that how one attempts to re-educate the offender will have significant bearing on a desired outcome. Current correctional ideology maintains that a person's cognitive schemata and not their behaviour should be a primary target for rehabilitation.

Several techniques that are widely used in adult education puts less emphasis on traditional teaching methods and more on experiential techniques which tap the experience of the learners and involve them in analyzing their experience. For example, discussion, laboratory simulation, field experience, team projects and other action learning techniques tend to elicit a more active participation than lectures or audio visual presentations and assigned readings would elicit.(Knowles 1979:56)

One method for addressing the problem of addiction among paroled individuals is discussed here.

This case study looks at the phenomenon of relapse within a group of parolees. These participants have histories of substance abuse and are referred to the Leo K. Relapse Prevention Programme (LKRPP) by the parole board, corrections agents or parole supervisors. The programme is federally funded and operates contractually under the umbrella of Corrections Services Canada. The aim of this case study is to look for systematic connections between the observable behaviours of decision making, motivation and transition within the relapse prevention paradigm.

Participants are screened prior to entering the programme by interview. This interview involves previous drug history as well as information regarding any prior commitment to a recovery programme. The LKRPP sessions pertaining to this study are held at a half-way house. Participants are not required to be house residents. The purpose of the programme is to interrupt the addict's crime-prison-drug dependence cycle. The programme is given over a six month period and attendance is required beginning with twice weekly and after a period of two months attendance is required once a week. Attendance is compulsory and abstinence from all mood altering substances is expected of participants. Most participants are men between 22-45 years of age. Women have also participated although none were involved in the programme at the time of this study.

2. Methodology

I observed the group twice weekly during a four month period and also conducted interviews.The group is ongoing and participants embark on the process at individual points in time. I observed with the intention of monitoring relapse cues. The information was found to be contained within three main areas. The three areas (decision making, motivation, and transition) have been reported by various behavioral and cognitive science sources. (Mindlin 1959, Saunders and Allsop 1987, Cummins, Gordon and Marlatt 1980). This study aims to broaden the clinical context of relapse prevention through elaboration of various adult education methods within a learning group context. Adult education literature also deals extensively with decision making, motivation, and transition in adulthood.(Long 1983, Carson 1988, Knowles 1979). These studies offer an obvious parallel between the behavioral and cognitive aspects of relapse prevention.

3. Decision making, motivation and life changes

After a period of four months of observation and note taking certain patterns began to emerge. These areas were at the forefront of group discussion and interviews.

"... I'm not making any plans until I've got all this jail stuff behind me (i.e. end of sentence), "...I've always smoked pot and never hurt anybody on it..I'm not about to quit now", "...I'm not as bad as my report makes me out to be", "..I'm sick of doing time and I want something better for myself.."

Other group discussions revolve around parole hassles and personal difficulties such as, parole decisions, parole supervisory frictions, working or searching for work, re-telling of crime and drug/alcohol stories, relationships with spouses and girlfriends, drug talk (using, not using, "war stories").

- *Decision making*. Mann and Janis (1982:420) report that individuals reach decisions by a number of routes. To what degree might these factors be reconciled with Adult education research? Knowles (1979:115) writes that the role of the learner in the planning of their learning activity is one of the cardinal principle of andragogy. One of the basic findings of applied behavioral science research is that people tend to feel committed to a decision or activity in direct proportion to their participation in or influence on its planning and decision making.
- *Motivation*. Sanders and Allsop (1987:420) report that an important clinical aspect is to develop strategies that assist the individual to weigh the pros and cons and facilitate invigoration toward a positive goal.
  This view is also consistent with Nelson-Jones (1991:35) who maintains that freedom to choose (decision) will be an empty vessel and even dangerous goal,if individuals do not develop, along with self worth, the faculty of clear thinking, so that they can discern truth from fallacy and evaluate alternatives critically.
- *Transition*. Prochaska and DiClemente's (1982) work proposes a transtheoretical model of the change process which provides a dynamic view of behaviour and motivation change.

4. How do behavioral studies of alcohol/drug relapse tie in with adult education?

- *Decision*. Saunders and Allsop (1987) report that the quality of any decision to change will be influenced by the style of decision making employed. Most participants arriving into the program display varying degrees of reluctance and apprehension to the LKRPP recovery process. Mann and Janis (1982) report decision making styles which were consistent with my observations. These include:

1. Unconflicted adherence whereby a complacent individual adopts a new course of action usually following advice or recommendation without much reflection or difficulty
2. *Defensive avoidance* whereby in a state of conflict the individual procrastinates, blames or rationalizes to support the choice of the most desirable or least objectionable course of action.
3. *Hyper vigilance* which is an impulsive decision making style usually undertaken to avoid conflict.
4. *Vigilance* which involves careful weighing up of the information on alternative strategies.

The latter three decision making styles appear to be the most common within the LKRPP setting. Defensive avoidance is further complicated as a result of the participant rejecting the learning context. This rejection of the process is also compounded by external parole condition requiring attendance at the group. Attendance at other 12 step groups in some cases is also compulsory as well as mandatory abstinence from drugs and alcohol, urine testing for drugs/alcohol. All these and the impending possibility of return to prison upon breach of any of these conditions contribute to participant anxiety. Hyper vigilance appears to be the average participants decision making style. This style poses some difficulty for both the learning outcome as well as challenges the aim of relapse prevention. Resolution to "not use" in this case is easily challenged if the costs of the decision are not considered. For example, the legal arrangements (parole conditions) may be considered but these are perhaps temporary pending the expiry of an individuals sentence (warrant expiry date).

According to Malcolm Knowles (1979) people tend to feel committed to a decision or activity in direct proportion to their participation in or influence in its planning and decision making. Obviously the nature of the decision is important. Therefore the challenge for the adult educator is to re-introduce the reins of control to the participant. Ideally, a facilitator will re-focus the learner on the problems of substance abuse in their own life and foster an awareness of the challenges of abstinence based on personal rather than extrinsic challenges.

- *Motivation*. Given the possible impediments of the learners decision making style a further challenge within LKRPP is motivation . Traditionally, adult education has regarded learners as volunteers. The environment of adult education is, by history and structure, more accepting and less authoritarian than conventional education (Cross 1982). LKRPP operates within a basically humanistic orientation. The implication is that facilitators try to enhance the natural learning process within the limits of the correctional setting. The activities in LKRPP are centred on the learner allowing them freedom to decide what they want to learn. This "cafeteria" style approach counter acts decision making impediments and fosters self esteem. Tough (1971) writes that pleasure and self esteem are critical elements to motivation. In contrast, behaviourist models are at odds with adult education styles. Behaviourist style substance abuse programmes often offer a clear, specific and measurable instructional package. They offer the learner self instruction and often involve written materials whereby the participant will undertake sentence completion style questionnaires or multiple choice responses. These provide the learner with immediate feedback so that the learner will know if their response is correct. LKRPP has a similar feedback process which is often much more dramatic and arguably more realistic. This response occurs within the context of a *relapse* and through group interaction.
- Transition. The necessity to adapt to changing circumstances (preceded by the interruption of drug/alcohol abusing behaviour) is of vital importance for the participant in LKRPP. Havighurst (1972) has named these "teachable moments". Whether the individual arrives to LKRPP by way of a decision making route suggested by Mann and Janis (1982), a primary aim of the programme is to facilitate the participant's understanding of the contribution of lifestyle to the established abusive *using* behaviour. Davies (1980) purports that alcohol (and drugs), on repeated use, induces some changes in the individual so that the individual responds later in a different way than they did initially.(Davies 1980) The most important and central view in reference to relapse and transition is that substance abusing behaviour is a *continuum* and that relapse is viewed as a transitional process. The *idee fixe* that the problem user entertains prior to relapse is that they may drink or take drugs without any consequences.In order to capitalize on teachable moments I have found it useful to use Prochaska and Di Clemente (1983) *cycle of change*. The process of change is viewed as pre-contemplation, contemplation, action and maintenance. Using this model participants become increasingly aware of the chaos in their circumstances through personal reflection, group discussion, modelling, and effective facilitating and enter the phase of *contemplation*.

The learner may then deliberate into the action phase that removes the need for *using*. The learning plan must then be maintained for a period of time to allow
the learner opportunities to resolve conflicts.

5. Case Study

Paul is a 22 year old polydrug user. His commitment to the group is hyper vigilant (he fears returning to jail for breaching a parole condition of total abstinence). He also feels the system is on his back despite a good measure of freedom on day parole. He does not consider his drug use to be a large contributor to the difficulties in his life. Prison records indicate substance abuse as well as intoxication upon arrest. Paul's view is that once his warrant expires (end of sentence) he will regain control over his life and master his difficulties. Presently he views parole as the major obstacle to his well being. At this point in the learning process Paul is pre-contemplative within the cycle of change. After several weeks of LKRPP sessions the "prison armour" begins to fall. He is entertaining thoughts of using again. He is experiencing difficulties coping with life "straight". At the beginning of a session the facilitator informs the group that Patrick (a group member), has been taken back to jail to finish the remainder of his sentence because a urine test showed he had used recently used cannabis. Paul listens intently as others share their experience and thoughts on the matter. A group member says, "..Yeah, I remember getting sent back to Archies (Archambault Penitentiary) for nine months cause I got caught on a piss test". Paul begins to entertain the notion that he is having difficulty abstaining from drugs. "It's hard staying away from the drugs.. my girlfriend smokes, I'm around it all the time." says another member of the group. Paul admits he felt like *smoking* the other day and was surprised at the power of the urge despite knowing the adverse consequences. He has entered the *contemplation* stage. His identification with the group sharing and the facilitators steering of discussion enables Paul to understand the benefits of the group. A didactic and participatory module of the *life areas* in which drugs affect individuals and their surroundings is given by the facilitator. Paul is not convinced that his drug taking behaviour is all at fault for the difficulties in his life. He is both at a critical stage for relapse and at a prime teachable moment. He does have a minor relapse. The interactive and didactic group process is repeated. He is able to better connect with the group as well as the ideas of drug abuse. Although confused and on critical ground for the remainder of the course he is curious about his new state of sobriety and vulnerability. He has begun a shift which may propel him toward a commitment or investment in personal change. In Paul's case it was decided that he would stay away from a (*using*) friend's apartment at least while he was in a vulnerable state. It is in such periods that some of the most meaningful learning can occur. The process into action and maintenance is incremental and cumulative and may require several attempts.

4. Implications for Adult Education

There seems to be a presumption that relapse prevention is something that therapists do to people. In recent years one of the major contributions to the development of a specific relapse prevention treatment package has been that of Marlatt (1985) who has suggested that relapse prevention be seen as a self management programme designed to enhance the maintenance stage of the habit change process. The goal of relapse prevention is to *teach* individuals who are trying to change their drug taking behaviour how to anticipate and cope with some of the pressures and problems that may lead to a relapse. This may be understood as an educational as opposed to behavioral approach to relapse prevention based upon the principles of social learning theory.(Gossop and Strang 1990)

As we are beginning to realize in the field of relapse prevention that often it is the patient who decided to be treated and even decided how they were going to be treated.(Grant and Clare 1980:57) It has been my observation that individuals who participated in the planning and activities of LKRPP demonstrated a willingness with regards to their substance abuse problems. Also, participation increased when individuals felt they could contribute fully, honestly and at their own pace. By contrast when sometimes individuals perceived that their lifestyles were dominated by duties and obligations to the abstinence plan and felt the plan as lacking a proportionate measure of gratifying activities, often a sense of deprivation began to accrue and participation decreased or lacked self commitment. As has been suggested in other studies, as these feelings mount the person will experience a growing desire to "treat" oneself to an immediately gratifying indulgence.(Marlatt and George 1984) The result of course is relapse. Pleasure and self-esteem are key criteria to adult learning. Approximately 63% of offenders obtain test results indicating a grade eight level in maths and language. Low schooling attainment combined with a disrupted life cycle often contribute to low self esteem. Because of these special needs inmates and parolees do not want to be taught "at". Rather they need an understanding and autonomy which is commensurate with chronological age and emotional age.

Adult education, social learning theory and behavioral science can each bring forward a variety of ideas which will better serve the substance abusing offender and society. There is of course some apprehension for security reasons, as to how much autonomy can be granted to a parolee. Evidence shows that poorly conceived programmes do not work. Bandura (1969:254-257) writes the selection of well defined objectives, both intermediate and ultimate is an essential aspect of any self directed programme of change. The goals that individuals choose for themselves must be specified in sufficiently detailed terms to provide adequate guidance for the actions that must be taken daily to attain desired outcomes.

Addiction programmes are increasingly varied with regard to their out patient and inpatient components.This study of LKRPP is but a brief introductory description of one alternative to traditional treatment programmes. Addiction treatment incorporating adult education perspectives and practices appear to offer positive direction for the problems associated with relapse. In short there is already considerable involvement of the behaviourial scientists in addressing the personal needs of people in institutions and on parole and I believe that adult educators can contribute significantly to the research in relapse prevention. This study is clearly and purposefully an attempt to extend the opportunities for adult educators within the correctional context and in this case within the prevention of relapse substance abuse education. Future studies might analyze adult educational activities within this context.

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LE MONDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES ET LE MONDE SCIENTIFIQUE : CONVERGENCES ET DIVERGENCES

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Résumé : L'article propose une lecture des grandes orientations de l'heure en éducation des adultes dans le monde occidental. Cette lecture se construit en établissant un parallèle entre des écrits gouvernementaux et politiques et ceux du monde scientifique de 1990 à juin 1994. Les éléments de convergence et de divergence permettent de tracer un bilan de l'actualité et des besoins en recherche.

Abstract : This article presents an analysis of the main perpsectives in adult education in the western world. The analysis is built up from a study of political and government publications together with those of the scientific community from 1990 till June 1994. Points of similarity and difference bring to light today's situation in adult education and the future needs for research.

Problématique

Depuis que le monde occidental est entré en récession, l'éducation des adultes s'est trouvée bouleversée par des besoins changeants et des motifs d'imperatif économique. On parle désormais de formation de la main d'oeuvre, de mondialisation des marchés, de compétitivité internationale, d'adaptation aux nouvelles technologies. Ces préoccupations qui marquent le marché du travail et conditionnent la formation des adultes se transposent dans le monde scientifique dans des travaux de recherche et d'analyse pour soutenir ces changements qui semblent ne plus accorder autant d'importance à la personne humaine. Mais les deux mondes sont différents et ne sont pas sujets aux mêmes contraintes. Quels sont donc les points de convergence et les points de divergence entre le monde dans lequel s'inscrit la formation des adultes sur le terrain et celui de la communauté scientifique? Ces points varient-ils selon les pays?

Nature et but de la recherche

Le but de la recherche a été de cerner les tendances actuelles en éducation des adultes telles qu'elles apparaissent d'une part dans les écrits politiques et gouvernementaux et, d'autre part, dans les écrits de la communauté scientifique francophone et anglophone occidentale. Il s'agit d'une analyse essentiellement qualitative sur les contenus des écrits scientifiques afin de délimiter les problématiques qui retiennent l'attention.

Les sources et la méthodologie

Les données ont été recueillies d'une part dans différents écrits gouvernementaux, provincial et fédéral, pour le Canada et de l'UNESCO pour la dimension internationale. La cueillette des données pour le monde scientifique s'est faite à partir des articles publiés dans sept revues scientifiques européennes, canadiennes, américaines et internationales. Ces revues sont à caractère général non spécialisé : *Adult education quaterly* (AEQ), *Canadian journal of university continuing education* (CJUCE) / *Revue canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire*, *Éducation permanente* (EP), *International journal of lifelong learning* (IJLE), *Perspectives* (PER), *Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes*

(RCEEA) / *Canadian journal for the study of adult education,* et *Studies in the education of adults* (SEA). Les articles retenus ont été publiés entre janvier 1990 et juin 1994, pour un total de 623 articles. Les données ont été traitées par analyse de contenu dans laquelle les entrées généraient des catégories de classification. Le nombre d'entrées par catégorie et sous-catégorie offrait des éléments de pondération quant à l'importance des thèmes traités.

Les résultats

Dans le monde de l'actualité politique et gouvernementale, certains éléments retiennent tout particulièrement l'attention.Tout d'abord, il y a la préoccupation de l'économique avec les besoins en main d'oeuvre qualifiée, aux compétences à l'ère de la technologie et du changement des connaissances. Le tout s'orchestre sur un fond de mondialisation, élargissant le champ de l'éducation de base et ouvrant sur l'éducation interculturelle, ce qui favoriserait les mouvements de population et l'interdépendance tant des productions que des solutions aux problèmes de l'environnement et des changements démographiques. La démocratisation se concrétise dans l'accessibilité et dans les transformations sociales nécessaires au développement des pays. Elle se manifeste dans une volonté politique d'équité et une promotion des groupes sociaux exclus des pouvoirs politiques et économiques, groupes qui prennent souvent eux-mêmes un rôle actif dans la production du savoir et de sa diffusion. Par ailleurs, le savoir devient de plus en plus mouvant et de plus en plus changeant. L'heure est de plus en plus à «apprendre à apprendre» dans une société du savoir et à être instruit dans la construction du futur.

Trois mots conviendraient bien à résumer la situation actuelle dans le secteur et le champ de l'éducation des adultes : complexité, diversité et incertitude. En effet, la complexité se joue de la personne au groupe, du local au national, du national au mondial; des besoins de formation et d'adaptation de la personne à ceux de la société; de connaissances à apprendre à «apprendre à apprendre»; d'une analyse de cause à effet sous des modes linéaires à l'étude des systèmes faits de ruptures et de changements; de l'approche disciplinaire à l'approche interdisciplinaire commandant du travail d'équipe; du culturel à l'interculturel; de l'autonomie à l'interdépendance. La diversité, pour sa part, se retrouve dans les enjeux, les clientèles, les motivations, les groupes sociaux, les cultures, les langues. Enfin, l'incertitude est celle d'une vie relativement longue où l'on ne sait ce que réserve l'avenir, d'une formation qui peut devenir désuète, d'un travail qui peut disparaître, de connaissances à transformer, de rapports sociaux à changer, d'une technologie à réapprendre, d'un environnement à surveiller, d'enfants à élever, de jeunes à encadrer et d'adultes à accompagner pour un futur d'ici ou d'ailleurs.

Quant à l'analyse de contenu effectué sur les 331 articles en français et les 292 en anglais, elle a permis de mettre en évidence quarante-neuf thèmes réparties dans huit catégories. Ce sont les catégories de l'adulte (99 titres), des contenus (34), des domaines d'intervention (135), de l'évaluation (55), des fondements et approches (171), des formateurs et formatrices (37), du secteur de l'éducation des adultes (75), et de la technologie (17). À l'intérieur de ces catégories, les thèmes les plus importants sont les suivants : le marché du travail (62 titres), les entreprises (34), les approches et les modèles (33), les fondements (31), la mondialisation (27), la reconnaissance des acquis et les bilans (27), l'orientation (26), les compétences (22) et les pratiques sociales (20). Ces thèmes contiennent tous un minimum de 20 articles.

Si l'on effectue des regroupements de thèmes, alors le regroupement portant sur le marché du travail se trouve confirmer dans son importance (118 titres), suivi de loin par celui de l'ensembles des clientèles adultes (69), l'apprentissage (40), l'adulte au travail (40), la démocratie (30) et l'adulte (30). Ces résultats témoignent du fait que la préoccupation de l'économique, du marché du travail et de la qualification de la main d'oeuvre a eu un impact important sur le champ de l'éducation des adultes tel qu'il est illustré par les publications répertoriées. De fait, la concentration des écrits dans cette problématique est encore plus grande qu'il n'y paraît. Si l'on regroupe tout ce qui concerne le champ du travail, on obtient un total de 190 articles, soit 30,5% de tous les écrits. Ainsi, trois articles sur dix traitent d'une façon ou d'une autre du marché du travail et traduisent ainsi dans le monde scientifique les préoccupations majeures des gouvernements et des médias depuis la crise économique de 1982. C'est là un premier constat de convergence.

Un deuxième constat de convergence résulte de cette centration sur l'emploi. En effet, dans le regroupement de toutes les clientèles adultes, 52 des 69 titres traitent de l'adulte sous l'angle de son travail ou de sa profession, pour un grand total de 52 articles. Dans une certaine mesure, la personne, en tant qu'être psychologique et social, est oubliée. C'est un des constats que fait le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation : "...la priorité va nettement à l'économique aux dépens du social et du culturel et ... la priorité accordée au collectif tend à exclure les besoins des individus" (CSÉ, 1992 : 47). Le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du Québec (1992) pousse plus loin son analyse et recommande de ne pas desservir uniquement les clientèles «payantes» et de ne pas oublier les champs du social et du culturel.

Dans le monde scientifique, il n'est nullement surprenant de trouver que la plus importante des catégories est celle des fondements et des approches. Elle compte pour 27% de tous les articles. Cette présence marquée livre des images sur les tendances actuelles dans les courants de pensée en éducation des adultes. En tête de liste, on trouve le thème des approches et des modèles. Il contient 33 titres, dont cinq traitent du changement de cadre de référence, se référant surtout à Mezirow, onze de la pensée critique, et trois de l'approche de Freire; pour un total de 19 articles. Ainsi, plus de la moitié des articles de ce thème s'inscrive dans une perspective de théorie critique et de théorie de transformation, rompant ainsi avec les approches humanistes ou knowliennes. Il y a là, à notre avis, changement de paradigme en éducation des adultes avec un élargissement des perspectives théoriques. Fait à noter toutefois, cette perspective théorique est portée essentiellement par les revues anglophones américaines et canadiennes, les francophones ne se référant pas aux écrits de Mezirow. C'est aussi dans des revues anglo-saxones que l'on parle d'andragogie, les revues francophones non canadiennes privilégiant plutôt la terminologie d'éducation permanente ou d'éducation des adultes.

Toujours dans la catégorie des fondements et des approches, le regroupement sur la démocratie (incluant les thèmes de la démocratie, du féminisme et du multiculturalisme) ouvre aussi la porte à de nouveaux paradigmes. En effet, dans les années 1960, 1970 et 1980, la dimension de la démocratie s'articulait surtout autour des concepts d'accessibilité universelle et de développement du potentiel humain. Dans les écrits des premières années 1990, la démocratie est traitée sous l'angle de la formation à la démocratie en tant que but éducatif de l'éducation des adultes. Elle est aussi traitée sous l'angle de l'équité et de la diversité. Le point de vue à changer mais ce changement est surtout le propre du monde anglo-saxon dans lequel j'inclus les écrits en provenance de la francophonie canadienne. L'équité est une notion relativement absente des écrits français comme en témoigne la revue Éducation permamente

Quant au thème de la mondialisation, il occupe une place de choix. Dans la liste des thèmes, il vient en 5e position, ce qui en fait un signe distinctif en cette fin du 20e siècle. Il faut noter toutefois que les articles présentent surtout des perspectives de l'éducation des adultes dans différents pays; ce qui démontre une mondialisation de l'information et des communications par le biais des revues. Seuls des articles sur l'Europe, tant en français qu'en anglais, laissent percevoir dans leur titre une articulation de l'éducation des adultes sous l'angle de l'interdépendance des formations d'un pays à l'autre. Aussi, la problématique de la mondialisation en est encore à ses débuts et il faudra sans doute encore quelques années avant que ne s'articule une véritable problématique de la mondialisation des formations.

Parmi les points qui rassemblent les différents pays, il y a celui de la crise économique, crise qui affecte tout particulièrement l'éducation des adultes. Aussi, est-il étonnant de ne pas trouver davantage d'écrits sur le financement (quatre articles) et les politiques (six articles) de l'éducation des adultes. Le contexte de crise apparaît essentiellement dans les écrits sur l'organisation de l'éducation des adultes (16 articles). Ces articles traduisent d'une part les préoccupations des services d'extension de l'enseignement canadien puisque sept de ces articles sont publiés dans le *Canadian journal of university continuing education / Revue canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire*. Ces préoccupations sont, d'autre part, celles du monde anglo-saxon, Amérique du Nord ou Angleterre, qui a une structure de l'éducation des adultes relativement similaire à celle du Canada (cinq articles dans IJLE et deux dans SEA).

Les différences entre les préoccupations portées par les revues francophones et anglophones apparaissent aussi dans d'autres thèmes. Ainsi, des 13 articles sur l'apprentissage, tous, sauf un, sont en anglais. Dans le même ordre d'idée, des dix articles sur l'alternance, tous, sauf un, sont en français et, de plus, sont publiés dans la revue *Éducation permanente*.

En ce qui concerne l'apprentissage, il est intéressant de constater que tant du côté francophone qu'anglophone il y a absence d'écrit sur les processus mentaux impliqués dans l'apprentissage. Un seul traite de la cognition en lien avec l'alternance; un autre sur les styles cognitifs et l'apprentissage. Cette production apparaît faible à une ère où «apprendre à apprendre» est reconnu comme une contrepartie essentielle à l'obsolescence rapide des connaissances. Par contraste, la motivation occupe une place relativement importante avec la moitié des articles du thème de l'apprentissage qui y ont trait (15 articles). Le champ a intégré les préoccupations des praticiennes et des praticiens qui font dorénavant face à des personnes à qui on impose des formations et qui sont peu motivées à apprendre.

Dans la lignée de l'apprentissage, il est tout aussi étonnant de ne trouver que six articles sur l'enseignement alors que l'éducation des adultes n'est d'aucune façon constituée uniquement d'apprentissages autonomes surtout avec la montée des formations professionnelles et des formations qualifiantes. La situation témoigne peut être d'un certain regard sur l'adulte qui en faisait un être responsable et volontaire dans son apprentissage et qui faisait du métier d'éducateur et de formateur celui de l'andragogue qui soutient cet apprentissage que seul l'adulte déterminait. Pourtant, il ne suffit pas de connaître l'apprentissage adulte pour savoir enseigner aux adultes. De plus, les changements de perspectives et de conjoncture commanderaient davantage de travail de recherche sur l'enseignement aux adultes ainsi que sur son évaluation.

Enfin, peu d'articles portent sur le groupe, le partenariat, l'enseignement, le curriculum, la prospective et la technologie. Cette situation étonne, d'une part, et témoigne peut-être d'un certain décalage entre des priorités de l'heure et les travaux en éducation des adultes, d'autre part. Pourtant, tant la Banque mondiale, que le Conference Board du Canada et l'UNESCO insistent sur le partenariat. Il y a là un manque qui sera sans doute comblé dans les années à venir.

Conclusion

L'analyse des données permet de mettre en évidence des points de convergence et des points de divergence entre le monde de l'éducation des adultes telle qu'il existe dans la société d'aujourd'hui et le monde scientifique. Parmi les convergences, mentionnons l'économie et la formation de la main d'oeuvre. L'employabilité est considérée d'importance nationale et le but essentiel de l'éducation est maintenant d'«apprendre à apprendre». On mise sur la personne et sur sa capacité d'autoformation en vue d'un marché toujours plus exigeant et d'un savoir se transformant continuellement. Viennent ensuite les volontés d'équité et de démocratisation. Cela se traduit notamment par une ouverture sur la mondialisation.

Il existe pourtant des différences entre les deux mondes car mousser les formations qualifiantes provoque des problèmes de motivation. L'adulte résiste à des formations commandées qui ouvrent uniquement sur le travail. Il y a aussi changement de paradigme dans le monde scientifique qui maintient la perspective de l'autonomie et de l'autodétermination dans l'apprentissage tout en y incluant des changements de perspectives et le changement critique.

En dissonance par contre se retrouvent la technologie, omniprésente dans les discours sur le futur, les changements culturels et sociaux, les besoins économiques, et la compétitivité internationale, mais absente du champ des écrits si ce n'est sous l'angle de la technologie éducative et dans des revues spécialisées. À la technologie s'ajoutent l'absence de la science et des mathématiques. Peu ou pas d'écrits ont trait au groupe en ce qui concerne l'apprentissage, le partage des expertises et le travail d'équipe. On peut dire la même chose du partenariat qui possède avec le groupe des éléments d'invariance d'échelle, tels les éléments environnementaux et culturels.

Ainsi, le champ d'études de l'éducation des adultes s'est diversifié et est désormais mieux outillé pour traiter de la complexité des situations. Toutefois des variables culturelles rendent compte de la diversité des situations et des législations différentes selon les pays. Ainsi les pays européens, plus que les pays d'Amérique, sont centrés sur la formation en entreprise. Nombreux sont les articles français qui y ont trait, reflet d'une législation qui oblige au recyclage de la main d'oeuvre. L'interculturel se traduit

également de façon différente selon que la perspective est européenne, avec la mobilité des populations et la préoccupation de la langue dans les pays non anglophones, ou américaine, avec le respect de la diversité et l'intégration des populations immigrantes. Les différences de réalités culturelles, économiques et législatives offrent des perspectives différentes sur l'éducation des adultes et son organisation. Seules les revues anglophones ou bilingues portent cette préoccupation de l'organisation de l'éducation des adultes.

Pour terminer, si la complexité, la diversité et l'incertitude sont les trois mots clefs retenus pour décrire la situation actuelle dans le secteur et le champ de l'éducation des adultes, les deux premiers se retrouvent amplement dans le champ scientifique de l'éducation des adultes. La complexité et la diversité constituent, en effet, une trame de fond donnant une certaine cohésion à l'ensemble des écrits. Il n'en est toutefois pas de même pour l'incertitude. Elle aurait pu être traitée sous divers aspects mais l'incertitude est peut-être trop complexe à étudier. C'est pourtant dans l'incertitude que se prennent aujourd'hui les décisions pour construire un devenir collectif.

TABLEAU SYNTHÈSE COMPARATIF ENTRE L'ACTUALITÉ DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES ET LES ÉCRITS EN ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

Assonance	*Différence*	*Dissonance*
• économie • formation de la main-d'oeuvre • employabilité	• motivation • changement de paradigme	• technologie • groupe
• «apprendre à apprendre» • autoformation		• partenariat
• équité • démocratisation • mondialisation		• environnement
		Omission
		• violence • raccrochage

Références
Conseil supérieur de l'éducation. 1992. *Accroître l'accessibilité et garantir l'adaptation. L'éducation des adultes dix ans après la Commission Jean.* Québec : Gouvernement du Québec.

NOTE : Un texte plus élaboré sur ce travail de recherche paraîtra en 1995 dans la *Revue des sciences de l'éducation* sous le titre de "Nouvelles tendances en éducation des adultes".

CODES OF ETHICS IN ADULT EDUCATION: POSSIBILITIES AND PERILS

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Abstract

In the past 10 years there has been considerable debate about the desirability of developing codes of ethics for adult educators. This paper analyses the principles implicit in several codes of ethics and discusses the possibilities and perils of developing codes of ethics .

Résumé

Au cours des dix dernières années, on a abondamment débattu les mérites d'un éventuel code de déontologie pour éducateurs d'adultes. Le texte qui suit se penche sur les fondements tacites communs à plusieurs codes d'éthique, et examine les avantages et les risques associés à leur application.

Background

During the past decade there has been much discussion of ethical issues in adult education and of the desirability and feasibility of developing codes of ethics for adult educators (Boulmetis & Russo, 1991; Carlson, 1988; Griffith, 1991; Sork & Welock, 1992; Cunningham, 1992; Connelly & Light, 1991). While the debates among academics continued, several adult education organizations in the United States developed codes of ethics or "guidelines" for developing such codes. The Coalition of Adult Education Organizations (1993)—representing 29 national organizations and groups concerned with enhancing the field of adult and continuing education—issued *Guidelines for Developing and Implementing a Code of Ethics for Adult Educators,* in part to encourage the development of codes by other associations. The association for Adult and Community Educators in Michigan spearheaded the development of a code of ethics that has since resulted in the formation of the Michigan Adult and Community Education State Board of Ethics. One purpose of the Board is ". . . to review and clarify issues related to the Michigan Adult and Community Education Professional Code of Ethics" (Mallet, 1994, p. 13). The Learning Resources Network (LERN) in Manhattan, Kansas, has also published a code of ethics for those involved in adult and continuing education.

The evidence at hand suggests that the level of interest in developing codes of ethics in adult education has reached the point were other organizations are likely to join those listed above in developing codes for their members. The reasons why each of these organizations decided to take the step of developing a code, even in the face of compelling arguments against doing so (Carlson, 1988; Cunningham, 1992), have not been documented. However, in some of the background papers and through personal communication with those directly involved, several reasons can be identified. First, there have been some very public and highly embarrassing examples of conduct involving adult education instructors and providers that have been reported in the popular press. The best example of this has come to be known as "The Miami Case"

in which the instructor in a course on investing—who was also an investment broker—was sued, along with the school district that hired him, for using his position to gain the trust of older adult learners who subsequently lost large sums of money on investments that he made on their behalf. Other less dramatic examples include providers misrepresenting the potential benefits of enrolling in their programs, instructors who reveal information regarded by learners as confidential, exploitation of part-time or contract instructors, financial shenanigans involving use of funds designated for one purpose to accomplish another, and conflicts of interest, most often involving instructors. The group in Michigan was motivated, in part, by a verdict of "guilty of malfeasance without malice" handed down at a mock trial of the adult education profession held at the annual conference of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education in 1990.

It seems likely that development of some codes has been motivated by a genuine desire to codify the values and principles that are thought to be associated with morally-responsible practice—practice that regards protecting the interests and rights of learners as the primary purpose of a code. The CAEO *Guidelines* referred to earlier defines a code of ethics as ". . . a statement of principles that are intended to help define the moral and highest professional responsibilities of adult educators in their relationships with learners, employers, the public, and each other . . . . a code of ethics stems from a vision of what ought to be the very best aspirations for right conduct by members in the profession" (Coalition of Adult Education Organizations, 1993, p. 1). In other cases, codes—or code-like documents—may simply be a means whereby provider groups protect their own economic interests by circumscribing the behaviour of employees to reduce the likelihood of being sued for illegal or improper activities.

Although not presented as a code of ethics, LERN published a set of "standards" for classes with potential commercial content as a direct response to the Miami Case. The purpose of these standards was to provide guidance to ". . . administrators offering classes, seminars and other educational programs in which there may be potential commercial content in the financial interest of the teacher or instructor" (Learning Resources Network, 1992, p. 1). These standards specify 16 procedures, practices and responsibilities which, if adopted by providers, would effectively absolve them of liability if their instructors used classes to pursue their own financial interests. For example, one of the clauses states that "Neither the program nor its administration take responsibility for the content of the class nor the verity of what is being taught" (p. 3). Such pronouncements may increase the sense of security felt by providers, but it's doubtful that they increase learner confidence in providers who disavow responsibility in such a sweeping fashion. Again, this document is a set of "industry standards" and not a code of ethics, but it does represent one form of response to public and government concerns about the accountability of providers and their employees in a sector of education with few formal sanctions for conduct considered improper or unethical. Legal liability is clearly an important consideration in cultures where people often resort to the courts when they feel aggrieved. A provider who disavows responsibility for *the verity of what is being taught* is clearly placing an obligation on instructors to be accountable for the material that they present and on learners to *not* accept at face value the ideas presented by instructors. Since the focus of this paper is on codes of ethics for adult educators, I will now turn to a more detailed discussion of two documents that

collectively present several dozen clauses thought to be suitable for codes of ethics in adult education. An analysis of these clauses reveals both the possibilities and perils of developing codes of ethics in adult education. The two documents are the *Guidelines for Developing and Implementing a Code of Ethics for Adult Educators* (CAEO, 1993) and the *Michigan Adult and Community Education Professional Code of Ethics* (Mallet, 1994).

Possibilities

Having a code of ethics is one characteristic of a profession. There is a clear trend in adult education toward greater professionalization, which may explain the relatively high level of interest in professional ethics during the past decade. A survey of three groups of adult educators in Indiana found that a clear majority of each group felt that having a code of ethics would be useful in their practice (McDonald and Wood, 1993). Some regard developing a code of ethics as a sign that adult education has reached a notable level of maturity (Sork & Welock, 1992) whereas others regard the discourse about codes of ethics as a danger signal that all the evils of professionalization are soon to befall the field (Cunningham, 1992). There is good evidence that both positions are partly correct.

To illustrate this assertion, several clauses from the *CAEO Guidelines* and the *Michigan Code* will be analysed for the explicit and implicit messages they communicate about the nature of ethically-responsible practice.

Illustration 1

> *Participants accepted for enrollment in a course or program have the right to have their personal and cultural values acknowledged and understood within the context of course or program objectives.* (CAEO Guidelines, p. 2)
>
> *The Adult and Community Educator is aware of and responsive to the multicultural and diverse aspects of their community.* (Michigan Code, Standard 7)

These clauses acknowledge diversity as an important factor in education and place an obligation on educators to understand the implications of this diversity for their practice. There can, of course, be endless debates about the extent to which cultural values and other forms of diversity should be acknowledged and the types of practices that are regarded as respectful of and responsive to diversity, but the message from these clauses is clear: educators are obliged to be aware of diversity and to understand its implications for their work.

Illustration 2

> *Possible conflicts of interest bearing on course or program objectives for instructors and program leaders are fully disclosed in advance of participant enrollment and again at the onset of instruction.* (CAEO Guidelines, p. 2)
>
> *The Adult and Community Educator honors the public trust in their position above any economic, personal or social rewards and acts as a positive role model in their community.* (Michigan Code, Standard 3)

These clauses focus on conflict of interest, but in very different ways. The CAEO clause calls for *disclosure* of possible conflicts while the Michigan Code suggests that conflicts can be avoided by *honouring the public trust.* The implicit messages here are quite different as well. The CAEO clause is based on the view that disclosure provides adequate protection from conflicts of interest. It also places a great deal of responsibility on the learner to know how to interpret the implications of possible conflicts that are disclosed and on the educator to both be aware of and to be able to disclose possible conflicts. The Michigan Code assumes that educators will be aware of such conflicts and know what actions will "honour the public trust." It is difficult to argue with the general principles reflected in these clauses, since the principles seem consistent with general societal expectations regarding how professionals behave.

Perils

Some of the clauses contained in these two documents are more problematic because they reflect "principles" that are contentious, that have been systematically violated by notable and respected figures in adult education or that promote the status quo. Accepting these clauses may effectively exclude practices designed to challenge the status quo and otherwise promote emancipatory and transformational forms of adult education.

Illustration 3

In preparing materials, instructors and program leaders comply fully with all appropriate copyright laws and document their efforts. (CAEO Guidelines, p. 3)

The Adult and Community Educator adheres to local, state and national laws and guidelines. (Michigan Code, Standard 5)

These clauses are based on the principle that to practice ethically means to practice legally. On the face of it, this seems like a reasonable expectation. But when we consider the history of adult education—especially the social movement dimension of adult education—it seems clear that following the rules may rule out some forms of practice that we now consider a noble part of our heritage. The most notable examples are the work of Miles Horton at Highlander and Paulo Freire in Brazil (Bell, Gaventa & Peters, 1990). Both these men violated the rules that existed at the time because they were committed to principles that transcended the "law of the land." Including such clauses in codes of ethics confuses the legal with the ethical and makes it very unlikely that the status quo will be challenged.

Illustration 4

Within an institution or agency, adult educators are not marginalized; neither are adult learning programs developed at an inferior level of quality for the purpose of using the fees they generate to subsidize programs considered more central to a sponsor's mission. (CAEO Guidelines, p. 3)

The Adult and Community Educator provides leadership in creating and revising policies and regulations as they relate to the profession. (Michigan Code, Standard 6)

The first of these clauses attempts to proscribe the behaviours of others not subject to the code. The principle on which this is based seems to be "We want our work to be regarded as important and we don't want our programs to be treated as 'cash cows' by our institutions." It is very difficult to see how this can be considered an ethical or moral principle. The second clause is based on the principle that every adult educator has an obligation to become actively involved in policy formulation irrespective of the implications of the policy. A more defensible clause would describe the practitioner's obligation to support policies that promote access, quality and other matters that are important to the provision of adult education programs.

These few examples illustrate the possibilities and perils of developing codes of ethics for adult educators. The initial efforts to develop codes have strengths and weaknesses expected of any initial effort. They have provided us with useful texts that now need to be carefully analysed so that we can learn more about what separates a valuable code that reflects widely-held views of what ethical practice involves from a list of vacuous clauses designed to impress the public and maintain the status quo.

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What Makes a Successful Workplace Education Program?

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ABSTRACT

Puisque le domaine de l'alphabétisation en milieu de travail n'en est qu'à un état embryonnaire au Canada, aucune politique à long terme a été élaborée. One of the reasons for this lack of attention is the fact that there is little information to draw upon as to what has worked and not worked and why in program delivery. Dans cette étude qualitative, on tentera de trouver les réponses aux questions ainsi que les facteurs critiques menant à une programmation qui réussit.

In Canada, there is a growing awareness that a large number of adults lack the basic skills necessary to function effectively in the workplace. Evidence suggests that as many as one third of Canadian workers experience some degree of difficulty applying basic reading, writing and math skills in the workplace. Rough estimates of the cost of this problem are in the billions of dollars (Taylor, Lewe, Draper, 1991; Conference Board of Canada, 1992; ABC Canada, 1993; ABC Canada, 1994).

As part of the solution to this skills gap, new training strategies such as workplace education programs have been introduced as opportunities to learn the necessary skills required for fuller participationin work life. Generally, most initiatives to set up basic skills training have come primarily from unions, school boards, and community colleges. These demonstration projects are largely funded through the National Literacy Secretariat, Human Resources Development Canada or through provincial government incentive grants and are commonly regarded as being at the forefront in the field. Although businesses are showing signs of interest in this training activity, some employers seem to develop initiatives only when confronted with a crisis that has revealed a lack of basic skills in their workplace. In fact, less than fifteen percent of employers offer some form of basic skills training.

Because of this situation, people in the literacy field have strongly voiced the concern that business, industry, labour and education sectors have not given workplace literacy a high enough priority or embarked on long term policies. One of the reasons for this leaden response may be due to the fact that there is a paucity of

information to draw upon as to what has worked and not worked and why in program planning.

In developed countries like the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom information on workplace literacy and basic skills training tends to describe exemplary projects and experiences, work reorganization, productivity and cost benefits and calls for government action (Long, 1989; O'Connor, 1990; Berkeley Planning Associates, 1991; Bassi, 1992; U.S. Department of Education, 1992; Frank, 1992). Although these reports and surveys are useful in terms of the principles for practice, they do not suggest what factors or combination of factors need to be present in different workplace contexts in order that programs be successful. In addition, many of these reports do not include the voices of all the stakeholders involved in the program.

It was within this frame that a need arose to understand the issues, concerns and advantages of basic skills training from the perspective of the employers, the employees and the service providers. The purpose of this study was to describe all of the major factors and events that were involved in developing and sustaining basic skills training.[1] In other words, it was an attempt to understand what makes a successful workplace education program.

METHODOLOGY

The design of the research was a qualitative case study. With the assistance of a National Advisory Committee, eight workplace education programs were purposely selected from the major regions of Canada. The initial selection criteria for the sample included region, program longevity, program innovation, program leadership and program accountability. In addition, each initiative was considered successful if it had demonstrated any two of the following qualities: (a) significant gains by the trainees in the basic skills instruction measured by anectodal evidence or testing; (b) productivity gains or improvement in the quality of service as reported by the company supervisor; (c) an overall positive response from all of the key program stakeholders.

Participants for the study were recruited from six different types of program stakeholders. These included the Chief Executive Officer or company resource manager, the company supervisor, the union representative, the workplace education co-ordinator or supervisor, the instructor and a small group of employees.

Several methods of data collection were employed. Research co-ordinators in each of the regions liaised with the designated program, organized the field visits, and carried out the interviews using a standardized interview schedule with a participant from each of the categories. A focus group of trainees was also conducted from each program. Interview time ranged from 30 minutes to one hour and a half. Research co-ordinators also kept field and observation notes and collected relevant workplace documents. The raw data was then aggregated, organized and classified into units in

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[1] Financial assistance provided by The National Literacy Secretariat, Human Resources Development Canada.

preparation for the case study write-up. Validity was enhanced by having all participants who were interviewed verify the information that was given. Content analysis using a constant comparative technique was employed to determine the factors of success in the eight workplace literacy programs.

In the full study, but not here in the Proceedings, eight program sketches are discussed. Each profile outlines such program features as funding, operations, structure, curriculum, methodology, impacts and success factors. These sketches are taken from programs in companies and sectors like the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, the Fishery Products International, Canadian Pacific Express and Transport, the British Columbia Construction Industry, Dominion Bridge and Seagull Pewter and Silversmiths Ltd. to mention a few. For a more detailed account of the eight case studies see Taylor (1993). The reader will find that these profiles serve as a foundation for the discussion of some of the critical factors that can lead to successful programming which is the focus of the next section.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CASE STUDIES

As part of the interviewing process, program participants were asked to talk about the factors that contributed to the success of their workplace literacy program. Over seventy-five responses were collected and as previously mentioned, a content analysis using a constant comparative technique was employed. Based on the results of the analysis seven factors emerged. These factors include a new training culture philosophy, a high level of commitment, organizational structures that are dynamic and flexible and program components that are innovative. Just as important are the marketing and recruitment strategies, the support services and the funding resources which help fuel the initiative. In the following summary each factor is discussed and its importance in the "formula for success".

What's at the heart of a program?

Two factors seem to be at the core of a successful program: a new training culture philosophy and commitment from all stake-holders. Successful programs tend to perceive education and learning more holistically, viewing basic education in the workplace within a broader socio-economic and political context. Such programs are sometimes seen as a basic human right, with skills upgrading as more than an essential ingredient in adapting to increased trade competition. Individual needs within and beyond the workplace are combined with corporate needs, integrating these with basic and technical skills for workers. In other words, this new training culture philosophy bridges the broader intent of education with the specific focus of training.

Another characteristic of this training culture is that programs are developed with an understanding of the basic principles of the adult learning process. Programs that adhere to this philosophy are never just teaching subject-matter and content, nor just skills. They are also imparting values and attitudes, and allowing the process of

the learning journey to be meaningful. This process and the product complement each other as illustrated in the program profiles.

Coupled with this new training culture philosophy is the ingredient of commitment from all people involved. It is not enough that one group within the company be committed to the workplace literacy program. It is important that all parties are committed to all aspects of the program. This includes the different levels of management, workers, union, as well as those outside of the organization who are in anyway supporting the program. Common to all case studies was the fact that each party actually felt some ownership of the program, advocated on its behalf, and guaranteed a consistency of support.

The commitment is on action and to the implementation of the service to the learner. All parties become co-operative partners in the learning process thus helping to provide credibility to the program. The key to commitment is participation and this is achieved within successful programs by: genuinely inviting people to express their suggestions and viewpoints; open communication; wide-spread input; being flexible, and reasonable feelings of equality.

What makes the program tick?

Along with a company's philosophy and a sense of commitment, there are other components which make a program tick. Two additional success factors which emerged from the analysis were the types of organizational structures that enabled dynamic programs and the innovativeness of various program features. These factors seem to be linked together.

In many different ways, the profiles emphasized that successful programs depend on an effective organization. All the structures, whether functional or collaborative, were intended to improve the coordination of activities, further enhance the feeling of ownership, solve problems, and overcome barriers to commitment and participation. These same structures also provided visibility and credibility to the program, helped locate resources, provided professional advice, and sustained a climate for learning.

Such organizational structures frequently go beyond the actual plant or industry where the educational program is offered. They may also involve others such as local training councils, or local school boards, especially if these agencies are providing support services to the program. Generally speaking, these structures do not incidentally come into existence, but are seen as part of the program from the beginning and evolve accordingly and rationally.

The innovativeness of a program seems to be connected to the company's organizational structures. For example, the type of needs assessment conducted is directly related to the accessibility of all potential stakeholders. Participating in these assessments and establishing program goals can enhance commitment to the

program and a feeling of satisfaction. Key features which characterize innovative programs include: flexibility, relevancy, self-paced learning, interaction, scheduling and location which accommodates workers, continuity, varied methodologies and evaluations, an overall expression of collective goals, and a tailor-made curriculum in terms of assignments and instructional materials. As well, there must also be an overall sensitivity to the progress made by individual workers so as to prevent people from being discouraged or dropping out.

What other factors make a program work?

Marketing, promotion, and recruitment strategies are important factors in a successful workplace education program. As suggested by the results of the analysis, these should be done on a personal contact basis, such as recruiting workers for the program at the worksite. Many examples from the program profiles also emphasized the need to use several modes of communication for promotion such as word-of-mouth, newsletters, creative posters placed in strategic places, or annual reports. These same means can be used to inform other company employees of the progress of the program. A healthy team approach not only acknowledges the opinions of others but the accomplishments of others as well.

Many examples were recorded from participant interviews of the need for appropriate and varied support services to sustain all aspects of the basic skills program. These included the production of teaching materials, the training of people to perform specific tasks, the creative use of learning technologies, counselling services and childcare services for working mothers. These varied services were usually built into the program and obtained from both within or outside the workplace environment.

What fuels a program?

Funding workplace programs is a resource that is essential.
A common factor that emerged from the interviews was the various forms of financial assistance that was available for program funding. As described in the sketches, most programs included multiple sources of funding, usually comprising the local industry itself, as well as municipal, provincial and federal contributions. Incentive grants, partnership funding and the joint partnership of industry, labour, education, and government were examples of government leadership. The issue is not just the amount of money which is available, but how wisely and effectively these resources are being used.

To return to the earlier question posed in the study one final message to conclude this discussion might be underlying all of the different factors contributing to the success of a program is a partnership approach to training. Effective workplace literacy programs recognize that people need to know that their roles are important and valued. Only through a true partnership—one that has progressed to the level of trust—will workers admit to a need or seek assistance.

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MEANINGFUL LEARNING IN ORGANIZATIONS: BUILDING ON LEARNING STYLES RESEARCH

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This paper proposes that the emerging workplace, with its emphasis on the "knowledge worker," will increasingly require learning skills which promote meaningful learning. The author discusses the applicability of traditional learning approach research to this new context.

L'émergence d'un nouveau contexte de travail, mettant en valeur le «travailleur de l'information», exigera de la part des employés un nombre croissant d'aptitudes leur permettant de réaliser des apprentissages significatifs. L'auteure met en cause la pertinence d'appliquer à ce nouveau contexte la recherche portant sur l'apprentissage de type traditionnel.

Introduction

There has been a rapidly increasing emphasis on learning in organizations (e.g., Argyris, 1993; Senge, 1990; Senge, Kleiner, Roberts, Ross, & Smith; 1994); continuous learning is emerging as the hallmark of today's most successful and profitable companies. Processes and systems now exist for sharing new knowledge across an organization. As these information technolgies become operational, roles in industry can indeed be seen as shifting toward the "knowledge worker", as predicted (Zuboff, 1988), redefining the workplace, its processes, and its profitability.

Through increased access to vast organizational databases, workers face new job demands as workers engage in the kind of learning that transforms data into meaningful information (Zuboff, 1988). Organizational learning can be defined as a means of creating the conditions for new learning to occur during everyday work (Weston, 1994). For thus of us concerned with improving the process of human learning, addressing individual learning skills is of direct relevance, with learning style, or approach, representing an important learner variable. Styles which promote meaningful learning outcomes, characterized by understanding and assimilation of new knowledge, are of particular significance.

Learning style research has traditionally addressed school learning. Such research, however, has not made great inroads in the domain of workplace learning. Traditional conceptions of the workplace, rooted in an industrial-age perspective, may account for this phenomenon. Workers have been viewed as trained once at school or on the job, with production machinery regarded as an organization's main asset. Contrasting this with the current information-age perspective, we see a shift to the view that continual learning at work is mandatory and that information is the key asset (e.g., Gayeski, 1993).

The characteristics of school learning can thus be seen as more closely aligned with the characteristics of workplace learning; the ability to learn in a deep or meaningful fashion is critical in both contexts. Thus we should be able to draw from the established learning styles literature relevant concepts and methodologies which would have applicability to learning in the new workplace.

Meaningful Learning

In a seminal contribution to the field, Ausubel (1963) contrasted "meaningful learning" with "rote learning" to describe two different processes applied by learners in acquiring knowledge. Meaningful learning, described as the process of establishing non-arbitrary relationships among concepts, is compared to rote learning, defined as learning concepts in an arbitrary, verbatim, and non-substantive way.

These two different processes can be seen as representing a basic source of individual differences in the performance of any learning task in either academic or work settings; they may be described as differences in learning style or approach. The last twenty years have generated a considerable amount of research in this area exploring individual differences in learning, the main objectives of which have been to categorize student approaches to learning and to develop reliable measures of these approaches (Newstead, 1992).

Classifications representing dichotomous constructs similar to Ausubel's original categorizations of learning, but with different operationalized definitions, have been described by a number of researchers: Wittrock (1974) used the terms *generative* and *reproductive processing*; Marton (1976) made reference to *deep* and *surface approaches*; Pask (1976) referred to *comprehension* and *operation learning*; Biggs (1978) first contrasted the terms *internalising* and *utilising*, then later referred to *deep* and *surface* approaches (1987); Merrill differentiated *remember paraphrased* from *remember verbatim* (Merrill, Reigeluth, & Faust, 1979); Ramsden and Entwistle (1981) distinguished between *meaning* and *reproducing* approaches; Schmeck (1983) used the terms *deep* and *elaborative processing* in contrast to *fact retention*; Thomas and Bain (1984) distinguished *transformational* from *reproductive learning*.

In sum, a commonality exists in such types of descriptions (Biggs, 1987; Christensen et al., 1991;Schmeck, 1983; Schmeck, 1988), with the terms *surface* and *deep* most widely used to express two basic, qualitatively different approaches to learning, reflecting the terminology originally generated by Marton (1976).

Components of a learning approach

Deep and surface approaches to learning can be described as being comprised of both a motive, or intention component, and a strategy component (Biggs, 1987; Entwistle, 1988; Schmeck, 1988). The learner's motives are considered to predispose him or her to adopt

a distinct learning strategy. Qualitative data from learner interviews have consistently provided evidence of the critical role of the learner's intention in approaching a learning task (Entwistle, 1988). In terms of strategy, we are referring specifically to the learner's deployment of a learning strategy characterized by either meaningful interaction with content or rote memorization.

A deep approach can be regarded as a combination of the intention to achieve an understanding of material and a strategy which involves a critical interaction with the content resulting in meaningful links being made. A surface approach, on the other hand, is characterized by the less personal intent of fulfilling task requirements through reproducing material and a strategy based on rote memorization.

When looking at the demands of emerging jobs for workers to engage in the kind of learning that transforms data into meaningful information, we can see the relvance of these concepts. If we agree that the ability to achieve meaningful learning differentiates skilled learners from less skilled learners, then an understanding of how to promote deep approaches to learning becomes important.

Assessment Issues

If our aim is to optimize each individual's specific ability to learn, assessment of styles becomes a critical issue. It provides the basis for expanding the less effective learner's repertoire of learning strategies.

In her "onion" model of organizing learning/cognitive style research, Curry (1991) categorizes instruments, such as the Biggs' Study Process Questionnaire (SPQ) (1978), Entwistle's Approaches to Studying Inventory (ASI) (Entwistle, Hanley, & Hounsel, 1979), and Kolb's Learning Style Inventory (LSI) (1981), as tools measuring "information processing style" which focus on the learner's intellectual approach to assimilating information. We would like to note the potential applicability of such tools for assessment of approaches to workplace learning.

Before we can begin using available tools for our purposes, however, we need to address a basic problem. Across this broad spectrum of tools there exists a lack of clarity regarding what is actually being measured.Such knowledge is critical for both researcher and practitioner, who require assessment mechanisms and find the choice of tools to be problematic. The tools were designed by researchers in pursuit of similar lines of inquiry, yet we do not have any conclusive evidence about the degree to which they are measuring similar constructs. (Speth & Brown, 1988).These tools represent a part of the proliferation of instruments measuring what appear to be related factors (e.g., cognitive styles, learning strategies, learning processes).

In surveying this body of research as a whole, Curry (1991), among others, has noted this pervasive weakness in measurement tools and the need for research examining their construct validity. The process of determining construct validity necessitates establishing a "nomological net" (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955), comprised of a rigorous chain of inference from an empirical body of knowledge and a logical analysis of the meaning of the construct. This requires examing the relationship between actual human events and experience, the construct label, and the tests (Berlak, 1992).

Conclusion: The Need for Research

Thus, in drawing from the available research in learning styles, a critical need is to examine the construct validity of existing measurement tools. We need to examine the validity of these tools as they relate to meaningful learning in both academic and work contexts. For our purposes outlined here, it would be valuable to determine a methodology for assessing meaningful learning in the workplace and to develop a profile of effective learning at work.

Through its focus on meaningful learning, and its investigation of existing assessment tools, such research would help provide a valuable foundation for extending the learning styles research into a new domain, that is, workplace learning. Doing so can help address our growing concern with improving learning within organizations. It would more broadly contribute to our understanding of the nature of the construct of meaningful learning in general. More practically, this research could also be put to applied use in organizations, such as in the counselling of individuals in their ability to learn at work or in the designing of new training strategies for the workforce.

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"Fraught with Wonderful Possibilities": Jimmy Tompkins and the Struggle for a People's Catholicism, 1908-1928

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This paper explores the Catholic nature of the Antigonish Movement. It situates the movement within the context of modernity and the Church's own crisis of identity.

Le présent article examine les fondements Catholiques Romain s du mouvement Antigonish. L'étude situe le mouvement dans le contexte de la modernité et de la crise d'identité de l'Eglise.

I: Introduction: "The Momentous Gravity of Things Now Obtaining"

In the general adult education literature, the Antigonish Movement is often used to illustrate emancipatory or liberatory adult education practice (Brookfield, Lovett, Newman). That's the bird's eye view, from afar; up close, placed under the microscope, the movement becomes contradictory, complex, conflictual, a mix of conservative, progressive, liberal and radical currents. The primary purpose of this study is to explore the Catholic nature of this Movement; in order to do so, one must understand both the global context within which Roman Catholicism was responding to the modern world and the particularities of life in the Catholic diocese of Antigonish in eastern Nova Scotia in the early twentieth century. Caught in a swirl of pressures from within and without, the Roman Catholic Church in eastern Nova Scotia developed into a forum for the debate of its "relevance" to a modernizing and industrializing society. Beginning in the early 20th century, spearheaded by Father Jimmy Tompkins, a cadre of reform-minded priests (dubbed by Tompkins as "Bolsheviks of a Better Sort"), began to shape a new "social Catholicism" in response to the "plight of the poor" and the "plight of the Church." I contend that this dual response to the modern world--what I would call contradictory tendencies within early 20th century Catholicism--must be understood if we are to be make sense of the way adult education, as discourse and practice, is shaped in eastern Nova Scotia. For the Antigonish reformers, recovering the Church's lost influence was intimately linked to their educative and political struggles to emancipate the oppressed peoples labouring in the mines, at sea, on the farms and in households.

Throughout the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Church had been very reluctant to respond to the urgent new questions posed by industrialism and modernity. The Roman Catholic Church's social ethics had been shaped in the context of a rural, patriarchal, and hierarchical society. Now, this particular form of Catholic identity was being undermined as Catholic workers grappled with the new realities of widespread poverty in the midst of excessive wealth, union organizing, cyclical economic depressions, socialist parties speaking with secular accents and women's insistent demands for social equality. If traditional forms of social solidarity were being rent by the new class divisions of industrial society, Catholics were also being forced to make sense of it all in a world in which God seemed to have receded to the outer edges of space. Church dogma, homilies, and charity for the individual poor seemed utterly inadequate responses to the new kinds of problems 20th century men and women were facing. The Catholic Church desperately needed to provide a new cultural synthesis for changed times.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century Catholicism in Europe, the United States and Canada could be described as a fortress Catholicism. Catholics were ghettoized, dissent was controlled and hostility to the "Protestant" and "secular" other encouraged. Behind the walls of a fortress Catholicism,

Catholics hoped to ride out the storms of secularism and socialism seeking to invade their walls. In the diocese of Antigonish the Catholic hierarchy watched over its largely Scottish Highlander constituency, and Catholicism became almost inseparable from a rural, poor, patriarchal, anti-modernist existence. The diocesan newspaper, The Casket, condemned the evils of socialism, suffragettes, Protestants and assorted infidel movements. Suffragettes, for example, were depicted as "wild creatures," who if given the vote, "would raise problems not yet thought of..." (The Casket, July 17, 1913). Yet, towards the end of 1913 one notices a new spirit percolating through ultramontanist Catholicism. The Rev. Andrew Egan, writing on the subject of "The Catholic Church the Friend of the Working Man" (The Casket, October 23, 1913), called upon Catholics to stand for the "right of the employed against injustice from all sides, and for any movement that makes for social betterment..."

II: Rerum Novarum Comes to Nova Scotia

Father Egan's words are inexplicable outside Pope Leo XIII's epochal encyclical, Rerum Novarum, delivered in 1891. Under considerable pressure from grassroots labour movements to respond to the plight of the working classes, Leo XIII lowered the drawbridge of fortress Catholicism to the plight of suffering workers. A laissez-faire Catholicism was no longer acceptable, and Catholics were encouraged to understand the modern world in order to bring a Catholic influence to bear upon the major problems of the day, particularly the social problem. Transcendental justification was provided for social action, and a certain amount of space was opened up for dialogue regarding what constituted a just economic and political order. Yet, the papal prescription against socialism and for private property constrained the possible solutions to the social crisis, and made communication difficult between the Catholic social activists and militant socialists as well as between conservative and progressive/populist factions within the Catholic church itself.

Thus, there is a profound ambiguity in this Leonine opening out to the world. The Church is under considerable pressure to move towards the world (Rerum Novarum addresses the plight of the industrial worker) in order to restore its lost influence over secular affairs by competing directly with other ideologies (socialism or Protestantism). The Antigonish reform-cadre who clustered around Tompkins--a spearhead minority--were impelled into action by two potentially contradictory impulses. One, which we could label the universal impulse, was to respond authentically and humanly to the "plight of the poor" on farm, sea and in the mine. The other, which we could label the particularist impulse, was to act to ensure that the "plight of the Church", the threat to its own identity, was addressed. In a lecture to St. Francis Xavier students in early 1952, Moses Coady (who was mentored into leadership by his cousin Tompkins) beautifully captures these two impulses. "It may be good for our souls to investigate why the masses of our time have been lost to the Church and why the great masses of the world's people still live in conditions not in harmony with their dignity as human beings. For Coady, the loss of the working masses was a "great scandal," and he proclaimed to his students that the "Church always has been jealous of having a say in the guidance of the institutions operating in these fields." The desire to restore the lost influence of the Catholic Church is, I argue, strongly and weakly present in Catholic thought and action in Nova Scotia. The Catholic integrists wanted to maintain the Church's authority and governance of all domains of society, and the Catholic populists, sensing that this latter position might be untenable in the modern world, sought to participate in debates about society's future as one dialogue partner among many. Rerum Novarum has been interpreted in status quo maintaining ways in the history of Catholicism. But Tompkins and the reform-cadre of Antigonish read Rerum Novarum as a text that demands radical engagement with the pressing issues of their suffering region.

III: Moving Forward: Awakening the People from their Apathy

The reformers in early twentieth century Nova Scotia had more than their share of pressing issues to contend with. Outward migration had been continuous from the late nineteenth into the first two decades of the twentieth. Indeed, the "vacant farm" symbolized the plight of rural society. The plight of rural society was exacerbated, too, by the significant shift of population to the burgeoning industrial towns (Glace Bay in Cape Breton grew from 6,945 to 16,562 between 1901 and 1910). Many fewer young people than in earlier decades were staying down on the farm, lured to the booming West, or into waged word in the mines, steel factories or subsidiary industries like the Eastern Car Company in New Glasgow which advertised for 500 jobs in July, 1913. The history of coal and steel in Nova Scotia is a history of bitter class struggle, violence, exploitation and miserable working and living conditions. And to make matters even worse, the region was experiencing a crisis in the fishery. Thousands of fishermen were being forced out of the fishery, largely by the rapacious intrusion of the huge beam trawlers. When Jimmy Tompkins went to Canso as parish priest in January, 1923, he discovered that many of the fishermen and their families were close to starvation.

Tompkins began his work at St. Francis Xavier College, located in the small town of Antigonish, in 1902, becoming vice-president in 1908. The very name, St. Francis Xavier, today has a kind of luminous glow surrounding it for many adult educators. But in the early twentieth century is was a very modest and parochial institution, scarcely deserving the name of "university." Tompkins believed that Catholic higher education lagged terribly behind the modern world; in its revitalization lay at least some answers to the desperate economic and political situation facing Nova Scotians. Tompkins played a leading role in sending promising men throughout the world to acquire the latest knowledge about the natural and social sciences. Dr. Tompkins and his friend and colleague, "Little Doc" Hugh Macpherson (who came to St.FX in 1900 and is one of Nova Scotia's pioneering popular educators in agriculture), embodied the new winds of populism beginning to blow in a rather lethargic cultural and intellectual milieu.

In 1912 Tompkins returned from a British universities meeting held at Oxford ablaze with desire to carry the university to the people. It was dawning on Tompkins that adult education could precipitate a cultural awakening in men's and women's hearts and souls. Foreshadowing the concerns of late twentieth popular educators, Tompkins maintained that workers would be dominated and exploited unless they got knowledge for themselves. Education was the way to power. But how to proceed? The leadership of the diocese--Bishop Morrison and Rector Hugh Macpherson (not to be confused with "Little Doc")--were neither sympathetic to Tompkins' radical intuitions nor his importunate nature. Beginning in late 1913, impatient of "noble theorizing" (Letter to Moses Coady, October 29, 1914), Tompkins plunged into feverish social action on two fronts. He opened a column on the "Forward Movement" in The Casket, and began to orchestrate action to boost civic awareness and responsibility. The period of the Antigonish Forward Movement, from its beginnings in late 1913 to its gradual dissipation by the end of 1915, is particularly important for our understanding of adult education and the new Catholicism. First, it is clear that Tompkins believed that the plight of rural society had to be central to any reform agenda. Second, that sectarian attitudes had to be rejected and a new era of dialogue with Protestants opened up. Third, Tompkins' populist leanings are manifest in his scathing denunciations of local political bosses. Fourth, it is in this period that we see the crystallization of a self-conscious vanguard of reform-minded priests. The Forward Movement sought to repopulate the country, beautify the town, dredge the harbour and find an educator to work with farmers. They succeeded only in getting Little Doc Hugh Macpherson to work as an agricultural representative in

1914. This was, however, a major accomplishment, and it is clear that "popular education" in the early twentieth century meant that scientific knowledge was mediated to the common people. Science could enlighten farmers as to the causes of their dilemmas and problems, and could enable them to take more control over their lives.

IV: "Fraught with Wonderful Possibilities"

The Antigonish Forward Movement precipitated important social learning processes. Once "commercial pessimism" and citizen lassitude" (a colonized, or oppressed mentality) had been thematized on the ground of civil society, debated opened up around the possible ways forward. Slowly it began to dawn on people that "underdevelopment" was not a natural condition; that their cultural awareness was responsible, in large part, for their current predicament. By the end of World War I, Jimmy Tompkins was acutely aware that a new spirit of democracy and questioning of power elites was breaking into western people's consciousness. People were hungry for knowledge, and they wanted a say in how society was being run. From 1918 until he is banished from St. Francis Xavier in December, 1922, Jimmy Tompkins intensifies his educational agitational work.

A. He creates the "For the People" column in The Casket in 1918

This is a very significant move on the part of the reform-cadre. In column after column, Tompkins and the reformers (including the Englishmen, Henry Somerville, and the American, John Ryan) argue that the common people must learn how society operates and direct their action based on this knowledge. The reformers successfully create a new discourse which, rather than reacting defensively to modernism, now becomes one of the competing options interplaying with others in the conflictual cultural field of Nova Scotia. But what particularly distinguishes this discourse (which I label Catholic populism) is the fervent and strong emphasis on adult education as central to the process of enlightenment and empowerment. Pedagogical activism, or transformation through self-activity, is placed at the heart of this populism (which skillfully weaves itself out of different ideological strands).

B. He opens up dialogue with industrial workers

By the end of World War I Tompkins is still concerned with the plight of rural society. But he now begins to more consciously address the labor question. In the "Education and Social Conferences" of 1918 and 1919, he succeeds in opening up dialogue on questions of industrial democracy. On his own, he speaks with the "red" leadership of the workers in Cape Breton. He tries to foster a WEA-style adult education for the industrial workers (rather than the Plebs League favored by Communist workers in the UK).

C. He launches the People's School in January 1921

Tompkins launched the People's School (about 51 "men" come to the School, held at St. Francis Xavier) to demonstrate the power of adult education to change people's way of seeing and acting within the world. It turns out be a great success: Moses Coady, who taught mathematics at the School, found the students "anxious for knowledge and desirous of improvement...The time is ripe, it would seem, for a vigorous program of adult education in this country. And the progressive Halifax Herald (May 28, 1921) commented: "For many years universities everywhere have been, and most of them still are, laboring under the misconception that they by divine right, shall serve the wealthy and privileged classes, and in no degree promote popular education."

D. He actively promotes the federation of universities in Nova Scotia in 1921 and 1922

Tompkins spearheaded an enormously controversial effort to create a University of Nova Scotia. He believed that Catholic higher education was in a terrible mess, and that by itself, St. Francis Xavier could not prepare Catholic men and women to confront the modern world. The Carnegie Corporation

was willing to provide funding for a non-sectarian university system. Within this scheme, Dalhousie would become the center and St. Francis would become a kind of people's community college (as would Mount Allison (Methodist) and Acadia (Baptist). In Halifax, a Catholic College, akin to St. Michael's in Toronto, would be established. The poor, underresourced religious colleges could not really fund high-level university and graduate work. Did not some sort of unification make eminent sense? Unlike Bishop Morrison and Rector Hugh Macpherson, Tompkins did not fear the secular world of the natural and social sciences. He believed, one can conjecture, that there was no contradiction between God's revealed truth and the natural laws, created by God, governing natural and human affairs. Both "truths" would converge, and the well-equipped Catholic professor of any of the natural sciences could place his or her scholarly work in the service of more socially efficient practices, be they in the fishery or on the farm.

A royal battle within the Church ensued. The hierarchy feared secular places--breeders of atheism and syphilis--and Scots and Acadians were told that along with St. Francis, they would also lose their identities. The issue was painful and difficult and complex. The progressive agenda, coupled with the federationist move, was too much for the Church hierarchy. In late December, 1922, Father Jimmy Tompkins was removed from his position, and sent to Canso, a fog-bound outport fishing village.

V: Real adult education springs from the pain of the people

From 1923 until St. Francis Xavier actually agreed to create an extension department in 1928, Tompkins agitated amongst the fishermen. By 1927, his pedagogical activity and seed-sowing took root, and many fishermen, helped along by reform-priests in the fishing villages, forced the government into inquiring into the state of the fishery. The commissioners sided with the plight of the fishermen, recommending adult education for cooperation. The reform cadre also agitated for an extension department in the 1920s meetings of the "Education and Social Conference." By 1928, reform-cadre efforts to pressure the Church hierarchy to create an extension department and to launch a coherent attack on social and economic problems had succeeded, and Moses Coady was appointed as first extension director. After a whirlwind stint organizing fishermen's unions, Coady and the reformers began to shape what would become known throughout the world as the "Antigonish Movement" in 1929 and 1930. The creation of the Extension Department had been born out of acute suffering amongst the people and the ceaseless agitation of Jimmy Tompkins and his band of "Bolsheviks of a Better Sort."

DISTANCE EDUCATION TECHNIQUES IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

Innovative and cost-effective methods of educational media delivery and evaluation will be discussed in a range of urban and rural settings. Videotaped examples will be presented of projects conducted for the US, Kenyan, and Ukrainian governments, and in the Canadian Arctic.

RÉSUMÉ

Le texte qui suit porte sur l'utilisation novatrice et rentable des médias pour dispenser et évaluer des activités éducatives en milieu rural et urbain. On y décrit des projets vidéo menés à l'extérieur du Canada pour le compte des gouvernements des États–Unis, du Kenya, d'Ukraine, ainsi qu'au Canada dans le Grand Nord.

A. Pilot-testing of Broadcast Media Materials in Rural Kenya
(by J. Baggaley & S. Gruber)

The development of educational media materials for rural users has always been problematic. The lack of budget, time, and evaluation expertise often makes it impossible for materials to be pilot-tested in the field and modified, if required, before distribution. Conventional evaluation methods fail to overcome factors such as the geographic dispersion of test audiences, cultural, language and literacy barriers. The need therefore arises for a rapid, reliable, inexpensive, and culture-free method of surmounting these problems, in order to ensure that development communications programs achieve the goals they intend.

Commercial advertisers have long since solved the problems of media evaluation by the use of automated research methods which collect audience responses to their pilot

productions with immense speed and precision. Until now, these methods have remained jealously guarded behind the closed doors of the advertising industry. The current project sought to make them readily available in a context as far removed from Madison Avenue as could possibly be conceived. The setting chosen: the fields of Mount Kenya.

In 1993, as a part of its work in developing a series of radio tapes on agriculture for dissemination amongst the Kenyan farming community, the International Development Research Centre sponsored a project which utilized an electronic media evaluation methodology more usually associated with commercial advertising research. The computer-based system providing this methodology is known as Time-Scaling™. The producer of the radio tapes, Ms. Mary Ngechu of the University of Nairobi, required an acceptable evaluation method which would enable Kenyan villagers, lacking literacy and numeracy skills, to respond freely to the pilot tapes without being intimidated. The process of data collection would have to be simple since repeated visits to the regions would be both time-consuming and costly. In addition, analysis of results would have to be instant, in order to allow for open discussion of the findings by the production team and the villagers.

Dr. Jon Baggaley, co-designer of the evaluation system, directed the study with researcher and agricultural specialist Steven Gruber. Completely mobile, the system comprises a laptop computer and a set of hand-held response units, one for each member of the test audience. In the absence of an electricity source, the complete system is powered from the cigarette lighter of a car. The technology allows individuals in single or multiple sites to give continuous feedback to ongoing presentations. Respondents in single sites enter non-verbal, anonymous opinions by pressing buttons into handsets connected to a laptop computer. Data collection and analyses are instantaneous, and additional questions during the research sessions can be addressed immediately. In the evaluation of the Kenyan agricultural radio programmes, the researchers collected general pre-test and post-test responses, and also second-by-second reactions to the programmes, revealing very specific guidelines for the programmes' future modification. This formative evaluation feedback was presented to the producer in the instant that the data were collected.

The tests took the form of a radio listening group, held either in a field or a community meeting hut. On arrival, the research team explained the need for villagers' feedback in order to improve the tapes. They introduced the handsets and computer system and, most importantly, obtained the villagers' permission before using them. Since an atmosphere of trust is essential to the process, the villagers were also told in advance that they would receive full and immediate feedback of their responses. On this basis, none of the village communities refused to use the handset methodology. Indeed, they clearly welcomed the opportunity to criticise the programmes without speaking!

The farmers were instructed to press the handset buttons associated with each response. For example, pressing an orange button indicated a "yes" response, a blue indicated "no", and a white "don't know". (These three colors were chosen in view of

their symbolic associations for the villagers with sun, sky and peace respectively.) To convey their positive or negative feelings on a second-by-second basis during the radio tapes, the villagers pressed buttons bearing plus and minus signs.

Between 15-25 February 1993, 199 farmers in 13 Mount Kenya villages evaluated the tapes. The 13 listening groups were in: Gachoka, Githimna, Icuga, Kaburaini, Kalichen-Lusoi, Kiamariga, Kianjokoma, Kirairi, Kiriti, Mufu, Muitathiini, Muuri and Ruthanji. Dr. Nancy George, IDRC Project Officer, and Dr. Baggaley attended the first five test sessions; Ms. Ngechu and Mr. Gruber administered these and the remaining sessions.

The five pilot tapes were entitled Beans, Implements, Maize, Tomato A and Tomato B respectively, and averaged 11.8 minutes in length. Each tape was presented in a different village where between 10 and 22 villagers responded. Of the 199 people tested in the 13 villages, 34% was male and 66% female. The predominant mother tongue was Kikuyu, followed by Kiembu. Because the group contained many individuals with no numeracy skills, age levels were inferred from a question that related their farming experience with significant historical events in Kenya. From these questions, the researchers found that 42% of villagers had been farming since before 1963 and 28% had been farming for at least 40 years.

Post-test questions sought to establish a) whether farmers' agricultural practices would be affected by the educational program; b) their reaction to the overall tape; and c) their age, sex and literacy levels. The moderator received instantaneously analyzed results and then opened discussion up to the group. The responses to the five tapes were generally positive. The tapes were unanimously judged interesting, easy to understand, well-paced, believable and covering important topics. However, 43% of the respondents felt the programs were too short and 46% stated that they contained too little information.

All but one of the test participants felt they could use the procedures discussed in the programs. However, owing to economic and physical conditions, not all the techniques could be utilized. For example, most villagers could not afford chemical fertilizer, nor did they need to harrow because Mount Kenya soil is naturally fine. One group said they could not dig after the harvest because that work was too hard. Finally, when asked whether they preferred conventional discussion or the handset response method, between 70 and 100% expressed a definite preference for the handset method. One woman stated, "Sometimes we can waste a lot of time talking, and this way I can be more honest."

In developing media education for rural communities, it is essential to take into account the peoples' perceptions and needs. Because the Time-Scaling™ evaluation method was untried in Kenya, the researchers were unsure as to whether the farmers would respond well to the use of the handset methodology. To their great satisfaction, the Kenyan farmers openly welcomed it, and made use of the method to provide the

researchers with far more cost-efficient data than could have been obtained by more conventional means. However, it was clear that the study would not have been as effective without the farmer's implicit prior trust in Ms. Ngechu. They reacted enthusiastically to the handset method, recognizing that Ms. Ngechu approved of it. Having established that the automated method is as acceptable in the fields of Kenya as it is in the test centres of Madison Avenue, it becomes increasingly clear that the benefits of such systems can be applied to a wide range of scenarios. These benefits go far beyond the ability to obtain rapid feedback about the design and effects of educational media productions. The instant analysis and feedback capability of such systems allow for rapid insights and decisions to be made in community development settings generally.

Summarizing the Kenyan experience, Dr. Baggaley stated, "I had the distinct impression that the villagers saw the possibilities of this methodology themselves, but feared that such visits would never be repeated. My greatest fear is that we may have raised their expectations only to dash them if we are unable to continue this work with them in future. I believe that this type of work should be maintained and recognised as having great potential in both the educational media and community development areas."

B. Adult Distance Education in Inuit Settlements: the Atii Pilot Project
(by S. Gruber & G.O. Coldevin)

Despite its international surge in application and remarkable progress toward extending educational opportunities to rural communities in developing countries, distance education has been relatively under-utilised in community development interventions in Inuit settlements. Currently there is a significant need for the delivery of adult education to these settlements, if Inuit are to participate in the establishment and operation of the new self-governing territory of Nunavut which is to be established in 1999.

It has been estimated that at least 500 and possibly up to 1,000 new public-sector jobs will be created over the next 10 years related to the creation of the Nunavut government (Atii, 1992). This represents a daunting challenge for the Inuit population of 17,500, if it is to participate on an equitable basis in the new government structures. This is particularly the case for the management sector, given that only a dozen or so Inuit university graduates have thus far been produced, and that Inuit high-school graduation rates remain very low.

Indeed, Atii (1992) has estimated that, if the current trend in secondary and tertiary attainment levels is not reversed, and more pre-employment education and upgrading for those currently employed is not provided through adult training, only 15% of the new positions will be filled by aboriginals.

It was in this context that Atii Training Inc. formulated a proposal in 1992 to coordinate a pilot project to design and deliver Northern management training workshops at a distance . Through this project, the feasibility of providing this type of training in a Northern aboriginal context could be evaluated. The workshops were delivered in both English and Inuktitut in 18 communities to 109 particpants across Northern Labrador, Northern Quebec, and the Northwest territories. The project underwent an evaluation conducted by the Universalia Management Group, the report of which forms the basis for this section of the Conference Presentation.

A variety of media was utilized to deliver the training (live broadcast television, telephone, fax, and a specially prepared study guide). Two TV instructors conducted each workshop, and participants met locally in a group under the guidance of a local, non-content-expert facilitator. Facilitators received training at a distance for their role in the workshop. The study guide incorporated northern examples and a variety of exercises including role-plays for local groups. Northern experts in the issues being studied were interviewed in the TV segments, and entered into on-air discussion with participants by telephone.

The overall outcomes of the workshops were rated positively, both by the participants and by their employers. Over half of the participants reported learning more than they had expected, and a sample of employers interviewed six months after the workshops indicated that there had been a transfer of skills learned to the workplace itself. The evaluation also identified several issues related to the instructional design and management of the project. These included the need for instructor training in TV delivery techniques and the multiple skill set required by the project manager to establish and maintain the inter-institutional partnerships necessary to implement such a project in this context. Despite facing several constraints, the pilot project demonstrated that adult education may be successfully delivered at a distance in Inuit settlements in a cost-effective manner.

C. Simultaneous Coast-to-Coast Interaction with a Student 'Diaspora'
(by J. Baggaley)

The third study marries together the technologies demonstrated in the first two papers, to create a novel, cost-effective way of obtaining live, simultaneous responses from a huge national audience of students, watching and/or listening to educational presentations in their homes from coast-to-coast. The students respond to predesigned or improvised questions using a range of handset technologies, including that of the standard domestic telephone. Their responses are instantly analysed and displayed to the professor and/or TV production personnel at the host site, and can be instantly fed back to the distant 'class' for verbal comment.

In parts of the world not serviced by up-to-date telephone technology, the handset method employed in the Kenyan study (Paper #1) can be used to permit live interaction

between a professor and groups of students gathered simultaneously in diverse community learning centres. The presentation will include videotaped examples of the technologies in use in contrasting studies conducted between September/94 and April/95 for the national AIDS education programmes of the US and Ukrainian Governments.

WHY DO COMMUNITY WORKERS DO WHAT THEY DO ?

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Abstract

Content analysis is used to examine the motivations of fifteen community workers. Workers were asked about: motivation for action; significance of life experiences; personal influences; level of commitment. Differences were found comparing male and female workers. The men were more motivated by abstract ideals, the women by personal issues.

Cet article fait part du résultat de l'analyse de contenu d'entrevues menées auprès d'une quinzaine d'organisateurs communautaires. Les entrevues portaient, entre autres,sur leur motivation, leur degré d'engagement et les personnes qui les ont influencé à faire ce travail. Des différences notables se sont revélées entre les hommes et les femmes. Ces dernières sont surtout motivées par des aspects interpersonnels alors que les hommes sont davantage poussés par des valeurs universelles.

This paper sets out to describe the motivations of community development workers. It is part of a wider study of the work habits, social change theories, attitudes, values and communication patterns of community workers being conducted by the authors. A recent review of community development research found no articles that examined community workers in these terms (Donnemeyer & Passewtiz, 1991). An update of this review revealed no change. The authors believe that community workers have a unique role and the most information about community development projects, it is important to examine their world view. Recently, the authors analyzed the discourse of six community workers contained in a series of in depth interviews which examined their values, work habits and motivations (Cawley & Guérard, 1995). This study revealed that one worker, who had not received post-secondary training, who came to be referred to as a grass roots worker, reflected a different world view than the other workers.[1] Her world view appeared to resemble more closely that of the community participants with whom community workers make common cause in the conduct of their work. There was also an indication that male and female workers approach their work differently.

This report presents the results of interviews with fifteen community workers and pays particular attention to exploring the extent and nature of similarities and differences among them concerning their motivations for doing community work.[2] Content analysis was used to examine the pertinent themes in the workers' discourse. The themes analyzed were: what is

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We define as " grass roots" a community worker who has no formal post-secondary education.

The findings presented here are based on an partial analysis of the results of interviews with fifteen English-speaking community workers. These workers were employed full or part-time in CLSCs, YMCAs and various community organizations in the Montreal Urban Community. The interviews generally lasted for an hour to an hour and a half.

their motivation for action; is there a link between the workers' life experience and their motivation; who are the workers' role models or heroes; what is the workers' reported level of commitment and what are the obstacles to their commitment?

In exploring the question of the workers' motivation for action the interview material proved to be a rich source of responses on this theme. All workers indicated clearly where their motivation arose and for most of them this was made up of several factors. For three of them their personal experience of oppression and discrimination resulted in a commitment to take up a cause in their work, as one of them said, *coming from a minority and seeing how that minority (was) victimized...I dedicated myself to work.* These workers expressed a strong activist stance in their work and saw themselves as fighting against injustice. Four of the workers explicitly mentioned that helping people motivated them - *helping people to survive* , as one put it. For other workers seeing significant change occur was a continuing motivation to them in their work. One of them said, *when I see kids being successful at school or graduating...and getting jobs and coming back to the community and helping out - that motivates me a lot.* Finally two workers mentioned that they liked working with people - *I like people ever since was little,* as one put it. In contrast to the first group of workers, the motivations these group of workers might be described as people-driven. Another group of three workers mentioned satisfaction to self and personal growth as a motive, as one said he was motivated *(by) having an impact* and another said, *creating a community....I would like to be a part of that myself.* Other workers spoke of their values and philosophy as contributing to their motivation. One talked about *some sort of sense of fairness that got instilled in me* and another said *I believe we are equal...no matter what* . In contrast to the people-driven group these workers could be described as value-driven in their motivation. The data revealed differences between men and women concerning the motivation to action theme. Two of the workers whose minority experience led them to fight for a cause were men. The other member of this trio (a women) described herself as now adopting a less adversarial stance in her work. It was mostly men who articulated ethical values as a significant motivating factor. In contrast to this it was mostly women workers who were oriented to persons and to helping. The men and the women tended to differentiate themselves along impersonal (men) vs. personal (women) motivations.

The theme concerning the significance of the workers' life experience as a motivation in being involved in community work was revealing. Three workers found that their minority status and experience of discrimination was significant (two men, one woman). Three others (all women) also reported other significant life experiences as influencing them which brought them to work for change by working to empower communities. The two men in the first group could be described as working against opponents and from the outside. The woman in that group and the three women in the second group emphasized working with community people to change things from the inside. For the other workers their experience was gained from being close to the people they worked with and was essentially second-hand with respect to the issues they worked on.

When we asked them about role models we found that all but two of the workers responded to the question which asked "who has influenced you or who are your heroes?" Their replies fell into two general categories. One group of seven workers identified as

influential people to whom they were personally connected. Six workers identified people known to them. This included parents, local community activists, teachers and members of their organization One worker mentioned as influential *"people (in the community) who just helped each other"*, another spoke of those in the community *"who stand together and support each other and help each other"*. Five workers spoke of persons not personally known to them, named or unnamed. Two of them referred to famous social activists such as *Saul Alinsky, Martin Luther King and Jose Marti.* Others mentioned people not personally known to them who represented qualities they admired . They spoke of *"individuals who have attained a level of expertise"; "women who fight for rights"; "people who are committed to something"*. To summarize, five of the men mentioned influential people not personally known them who represented qualities they admired. Seven women and one man mentioned people personally known to them. We found a significant tendency for the women workers to see as influential and/or heroic everyday people who were well known to them and for male workers to view as influential, well-known individuals who were abstract role models or people who represented admired qualities. In this regard the men and the women differed from each other.

In response to the question about commitment, all the workers saw themselves as highly committed. As one person said *"very, very high, unbelievable high, I live for (name of organization)"*. Yet running through their responses to this question could be detected a feeling of being over committed or that this was a problem that needed to be addressed. One CLSC. worker said, *"my daughter has a little drawing: Daddy, happy birthday I love you...and we haven't seen too much of your lately"* . Another said, *"I've become basically involved to such a point that it does affect my private life"*. Others reported a struggle to have a private life away from work. One said, *"the main thing that I had to learn through the years is to be able to be here and also to be able to close the door and be somewhere else afterwards"*. Another said, *"I have to preserve my mental health"*. These attitudes were reported by both male and female workers. It appears that community work is both all-absorbing and time-consuming and confronts practitioners with significant boundary problems. Many of them appear to live for their work, others experience difficulty in maintaining a balance in their lives between work and other activities.

In comparing professionally trained vs. grass roots workers no differences were found in terms of the significance of life experience motivating them to do community work. Workers were evenly distributed in their responses to this question. The same held true for motivation to action, with the one exception that self-fulfillment motives were only identified by the professionally trained workers. Influential role models also were as likely to be identified in the various categories listed above for both trained and grass roots workers. Nor did the responses to the level of commitment reveal differences between them. It appears that previously identified differences between these two groups of workers are not to be found in areas of motivation.

This analysis sought to discover what differences exist between men and women and between grass-roots and professionally trained community workers. concerning their motivations for doing this work. Our analysis showed that men and women workers do have different motivations in carrying out their work. We did not, however, establish any

differences in motivations when we compared professionally trained with grass roots community workers.

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Résumé : Le symposium expose la recherche conduite par l'E.R.A.D., selon la méthode même qu'elle a utilisée pour la produire. Le travail de recherche porte sur les processus de production du Mémoire réalisé par les membres de l'équipe dans le cadre de leur formation diplômante. Après deux ans de recherche-formation, l'équipe livre ici quelques réflexions issues de son travail d'analyse distanciée et critique.

Abstract: This symposium presents research conducted by É.R.A.D., using a method similar to the one used in the original study. The inquiry focuses on the processes involved in producing a team report submitted for credit by the researchers. Two years into their research-training project, team members share some critical and distanced reflections on their undertaking.

1. L'E.R.A.D.

L'Equipe de Recherche en Andragogie Développementale (E.R.A.D.) est constituée de titulaires du Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures Spécialisées de Responsable en Formation d'Adultes. A finalité professionnelle ce diplôme n'a pas pour vocation d'ouvrir à la recherche. Depuis 2 ans des personnes, dont aucune n'a la même activité professionnelle, ni la même formation initiale, se sont constituées en équipe qui s'est réunie au rythme d'une réunion mensuelle en dehors de tout cadre institutionnel, dans une démarche volontaire et non rémunérée, sans que ni l'objet de travail, ni ses modalités ne soient préétablies. L'équipe est née du désir de prolonger une dynamique, car au-delà de l'obtention du diplôme perdure chez ceux qui ont fondé le groupe la volonté de se former et de réfléchir à ce qu'apprendre signifie pour eux.

2. Les caractéristiques du Mémoire de Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures Spécialisées (D.E.S.S.)

La formation du Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures Spécialisées D.E.S.S. de Responsable en Formation d'Adultes s'inscrit dans une formation de type particulier : c'est un diplôme en alternance qui s'adresse à des professionnels du secteur de la formation et qui s'appuie donc autant sur les apprentissages professionnels antérieurs et en cours que sur les savoirs acquis pendant l'année de formation.
Le mémoire de D.E.S.S a été d'emblée choisi par l'équipe de façon consensuelle et intuitive, comme objet d'étude en raison de ses caractéristiques :

- Un écrit long où il s'agit de développer sa propre réflexion.
- Le choix de l'objet du mémoire qui est laissé à l'étudiant, ce qui entraîne un choix du degré d'implication personnelle correspondant aux attentes de chacun, et à son rapport à la connaissance et au savoir.
- Ce Mémoire est un travail de recherche à part entière et ne peut en aucune manière s'apparenter à un rapport de stage.

Nous sommes en mesure de dire que le mémoire de D.E.S.S. de la formation de Responsable de formation d'Adultes constitue un observatoire pertinent de l'apprentissage chez l'adulte.

3. Projet de recherche

3.1. Objectifs

Le projet a pour but la mise au jour pour chacun, grâce au travail au sein de l'équipe, du sens et des différents aspects formatifs qu'a pu revêtir la production du mémoire. Le repérage des traces d'apprentissage attribués à la réalisation du mémoire associe l'étude à la fois de l'investissement affectif et de l'implication cognitive.

3.2. Méthodologie

Le premier travail de notre groupe a consisté à trouver un objet d'étude et des modalités de fonctionnement qui permettent de prendre en compte la diversité de nos expériences et de nos pratiques, mais aussi de nos références et des théories dont nous employons les termes et les concepts, explicitement ou implicitement. Rapidement, les membres se sont mis d'accord pour partir d'une description des traces qu'avait laissé la production du Mémoire de D.E.S.S. chez chacun d'entre nous.

La première consigne de travail fut donc d'écrire un recto-verso répondant à la question "Que reste-t-il de mon Mémoire dans ma mémoire ?" Cet écrit individuel était ensuite discuté lors d'une réunion, les questions posées permettant à chacun d'expliciter, pour les autres, et d'élucider pour lui-même, les raisons qui lui faisaient retenir tel ou tel aspect de ses apprentissages. Cette consigne amenait chacun à opérer lui-même des choix dans ce qu'il exposerait : certains ont rendu un écrit proche d'un résumé de leur Mémoire, d'autres se sont centrés sur l'état d'esprit qui les habitait à différentes phases de l'élaboration du Mémoire.

De ces descriptions, plusieurs points communs se dégageaient :

- L'importance des contraintes institutionnelles qui obligent à effectuer une production intellectuelle d'une envergure nettement supérieure à ce qui est demandé en formation initiale ou dans le domaine professionnel ;
- La majorité d'entre nous a évoqué des phases successives d'enthousiasme (dans l'aspect ludique d'un recueil de données, par exemple) et d'inquiétude ou de pénibilité.
- Mettre un point final au Mémoire apparaît évidemment comme une étape essentielle, par la limite que cela impose à chacun de se défaire de son objet de travail.
- Cet accomplissement a été comparé par plusieurs d'entre nous, à la gestation et à l'enfantement, et nous avons tenté d'examiner cette impression de se séparer de quelque chose qui était en soi. Sans en tirer de conclusions autres, nous avons souligné la complexité des liens qui existent au plan psychique entre le sujet et l'objet de travail.
- L'importance de référer son travail à d'autres sources que ses propres connaissances ou opinions (directeur de Mémoire, pairs, lectures...) est apparue aussi d'une grande complexité. La volonté, doublée par l'obligation institutionnelle, de conduire un travail personnel dont on a choisi l'objet d'une part, et, d'autre part, la nécessité qu'une critique y soit portée par un regard extérieur, ne se marient pas sans difficulté.
- La production d'un écrit long portant souvent sur un champ dont on est le praticien, le "spécialiste", implique un effort strictement individuel, de la conception à la réalisation pratique, où l'adulte exerce une autonomie certaine. soumettre ce travail en cours d'élaboration, à d'autres, est parfois contradictoire : comment concilier la légitimation, par la validation du diplôme, de son travail, et le caractère éminemment personnel de l'élaboration de sa propre réflexion ? Notre travail nous a permis de mettre au jour les rapports que chacun de nous entretient avec le savoir et celui qu'il attribue à d'autres.
- Le choix du Directeur de Mémoire est apparu comme particulièrement révélateur des attentes de son auteur : pourquoi tel a-t-il mis en oeuvre -plus ou moins volontairement - des stratégies d'évitement de son Directeur de Mémoire ? pourquoi tel autre a pu trouver chez le Directeur des apports correspondant à ses attentes ?
- Enfin, l'importance pour l'adulte d'opérer une synthèse personnelle de ce qui fait son expérience et de mettre celle-ci à distance.

En effet, le fait d'entrer dans le processus de formation du D.E.S.S. et de l'élaboration d'un Mémoire, pour des adultes qui étaient déjà pour la plupart d'entre nous intégrés dans des pratiques professionnelles depuis plusieurs années, était fortement teinté par la nécessité de cette confrontation du fruit de son expérience et de sa réflexion à des exigences universitaires, soit par rapport à un parcours de formation initiale qui laissait un goût d'inachevé, soit par rapport à l'absence de moyens donnés dans la vie active à une réflexion théorique.

En ce sens, l'équipe de recherche a continué à jouer ce rôle de prise de recul pour nous, car si des capacités de distanciation nous sont demandées dans les activités professionnelles que nous exerçons, il n'existe guère de lieu où nous puissions les améliorer. L'équipe de recherche fonctionne donc comme espace/temps de formation de ses membres.

A chaque réunion, un ou plusieurs membres de l'équipe exposai(en)t ce premier écrit, et un compte-rendu était pris en charge par un secrétaire de séance tournant. Certaines séances ont consisté à revenir sur le compte-rendu, qui faisait apparaître des points communs sur lesquels l'accord se faisait, ou non.

Ces premiers écrits exploités, nous nous sommes contraints à réécrire un texte portant cette fois sur "que reste-t-il de nos discussions sur les Mémoires ?"
Méthodologiquement, nous avons donc continué à suivre cette même voie de synthèse progressive, et ce, pour plusieurs raisons :

- premièrement nous posons l'hypothèse que si nous attribuons à la production du Mémoire de nombreux apprentissages liés au fait que c'est un écrit personnel, il doit être de même pour la poursuite de notre formation à travers l'équipe de recherche ;
- deuxièmement nous nous accordons à penser que chacun est porteur de questions qui ne sont pas celles d'un autre, et que chacun entend différemment ce qui est dit au sein du groupe, pourquoi faudrait-il alors que les conclusions soient tirées en commun, de façon unanime ?
- troisièmement, nos moyens de produire une réflexion théorique approfondie étant limités pour des raisons matérielles et du fait de la diversité de nos approches (qui est à la fois notre richesse au plan humain, et notre faiblesse au plan scientifique) nous nous en tenons à l'effort d'écrire individuellement les jalons progressifs de nos observations à partir de préoccupations communes quant à l'andragogie.

Contrairement à un enseignement, notre démarche de travail qu'il nous semble légitime d'appeler "recherche", fait la part belle :

- à l'échange entre les participants; n'est-ce pas la discussion qui a donné naissance à la philosophie ? ; les salons littéraires n'ont-ils pas permis la diffusion des lumières ?
- aux temps d'appropriation, de "digestion", et non à la répétition de savoirs.

Contrairement à un enseignement, cette forme de formation continuée par une recherche heuristique, (forme où l'équipe revient constamment sur l'affinement des objets différenciés d'étude qu'elle découvre et se propose, où elle définit progressivement ses modalités de travail de façon négociée, et forme dont l'adulte est capable par ailleurs d'accepter les limites et l'incertitude) nous semble correspondre à notre souhait de poursuivre au-delà d'un cursus universitaire, une réflexion sur ce qu'apprendre signifie pour l'adulte.
Nous ne pensons pas être les seuls pour qui ce type de travail et cette attitude de recherche peuvent avoir un sens.

4. Quelques constats à propos de notre recherche

4.1.Apprentissage adulte et développement de la personne

Le mémoire, objet de réflexion, s'appuie largement sur un PASSE professionnel et personnel tout en utilisant les outils de compréhension livrés dans le PRESENT durant l'année de formation afin de donner un sens à l'AVENIR : changement professionnel, progression personnelle, etc. Sur cette échelle temporaire, ce mémoire semble intervenir comme une sorte "d'activateur" pour le développement de la personne. En effet, se développer, dit Raymonde BUJOLD[1], c'est vivre des expériences, les traiter et les intégrer.
L'élaboration du mémoire permet de traiter une ou des expériences antérieures en passant par des stades de débroussaillage, de découverte, de doutes puis de certitudes. Il y a mise à distance de cette expérience en l'observant, la confrontant à d'autres expériences, à des théories, en la proposant à l'accompagnement vigilant du directeur de mémoire. La production du mémoire qui constitue en elle-même une expérience à vivre se rapproche curieusement de la spirale du développement avec

[1] Professeur à l'université LAVAL à QUEBEC

ses accélérations, ses stagnations, ses régressions, son pouvoir de structure pour accrocher l'existant, installer des filiations, donner du sens.
La soutenance du mémoire constitue un moment fort d'intégration de ces expériences et d'acquisition des apprentissages : "pour convaincre mon auditoire, je fais miennes mes découvertes, je me les approprie pour mieux les restituer". Par ailleurs, notre équipe a fonctionné comme autre temps important d'intégration de nos expériences réciproques passées au crible de nos échanges, de nos hésitations, de nos divergences mais aussi de nos découvertes communes.

4.2. Le rôle de l'institution

Institutionnellement, comme il est rappelé dans notre texte "fondateur", le mémoire de D.E.S.S. de Responsable de Formation d'Adultes doit permettre au candidat d'élaborer l'analyse critique d'une expérience de formation dans laquelle il est impliqué. Il s'agit maintenant d'une réflexion relative aux rapports entretenus par les différents membres de l'équipe à l'institution, dans notre cas universitaire. Institution avec laquelle chaque stagiaire devait valider un projet de mémoire, le réaliser et l'évaluer.
Tout d'abord il convient de dire que chaque stagiaire D.E.S.S. s'est porté volontaire pour entamer cette formation. Le choix, même s'il a pu être renforcé par des causes externes, est premièrement personnel.
Les constats suivants ne sont pas d'ordre général car ils prennent avec les individus des colorations différentes. Ce deuxième niveau d'analyse est une piste importante de nos prochaines réflexions.

Les représentations de l'institution "université" :
L'institution est fortement associée à la contrainte, au cadre et à l'ordre établi.
- L'une conceptuelle : la méthodologie et ce qu'elle génère de respect, de précision, de rigueur, d'uniformité... Le calendrier et la procédure pour chaque étape sont précisés.
- L'autre "personnelle" : le Maître de Mémoire, garant et représentant de l'institution. Il accompagne, guide le stagiaire dans sa démarche. Il a un rôle différent selon le cas, résultat de la combinatoire suivante :
  Personnalité du Maître de Mémoire + personnalité du stagiaire + nature de l'objet du Mémoire.

A l'opposé de l'aspect conceptuel de l'institution, le Maître de Mémoire a une image moins rigide. Il rééquilibre la relation stagiaire - institution. Selon le cas, le Maître de Mémoire est plus expert du fond ou de la forme (l'objet du mémoire, les antécédents du stagiaire : étudiant ou professionnel y sont pour beaucoup).
Le paradoxe de la reconnaissance et de la connaissance.
"La reconnaissance de soi-même ne vaut rien si elle n'est pas faite par l'institution". En situation de production puis d'évaluation du Mémoire, la valeur du stagiaire passe par la "valeur" que l'institution accorde à son travail. En fait, la valeur singulière du stagiaire passe par une forme de reconnaissance groupale, sociale. L'appartenance au groupe formé par ceux qui ont réussi. Le paradoxe de l'originalité individuelle inscrite dans une conformité groupale.
Le Mémoire renvoie également à la connaissance de soi-même. La notion de sujet-objet du Mémoire a été largement évoquée "Qui suis-je en tant que stagiaire", et "qu'est ce que je vaux en tant que stagiaire" sont deux interrogations qui renvoient, pour la première au rapport d'identité, pour la seconde, à la valeur du stagiaire.

Dans le rapport à l'institution "université", le Mémoire apparaît comme le témoin de l'autonomie du stagiaire, espace d'équilibre entre l'institution, sa conformité, ses contraintes et le stagiaire, son originalité, ses libertés.
Le rapport paradoxal à la connaissance apparaît : créer, travailler une démarche personnelle dans un cadre précisé en temps, lieu voire contenus.

4.3. Le tiers

La réalité de l'existence du tiers est plus facilement discernable et définissable à l'oral qu'à l'écrit. En effet, cette notion n'est quasiment jamais abordée dans les premiers textes : "Que reste-t-il de mon mémoire dans ma mémoire ?" Elle est pourtant débattue dans pratiquement tous les comptes rendus de réunion dont l'objet était l'étude d'un des textes répondant à la question précédemment posée.
La notion que "quelque chose" fonctionne comme un tiers a été plusieurs fois abordée. Plusieurs tiers ont été nommés ou identifiés :

Soi-même comme tiers ;
Le sujet de Mémoire comme tiers ;
Le Directeur de Mémoire comme tiers ;
L'institution et le groupe D.E.S.S. comme tiers ;
Le terrain de recherche comme tiers ;
Le Mémoire comme tiers ;
L'équipe de recherche E.R.A.D. comme tiers ;
Le lieu comme tiers.

Ces tiers n'ont pas le même poids pour chacun d'entre nous. Plusieurs tiers se succèdent ou coexistent dans le processus même d'élaboration du mémoire et leur ordre d'importance et d'existence varient selon les auteurs.
Les rôles de ces tiers sont déterminés ou déterminants. Leur existence paraît indispensable car elle agit comme un vecteur d'aide à la réalisation de la tâche.

4.4. Recherche, Ecriture et Réciprocité

ou la dynamique de la boule de neige et de la spirale

Par les échanges à partir de ce que chacun écrit, la réflexion prend du volume en s'approfondissant sur des points déjà abordés. L'apport du groupe ré-enrichit l'apport personnel : chacun découvre des choses nouvelles grâce aux réactions de l'équipe, à ses questionnements et suggestions. L'équipe ne cherche pas à se mettre d'accord, mais à ouvrir des prolongements : l'essentiel est que chacun trouve son propre accord avec lui-même. C'est là une caractéristique des adultes et de leur apprentissage. A chacun sa boule de neige, pourtant faite de la neige de tous.

L'équipe est un espace de liberté pour la pensée. C'est cela que les adultes recherchent pour leur apprentissage. Dans l'équipe de recherche ils retrouvent le lieu et le temps de la formation, hors des lieux de travail et hors du temps mondain. Ainsi l'un des aspects les plus forts de l'équipe comme milieu de recherche est que la parole de chacun y a tout son poids de parole de sujet, quel que soit par ailleurs le statut de la personne. Un double objectif est par là poursuivi : faire de la recherche et continuer de se former.

Mais, par le jeu des rebondissements de la pensée, les éclairages se multiplient et élargissent la réflexion de l'équipe. Même si les conclusions que chacun en tire restent personnelles, le capital de découvertes de l'équipe, en termes de connaissances et de pensée, s'accroît au fur et à mesure des apports et des échanges. Le bonhomme de neige se construit des contributions de tous. L'équipe m'enrichit et je l'enrichis : l'apprentissage adulte apparaît comme une dialectique entre ce que j'ai dit et écrit et ce que j'attribue au groupe qui me permet de prolonger mon écrit, lequel groupe n'avance que d'un semblable mouvement. Apprendre à saisir ainsi les opportunités d'apprendre et de penser est aussi une habileté d'adulte.

Cette recherche en équipe repose sur le jeu de la parole et de l'écriture. Le jeu, c'est bondir d'une idée à l'autre, d'une case à l'autre, de manière rectiligne comme à la marelle, ou en spirale, comme dans le jeu d'oie. Ce qui peut parfois paraître fastidieux, c'est de revenir en arrière, de s'y reprendre à plusieurs fois, d'avoir le sentiment que le but s'éloigne et se dérobe alors qu'on le croyait atteint. Mais en réalité, les questions anciennes sont éclairées d'un jour nouveau qui les transforme progressivement en savoir inédit. Ces retours sont la condition des avancées : le mouvement est alternatif et spiralé. C'est là que s'éprouve la réciprocité au coeur de l'équipe en recherche.

Ainsi, dans la dynamique de la recherche, chacun est payé en retour de ce qu'il a produit avec les autres et tous peuvent se reconnaître dans des savoirs formulés en commun. La réciprocité éducative fait de la recherche en équipe un acte de germination collégiale de la Pensée.

Adult Education in an Emerging Postmodern Condition

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Abstract: The postmodern condition is driving adult education into the rational technical model. To challenge the prevailing economic and political forces, two scenarios envision the ways adult education can maintain community and an emancipatory perspective.

La condition postmoderne mène l'éducation des adultes vers unparadigme rationnel technique. Pour défier les forces économiques et politiques prédominantes, l'auteur présente deux scénarios qui tiennent compte des moyens utilisés dans l'éducation des adultes pour maintenir un esprit communautaire et une perspective émancipatoire.

The purpose of this article is to generate a picture of postmodernity and a set of considerations for community participation activities which can foster emancipatory adult education. Few articles specifically discuss adult education issues within a postmodern context despite clear indications "the discourse generally has now attained such currency that it can no longer be ignored" (Green, 1994, p. 67). Understanding the confusing array of terminology, theoretical frameworks, and paradoxes contained within the discourses of the "postmodern condition" poses a challenging task, yet attempts by adult educators, and their constituents, to understand, and subsequently participate in, these debates provide the potential to interpret and anticipate problems, and to plan viable solutions. In spite of perceived difficulties, adult education is well positioned to integrate much of the postmodern discourse within its own boundaries.

The Context

The Postmodern Condition: It is possible to distinguish several partially distinct strands within the confluence of a postmodern condition (eg: Calhoun, 1993; Green, 1994). The first involves the cultural critiques of modernist art forms which advocate for the rejection of artistic forms of modernism; instead, "signification, intertextual reference, and self-reflexivity" (Calhoun, p. 77) are preferred. The second strand includes the post-structuralist writings of Foucault, Derrida, and Deleuze which advocates the fragmentary, heterogeneous and pluralistic natures of reality, and the contextual and unstable nature of the subject and individual consciousness. It becomes "the critique of subject centered reason, monological texts or readings, grand narratives, general truth claims and the normalization of Enlightenment rationality" (Calhoun, p. 77). The third body of discourse addresses recent developments in technology, organization of labor and work, and social forms. The major focus here is the sociological, political, and economic shifts into post-industrial societies (Harvey, 1989).

Although each of these bodies of ideas possess complex and detailed arguments, as well as accompanying variations and disagreements, the common

theme is the belief that current conditions are substantively different from those of modernity. In an attempt to clarify the relationship between these three bodies of ideas, Hargreaves (1994) and Harvey (1989) postulate terminological differences between postmodernism and postmodernity:

> Postmodernism is an aesthetic, cultural and intellectual phenomenon. It encompasses a particular set of styles, practices and cultural forms in art, literature, music, architecture, philosophy and broader intellectual discourse - pastiche, collage, deconstruction, absence of linearity, mixture of periods and styles and the like. Postmodernity, by contrast, is a social condition. It comprises particular patterns of social, economic, political and cultural relations. (Hargreaves, p. 38)

It is the social condition of postmodernity, and the concommittant economic and political shifts, which pose the most serious threats to the social and emancipatory components of adult education. These shifts typically unfold as part of the Fordist - postFordist debate.

The Fordist–PostFordist Debate: The essence of this debate revolves around the notion that the practices of Fordism and Taylorism no longer are able to sustain an effective market strategy (eg. Watkins, 1994). During the late 1960s and early 1970s, a number of economic crises occurred which demanded the readjustment of corporate and market tactics (Hinkson, 1993; Jessop, 1993). Watkins (1994) suggests these crises pivot around declines in productivity and profit, and increases in competition of world markets. The various responses to these crises, which constitute the postFordist positions, unfold as basic restructurings of economic markets, corporate strategies, and an emphasis on supply side interventions. Although it is well beyond the scope of this paper to offer an in-depth discussion of the various postFordist positions, it is important to state that each involve complex arguments, derive their conceptual frameworks from different sources, and consequently allow for different outcomes. However, the common theme is that each of the positions presume some form of economic shift or crisis in which the structures of Fordism can no longer respond effectively. The outcome is that capital becomes less dependent on labor, and social and emancipatory practices are subordinated to profit.

One of the ways in which we can understand this subordination is through an analysis of accountability. Increasingly, educational programs are urged to be accountable; more specifically, they must be profitable. That is, the goals of the programs are to reflect the goals of industry and capitalism. Although this has always been inherent in education, recent corporate interventions tend to subdue emancipatory education, which, at least, has prevailed in spirt of the dominant cultural reality. With the increasing funding, alignment with corporate strategies and influences encourages the curriculum to fluctuate with demands of the market. As educational provision moves toward an accountability which reflects the strategic influence of corporate profitability, it also depletes the elements of social accountability. Social accountability includes the commitments of both adult educators and their constituents to teach and engage in activities which reflect

community, social relationships, and critique of social structures. Without this accountability a reality emerges which fosters individual consumerism and lacks firm connections to social interaction and collectivity. As Briton and Plumb (1992) point out: "education entrepreneurs...are finding that large profits can be secured by marketing commodities that have immediate appeal and which can be rapidly consumed" (p. 35).

Two potential problems with this focus emerge for adult education. Firstly, it is possible we will no longer devote effort to developing critical minds capable of thought independent from corporate influence. Secondly, this "cognitive shaping" reflects an instrumental rationality model which has little tolerance for ambiguity, and usually promotes a prescriptive method of problem solving. In order to address these problems, the actions of "teachers who are citizen educators, and who are committed to participatory democracy and a society based on social justice, are pivotal" (Brosio, 1993, p. 478).

Arguments above attempt to build a case for including/preserving emancipatory education in adult education. The following two scenarios are illustrations of kinds of emancipatory adult education communities which can exist in the current world. The first scenario is a modernist perspective and the second is a postmodern rendition of community. The implications of postmodernity on community and emancipatory adult education are highlighted.

Modern Scenario for Community

This scenario is based on Habermas's notions of modernity, and the necessity to return to original Enlightenment ideals. It attempts to overcome the difficulties caused by instrumental rationality through adoption of communicative rationality. It is evident that as the global economy strives to increase instrumental rationality in all sectors of society, community becomes eroded. Individuals are pitted against one another and people become increasingly powerless in a global market oriented economy. Decisions that affect people's lives and those around them are made by others, specifically the elite financiers that stimulate late capitalism. Emancipatory adult educators must draw upon the notions of the communicative rationality and the ideal speech situation in bringing back a notion of community. Use of critique is the central element and needs to be stimulated in order for an understanding of the underlying assumptions of the postmodern trends.

> Critique therefore refers to a process where false claims of universal acceptability of norms are challenged. By implication, critique is also a process where truly common interests are discovered or shaped. Habermas's theory therefore not only points to the ideal of power-free communication and social relations, but also to the fundamentally communal structure of truth-seeking and norm-shaping. (Hart, 1992, p. 144)

Critique, along with intersubjective dialogue, allows people to forge new relationships in community. Although many interests are represented within a community, intersubjective dialogue replaces any notion of manipulative communication with authentic dialogue. It permits people to experience a new

definition of community, one that would be consistent with their needs and desires. Commonalties are sought and can serve as the basis for the community's new direction that attempts to achieve the ideals of social justice, freedom and equality.

Post-critical Scenario for Community

This scenario accepts the notions of social justice, equality and freedom, but rejects both the means with which the first scenario could achieve them, and the endpoint that it seeks to achieve. It questions the idea of commonality within community, and suggests that this fosters exclusivity and the assimilation of differences. It is drawn from feminist and postmodern critiques of Habermas's notion of communicative rationality. Here community has no telos, but rather is in continual evolution and process. There can be no ideal community as in the modernist conception. This does not mean that the ideals of social justice and equality are not relevant, but they remain important from a post-critical perspective. The effort is still to overcome the stifling trends of postmodernity, but it focuses on allowing for the multiple realities and voices to be taken into account rather than being subsumed into one larger notion of commonality within community. Young (1990) suggests that the notion of community is exclusive. As a vision of community is sought, commonalities are emphasized and seized upon, and differences are downplayed and obscured. This results in oppression within the community itself. There needs to be a respect for various communities and a means of allowing them to exist and not be subsumed. This is similar to the idea of the city, where individuals can exist in the city because social relations are mediated such that there is no effort to place everyone in the same group. There is a respect for and tolerance of difference and diversity while attempting to work towards social justice in the form of rights and equality.

Carroll (1993) also examines the notion of the ideal community and suggests that the ideal can never be achieved because community is not a project with an end, but is continually evolving. Instead of an ideal where a common being is sought, Carroll draws on Nancy's (1986) notion of the community as "being in common without end." Here there is an acceptance of diversity towards a movement of community that is undefined. Community does not have an end, but must constantly resist and challenge itself through critique to overcome its own oppressions.

> Such an activity of resistance can obviously have no specific end but rather demand a constant receptiveness to the call of community to resist and exceed its own limits and ends, to be constantly undone by an alterity it cannot and should not attempt to contain or incorporate into itself. (Carroll, 1993, p. 187)

Ultimately within this scenario, community is not the whole, but there are many communities. The connection of these fragmented pieces will be the politics of representation and an ethos of tolerance (Young, 1986). The critical adult educator's role is in promoting these ideas, and finding ways so that all individuals can give voice in whatever form that may take. But this does not mean that they are assimilated into a single voice suggesting the direction that ought to be forged for

society. It means stimulating critique on the conditions of each community, helping them come to an understanding of their own oppression and oppressiveness/exclusivity, and proceeding from there. Concerns arise between communities that need to be dealt within a manner appropriate to those groups and time.

We need to find and institutionalize the social relations that would provide for an "openness to unassimilated otherness where justice and appreciation needs can be developed. Radical politics, moreover, must develop discourse and institutions for bringing differently identified groups together without suppressing or subsuming differences" (Young, 1990, p. 320).

In conclusion, for emancipatory adult education to survive the fragmentation, isolation, and individualism of postmodernity, it seems instructors and students must be aware of the debates and issues in the discourse. Without a critique, a safe space, and social accountability, emancipatory adult education in endangered in society today.

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LANGUAGES OF INCLUSION & CREATIVITY: A CASE FOR PEACE

CASAE PEACE GROUP B SYMPOSIUM
Budd Hall (Chair) with Bill Fallis, Trevor Moo, Jane Ku, Bill McQueen, Leslie Ann Crawford, and Carolyn Jongeward

Résumé: La première communication se veut une réflexion sur les activités du Groupe de l'ACÉÉA pour la paix au cours de la décennie qui s'achève. L'inclusion et la créativité émergent comme les caractéristiques essentielles de l'approche du Groupe. La deuxième présentation examine les termes utilisés pour désigner les personnes handicapées, et dénonce les effets préjudiciables de coller ainsi des étiquettes aux gens. Le troisième exposé souligne l'importance de l'imagerie mentale créative en tant que processus éducatif. Enfin, la quatrième présentation évoque la puissance de la métaphore comme outil éducatif pour le changement.

Abstract: The first presentation reflects on the activities of The CASAE Peace Group over the past ten years. Inclusion and creativity are fundamental elements of the group's approach to individual and global peace. The second presentation considers the language we use to describe people with disabilities and the negative social outcome of labelling. The third presentation focusses on the creative process of visual imagery as an important element of education. The fourth presentation describes the power of metaphoric learning as an important element when educating for change.

PART 1: INCLUSION AND CREATIVITY: FOSTERING AN ENVIRONMENT FOR PEACE STUDIES

Bill Fallis, Faculty, George Brown College

The CASAE Peace Group was established at the 1985 annual conference of CASAE. At that time the members believed that the single most important issue for humanity's survival, integration and evolution was achieving world peace. They also thought that peace, at the global level, could not be attained any faster than they, as individuals, could support it in their own lives. Over the past 10 years the group has explored individual concepts of peace and analyzed societal practices that limit peace.

The Peace Group has made presentations at many of the subsequent CASAE Conferences, compiled two collections of articles, held a number of Peace workshops and organized panel discussions. On reflection of our past, the concepts of inclusion and creativity seem most central to our survival and success.

In 1985-86 a group of students in the Adult Education Department at O.I.S.E. met and began to share their perceptions of peace and how their ideas might be brought together into some kind of synthesis. After six months of meetings and sharings, the group created a peace workshop entitled, "Peace Awareness and Action" that was held at O.I.S.E. on March 22, 1986. That evening there was a panel discussion entitled, "Learning Peace". Alan Tough addressed the question "Can we do it?" Stephanie Merrin responded to "Can we facilitate it?" And Budd Hall reviewed the question "Can we organize it?". Most of the activities of that day were reflected in "The CASAE Peace Group Collection: 1986", that was distributed to members of CASAE at the annual meeting.

In 1986-87 we continued our emphasis on providing a forum for members to exchange information and ideas and on organizing a limited number of peace education activities. These activities included a peace questionnaire for adult educators, a one-day workshop at George Brown College, and a symposium on "Peace Consciousness and Peace Politics: Bridging the Gap". For that event panelists Martha Goodings, Anatol Rapoport, John Weiser and Andrew Blackwell considered elements of individual consciousness and global politics.

By 1987-88 the pattern of operation for the group had been established. In the month of September, we advertized the group's existence to members of the Adult Education Department at O.I.S.E. and attracted those students who were interested in the concept of peace. We met monthly to share issues, discuss readings, critique each others' work and plan events that best met our current concerns. Along with our monthly meetings that year, we held a half day drama workshop on March 2, 1988. Julie Salverson of the popular theatre group Second Look Community Arts Resources, facilitated the session. She introduced the concept of human sculpturing and helped us to explore our perceptions through the use of this visual medium. The techniques proved to be quite effective and thought provoking.

In the Fall of 1988 the individuals that gathered for our first meetings had exciting but very different ideas. All of these ideas needed to be expressed and supported. As a means of coping with the situation, we decided to focus our energies on a lunch time peace series that provided a venue for the interests to be acknowledged and given a voice. The six lunch time events included the following titles, participants and guests: Future Directions in Peace with Kathleen O'Hara; At Home and at the U.N. with Janice Alton and Betty Davidson; World Peace and Treaties with Douglas Scott; Media for Peace and Non-Violence with Rose Dyson, Global Brain with Kate Freeman and a Peace Workshop with Peter Chisholm.

In 1989-90 we continued with our lunch time series and held three events. They included: Exploring the Culture of Violence in Media Entertainment; Public Awareness Campaigns in Support of the Environment; and Canadian Mass Media and National challenges for Change.

Through out the 1990's the group's main focus has been the creation of a presentation at the CASAE Conference. In all cases, we would meet in the the Fall, discuss our current research and develop a symposium. This symposium not only included our diverse interests, but also showed a connectedness to a common theme relating to peace.

As the above indicates, the CASAE Peace Group has continued to provide an environment for peace studies that has been inclusive of all participants and supportive of individual's creative abilities for visioning, interpreting, owning and exploring the concept of peace.

PART 2: LANGUAGE OF INCLUSION: THE CASE OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

Bill McQueen, Producer, Disability Network, C.B.C. Television, Toronto

As a young boy I arrived home one day after school in tears after some one had called me a "name". My grandmother reminded me of the folk saying, "Sticks and stones can break your bones, but names (words) can not hurt you." Another saying I recall from that time was, "Don't judge a book by its cover."

Through out history words continue to be a powerful means of defining people. This is no less the case for people with disabilities. However, through new images of their lives and words used to describe those lives, the inclusion of previously excluded citizens is occurring and is part of vibrant changes in our society today.

Although people with disabilities have been excluded from society, and even murdered systematically for thousands of years, the struggle and demand for full emancipation of people with disabilities within Canada and internationally, has brought new words and labels concerning these citizens. This is most evident since the International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981. [Television commercial, "Label Us Able." (1981)]

Language is a reflection of culture in ideological form. The words we use are mirrors between old and new ideas and ways of being; what we value and what we don't. Along with the physical and organizational obstacles of society, language is an important component which erects barriers to integrated and inclusive community. Current language consists of words, phrases and labels which influence perceptions that make people with disabilities appear "limited in their contributions to our world." (Snow, 1994)

People need and want to name themselves their experience and their dreams for the future. Wolfensberger (1994) talks about how social discourse is impaired by "baggage loaded" words which are encoded and contain "surplus meaning(s)" and assumptions. For example, "choice", "multicultural", "diversity", "empowerment" have been identified as words whose current usage lack clarity. For people with disabilities there are dozens of such words which stand in the way and hinder citizen participation.

For example, What effect does such a powerful word as "suffer" have in the accurate portrayal of a person with cerebral palsy? The word "suffer" has considerable historical baggage in its meanings. Two primary meanings associate endurance of and experiencing of pain, punishment, and even death.

Robert Latimer was a Saskatchewan farmer charged with and convicted of murdering his daughter Tracey who had cerebral palsy. The social wordsmiths of the media paid a lot of attention to the Latimer case at the end of 1994. Many media persons consistently used the word "suffer" in regard to Tracey and her disability. In the portrayal of Tracey, Latimer said he killed her because she was "suffering". Reporters said, "She suffered from a severe form of cerebral palsy. She couldn't talk...."

The rights and humanity of Tracey were replaced by medical definitions, and descriptions of a person without intelligence or sensibility. But pictures of Tracey showed a happy child, and she was described by a teacher as intelligent. It is easy for the public to foster a pitying view of people with disabilities, "victims", rather than seeing them as contributing members to society.

In an interview disability rights activist Sam Savona, whose disability is cerebral palsy, said "I'm not a victim of CP. I'm a victim of a lack of understanding." (Wong, 1994)

If we hope to realize a peaceful world, and to ensure the rights of all citizens, we need language that includes instead of separates, and describes instead of judges.

PART 3: VISUAL IMAGERY: A LANGUAGE OF NEW MEANING

Carolyn Jongeward, Doctoral Student, Adult Education Department, O.I.S.E. Toronto

In an educational setting where verbal discourse and intellectual faculties are emphasized, the making of visual imagery is not often explored in adult education. Conditions that foster creative experience are frequently lacking. This presentation is based on doctoral research in progress, an in-depth study of adult learning through engaging in creative process within a supportive group.

The making of visual images allows glimpses into inner worlds of knowledge and feeling. According to Langer, (1953) images give form to feelings, bringing into view what was previously unknown. Stated another way, the "I 'comes to grips' with the world" (Schaverian, 1992, p. 4) and creates new meanings. Since inner and outer worlds are intrinsically and co ntinually interdependent, Hughes writes,

> We are simply the locus of their collision....Our life is what we are able to make of that collision and struggle....What we need evidently is a faculty that embraces both worlds simultaneously....an inner vision that holds wide open, like a great theatre, an arena of contention and that pays equal respect to both sides - that keeps the faith, as Goethe says, with the world of things and the world of spirit equally. (Hughes, 1988, p. 42)

It is often difficult for adults to connect with their capacity to create visual images. The problem has multiple roots, including: a lifetime of schooling and socialization in which intellect is elevated over intuition and feeling; product is emphasized over process; external authorities, as purveyors of knowledge and values, are relied upon rather than personal questioning and discovery; visual image consumption is promoted rather than active engagement in forming one's own images.

My research findings reveal that, despite the odds, adults affirm and value creative experience as a way of making a difference in their lives. Through creating, they discover "other" worlds which can contribute to a sense of finding "safer worlds." Making visual images through a process that calls for inclusion of unknown dimensions of self, we begin to sense that there is always more to learn and more in what we experience than we had previously known.

Engaging in creative process necessitates becoming open to the unexpected. This openness brings both a sense of vast possibility as well as a fearful sense of vulnerability. Within supportive groups, where respect and responsiveness are encouraged and experiences of creative search and struggle are shared, an environment for learning can be established in fundamentally new and meaningful ways.

PART 4: METAPHORIC LANGUAGES: REDISCOVERED

Leslie Ann Crawford, Doctoral Student, Adult Education Department, O.I.S.E. Toronto

In Chinese philosophy the world is seen as being composed of two halves, the yin and the yang. The yang represents the masculine principle as rigid, objective and outwardly directed. The yin, by contrast, represents the feminine principle which flows inwardly and intuitively. If we look metaphorically at the yang as a language, we could say it has been over represented and has

created fragmentation and alienation in the Western world. Without *making room* for the healing, fluid, and interactive language of the yin, the Western world is in grave danger of disintegrating into chaos.

This is why the arts are *crucial* in education today. Through dance, poetry, song, storytelling, painting, and other art forms, the feminine language of the yin can speak powerfully *through* us, and subsequently *to* us through self-reflection.

Heidegger is often quoted as saying that "language is the house of Being". And as John Murray says: "Singing, thinking, poetizing are all modalities of Being: and each contributes its disclosure of Being, its unveiling of Truth while remaining in some respects part of each other" (1986:13).

The inclusion of the metaphoric and relational language of the yin into education is an important life-giving step in terms of creating new possibilities for our being-in-the-world.

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CASAE Peace Portfolio, Subsection A, Ed. Rose A. Dyson

Thérèse Morin (Chair) with Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, Rose A. Dyson, Julia Byers and Geraldine Jody Macdonald and Thomas Mark Turay.

TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING IN A CHANGING CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT (BILINGUAL SESSION)

Résumé: La première de cette série de communications traitera de la prise de conscience, dans le public, de la nécessité de cesser les activités polluantes aux effets nuisibles pour la santé et pour les écosystèmes qui nous alimentent. La deuxième abordera les effets de la technologie sur le rythme et la qualité de nos vies; la violence, en particulier, y sera présentée comme un produit culturel et un thème populaire imprégnant l'économie mondiale. La troisième présentation abordera la recherche sur la perception psychologique du temps en tant qu'outil favorisant les apprentissages novateurs et participatifs chez les adultes se trouvant dans de nouveaux contextes. Le quatrième exposé fournira aux participants l'occasion d'explorer leurs propres expériences quant à la nécessité de déployer de plus en plus d'énergie pour simplement subsister. Enfin, la cinquième communication traitera d'initiatives locales d'éducation pour la paix au Sierra Leone, en Afrique de l'Ouest.

Abstract: The first presentation discusses growing public recognition of the need to stop pollution causing ill effects on health and ecosystems which nourish us. The second presentation examines the impact of information technology on the pace and quality of our lives particularly in relation to violence as a popular theme in cultural commodities that now pervade the global economy. The third presentation will address the feasibility of utilizing research in the psychology of time for the purpose of facilitating innovative, proactive learning opportunities for adults in novel settings. The fourth presentation will provide an opportunity for participants to explore personal experiences in dealing with demands for ever increasing levels of energy for basic survival. The fifth presentation will focus on indigenous initiatives for peace education in Sierra Leone, West Africa.

Part 1: Feminist Transformative Learning and Advocacy in the Politics of Prevention, Ecology and Health

Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, Doctoral Candidate, Adult Education, OISE.

There is a prevailing understanding that all you have to do to stay healthy is take care of your health but this is misleading and only accounts for about half of the equation. The other half is largely environmental and therefore political. The two must go together. Epidemic increases in diseases such as breast cancer mirror a growth in substances that are toxic, radioactive, persistent, bioaccumulative and hormonally active.

Women are increasingly recognizing the need to stop the chemical and nuclear pollution causing ill effects on health and the ecosystems which nourish us. They are challenging the resistance of many governments, physicians, scientists and pharmaceutical corporations to link causality with these pollutants. The prevailing wisdom is that there is not yet enough scientific proof that these carcinogens cause cancer. Instead, the focus is on screening, testing and treatment, all of which follow the onset of already existing disease.

Those who maintain that cancer is largely an environmental disease and therefore preventable, promote strategies which keep people from getting cancer in the first place. These include conferences, tribunals and pressure for policy change. Courageous physicians, scientists and women are challenging linear biomedical models by encouraging research into these causal relationships. They also promote safe, practical alternatives to dangerous technologies marketed by corporations.

This praxis may be key to increasing political pressure necessary to stop polluters and their protectors in governments, industry, academia and elsewhere. It reflects a transformative moment in which to bring environment/health issues into the mainstream of social education with processes that draw from analysis and skills in formal and non formal learning. For example, health advocates are calling for primary prevention research and policies which respond to "zero discharge" of all persistent toxic chemicals as recommended by the International Joint Commission of the Great Lakes (1994). The Commission also proposes the principle of reverse onus, or proof that a substance is not toxic or persistent before use. Women see education for this genre of prevention as a key to creating the political pressure necessary to stop polluters. Only a safe and healthy planet will promote healthy life on it.

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Part 2: Media Violence as a Cultural Pollutant

Rose A. Dyson, Doctoral Candidate, Adult Education, O.I.S.E.

Growing numbers of government and media spokesman, educators and researchers now agree that media violence can influence levels of crime in society. The results of countless studies demonstrate that children learn how to be aggressive from characters in the media and at an early age, will imitate someone from visual media as readily as they will a real person.

Apart from the usual harmful effects such as heightened inclinations toward aggression and obesity resulting from electronic addiction as people are seduced into leading more and more of their lives either online, in video arcades, in front of television sets or encapsulated by sony walkman head sets there are new concerns. On March 4, 1995 a cover story in *The Globe and Mail* dealt with the after effects from virtual reality games. According to researcher Tom Piantaneda at SRI International in Palo Alto, California, forty percent of *Sega*'s technology involving these games results in vomiting, dizziness and other symptoms of motion sickness known as "cybersickness".

Meanwhile, the electronic games industry has promised Canadians fifteen virtual reality theme parks over the next two years. On the whole, there is still no evidence that the concept of "full cost accounting" has penetrated the mind sets of economists within the knowledge based industries with social costs factored into profit and loss statements. Instead, issues of ownership, protection of copyright and privacy rather than content dominate their discussions.

The elusive and fluid nature of the new technology, however, has prompted calls for new definitions of unduly exploitive media violence, pornographic and otherwise, in international law. It is expected that the Canadian delegation attending the upcoming 9th UN Congress on Crime Prevention in Cairo in April, 1995 will be addressing this requirement.

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Part 3: Trains of Thought: Toward the Year 2000: Learning in Motion as a Component in Psychological Locomotion.
Julia Byers, Doctoral Candidate, Adult Education, OISE

This presentation, based on investigation into the subjectivity of people's meaningful time spent in train locomotion, involves the potential development and facilitation of seminars "on board". Both the metaphor and the hyperbolic language of train experiences will be used to explore the varieties of human journeys that people symbolically experience while travelling.

The central premise is to make a case for the unique learning occasion (Thomas, 1992) in the train environment or culture that can develop for frequent passengers in an era of change and global travel.

Issues in global awareness can be facilitated on many tracks. One does not necessarily need to leave one's home to appreciate the implications of human conditions in other parts of the world.

Crossing one bridge is what is unique about one's long distance travelling for work purposes (as an extension of home community). 'Drift time' (Adams, 1980) or "hors de Temps" (Friedd, 1984), time outside of time, can be moments of reflection, insight, anticipation and innovation. They are more likely to occur while travelling because of the physical movement, the unfamiliar social opportunities and issues of social conduct.

The transitory captive nature of the vehicle in which the passenger is travelling is also the insulated environment of a linear capsule. Against the moving outside environment the train portrays a common defence against the elements outside and gives a sense of control and directionality inside. Symbolically, the totality of the experience can be likened to issues in our collective consciousness.

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Part 4: Replenishing Energy for Caring: An Experiential Workshop
Geraldine (Jody) Macdonald, Doctoral Candidate, Adult Education, OISE.

Burnout in human service professionals is a long term, insidious, chronic modern disease which some fear is reaching epidemic proportions (Hunt, 1992; Jaffe & Scott, 1984; Maslach, 1982). It is characterized by emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and decreased personal accomplishment (Maslach, 1982). It is also described as "a wearing down and wearing out of energy...an exhaustion born of excessive demands which may be self imposed...(it) impacts on motivation, attitudes and behaviour". (Freudenberger, H.J. & North, G., 1985, p.9-10)

Remen (1984) argues that the significance of the problem of burnout lies in the paradoxical fact that it is not the ones cared for who burn out but the care givers themselves. While extensive literature on burnout has been available since the late 1970s, none has been available on the antidote sustaining energy for caring.

Violence is endemic in our world and burnout is an example of personal violence. Learning to replenish energy for caring is part of the responsibility caregivers assume in facilitating a return to balance and peace in both a personal and social context.

Connecting patterns to images from nature enhances our understanding of the balanced rhythms and patterns of the natural world. According to physics, such dynamic tension is essential to maintain a flow of energy: "The two seemingly contradictory aspects of yin and yang reflect an energetic oscillation between polar opposites. Both are necessary to reach a balanced, steady

state, a dynamic equilibrium within a universe of constant change" (Gerber, 1988, p.176).

In this workshop participants will have an opportunity to reflect upon their own experiences in replenishing energy for caring. Identified patterns will be compared to findings in the presenter's doctoral dissertation "Sustaining Energy for Caring: The Experience of Mothers who are Nurses".

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Part 5: Indigenous Initiatives for Peace Education in Sierra Leone, West Africa: The Case of the People's Animation Centre.
Thomas Mark Turay, Graduate Student, Adult Education, OISE.

Sierra Leone, a former British colony, became independent in 1961. About 85 percent of its 4 million inhabitants are illiterate and live in the rural areas as subsistence farmers. The country is plagued with problems of hunger, poor health, lack of educational facilities, ecological damage, a deplorable rural infrastructure and over three decades of corrupt and despotic government. This situation has been worsened by a four-year rebel war that has killed and displaced hundreds of Sierra Leoneans, most of them women and children.

In 1991 the presenter and his wife Mary founded the *People's Animation Centre (PEACE)*. A not-for-profit and non-governmental organization, its fundamental mission is to empower Sierra Leoneans to assume responsibility for creating a just, peaceful and self-sustaining society. The aim is also to establish contact with overseas partners working for the promotion of global peace, justice and understanding.

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