
Critical Gerogogy: developing practical possibilities for critical educational gerontology

MARVIN FORMOSA

Institute of Gerontology, University of Malta, Msida, Malta

ABSTRACT Despite the recent increase in the number of publications in the field of educational gerontology, remarkably little has been published on 'gerogogy'. The aim of this research article is to integrate critical gerogogy within a praxeological epistemology, as a continual reconstruction of thought and action in the living historical process of older persons. Following a critique of the critical educational gerontological position, seven principles are recommended for a 'really' praxeological gerogogy. These include: the embodiment of a political rationale; a commitment towards the transformation of the ageist world; disagreement that any type of education empowers older persons; emphasis on facilitators who take sides with and are committed to the position of older people; a reaching out to all distinct segments of older people; embracing a self-help culture; taking the role of a 'progressive' movement by engaging in counter-hegemonic activities.

Rationale

Fifteen years ago, a prominent critical theorist in older adult education, David Battersby (1987, p. 4), argued that 'there has always been a reluctance among adult educators to examine the principles and practices of teaching and learning as they might apply to the elderly'. Unfortunately, this view still holds true. Notwithstanding the recent increase in the number and focus of publications in educational gerontology (e.g. Glendenning, 2000; Jarvis, 2001), and the prevalent emphasis on pedagogical/andragogical frameworks in mainstream education (Shor, 1992; Welton, 1995) remarkably little has been published on 'gerogogy' – as the strategies employed in teaching older adults are referred to. One paradigm that has given gerogogy a relatively high profile is 'critical educational gerontology' [CEG] – which is defined as

that educational practice which aims to lead older adults to higher levels of empowerment and emancipation (Glendenning & Battersby, 1990). Distancing itself from the functionalist and psychological paradigms so ubiquitous in mainstream educational gerontology, CEG advocated a 'critical' gerogogical practice that unsettles older people's complacency about their social conditions and their powerlessness to transform society (Battersby & Glendenning, 1990). Whilst there is no doubt of CEG's emancipatory intentions, critical gerogogy was still not embedded in a dialectical context that includes the simultaneous interplay of reflection and action. In addition, with rare exceptions (e.g. Cusack & Thompson, 1998), both older learners' voices and practical circumstances within older adult education are absent from its discourse. Such a shortcoming has served to restrict CEG's audience to academics who have the time, energy and inclination to struggle with such an abstract argument, and to alienate senior adult educators. The aim of this article is to integrate critical gerogogy within a praxeological epistemology as a continual reconstruction of thought and action in the lived experience of older people. Its objective is to advance the development of critical gerogogy by bringing together critical reflective processes with actual experiences in order to offer more workable principles for the practice of critical gerogogy.

The Critical Movement in Educational Gerontology

Critical educational gerontology (CEG) stemmed from two major concerns. First, from a radical concern to overcome the oppressions that locked some older adults into ignorance, poverty and powerlessness, and secondly, as a reaction to the uncritical and apolitical disposition of mainstream educational gerontology. The origins of CEG can be traced to Allman's (1984) political appeals for older adult education when claiming that the enhancement of the quality of life of older people will not be achieved by just any learning experience, but only through a liberatory education. The latter aids older learners to control their thinking, and employs the self-help concept, which endows older learners with higher levels of power and control in all aspects of the educational session including organisation and curriculum planning. These reflections were consequently elaborated by Battersby (1985a) when asserting that biological, physiological and psychological explanations of learning in later life failed to recognise the social and cultural characteristics of old age. Battersby (1985b) also called for educational scientists to take stock of this third age educational revolution and examine critically whether the continued proliferation of these innovations is justified.

The rationale for a critical educational gerontology was eventually firmly grounded in Glendenning & Battersby's (1990) ground-breaking publication where they argued that most older adult educational

programmes are based upon erroneous taken-for-granted assumptions. These included:

- the dominance of the psychological ‘deficit’ model of older adults’ learning abilities;
- assuming that any type of education is emancipating and empowering;
- an uncritical stance on the programmes’ aims and purposes;
- disregarding the programmes’ inherent bourgeois bias;
- overlooking the diverse degree of marginalisation amongst older persons;
- assuming that older adult education is exercised in the interests of older people.

Following a sound challenge to conventional wisdom the authors put forward four major principles for CEG (see also Battersby & Glendenning, 1992; Glendenning, 1992). These included:

- a socio-political framework which examines society’s treatment of older people within the context of the economy and the state;
- founding educational gerontology within the traditions, the literature, the experience and the debates present in critical social theory;
- establishment of a new discourse that includes such concepts as emancipation, empowerment, transformation, and social and hegemonical control;
- predicating CEG on the notion of praxis as the dialectical practice between theory and practice.

As already stated CEG has given gerogogy a relatively high profile. The term ‘gerogogy’, which refers to the practical teaching strategies employed in older adult education, has been used in European academic discourse since the 1950s. However, the notion has often been employed in a highly condescending and psychological manner. This is especially evident in John’s (1988) publication titled *Gerogogy: a theory for teaching the elderly*, where ‘being somewhat confined to frail and vulnerable elderly people ... the result is patronising on the one hand and ignores elders in the community on the other’ (Glendenning, 1992, p. 16). As a reaction to such an intellectual environment, CEG configured gerogogy in a critical epistemology where older adults are in control of their thinking and learning, and have the possibility for further development, thinking, questioning and reflecting on what they know or on new areas of content for this learning. Rejecting ‘the rampant psychologism that has accompanied the very initial theorising about the concept of gerogogy’, Battersby (1987, p. 7) argued that ‘gerogogical principles should be predicated on known theories and concepts about human development, learning and teaching as they relate to the elderly’. Consequently, Battersby (1987) formulated a radical objective guideline for the practice of critical gerogogy – one that ‘conceptualises teaching and learning as a

collective and negotiated enterprise amongst older adults' and assumes 'a liberating and transforming notion which endorses principles of collectively and dialogue as central to learning and teaching'. In later publications, it was asserted that critical gerogogy consists 'of the practical articulation (i.e. praxis) of the principles of critical educational gerontology', and recognised 'that education is not a neutral enterprise and that it involved moral and ethical dimensions' (Glendenning & Battersby, 1990, p. 228). Hence, through the practice of critical gerogogy, CEG 'would encourage tutors and students to examine the relation between knowledge and power and control' (Glendenning, 1991, pp. 215-216). From the above passage, Paulo Freire's (1972a) influence is highly evident, especially when CEG declared that 'critical gerogogy requires people to be engaged in the process of questioning their existing knowledge' (Battersby & Glendenning, 1992, p. 120). In fact, it is not surprising to find the claim that:

Freire's ideas inform us as to how we might go about creating these transformations for older people through a more liberating and empowering form of education than that which is currently available for many adults. (Glendenning & Battersby, 1990, p. 119)

Older Adult Education in Context

Undoubtedly, CEG has been a major contributor to the progressive development of the field of educational gerontology. These included:

- the embodiment of the field in a normative and ethical engagement (Cusack, 1999);
- highlighting the possible hegemonic effect that older educational programmes may entail (Formosa, 2000);
- injecting a critical twist in the analysis of why membership is closely linked to gender, class, and previous exposure to education (Formosa, 1999).

As a result, it is no longer assumed that all such programmes are examples of good practice or that any education empowers older learners. Critical gerogogy has also developed a socialist vision for educators, one that seeks to embed the learning situation in a politicised vision for equality and social justice. Nevertheless, critical gerogogy has still remained short of providing older adult educators with viable principles as how it may be practiced in actual educational settings. This is to an extent a major disadvantage since questions of process are central to everyday practical educational practice. Despite Giroux's (1981, p. 219) argument that 'theoretical work itself is a form of practice and ... [can] create the terrain and necessary preconditions for a radical [educational project]', there are partial equivalencies, commonalities and

objective relations that exist independently of the particular context in which we work (Gore, 1993).

At the same time, in order to be able to formulate a really praxeological rationale for critical gerogogy, both the voices of present facilitators and learners must be acknowledged. In the past 4 years I have had the opportunity to perform non-participative fieldwork in University of the Third Age in Valletta, as the only older adult educational programme in Malta. At the same time, I also had the opportunity to act as a facilitator for a number of sessions at various Pre-Retirement educational programmes. Both experiences provided with a rich insight on the practical dispositions inherent in older adult education. First, it was evident that facilitators held functional and psychological rationales for older adult education. One facilitator commented that:

Education is fun. It is a means to spend one's leisure time in a fulfilling manner. Education is also informative. The more one knows, the better he/she can function in life ... Education functions to augment levels of self-satisfaction and self-esteem. (U3A Tutor and Colleague)

Such a rationale only serves to delimit the emancipatory goals that were once at the core of initial educational programmes for the aged (Vellas, 1997). The fact that most programmes failed to escape the 'pervasiveness of schooling' found in traditional education was a second precarious feature. Sessions generally took the form of a top-down model of instruction that cultivated respect for authority, experts, and universal knowledge. Whilst such an approach was appreciated by learners with extensive educational dispositions, it alienated other participants:

... although the facilitators are knowledgeable on their respective subject matters, we do not really get a chance to explore certain problematic themes in more detail. In lieu of our extensive experience in life, we should be given greater share of involvement. I do not know how this can be achieved but surely not by the presentation of a multitude of information ... (67-year-old male learner at the University of the Third Age)

Thirdly, most programmes did not meet the needs of all older participants, but only those from an élite background. As a result of its financial support for such programmes, the government succeeded in camouflaging its direct role in the enactment of ageist policies. Additional commercial entrepreneurs benefited by having access to a promising pool of financially secure people. At the same time, middle class older people found the programmes highly appropriate to their lifelong interests and dispositions, as well as a means to recoup lost status resulting from mandatory retirement.

Another area of concern consisted in determining who really controlled the learning process. Fieldwork experience uncovered an extensive class and gender bias in both the foundation and coordination

of programmes. The bourgeois or middle class bias is clearly evident in the available curricula that consist largely of field-dependent and non-instrumental subjects that focus on artistic, literary and historical areas of interest. What is perhaps even more disquieting is the fact that despite the great majority of female participants and feminist gerontologists' focus on the double jeopardy of older women (e.g. Browne, 1998), programmes were characterised by an insensitivity towards gerontological feminist issues. The programme reflected largely men's ideas, assumptions and priorities – resulting in a situation where older women learned about society from a male point of view. In addition, it was evident that learners had no involvement or control of the programmes' content and instructional methods. This resulted in an educational experience that was both conservative and fell short of failing to question society by unveiling dominant ideological agendas. In this respect, a learner commented:

The lecturers are somewhat naïve. They approach old age as a time of rest and leisure. But social reality is not as rosy. I would like to question a number of things that are taken-for-granted. Why is mandatory retirement just? Why are increases in pensions not uniform for every living pensioner? Why are medical services, despite being free, not of a high quality as private ones? It is not that what is taught is not interesting but only that it may not be relevant to my worries. (60-year-old male in a Pre-Retirement Educational Session)

Hence, by not recognising the political nature of its pedagogical work, programmes do not seek to promote an alternative world-view for those poorer older people who tend to be subject to oppressive social relations. Finally, and perhaps more importantly, the embodiment of the educational process in a critical gerogogical perspective is far from being straightforward and results may not always be those intended. From my personal experience, I observed that many learners do not expect to be given any role and withdraw if given a share of power in the educational experience. Some are afraid. In other cases, learners may know more of the subject than the facilitator, especially when focusing on age discrimination. However, the dialogic format makes it difficult to acknowledge the multiplicity and contradictory nature of human experience.

Towards a Manifesto for Critical Gerogogy

It is against this reflective and practical background that this article attempted to construct praxeological principles for critical gerogogy. The following principles are a direct attempt to situate Shor & Freire's (1987, p. 19) 15-year-old query 'What type of teaching could make critical learning happen?', in the hope that critical educational gerontology

becomes more an actual example of 'transformative education' rather than yet another euphemism for glorified occupation therapy. I believe in seven principles.

One: Critical gerogogy must be directed by a political rationale so as to highlight its commitment to the transformation of ageist social structures.

In asking why older adults should take part in educational classes, educators must move beyond the conviction that meeting the learner's felt needs is the goal of 'good' educational practice, as these may be shaped by the dominant ideology. Older people as a group are an oppressed class due to ageist national policies and social practices that discriminate against them because they are old, just as racism and sexism achieves this as a result of skin colour and gender. There is no doubt that, in contemporary societies, ageism is a powerful discriminatory force and manifests itself as a complex and subtle phenomenon in historical, social, psychological and ideological dimensions that place older people in a 'culture of silence' (Freire, 1972a). This is witnessed by the fact that politicians and professionals are constantly dictating what they think is best for older people. Since CEG is grounded on a recognition of the existence of such oppression, it stands to reason that the forces of such oppression have to be clearly identified from the beginning. In this respect, critical gerogogists must direct their energies to the formulation of strategies that first highlight older people's subjugated role in the social matrix of domination, and secondly, that treat the prospect of social transformation, empowerment and emancipation as a real possibility.

Two: Despite the diverse heterogeneity of older persons critical gerogogy must employ a communal approach towards the transformation of the ageist world.

Research has clearly shown that diverse segments of older people – such as women, poorer older people and people from minority ethnic groups – experience higher levels of discrimination. Whilst critical gerogogy has a responsibility to highlight such disparate subjugated experiences and to focus on each group's unique experiences, the process of liberation is ultimately a communal effort. This may be achieved by integrating all older people in a close network of 'affinity groups'. Affinity groups are not based on 'sameness', but rather on similar conditions 'among the multiple, shifting, intersecting, and sometimes contradictory groups carrying unequal weights of legitimacy within the culture and class' (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 317). These affinity groups allow group experiences to be heard, whilst using a common and shared language and without positing any experience as better or worse than another. Through affinity groups it is also possible for participants to share not only what they have in common, but also what they do not share. Despite such

heterogeneity of oppressive experiences, critical gerogogy is ultimately a communal educational effort because liberal and post-modern agendas run the risk of a turn to favour of relativism and pluralism that could destroy the possibility of collective action and suppress political will. This search for a communal quest is aptly found in Freire's (1997, p. 310) conviction that only through 'unity in diversity' can 'the various oppressed groups become more effective in their collective struggle against all forms of oppression'.

Three: Critical gerogogy refutes the myth that any type of education empowers older people, and is grounded on liberatory education.

Critical gerogogy rejects traditional models of education 'in which the students are the depositories and the teacher the depositor' (Freire, 1972a, p. 45). On the other hand, educators must embrace a liberating practice that helps learners to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions. This involves two major steps. The first is to generate a liberating curriculum. This involves the immersion of educators within older people's thematic universe in order to develop 'generative themes', which then are codified into other motifs that older learners can identify with. Once such motifs have been formulated, the second step consists of aiding learners to perform a successful decodification of the former. Only so will inherent social, political and economic oppressions become apparent. This can be achieved through the strategies of dialogue and problem posing. Whilst dialogue 'demands the problematic conformation of that very knowledge in its unquestionable relationship with the concrete reality in which it is engendered' (Freire, 1974, p. 124), problem-posing 'involves a constant unveiling of reality [and] revolutionary futurity' (Freire, 1972a, p. 54). Through such strategies learners 'not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality' (Freire, 1972b, p. 51). Another central strategy for critical gerogogy is critical reflexivity. This consists of the educators' and learners' recognition of their biography, which includes a micro-narrative replete with possible instances of personal domination and subordination. Critical reflexivity 'reconfigure[s] the relationship between the past and the present' (Simon, 1992, p. 140), as a form of redemptive remembrance and social dreaming. The latter serves to 'enable the past to be perceived in a way that made the present visible as a moment within which people could act to alter the material grounds and social terms on which their lives were lived' (Simon, 1992, p. 142). Hence, the teacher aids older learners to confront 'the social amnesia of generations in flight from their own collective histories – the subjugated knowledge of the marginalised, the excluded, the disenfranchised, and immersed groups' (McLaren & De Silva, 1993, pp. 73-74).

Four: Critical gerogogists are not just facilitators; they take sides with and are committed to the sufferings of older people.

Although critical education speaks of 'teacher-students' and 'student-teachers' (Freire, 1972a, p. 67), the educator and learners are not immersed in what Jarvis (1985) terms an 'education of equals'. This is because the educator is attributed with the authority to direct the learner's education towards a political goal, namely to recognise the world 'not as a given world, but as a world dynamically in the making' (Freire, 1985, p. 106). Yet, this does not mean that teachers should be authoritarian: a critical gerogogist has authority in so far as s/he helps 'learners get involved in planning education, helping them create the critical capacity to consider and participate in the direction and dreams of education, rather than merely following blindly' (Freire, cited in Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 379). In this sense, critical gerogogists are 'organic intellectuals' in that they are committed to 'active participation in practical life, as constructor, organiser, 'permanent persuader' and not just a 'simple orator' (Gramsci, 1971, p. 10). Without organic intellectuals it is impossible for CEG to act as a social movement that articulates and refines older people's world wide and collective identity, since somebody has to play the crucial role of defining the 'other' – a social force against which the movement pits itself.

Five: The practice of critical gerogogy must not only occur within the walls of the older adult educational programme, but must reach out to all distinct segments of older persons.

Although the majority of the older learners come from the ranks of the middle classes, it is wrong to assume that other older people have disengaged themselves from educational processes. Given equitable circumstances, they may undertake educational programmes. Critical gerogogists therefore have a moral responsibility to recruit older people who are normally under represented in older adult educational classes. Two effective strategies consist of outreach education and distance learning. Since outreach succeeds in recruiting older learners who beforehand did not necessarily think that they desired or needed education, it has a definitive consciousness-raising and transformative potential. At the same time, distance education is successful in transmitting educational classes to older people who are physically prevented from attending educational sites. Tactics may range from the co-ordination of educational classes in residential institutions to the use of broadcasting media. Critical gerogogists must not be fatalistic about distance learning, because for older people especially, distance learning is flexible in time and place of delivery, as well as embodying open access to subject choice, regardless of prior knowledge or qualifications.

Six: Critical gerogogy embraces a self-help culture towards a more decentralised and autonomous older adult education as power is shifted to older learners.

Critical gerogogy is ultimately education for older persons by older persons. Liberating education is only possible if the older adult educational movement organises itself, producing its tutors from its own ranks and developing educational concerns related to their own circumstances. Hence, older persons must become involved and control the coordination of older adult education. This would enable them to enact and coordinate educational policies that are congruent with their rights and needs, as well as instilling an informal and supportive environment where they feel valued, and a sense of camaraderie is present. Government and other local agencies should only assist as far as financial and logistic resources are involved for it is very difficult for non-older people to be aware of the exact needs and preferences of older people, considering that they possess different generational and cohort experiences. Moreover, older adults are surely the best people to coordinate in-service training for those wishing to work as older adult educators, to establish democratic evaluations of the programmes, as well as taking part in the debate between intra- and inter-generational education.

Seven: Critical gerogogy must enable older adult education to take the role of a 'progressive' movement by engaging in counter-hegemonic activities.

Critical gerogogy is rooted in 'critical activity', which is oppositional and involved in a struggle for social change and the unification of theory and practice. 'Critique' in this context therefore involves both the criticism of oppression and struggle for a better society. Hence, critical gerontology places educational practice in both the languages of 'critique' and 'possibility' (Giroux, 1985). An anti-ageist hegemony is a real possibility if educational programmes adopt a pro-active leadership that guides both learners and citizens to become aware of the dominant ideology, and subsequently form a political vision for revitalising social democracy. The political struggle against oppressive social structures is, essentially, an educational revolution at all spheres, irrespective of any social boundaries, such as age, gender, sexual orientations or political preferences. Such a revolution grants citizens the opportunity to develop their potential to challenge and transform existing ageist social and political forms, rather than simply adapt to them in keeping with the prevailing hegemony.

Conclusion

This discussion has attempted to propose a set of principles for the practice of critical gerogogy in the hope that they act as a catalyst for the achievement of the goals of critical educational gerontology. In conclusion two important points are made. First, the principles developed above are not intended to be a didactic manual to be adopted in a non-critical fashion, but should always be characterised by a critical flexibility. They have only been presented as a cluster of themes inspired by emancipatory intent. This is because both culture and history play a major role in the construction of personality and identity. Personal identities are produced under different social conditions and thus a universal, ahistoric human identity is not possible. Therefore, critical gerogogy is neither a system nor is it reducible to any fixed set of proscriptive models. CEG can only open a frontier of liberating education, which then has to be re-invented and moulded in a sensitive manner in our actual situations, on our own terms and in our own discourses. Secondly, critical gerogogists should not believe that critical educational gerontology and critical gerogogy have all the answers for the emancipation of older people. For emancipation to reach its fullest ideal, CEG must also be supplemented by other emancipatory acts contained in other institutions. It would be utopian to think that older adult education by itself can transform all the ageist practices of society. For instance, it is not yet clear how CEG can combat effectively the socialising process of individuals into ageist hegemony in the personal domains (e.g. in the family) or public domains (e.g. through the mass media). However, this is not the same as saying that critical gerogogy has no emancipatory critical role to play. CEG includes a theory of action where, through their sense of agency, learners are given the opportunity to act and change oppressive social structures. CEG surely has the potential to provide older adults with the opportunity to form types of organisation through which they can find strength and purpose in a common vision to denounce mystification, as well as to support oppressed older people by acting as a catalyst towards the enhancement of just and equitable relationships that further democracy, authenticity and freedom.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Professor Peter Mayo, mentor and colleague, who responded to a draft version of this article. Furthermore, I am also thankful to the Institute of Gerontology (University of Malta), for granting me the necessary permission to carry out the field research at the University of The Third Age. I am, of course, wholly responsible for the limitations and errors that remain.

Correspondence

Marvin Formosa, Institute of Gerontology, University of Malta, Msida, MSD 06, Malta (marvin.formosa@um.edu.mt).

References

- Allman, P. (1984) Self-help Learning and Its Relevance for Learning and Development in Later Life, in E. Midwinter (Ed.) *Mutual Aid Universities*. Beckenham: Croom Helm.
- Battersby, D. (1985a) Education in Later Life: what does it mean? *Convergence*, 8, pp. 75-81.
- Battersby, D. (1985b) *The Greying of Campuses and the Third Age: a critique*, paper presented at the HERSDA Conference, Auckland, New Zealand (xeroxed copy).
- Battersby, D. (1987) From Andragogy to Gerogogy, *Journal of Educational Gerontology*, 2(1), pp. 4-10.
- Battersby, D. & Glendenning, F. (1992) Reconstructing Education for Older Adults: an elaboration of first principles, *Australian Journal of Adult and Community Education*, 32, pp. 115-121.
- Browne, C.V. (1998) *Women, Feminism and Aging*. New York: Springer.
- Cusack, S.A. (1999) Critical Educational Gerontology and the Imperative to Empower, *Education and Ageing*, 14, pp. 21-37.
- Cusack, S. & Thompson, W.J.A. (1998) *Leadership with Older Adults: aging with purpose and passion*. Philadelphia: Brunner/Mazel.
- Ellsworth, E. (1989) Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy, *Harvard Educational Review*, 95, pp. 197-224.
- Formosa, M. (1999) *Good Practice in Older Adult Education*, paper presented in the International Conference, 'Older Persons in the Maltese Islands', 8th April, Gozo, Malta.
- Formosa, M. (2000) Older Adult Education in a Maltese University of the Third Age: a critical perspective, *Education and Ageing*, 13(3), pp. 315-338.
- Freire, P. (1972a) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freire, P. (1972b) *Cultural Action for Freedom*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freire, P. (1974) *Education for Critical Consciousness*. London: Sheed and Ward.
- Freire, P. (1985) *The Politics of Education: culture, power and liberation*. New York: Bergin and Garvey.
- Freire, P. (1997) A Response, in P. Freire with J. W. Fraser, D. Macedo, T. McKinnon & W. T. Stokes (Eds) *Mentoring the Mentor: a critical dialogue with Paulo Freire*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Freire, P. & Macedo, D. (1995) A Dialogue: culture, language and race, *Harvard Educational Review*, 65(3), pp. 377-402.
- Giroux, H. (1981) Pedagogy, Pessimism, and the Politics of Conformity: a reply to Linda McNeil. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 11, pp. 211-222.

- Giroux, H. (1985) Introduction, in P. Friere (Ed.) *The Politics of Education*. Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey.
- Glendenning, F. (1991) What is the Future of Educational Gerontology, *Ageing and Society*, 11, pp. 209-216.
- Glendenning, F. (1992) Educational Gerontology and Gerogogy: a critical perspective, in C. Berdes, A. A. Zych & G. D. Dawson (Eds) *Geragogics: European Research in Gerontological Education and Educational Gerontology*. New York: Haworth Press.
- Glendenning, F. (Ed.) (2000) *Teaching and Learning in Later Life: theoretical implications*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Glendenning, F. & Battersby, D. (1990) Why We Need Educational Gerontology and Education for Older Adults: a statement of first principles: in F. Glendenning & K. Percy (Eds) *Ageing, Education and Society: readings in Educational Gerontology*. Keele: University of Keele, Association for Educational Gerontology.
- Gore, J.M. (1993) *The Struggle for Pedagogies: the critical and feminist discourses of truth*. New York: Routledge.
- Gramsci, A. (1971) In: Q. Hoare & G. Nowell Smith (Eds) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Jarvis, P. (1985) *The Sociology of Adult and Continuing Education*. Beckenham: Croom Helm.
- Jarvis, P. (2001) *Learning in Later Life*. London: Kogan Page.
- John, M.T. (1988) *Geragogy: a theory for teaching the elderly*. New York: Haworth Press.
- McLaren, P. & de Silva, T. (1993) Decentering Pedagogy: critical literacy, resistance and the politics of memory, in P. McLaren & P. Leonard (Eds) *Paulo Freire: a critical encounter*. London: Routledge.
- Shor, I. (1992) *Empowering Education: critical teaching for social change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shor, I. & Freire, P. (1987) *A Pedagogy for Liberation – Dialogues on Transforming Education*. New York: Bergin & Garvey.
- Simon, R.I. (1992) *Teaching Against the Grain: texts for a pedagogy of possibility*. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Vellas, P. (1997) Genesis and Aims of the Universities of the Third Age, *European Network Bulletin*, 1, pp. 9-12.
- Welton, M. (Ed.) (1995) *New Social Movements in the South: empowering people*. London: Zed Books.

