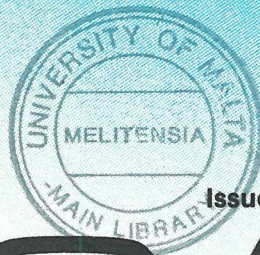


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**Volume  
3**

Issue dedicated to Education, Work and Lifelong Education

# EDUCATION

The Journal of the Faculty of Education

The University of Malta



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# Editorial

## Education, Work and Lifelong Education



**L**ifelong education is a global principle. It is concerned with education as a lifelong process in its different manifestations. As such it refers to learning at all ages, in all forms (formal, non-formal, and informal) and in all contexts (the family, the school, the work place, the wider society, etc.,) concerning itself with questions that are specific to each. Writers on lifelong education have, however, emphasized the value and necessity of coherence, or 'integration', both on the 'vertical' dimension of the concept as the interpretation of learning experiences in the single life of an individual, and on the 'horizontal' dimension with the integration of the different contexts of learning into a coherent complex which presents itself as such to the individual.

The world of work is one context where learning takes place. The experience of work is one of the most crucial of the life and learning experiences of the individual. Ideally, the principle of integration demands the integration of the world of work with the other sectors of human life and society, and it demands the coherence of the experience of work with other life experiences in a manner which ensures the growth of the person through his/her education. The papers in this issue of the journal **Education** deal with the relationships between education, work and the principles of lifelong education within the context of this theoretical framework.

There are different ways in which learning can occur in a social context. Given the concept of lifelong education's concern with all its forms, Peter Jarvis's definition of learning as the transformation of experience is an apt one. Jarvis describes ways in which experience does not transform and is therefore non-educative, and further distinguishes educative experience itself into two kinds: that which is non-threatening, conformist and effects no change on the context or on the individual's normative evaluation of the context, and that which is reflective and innovative. These distinctions can clearly serve to describe different forms of experience in the world of work related to different kinds of productive systems and the worker's activity within them. The different possibilities that they can imply create tensions that are further related to the psychological tensions engendered by different forms of motivation, values and life-style that bear closely upon the perceptions of the individual in the workplace and are greatly exacerbated, as Bo

Jacobsen points out, in technologically advanced societies. Not only, these tensions are, as Jacobsen and Jarvis show, the components of a still higher tension between domestication and freedom which is embedded within the very texture of society itself and is related to its structure.

My own article which starts with an analysis of different ideological attitudes towards the relation between education and work also discusses this tension between domestication which stems from alienation and freedom, and relates it to the mode of production in force. It attempts to relate this analysis to the concept of lifelong education and finally brings the conclusions of this exercise to bear on the attempt in Malta under the recent Labour government, to close the gap between education and work, and education and culture. Ronald Sultana, on the other hand, presents a different perspective by concentrating not on the experience of workers at the workplace but on the problem of unemployment and the pressures it places on the educational system. The phenomenon of mass unemployment accompanying the recent economic crises in the world, he argues, has changed the focus of education debate away from the normative questions of the 60s and 70s, and has brought into prominence a new ideology, the "New Vocationalism" which advocates a much closer link between education and work. It is interesting to compare the elements of this ideology with my own account of the worker-student scheme in Malta, and to relate the criticism levelled against it by the alternative ideologies described by Sultana to the articles of Jarvis and Jacobsen.

Perhaps the best working environment in terms of its positive educative experiences and in terms of its psychological benefits for the worker is the worker cooperative. Worker cooperatives are based on participatory management and joint decision-making. Godfrey Baldacchino's article relates specifically to this subject examining the mutually reinforcing possibilities and requirements of cooperative participation at the work-place and education. Baldacchino makes the point that cooperatives cannot succeed without social support which is not only financial but vocational and ideological as well. He also demonstrates the same concern expressed by Jacobsen, Jarvis and myself for systems of production that are hegemonic, and modes of experience at the work place that are alienating and domesticating, rather than liberating and creative.

Gelpi's article is, as usual, a series of provoking analyses and comments which are wide-ranging in scope and probe into different sensitive aspects of the subject of this issue. The traditional emphasis on vocational training for work, he points out, can today be only a *limited* part of the activities regarding knowledge and transfer in the work place. He also pertinently reminds us that educational systems themselves employ workers and are viewed as productive systems; their 'products' are evaluated by the market, and parts of them (of the system) are integrated into the world of work itself. Gelpi also shows his usual concern with the lack of international cooperation in solving the problems raised by the universally recognised need to work out new relationships between education and work, and calls for more comparative work in this area. John Harper, on the other hand, addresses himself to a more specific problem, that of the "cosmopolitan educator" who

needs to operate in foreign and different cultural contexts where the development of management skills for the harnessing of technological change and advance is still backward, even rudimentary. Harper analyses the problems likely to be encountered by the educator in different cultural contexts and suggests a programme of preparation and action to overcome them.

In sum the articles offered in this issue of the journal are wide-ranging. But, at the same time, they collectively drive home a number of points related mainly to the problems encountered in bringing the work-place and education closer together by making the former itself an educative experience. The wide-ranging nature of the articles itself demonstrates the multiplicity of issues the subject raises. It is hoped that all in all the journal will constitute some response to Gelpi's plea for more research on it.

Kenneth Wain

# Three Forms of Learning in Social Context

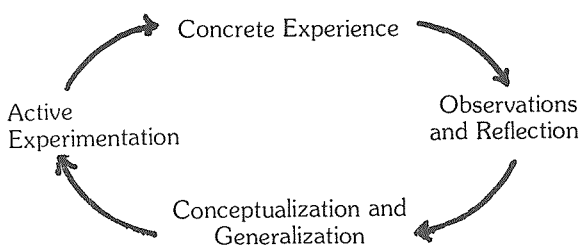
Peter Jarvis

This paper is an analysis of different forms of learning in their social context. The forms of learning emerged from a research project into the ways that adults learn and the subsequent analysis endeavours to locate the types of learning within the wider social context. It is a tentative movement in the direction of a sociology of learning. There is not really sufficient space during this presentation to argue for a definition of learning and so one is suggested here: that learning is the transformation of experience into knowledge, skills and attitudes. The first part of the paper briefly describes the research project itself and its findings; thereafter there are three parts which discuss the three main forms of learning; finally, there is a brief concluding discussion.

*The Research Project:* Over the period of about fifteen months in 1985 and 1986 groups of adults were the subject of a project to discover something more about the way in which adults learn. All the participants were first invited to write down a learning incident in their lives. They were asked to state what started the incident, how it progressed and, finally, when and why they concluded that it was completed. Having undertaken this exercise they were then paired in order to discuss their different learning experiences and it was suggested to them that they might like to examine the similarities and the differences in their experiences. Thereafter, two pairs were put together and they then discussed their four different learning experiences. At this time, they were asked if they would draw a simple model of their joint learning experiences, and some of them actually constructed some quite sophisticated models of learning.

The first time this exercise was conducted the groups were asked to feedback their ideas at this point for a general discussion. Thereafter, they were given a copy of Kolb's learning cycle and it was suggested to them that they might like to adapt it to relate to their own experiences. Kolb's (1984) learning cycle is given in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1 Kolb's Learning Cycle



Participants were informed that the cycle was not necessarily correct and that they were free to adapt it in any way that they wished, so that it would relate to their experiences. From the feedback from the first set of groups a more complex model of learning was constructed by modifying the above learning cycle but also which related to the findings of each of the groups of four people. Whenever this exercise was repeated thereafter, the last stage each time was to introduce the adaptation of Kolb's cycle that had emerged from the previous time that this had been undertaken.

This exercise was conducted on nine separate occasions both in the UK and in the USA, with teachers of adults and teachers of children, with university lecturers and adult university students who were teachers of adults in their full-time occupation, with younger people and with some not so young participants, with men and women. In all about two hundred people participated in the exercise, although the sample was middle class and not tightly controlled. A complex model of learning was constructed as a result of the research. This model was subsequently tested in seminars, etc., over another nine months period, again both in the UK and the USA, with some two or three hundred people participating in these. An early draft of the model was published (Jarvis 1986) and a further draft is to appear in *Adult Education Quarterly*. The final model will appear, with a full description of this methodology in a book (Jarvis, 1987) *Adult Learning in the Social Context* to be published later this year. However, the purpose of this paper is not actually to examine the model, as such, but to analyse the various types of learning responses that were discovered.

It will be noted from the definition of learning suggested at the outset of this paper that it is claimed that all learning commences with experience, so that there is a sense in which learning might be regarded as a response to experience. Basically, it is suggested that there are nine types of response to an experience and that they may be classified into three fundamentally different types of learning: non-learning, non-reflective learning and reflective learning. Each of these three types contains three sub-types and in the reflective learning stratum there are two forms of each of the three types. Now the purpose of this analysis is to relate each of these types to a wider social context, and this is undertaken in the next three sections.

*Non-Learning in the Social Context:* It is very clear that people do not always learn from their experiences and so the first group of responses are non-learning ones: presumption, non-

consideration and rejection. Each of these three sub-types are now described briefly.

*Presumption* is the rather typical response to everyday experience. Schutz and Luckmann (1974, p.7) describe it thus:

I trust the world as it is known by me up until now will continue further and that consequently the stock of knowledge obtained from my fellow-men and formed from my own experiences will continue to preserve its fundamental validity... From this assumption follows the further and fundamental one; that I can repeat my past successful acts. So long as the structure of the world can be taken as constant; so long as my previous experience is valid, my ability to operate upon the world in this and that manner remains in principle preserved.

While this appears almost thoughtless and mechanical, it is suggested here that this is the basis of all social living. It would be quite intolerable for people to have to consider every word and every act in every social situation before they undertook it. Hence, a great deal of life is lived on the basis of previous learned experiences and presumption is a typical response.

*Non-Consideration:* For a variety of reasons people do not respond to a potential learning experience; maybe because they are too busy to think about it or maybe because they are fearful of the outcome, etc. Thus it may be that non-consideration is another response that occurs quite commonly in everyday life to potential learning experience; maybe because they are too busy to think about it or maybe because they are fearful of the outcome, etc. Thus it may be that non-consideration is another response that occurs quite commonly in everyday life to potential learning experiences.

*Rejection:* Some people have an experience, think about it but reject the possibility of learning that could have accompanied the experience. For instance, think of an elderly person experiencing the complexity of modernity and exclaiming, 'I don't know what this world is coming to these days!' Here is a possible learning experience, an experience of the complex modern world, but instead of probing it and seeking to understand it, the person rejects the possibility. While the illustration here is with the elderly, it could have been with the not so elderly; with the bigot, who looks at the world and says that (s)he will not have any opinion/attitude changed by it, etc.

Sociologically, the significant thing about any response to experience is that no person is a total individual, every person lives in a society. What, then, are the effects of non-learning? That the society and its structures are unaffected by the people's experiences. That no change is likely to

occur because there have been no alterations in knowledge, skill or attitude of the people in society when they do not learn, whoever they are. People have accepted, or rejected, what they have been presented, but they have not learned anything and so nothing can happen to change society. At least two conclusions can be drawn from this; the one about the person and the other about society.

A person who goes through life often experiencing the world presumptively, or even from a position of non-consideration, feels totally free within the structures of the society because they occur in just the manner that they are expected. Hence, a sense of personal freedom is experienced, simply because the society does not seem to pressurize the individual to do anything that the person does not wish to do. By contrast, when the individual rejects the possible learning, then those social pressures often appear oppressive. Yet there is still a sense of individual freedom, freedom not to respond to those social pressures that appear to be operating. This is a negative freedom here that enables the person to stand back and to reject the social forces that are excised upon him/her. Hence, the person might still feel free to act as (s)he so desires, even though the pressures might seem oppressive.

In contrast to this, it is possible to see that society remains unaffected: those who exercise power continue to do so; those who present interpretations of the world in the media continue to do this; those who prescribe for the 'ills' of society continue to make their pronouncements upon the world. They frequently remain unchallenged. Perhaps the failure to challenge those who exercise power or who structure interpretations of the world in the media, etc. is merely non-learning, or perhaps it is apathy? It is also the result of non-learning in the social situation. But what of those who do exercise power? Their power can be exercised covertly and they never have to appear to demonstrate their ability to make people accept them or their understanding of the world. This is what Gramsci called hegemony, and which Williams (1976, p. 205) described as:

...a whole body of practices and expectations, our assignments of energy, our ordinary understanding of the nature of man and his world. It is a set of meanings and values which as they are experienced as practices appear reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of society to move, in most areas of their lives.

Thus non-learning confirms those in power in their position, confirms those who structure and interpret reality for people in their position and basically affects nothing. Yet, the significant thing is that without non-learning no society or organization could have stability and, therefore, it is vitally important for the continuity of society - whatever the society in question may be.

#### *Non-Reflective Learning in the Social Context:*

These forms of learning are those which are most frequently socially defined as learning. For the sake of convenience the three that have been isolated in this research project are: pre-conscious, skills learning and memorization. The factor above all else that enables them to be placed within one stratum together is that they do not involve reflectivity.

*Pre-conscious learning* is one on which there is little research. It occurs to everybody as a result of their having experiences in the course of their daily life about which they do not really think nor about which they are even particularly conscious. They occur at the periphery of the vision, at the edge of consciousness, etc. Ruth Beard (1976, pp 93-95) calls this incidental learning and she suggests that people develop such phenomena as schemas of perception as a result of these experiences. Other scholars who have been interested in this approach include Mannings (1986), who researched incidental learning in an adult education institution, and Reischmann (1986), who presented a paper at AACE in which he talked about learning *en passant*. Now this research project was not itself aimed at analysing this type of learning, although a number of the respondents mentioned this possibility during the research itself. It is similar in approach to the next two forms of learning.

*Skills learning* is traditionally restricted to such forms of learning as training for a manual occupation or the acquisition of a high level of physical fitness through training. However, some learning in preparation for a manual occupation is certainly not non-reflective, so that this has to be restricted to the learning of simple, short procedures that somebody on an assembly line might be taught. These skills are often acquired through imitation and role modelling.

*Memorization* is perhaps the most commonly known form of learning. Children learn their mathematical tables, their language vocabularies, etc. Adults, when they return to higher education, sometimes feel that this is the type of learning that is expected of them and so they try to memorize what such and such a scholar has written, etc. so that they can reproduce it in an examination. Hence, the authority speaks and every word of wisdom has to be learned, memorized.

The significance of these approaches to learning in the wider social context become very clear. As long as these approaches to learning are practised, then learning is nothing more than a process of reproduction. Society and its structures remain unquestioned and, consequently, unaltered. People learn and as a result they fit easily into the larger organization or the wider society, they learn their place - as it were. Once again, this may be examined from the position of the individual and the wider society.

Individuals who learn this way do learn to fit into the organization or society, as such. They experience a degree of freedom in as much as society does not appear unduly oppressive and for so long as they accept what they are expected to learn then no problems seem to occur. Perhaps more significantly, the structures of society appear fairly acceptable and present no major problem to the learners.

Society needs to reproduce itself, or at least those who exercise power within society need to reproduce the same types of social relations as they experience, so that they have to insure that people learn them and reproduce them. If learning is understood as reproduction, then this certainly aids the process! The more that education and the examination system is regarded as supporting this process, then power can still be covertly exercised. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) claim that teaching that perpetuates this process is actually symbolic violence, since it is imposing upon the learners, maybe in their ignorance, interpretations that may be false to their situations. This, of course, may also be true to media interpretations, although there is always the possibility of not accepting these. However, rejecting information that is presented to learners is a more problematic situation within an education institution, especially if it is part of an examination syllabus! Bowles and Gintis (1976, p.103) write:

We shall argue that beneath the facade of meritocracy lies the reality of an educational system geared towards the reproduction of economic relations only partially explicable in terms of technical requirements and efficiency standards. Thus we shall first suggest educational tracking based upon competitive grading and objective test scores is only tangentially related to social efficiency. Thus we shall confront the technological meritocratic ideology head on by showing that the association between the length of education and economic success cannot be accounted for in terms of the cognitive achievements of the students. Thus the yardstick of the educational meritocracy - test scores - contribute surprisingly little to individual economic success. The educational meritocracy is largely symbolic.

But the symbolism is necessary, so that the reproduction of the social and economic relations can occur without the necessity for the exercise of overt power. Educational opportunity is a part of the myth of the open society. Learning is a part of this same process: non-reflective learning might be encouraged and the authority structures of an organization or society can remain unquestioned and unchallenged.

*Reflective Learning in the Social Context:* Thus far it has been shown that learning tends to be reproductive, simply because that is the way that it is frequently defined socially. It was suggested that non-reflective learning could not do other than to reproduce the social structures of society, but this is not true of reflective learning. These forms of learning involve the process of reflection, and thinkers such as Freire (1972a, 1972b *inter alia*), Mezirow (1977, 1981), Argyris (1982 *inter alia*), Kolb (1984) and Boud *et al* (1985) have all examined the process of reflection. Because of Freire's work it might be assumed that all reflective learning has to be revolutionary, but this must not be assumed to be the case. Reflective learning is not automatically innovative. But before this is discussed it is necessary to examine the three types of reflective learning that were discovered in this research: contemplation, reflective skills learning and experimental learning.

*Contemplation* is a form of learning that behaviourist definitions of the phenomenon make no allowance for and yet, in many ways this might be viewed as a very intellectual approach to learning because it involves pure thought. This is the process of thinking about an experience and reaching a conclusion about it without reference to the wider social reality. The religious type of terminology was carefully chosen since it allows for meditation, as well as the thought processes of the philosopher and the activities of the pure mathematician.

*Reflective skills learning*, is called *reflective practice* in the book *Adult Learning in the Social Context*. This is one of the forms of learning that Schon (1983) concentrates upon, when he points out that professionals in practice think on their feet. In the process they often produce new skills as they respond to the uniqueness of their situation. Indeed, it was pointed out earlier that there are not many forms of skill that are learned in a totally unthinking manner, and so this may be regarded as a more sophisticated approach to learning practical subjects. It is not only learning a skill but learning about the knowledge undergirding the practice and, therefore, why the skill should be performed in a specific manner.

*Experimental learning* is that form of learning in which theory is tried out in practice and the end-product of the experimentation is a form of knowledge that relates fully to social reality. This approach to learning relates very closely to Kelly's (1963) understanding of human beings as scientists, seeking always to experiment on their environment.

It was pointed out above that these three forms of learning do not always have to be innovative, or change orientated. It may be recalled that Argyris has two types of learning and in discussing these, he (1982, pp. 159-160) made this point:

First is the misunderstanding that the goal of Model II implies that Model I is somehow bad or ineffective and should be suppressed. On the contrary, Model I is the most appropriate theory in use for routine, programmed activities or emergency situations (such as rescuing survivors) that require prompt, unilateral action. We must not forget that the strategy of all organizations is to decompose double loop problems into single loop ones. The major part of everyday life learning in an organization is related to single loop learning. Double loop learning is crucial, because it allows us to examine and correct the way we are dealing with any issue and our underlying assumptions about it.

For Argyris, then, the more innovative forms of learning are crucial but the other approaches are just as significant. While he employs the terms single and double loop, it is proposed to utilise the terms conformist and innovative reflective learning here. Both of these terms now need to be discussed. Botkin *et al* (1979) employ the terms maintenance and innovative learning and these reflect the ideas contained here. It will be recalled that Freire (1972a, 1972b *inter alia*) recognised that there were two types of response in his forms of education: the one he called the 'banking concept of education' in which the learning was non-reflective and the other he called 'problem posing education' in which he thought the learning would be innovative. However, Freire has not really constructed a full typology of learning and he has omitted some of the intermediate forms and, consequently, his problem posing education relates only in part to innovative reflective learning. In contrast, Habermas (1971, 1972) has three forms of learning: the technical, the practical and the emancipatory. His emancipatory form is similar to Freire's problem posing form of education, and not precisely the same as the innovative reflective learning that is discussed here. The word innovative is preferred to emancipatory because the connotations of this word are revolutionary, it does not have to be. Hence, the world seeks to convey change, rather than only revolutionary change.

It is now necessary to examine these forms of learning within their wider social context. Clearly, those forms of reflective learning that result in conformist outcomes are not going to affect the social situation a great deal, whereas those which are innovative may do just that. However, it has to be recognised that because learning has occurred, the behavioural outcome may not always be congruent with the learning. Hence, a person might have reached innovative conclusions as a result of the learning process but might have also decided that it was inappropriate to practise them within the social context; this partially relates to Argyris's analysis of espoused theory and theory in use, but perhaps the decision not to practise may be congruent with the espoused theory also! The inappropriateness mentioned above becomes significant within the analysis. Why should it be inappropriate? Why should ideas that have occurred through reflective learning processes not be expressed or practised? It could be because the person does not wish to offend a friend or a colleague. But it might be because the power/status relationships within the social context do not encourage such free expression.

Three questions need to be posed at this stage: firstly, why is it that there appears to be a propensity to produce conformist outcomes to reflective learning process; secondly, why should innovative outcomes be possible; thirdly, what are the effects of innovative learning in the social context?

People are the result of their previous learning, they are to a great extent reflections of their past. Mannheim (1936, p. 2) wrote:

Only in a quite limited sense does the single individual create out of himself the mode of speech and of thought we attribute to him. He speaks the language of his group; he thinks in the manner in which his group thinks. He finds at his disposal only certain words and their meanings.

People are therefore social products, using the language and even the thought patterns of their socio-cultural-temporal milieu. Consequently, there is a tendency to think in the same way and reach the same conclusions. Hence, there is a tendency to reach conformist solutions.

Why, therefore, should innovative thought occur at all? Mannheim again provides an answer. Writing about the intelligentsia, he (1936, p. 10) suggested that because they are drawn from a variety of different backgrounds they brought a variety of different interpretations of the world together and, hence, innovative ideas were possible. Pluralism makes innovative ideas more possible because there is both the recognition that there are alternative perspectives and because

there is usually a need to make some form of choice, etc. It is one of the features of modernity that there are a variety of interpretations of many phenomena available, provided access to them is not hindered, and therefore it is possible to analyse and synthesise and reach new ideas. This is not only a function of the intelligentsia in modern society, it is a possibility for all people - provided that the information is available to them. Hence the control of the production and dissemination of knowledge becomes very important in contemporary society.

What, then, are the social effects of operationalising innovative reflective learning? This must relate to the social position that the learner occupies within society. For the sake of this analysis society is divided into an upper and a lower echelon - a crude but useful heuristic device. If the learners are within the upper echelons of society they might also find that they are accepted much more easily, provided that they do not contravene the position of the elite. In contrast, those people in the lower reaches of society might find it much more difficult to find a platform in order to propound their ideas and might find it harder to gain acceptance for them. If the ideas further the position of the powerful, then the learners might find that they are accepted and that their ideas are also accepted. By contrast, if the ideas are not acceptable to the establishment, be it management or political elite, then they will find the social structures oppressive. The power of the elite can no longer be exercised covertly, but overt power has to be utilised in order to maintain the established positions. Hence, thinkers like Freire are forced into a revolutionary position because their ideas about innovative reflective learning encourage the people to perceive the world in a different light and to act back and change the world and this threatens the entrenched positions of the elite.

## Conclusions

This paper has suggested that all learning begins with experience and that there are at least nine possible learning responses to experience which may be classified within three strata: non-learning, non-reflective learning and reflective learning. Additionally, it recognises that there are two types of each of the reflective learning responses and these are conformist and innovative. This paper has sought to demonstrate that in the non-learning, non-reflective learning and conformist reflective learning, the outcomes of the learning do not create a change situation and, therefore, do not threaten in any manner the

position of the elite in an organization or society. Hence, people can feel free and the power of the elite can be exercised covertly - this is the hegemonic position isolated and discussed first by Gramsci - so that people are not always aware that they are in a situation that is bounded by power structures. However, the power situation may itself be one reason for learning in a non-reflective manner and also a reason why it should not happen! By contrast, when innovative reflective learning occurs, it creates the possibility for change. Recognition of the appropriateness of expressing the learning outcome might itself be an indication of the power exercised by the elite in the organization or society. Finally, there is recognition that people higher in the social strata may find it easier to express the outcomes of innovative reflective learning.

That learning tends to be socially defined in non-reflective learning terms is an indication of the structures of society. That learning is predominantly conformist is an indication of the strength of the social structures. That reflective learning can be innovative is beyond doubt but no organization nor society could sustain the potentiality for change all the time and no elite could tolerate it, so that learning tends to be socially defined in conformist terms. In contrast, innovative reflective learning, the outcomes of which could prove beneficial to the organization or society as a whole, tends to be regarded by some as nuisance, in the least, but also by others as threatening or even subversive, and the more that it is seen as subversive the more it is defined as revolutionary thinking.

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# The Longing for Utopia: Trends in Life-Long Adult Education in a Highly Developed, Technological Society

Bo Jacobsen

## Problems of Highly Developed Countries

In our world system there exists an international division of labour between the so-called underdeveloped countries of the third world and the so-called highly developed countries, which might properly be termed: 'over-developed'. Contrary to much popular belief, serious social defects are to be found in the over-developed countries. Among these defects are: alienation, individual isolation, dissolution of family life, stress, value crises, instrumentalism, emotional unhappiness, resignation and hopelessness as to the future.

The social defects of the overdeveloped countries show themselves very clearly in the workings of the education systems of those countries. The serious daily problems in educational life in these countries (e.g. discipline problems; motivational crises) can only be comprehended by the realization that they are symptoms of over-development within a global system. Thus the task of the researcher in the sociology of education is to uncover the real relations between the educational micro-situations with their subjective experiences and the world structure, i.e. to further the development of what C. Wright Mills (1959) calls "sociological imagination".

What, then, is the typical social atmosphere and the typical subjective experience of the Adult Classroom in a technically highly developed Western society? What kind of daily educational life can be observed in an adult classroom in such a country? Roughly speaking, the following phenomena can be witnessed: (1) frequent signs of boredom and indifference together with lack of attention and high drop-out rates (2) problems in communicating in the value sphere i.e. lack of ability to carry out ethical and political communication. These two phenomena could be termed (1) motivational crises and (2) value crises.

The following report from the study "Adult Education in Denmark" presents a theoretical apparatus of understanding and explaining the above mentioned phenomena, supported by some initial empirical evidence.

## A Theoretical Approach: Three Theses on Adult Education in the 1980s

The three theses which will be expounded in the following are not meant as specific hypotheses to be confirmed or immediately disconfirmed. They are general assumptions of a heuristic character, or 'high-level-hypotheses' (Galtung, 1967, p. 454 ff), which are later to be developed into hypotheses of a more specific character. The main point at this phase of work has been an attempt to develop and formulate a theory, to be judged by its eventual fruitfulness or sterility, by its ability or the lack of it to grasp the most important phenomena of the times.

### Thesis 1: Individual Motivation

Thesis 1 involves motivation of adults, and, as with Berlyne, starts off by placing two kinds of motivation in relation to each other. Thesis 1 reads as follows: *In adult education in our time, there is a relationship of contradiction between the external (instrumental) motivation and the internal (subject-committed), and the external will normally be very dominant in relation to the internal.*

This pair of concepts - internal and external motivation - has been forwarded in literature in recent times under a series of designations; there has been talk of internal and external, intrinsic and extrinsic, subject-committed and instrumental, or direct and indirect motivation. In relation to human beings the main point may be set forth as follows: It appears to be the case that people occupy themselves at times with a subject or phenomenon, because the subject or phenomenon, in and of itself, is attractive or intriguing. At other times, they occupy themselves with a subject or phenomenon because, by so doing, they will achieve something else which they are seeking. In the first case, the involvement with the subject has worth in its own right, while in the second, such involvement is the means or the instrument needed to achieve a benefit which is external to the actual situation. One might add that the activity in these two cases is accompanied by an internal and an external pleasure, respectively.

The thesis thus deals with such phenomena as genuine thirst for knowledge, curiosity, the all-consuming interest in a subject and the internal satisfaction obtained by occupation with it, absorption in the subject matter itself, in-depth problem study. It claims that the appearance of these features is very threatened by the growing preference for an instrumental use of educational opportunities, employed in order to move away from something unpleasant and towards something thought to be better.

The theoretical distinction made, in recent years, between internal (intrinsic) and external (extrinsic) motivation has been based particularly on the works of Berlyne. Berlyne (1960, 1963) has apparently been able to show that man has an inherent predisposition to wonder. The vital question now is what our society does with this predisposition. In what parts or recesses of society is it stimulated? Where is the development of this predisposition nourished, and in relation to which aspects of the outside world? And in which parts and recesses of society is it held in check or suppressed?

In order to answer such questions, it is necessary to regard motivation as something which has a social existence. Different societies and different aspects of a given society are characterized by the forms of motivation which are typical for each. Thesis 1 suggests that our society today is characterized by the fact that internal motivation - the genuine thirst for knowledge and a genuine wonder - is about to be relegated to the nooks and crannies of society.

## Thesis 2: The Life Style of the Classroom

**T**he second thesis involves what here is called 'life style', which is acted out at an interactional niveau. The thesis reads as follows: *In adult education in our time, there is a relationship of contradiction between a technical-instrumental life-style, and the technical-instrumental will normally be very dominant in relation to the value-oriented.*

The content of this thesis has been taken from Habermas (1968), where the ideas particularly relevant to the thesis are expressed in his well-known essay, *Technik und Wissenschaft als 'Ideologi'*. Habermas' essay characterized as it is by his Hegelian-inspired thinking, is difficult in terms of formulating a clear and unambiguous interpretation. It can be said that, throughout his essay, he develops a contradiction between the technical or 'objective' on the one hand, and the ethical and political on the other.

Habermas operates with the relationship between two concepts taken from Hegel - that is, the concepts of work and interaction. These concepts are basically different in their nature or, if you will, in their logic.

By 'work' Habermas means all forms of action, whose rationale lies in their goal; that is to say, those actions which aim at realizing or meeting prearranged goals. The work adheres to what can be called a goal-means logic. As an example of typical work process, as Habermas conceives it, the production of an automobile can be given. This is a detailed, planned and controlled process in which the metal, from the time it is brought into the factory, is transformed during countless technical actions and processes, in which both men and machines realize goals set up by others until the moment when the automobile emerges complete.

The opposing concept, 'interaction', is somewhat more difficult to pin down. It stands for all those forms of human togetherness which are regulated by values and norms. It accounts for everything which occurs between people in the entire socio-cultural sphere of life. Examples which illustrate this concept might include people who meet - or used to meet - in church in a religious community, the family festivities and togetherness of earlier times, people who meet in a political or national community, and real relationships of love and friendship. The interaction or the and friendship. The interaction or the communicative behavior which occurs is characterized by the fact that the binding norms which apply are understood and accepted by the actors involved in the situation. It can be said that the communicative actions take place within a community of values.

Using these two concepts, Habermas sketches a simple theory about society's development. He postulates that, in traditional society, there are only small segments or subsystems of goal-rational actions, and that these are confined within the limits of cultural tradition. The segments of goal-rational activity are encapsulated in the larger system of communicative activity within a binding norm-and-value community. On the other hand, in modern, capitalist society, goal-rational activity does not merely expand and win the upper hand, but eventually consumes the area of communicative actions.

In a re-structuring of Marx's outline of class ideology, Habermas acutely pinpoints this new ideology, which has permeated our society, calling it the technocratic consciousness. This consciousness is characterized not so much by unhindered exploitation and oppression as it is by loyalty to the system, a loyalty which is maintained by a so-called de-politicized distribution of benefits, that is to say, the distribution of the system's output by means of specific technical or 'objective' criteria. The consequence, which is the expulsion of morality, is decisive. Habermas refers to this expulsion by writing, "In the technocratic consciousness, we can see mirrored not only the breakdown of moral

context, but also the suppression of 'morality' as a category of life altogether." Morality is relegated to the margin, while the technical and 'objective' take a central position. Ethical and political questions, as to what is the good and the bad in human life and in society's forms do not obtain in a technocracy.

What then are the implications for adult education of Habermas' theory? There now follows a possible interpretation and application of Habermas. It can be said, that in every teaching situation there exists a potential conflict between two principles of togetherness - an instrumental-technical principle, and a value-oriented principle - and the first will normally be, by far, the stronger. The discussion which develops from the first principle will revolve around the extent to which something is appropriate, whether it is effective and efficient, and whether it can be used to fulfill tasks and solve problems. Discussion in keeping with the second principle will center around ethical and political questions in a broad sense and also at the personal level.

In other words, it is to be expected in a normal teaching situation today that it is considered legitimate to say, 'You are wrong, there', and one can say to the teacher, 'Your analysis is totally inadequate. Listen here...'. On the other hand, it is, as a rule, illegitimate to ask, 'What's the good of spending my time studying this subject?' not to mention a question like, 'Can we improve our society by sitting here doing this work?' or the plaintive little primitive question, 'Do we actually enjoy being here?' Such value-loaded questions are seldom heard and even more infrequently answered.

### Thesis 3: The Division of Labor in Society

**T**he source for thesis 2 is to be found at a still higher level: the macro-sociological niveau. The third thesis starts off on that niveau because it locates adult education phenomena in relation to society's division of labor. Our society is characterized by a division of labor which is highly specialized and which is also typified by a high degree of technology and increasing automation.

Thesis 3 reads as follows: *In adult education in our time there is a relationship of contradiction between the consideration taken of a highly specialized division of labor on the one hand and on the other hand by the need for a broader general outlook, and consideration of the first will normally be very dominant in relation to the last.*

In other words, the thesis implies that adult educational activity in our time exists in a state of structural tension. On the one hand, education aims instrumentally towards the placement or replacement of participants in the highly-specialized division of the labour structure, which, in addition, has undergone considerable changes in recent years. Even if education does not explicitly aim towards such goals, it is unavoidable that market relations make their presence felt, and indirectly influence what happens. On the other hand, a need for what can here be called a broader (horizontal) outlook manifests itself on the part of at least some of the participants, that is to say, the need to know about and understand what is going on in other disciplines, within other sectors of society, and, presumably, also within remote elements of ones own personality. The need for a broader outlook is expressed - often rather violently - by a drive to broaden out, by means of education across the curriculum, by contact with other societal sectors, as, for example, the productive, and by attempting to break down internal borderlines in the personality.

With regard to our current society, there are three important features which should be discussed in this context. Our society is highly specialized, highly technological and, increasingly, one-dimensional. The latter refers to the tendency to measure and weigh everything according to economic-quantitative criteria, and to organize all societal and human life according to such criteria. On the other side, in recent years there has appeared an interest in versatility, in life's multi-dimensions, and in actual and living variety, an interest which initially appeared under the designation of 'quality of life', an expression which emphasizes the qualitative, over the quantitative.

André Gorz's book *Écologie et liberté* (1977) represents a contribution to this tension and an extremely radical challenge to our highly specialized and highly technological society. In his book, Gorz considers the prospects of survival for, respectively, the economic and ecological systems in which we live. The economical system is carried by the logic of Capital, which demands constant expansion. The ecological system is characterized by definite, natural limitations, which limitations are becoming increasingly manifest. Gorz considers what will happen when these two systems have to be coordinated under one cohesive system.

He suggests that there are only two logical possibilities. One possibility is the society of total supervision. Our present system of registration and control will be as nothing compared to the future society. Our total consumption, our allotments of food, clothing, gasoline, information, recreation,

fresh air, social aid, health and longevity will be subsumed under technologically maintained control and regulation by the state, a state which Gorz calls eco-fascist, because economic and ecological laws and necessities will render democracy powerless.

The other possibility involves the decision to radically expand what Gorz calls the civil society, in order to drive back the State and Capital, and reconquer the areas these have long occupied. This means that people will have to join together in small groupings, where they, themselves, begin to produce food, clothing and the like for one another, to mind one another's children, instead of, as Gorz says, 'renting childminding civil servants', and, in general to administer and organize life within clearly-defined and geographical units.

Gorz has a definite point of view in regard to education. The destruction of versatility and independence begins in school and "the school primarily teaches us that, for every problem, there is a competent authority, and, for every activity, a specialist, that 'amateurs' can never be 'professional' ". He continues by describing how there is no place in the school for all of the simple functions of life.

One might designate this theme, Gorz's external determination as opposed to self determination. Furthermore, empirical evidence indicates that there is unavoidably something stultifying connected with institutional education, and that, in certain cases, self-determined activities are connected with true inner satisfaction, a satisfaction or joy which is an anthropological possibility for man, but which, at the moment, is suffocated by our societal and cultural life. At the same time as, in my opinion, this inner satisfaction is part and parcel of the Good Society, there is every reason to encourage it.

But, in the meantime, the problem remains that the highly technological society has ossified and become entrenched in a stability which time after time is underestimated, in an inhuman basic

structure which increasingly makes itself felt in daily life, a structure of fragmentation and supervision.

On the surface level the system here described manifests itself on three different planes the tendencies of which have been expressed in the three theses formulated here. It seems reasonable to describe the system in such a way that the three manifested tendencies can be said to grow out of a common core. I have attempted to describe that core under the designation 'latent structure' (Jacobsen, 1981).

As long as the above description of some predominant tendencies in society are, at least, approximately correct, it will have extraordinary consequences for the idea of lifelong education. Work towards the expansion of lifelong education will, in such a case, take place in a tension field. In this field the strong pole is called the instrumentalism of the labor market and technology, utility and alienation. The weak pole is called the simple human needs for pleasure, community, versatility, understanding, social contextualization, a broad outlook and selfdetermined activities. The danger lies in the fact that everything which the weak pole initiates risks being appropriated by the strong pole.

## An Empirical Pilot Study

A preliminary investigation among fifteen heterogeneously selected adult Danes shows that the above-stated theses are sufficiently fruitful and realistic to merit closer investigation. Intensive interviews were applied.

The group investigated took part in a variety of educational activities, ranging from narrowly professional goal orientation to personality-enhancing course activities.

The subjects of the investigation were asked about their motivation in commencing the course in question. (see Table 1).

TABLE I Motivations for seeking the courses in question

| Given Motivation                                                                                                                                           | Number |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| 1 Grading, further qualification, become something else.                                                                                                   | 2      |
| 2 Dissatisfaction with job/situation pressure from or instigation by a superior and the like; the advantages of a year off, sociability with other adults. | 4      |
| 3 Being able to or being forced to use or fruitfully employ in the job situation that which was learned.                                                   | 8      |
| 4 Desire for personal enhancement, to be 're-charged' and the like; variety, learn more, learn something new.                                              | 6      |
| 5 Work with self, learn about oneself to be more content with self, be able to stand up and be counted.                                                    | 3      |
| Given motivations in total                                                                                                                                 | 23     |

The cited motivations for participation ranged from external (instrumental) to internal (subject-committed) promptings, with the bias being partly on a general urge to learn something new and partly on a desire to manage the work situation better.

Interview subjects were also asked about their future expectations and hopes with regard to learning activities ranged over a broad span of subjects within the natural and social sciences and the humanities. These desires appear to express great versatility and to be characterized predominantly by including something generally enriching, a greater understanding of self or of environment and the like. This feature appears quite clearly in an analysis of the value concepts linked to the educational desires. Practically speaking, these concepts are not of a technical-instrumental character at all, but of a generally human or generally developmental enriching character. *The desires for education thus appear to be strongly characterized by internal values, while the realized courses of study have a far more technical-instrumental character.*

If this result proves later to be generalizable, it will mean that *the Danes and perhaps Western European generally possess a large and varied*

*number of desires for education, which, by and large, are of a different kind and have a different direction than that which is often assumed in education's political discussion and prioritization.*

## Demotivated Adult Education and the Problems of the World

What kind of solutions can be seen as to the motivational problems, value crisis problems, methodical problems and social climate problems of Western adult education classes? What can educationalists and policy makers do with respect to such problems, which reflect technical affluence combined with socio-cultural poverty?

One way out would be to provide a stronger and clearer recognition of the factual world situation, of which the Western countries are a part, for all adult students. There is reason to believe that a stronger international commitment - for peace and decent living conditions and against oppression - would give a more firm direction to the now very loose, demotivated and casual adult studies.

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# Educational Responses to the Unemployment Crisis

Ronald Sultana

*A brief account of the nature of the economic crisis is presented as a context for the increasing levels of unemployment among young people and school-leavers. This situation is seen to lead to a legitimization crisis for schooling, where the transition to work is no longer a straightforward and unproblematic process. Three different educational responses to new problems and demands are presented as theoretical constructs leading to specific curricular initiatives in schools.*

## The Economic Crisis and Unemployment:

**T**he crisis of unemployment is in itself a reflection of a compound set of factors, mainly economic in nature, but also arising out of a number of social and technological events.

Among the latter we can mention the fact that smaller families, and labour-saving devices have freed many women from a proportion of the housework they were traditionally burdened with and made them available as full-time or part-time workers. This increase in labour supply has been accompanied by the technological revolution, where the widespread use of microprocessors has had, and will apparently continue to have adverse effects on employment outweighing positive effects resulting from a demand for new electronically-operated consumer goods. Despite conflicting arguments about the extent and nature of the aggregate loss of jobs, there is general agreement that the two opposing forces in the labour market, namely a decrease in labour demand, and an increase in labour supply, will continue to negatively affect the employment prospects of young people for quite some time.

There is plenty of evidence to show that the phenomenon of mass unemployment has affected youths most of all. A statistical analysis shows that whereas most countries in Western Europe have between 5% and 13% of their total labour force unemployed, between 45% and 65% of these tend to be young people of between fifteen and twenty five years of age. Malta is no exception, with statistics for September 1985 (*Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, 1986) indicating that 55% of the total number registering for work are under 25 years of age. There are many factors which play a negative influence on the chances of young people being employed. It would seem that in a time of economic difficulty, new entrants to the labour force are the first to be affected. There is often the presumption among employers that young people represent lower productivity in comparison with skilled adults. Employers might think of adults as being more reliable and responsible, with experience and skills already acquired, and therefore they do not have to incur the high costs of training young people for the job. Moreover, one has to take into

account the displacement of workers by new technology together with structural changes within the workforce as a whole which reduce the demand for unskilled or low-skilled jobs. The increasing participation in the workforce by women also plays a significant part.

Another perspective, inspired by Marxist analysis, would emphasise the fact that as forms of labour, older workers have always been preferred to younger ones, whether in terms of technical agility, experience, work socialization or physical strength and dexterity. Before the 1970s employers were quite willing to recruit school-leavers because the adult labour supply was used up.

The present youth unemployment reflects the situation in the labour market as a whole and the permanent availability of adult labour. Youth is therefore a form of the reserve army of labour, drawn on when needed, laid off when not.

(Finn and Frith, 1981, p. 74).

Such an analysis of the structural position of youth in unemployment is important because, as will be discussed further on, the blame is often placed on the young unemployed themselves, or on secondary schooling in general for not equipping them with the "necessary skills". Thus, various educational responses to the unemployment crisis have the underlying assumption that if only these youths had to be better trained, if only they had learnt more vocational and life skills, then they would get employment. It is a personal deficit model that is advocated, where unemployment is seen to be caused by an individual lack of skill or knowledge.

To avoid this blame-the-victim approach, the source of unemployment has to be traced to national and international economic functioning. Thus, rising levels of inflation accompanied by increasing rates of unemployment caused consternation in economic policy-making as economists and governments strove to understand and control a situation not experienced before and extending beyond the realms of popular economic theory. What had been, in a period of economic expansion, a simple, straightforward link between increased

opportunity in schooling, and economic growth as a personal as well as a social goal now became problematic. Conventional wisdom had previously reinforced a meritocratic ideology where ability and effort led to attainment and an appropriate job, and failure was the result of deficiencies in the individual. A "good education" was the key to social mobility, or so it seemed:

Until only a few years ago the transition of young people from school to working life was not a major problem for governments. Although the level and type of education and training provided was not always consonant with the needs of the economy, economic expansion was on such a scale that school leavers on the whole had little difficulty in finding a job that seemed appropriate to their educational achievement. By means of apprenticeship, on-the-job training or additional training, they were able to raise their initial qualifications. For the most gifted among them the requirements of an expanding economy opened up promotion and career prospects.

(OECD, 1977, p. 44).

Such a smooth and linear progression was however shattered by the crisis in employment to produce what Habermas (1976) has called a "legitimation crisis". Educational and occupational systems declare the need for motivation, but when the socio-cultural system fails to provide this motivation, in this case through its failure to provide employment, a motivational crisis, the basis of legitimation crisis, occurs. In many ways education lost its legitimacy not only with students who failed to get the "reward", in terms of job, they had striven for and been promised; it also lost its legitimacy with sections of the public and with governments.

In the 1950s and early 1960s education had been viewed as the key solution to the many dimensions of "development" - increased productivity, increased outcomes, improved health, reduced birthrate, the modernization of industry and agriculture, and the development of stable governments. By the mid-1970s however, disillusion with the results of investment in education and training had set in almost worldwide. Education was "blamed" for increased unemployment, reduced educational opportunity, a widening of the disparities in income and much else besides.

## The New Vocationalism:

**I**n this situation, various groups emerged to generate "new" forms of discourse about education. A lot has been written about one key "event", the so-called "Great Debate" in education (for a definitive account, see Whitty, 1985) which initiated in Britain, but had definite parallels elsewhere. Weiner (1981) suggests that it

is perhaps useful to see the Great Debate as one of a succession of attempts by the "industrial trainers" in Williams' (1965) typology to change the balance of the curriculum compromise in their favour.

Williams (1965) had earlier identified three different interests in the development of modern schooling. There were the "public educators" who argued that persons had a natural right to be educated. There were the "old humanists" who argued that a limited education in appropriate attitudes and habits - diligence, thrift, sobriety, deference to superiors, etc. - was necessary for social and political stability. Finally, the "industrial trainers" linked their concerns with those of the latter group to focus on the social character required by the work-place. Their views tended to predominate in determining the content of the elementary school curriculum and the method of pedagogy, with its emphasis on formal instruction requiring pupils to perform specified tasks within set periods of time determined by their teachers.

The "Great Debate" followed in the spirit of the "industrial trainers" in making demands for greater standardization of the curriculum to produce attempts to define and defend a core of "central" curriculum subjects. This has meant a return-to-basics program emphasizing literacy and numeracy, and a movement away from the more "progressive" education of the 1960s to prepare students better for a competition for a declining number of jobs. Thus, the supposedly peripheral subjects, or what their detractors often term the "frills", have come under scrutiny and attack not only in the U.K. (Whitty, 1985), but also wherever the crisis in capital accumulation took place, such as in the United States (Wexler et al., 1981), Australia (Dwyer et al., 1984) and New Zealand (Openshaw, 1980). Cathcart and Esland (1985) describe how in the U.K.,

... in spite of the rapid rise in youth unemployment in 1976, the right has succeeded in retaining the offensive against liberal education, has continued to promulgate the myth that young people (and their teachers) are responsible for their own unemployment, and, largely through the invoking of the economic survival, has begun the process of decomposition of elements of liberal education.

(Cathcart and Esland, 1985, p. 178).

Apple (1982) sees this as a reflection of an old strategy:

When larger economic and governmental crises erupt, export the crises outside the economy and government onto other groups. That is, rather than attention being directed towards the unequal results and benefits produced by the ways the economy is currently organized and controlled,

schools and teachers will be focussed upon as major causes of social dislocation, unemployment, falling standards of work, declining productivity, and so on.

(Apple, 1982, p. 27).

As Carnoy (1977) has pointed out, it is much easier to address youth and education and blame them for unemployment, rather than look at its source. Redressing the economy is not easy!

A recent chapter of the "Great Debate" is an increasing emphasis to make schooling more responsive to the needs of industry, creating what various authors (Gleeson, 1984; Bates et al., 1984; Dale, 1985) are calling the "new vocationalism", and hinging around the idea that the provision of continued in-school, and new post-school training and education programmes will provide: a much closer link between schooling and work, a more highly skilled, flexible and adaptable workforce, less unemployment as young people choose training rather than work, more opportunity for all young people as they become more highly trained and better able to make choices about work, and help disadvantaged groups as these can be targeted for special assistance.

Grubb (1985) discusses at length the attraction of vocationalism, and throws light on its revival after its demise in the more egalitarian 1960s.

Vocationalism is powerful because it appeals to many groups, especially in its more general forms. It gains support from students in search of jobs; businesses in search of trained workers; education in search of students and an important social function; and politicians in search of popular reforms that appear to address social and economic problems. The power of vocationalism also comes from its ability to serve several contradictory roles of education simultaneously. It promises to reward individual students while still addressing more collective goals like unemployment and national development, and to use public resources in support of collective goals while still mobilizing them for the private ends of businesses and individual students. It can prepare students for an increasingly differentiated set of occupations while still allowing a common core of knowledge and values. It promises equality of opportunity through education within unequal societies where the pressures to reproduce inequality are even greater. Given a continuing dualism in thinking about human capacities and therefore about education, vocationalism promises to serve simultaneously the "hand" and the "mind", the practical and the abstract, the vocational and the academic.

(Grubb, 1985, pp. 547-548)

Carnoy and Levin (1985) and Apple (1986) among others show that similar dynamics and priorities gained currency in the United States. The social and educational thrust of the 1950s and 1960s had been towards equality and other democratic ideals. As long as the economy grew steadily, rising levels of taxation to support the achievement of those ideals were viewed as a necessary cost of prosperity. With the onset of lower growth rates, inflation, and falling real wages in the 1970s, however, the coalition of diverse groups supporting the egalitarian dynamic decomposed into divisive groups fighting for decreasing resources. This conflict enabled opponents of the social, racial, and gender gains to assert their agenda.

Apple (1986) shows that as elsewhere, the charge to the school to make US industry competitive again through the increased rigour of education and training became prominent. Various reports were issued, with two becoming especially important in terms of national sponsorship and dissemination. "A Nation at Risk" and "Action for Excellence" argued that much of the economic malaise of the nation was attributable to its educational weaknesses and recommended specific reforms for raising educational standards. The terrain of the debate thus shifted from a concern with inequality and democratisation which had characterised the previous decades, to the language of efficiency, standards and productivity. The reports thus see that a large part of the solution of the crisis is to address the lack of high technology industries by making schools and their curricula more responsive to industrial and technological needs.

In Europe too vocationalism became a new focal point of interest. Two major projects organised first by the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-Operation (1979-1982) entitled "Preparation for Life" and then the European Community (1976-1980; 1983-1986/87) entitled "Action Programme: Transition of Young People from Education to Adult and Working Life" served to focus attention on the relationship between education and work. The former project reported on curricular experiments for "preparation for work" in ten of the Council's member states, and came up with recommendations. Declarations of policy in this regard were made by various ministers of the member states, linking education to economy even more officially.

The second project was especially influential as it involved hundreds of schools and training institutes in thirty areas of Europe, including the U.K. (cf. Wilcox et al., 1984; Varlaam, 1984). Moreover, an international information network was professionally set up by IFPLAN, so that thousands of

teachers could use the data collected. Curriculum endeavours which linked education to industry were highlighted, and included the development of work experience schemes, of careers guidance, of "education for enterprise", of co-operation and partnership with local or regional industries, and the development of alternative curricula. (cf. European Community, 1984 and 1985).

## The "Critical" Educators

**A**nother group of educationalists have responded differently to the crisis, and placed themselves squarely in opposition to the views expressed within official documents of the state. They regard the "new vocationalism" as fulfilling a control function which schooling has been called on to provide with the breakdown of the meritocratic ideology. Thus, in analysing the nature of the current crises, Sharp (1984) suggests that in a situation of large-scale unemployment allied to a world competitive economy, governments face a crisis. On the other hand, they have to attempt to socialise and occupy the potential unemployed so that this group is not a threat to the state (and education is obviously a prime instrument for this); on the other hand, in the interests of economic competitiveness, they have to restrict spending on education. To accomplish this, Sharp suggests, governments in all western capitalist countries are drawn to make education more efficient and more directly instrumental in producing appropriate skills and attitudes. At the same time however, they are also attempting to divert attention from the processes at work by substituting rhetoric about standards, basic skills, vocational training, accountability for previous concerns with equal opportunity, child-centred progressivism, and liberal education.

Other authors from within the "new" sociology of education, closely linked to a neo-Marxist interpretation of society, have developed similar views. Carnoy and Levin (1985), Apple (1986) and Finn (1982) among others, have criticised the "high-tech" solution to the crisis, where the needs of industry take precedence over the needs of democracy. Giroux (1985), reacting to the various national reports in the U.S.A. which have created a "new consensus" appealing to principles of industrial efficiency, control, and administration as central theoretical elements in developing school programmes, links the crisis in education to the crisis in democracy:

The real crisis in education is one that, in part, stems from the failure of this society to develop a public philosophy that is capable of defending schools as public spheres committed to performing a public service informed by

emancipatory and democratic principles. The important point being that it has become increasingly difficult within the boundaries of advanced capitalist society to be able to think in terms *not* tied to the principles of economic self-sufficiency and individual attainment.

(Giroux, 1985, p. 61)

Giroux, like other critical educators from the Left, argues for a view of public education that takes as its starting point, not the privatistic, technical, and narrow economic interests that currently define the debate on public education, but the relationship of schools to the demands of active forms of community life. Schools are therefore to be seen as places that prepare people for a democracy, and not simply the workplace. Attention is also called on those repressive material conditions of school life embodied in hierarchical school structures, the unequal resources that separate poor from affluent schools, and the tracking and sorting systems that cut short the futures and dreams of so many youth from subordinate groups. An attack is made on what Giroux (1985, p. 61) calls the "structured silence" regarding those ideological conditions in public education that make invisible the histories, knowledge forms, and social relations of excluded majorities while simultaneously legitimating dominant middle class and ruling class cultures and social practices. A reconstruction of public education would thus begin with the imperative to awaken the moral, political and civic responsibilities of all learners.

From this perspective, the agenda for schools would not be to produce what Cathcart and Esland (1985) have called the "compliant-creative" worker needed by modern industry. The liberal humanism of the 1950s and 1960s is not to be substituted by a version of social and economic Darwinism where enterprise and the possession of skills for "technological capability" are the dominant values. Rather, this perspective advocates the need for schools to examine the "what" and the "how" of the curriculum with an emphasis on demystifying academic study and providing knowledge for all students which would enable them to negotiate and change the economic, social and political systems which affect their lives.

This perspective builds on the gains made by the liberal humanism of the previous decades and extends it into the social sphere. It sees individual initiative in its social context, and sees the quest for social justice and critical development of the culture in social terms. It requires not only an understanding of work and of the ideas of our culture as essential, but also the idea of power: students come to understand how power is used in society, both in the arrangements of economic processes and also in the arrangement of everyday social life itself (ideology).

From such a perspective, Simon (1983) turns the "new vocationalism" on its head, and by making "adult life", "society", the "real world", the "world of work" not as taken-for-granted realities but as the subject of inquiry, where the world is continually being produced and reproduced by the actions of men and women, and often (as Marx said) on terms not their own making. Simon thus argues:

If the realities of the workplace are indeed sets of social relations defined through power and in support of particular interests, to present them as if they were naturally occurring phenomena, historically neutral and obviously necessary, is to mystify people and to act to render them powerless. By helping people solely to adapt to "what is", you help to maintain what is.

(Simon, 1983, p. 238)

Such an agenda is important, especially when seen in the light of research in the U.K. (Cathcart and Esland, 1985; Rees and Atkinson, 1982) and in the U.S.A. (Lind-Brenkman, 1983) which shows that schools generally present an idealised view of industry, and the pedagogical materials presented by teachers generally enjoin them to foster an understanding (i.e. acceptance) of the "wealth creation" process and a recognition that industrial growth, consumerism and new technology are synonymous with progress. Korndorffer (1986) therefore argues for an education which puts knowledge and power over their own learning into young people's hands, an education which supplies young people "with the hammer of a materialist understanding of their world and its history that would enable *them* to work together to change that world." (p. 140).

## The Rhetorical Humanists

**A**nother identifiable group who share some perspectives from both the other groups described above (i.e. those supporting a "new vocationalism" and those in opposition to this) place a greater emphasis on the need to prepare youth for increasing amounts of leisure time. Those who write from this perspective point out to the benefits of unemployment in that at last education can be "freed" from its utilitarian functions and be geared more steadfastly and singlemindedly on personal development and fulfillment (Musgrave, 1977). Generally speaking, proponents from this perspective ally themselves to the social and life-skills-type of education as formulated by Hopson and Scally (1981), but fail to look beyond this to consider in any depth the ways in which society is structured to put some groups into positions of power and privilege. It also fails to address in any realistic way the effect of the "broken transitions" unemployment has brought about, so well described by Willis (1986). Arguments in favour of education for leisure tend to be tinged with an

idealistic humanism which has not been soiled by the daily hardship many of the unemployed face. An example of this perspective can be found in Sweet (1981):

The future generations should realise that their education is for cultural appreciation, work and leisure and that at some time in their lives, they will probably not be gainfully employed and that this period of time can be enriching, that is challenging, enjoyable and purposeful.

(Sweet, 1981, p. 57)

Such notions have been rejected by educators from the right (Deforge, 1981) and from the Left (Offe, 1985) who see it as a deflection from the real issues which makes no attempt to enable youth to understand and control the events which affect their lives. Offe (1985) finds three major problems with "leisure education" and related suggestions of the "do-it-yourself" type activities which often consume more earned income than they help to save. Offe enumerates the difficulties, which

...have to do with problematic distribution effects which typical households or individuals can overcome *only* within very strict limits and to a highly variable degree. The scope actually available for "autonomous" activities is typically constrained, first, by a shortage of material resources (such as physical space and other facilities); second, by a lack of personnel qualifications, discipline and psychological dispositions, and finally, by the absence of institutional structures which could guarantee minimum levels of efficiency and continuity, as well as security of expectations and control among their participants.

(Offe, 1985, p. 95)

Offe therefore rebuts euphoric references to the beauty of "freely chosen activity" or to the bliss of "self-exploitation" (Dahrendorf, quoted in Offe, 1985, p. 96) which are currently finding favour with West German Social Democrats, and concludes that people have to be provided with the appropriate institutional and material resources which would enable them to carry out their self-chosen activities. Any other solution would likely "amount only to a camouflaging of the violence, misery and hopelessness of an economy of lifeboats, in which there would always be too few seats." (Offe, 1985, p. 95). Bassett (1984) has also pointed out that the notion of leisure involves some concept of freedom and choice, and must consequently exclude overtones of oppression or coercion. For, "despite the claims of some that our society is on the edge of a new social ethic in which 'full employment' will cease to be a major priority, there is little doubt that in the present circumstances the penalties for failure to gain entry to the workplace are as severe as they have ever been." (Dwyer et al., 1984, p. 8).

## Summary of Curricular Implications

**W**ithin this categorization of educational responses to an economic crisis, it is easier to "unpack" the various meanings and assumptions underlying different curricular initiatives evident in the educational scene. Some of these major initiatives are briefly described below:

### (a) Initiatives within the "new vocationalism" perspective

(1) "Work Experience" programmes, where the main aim is school students for work. Key words here would be learning the "right" attitudes, including obedience and respect for the employer. There is little or no education about workers' rights and trade unionism.

(2) "Transition Programmes" within secondary schools. These can have various structures, but are generally based on a "Preparation for Life" curriculum (cf Wilcox et al, 1984) where emphasis is on coping skills, and various other social and life skills. Examples of these would be budgeting skills, job interview techniques, handling relationships, etc.

(3) Enterprise education, such as the SPIRAL project in Ireland, where businessmen and entrepreneurs co-operate with teachers to train young students in the skills of founding small businesses.

(4) The notion of "alternance education" which has been gaining currency in France and other European countries, and which involves the alternation between periods at school and periods at work.

(5) Specific vocational skills education, often for low-achieving students, such as the recent TVEI (Technical and Vocational Education Initiative) in the U.K.

(6) Post-compulsory school training, where structures like Britain's YOP (Youth Opportunity Scheme) contain and control large numbers of unemployed school-leavers, who accept to undergo skills-training in the hope that this will lead to a job.

### (b) Initiatives within the "Critical Education" Perspective

(1) Political and economic education which will lead students to understand the societal structures and arrangements influencing their lives. Such an understanding also leads to the diminishing of the feelings of powerlessness accompanying the loss of the wage. Students are moreover encouraged to participate in the democratic process to influence their own destinies.

(2) Work experience type programmes are encouraged as long as they are used to conscientise students to the structures and the relations of production. The emphasis is on "education" rather than "training", and on teaching about work rather

than for work. Work experience and alternance education are seen as useful pedagogical tools which bring the school and the community into closer contact and lead to a unified rather than fragmented approach to knowledge. Such projects are also invaluable sites for inquiry-based learning and teaching, where students are active co-producers of knowledge rather than passive recipients. Such programmes are also used to educate in progressive ideas regarding work, such as worker participation in decision-making and democracy on the workplace.

(4) The issue of the disadvantaged location of women, those from lower socio-economic backgrounds and from minority groups (ethnic or otherwise) in a segmented labour market is given central importance in a curriculum from this perspective. The inequities are not only addressed, but students are taught ways of overcoming the structural disadvantages in the particular society they live in.

(3) Critical education is closely linked to social beliefs and priorities. Thus, it encourages notions of the right to a "citizen wage", and democratic concepts of work-sharing. It also attacks the myth of the "dole-bludger", locating the loss of work in the appropriate spheres of political and economic decisions rather than in an unwillingness to work on the part of the unemployed. Critical education also makes statements about the priority of human values over corporatist and capitalist interests of rationalization and profit-making.

### (c) Initiatives within the "Rhetorical Humanist" perspective:

(1) Since unemployment is here to stay, then schools are absolved of the need to be responsive to the needs of industry. They can therefore concentrate on "true" education in terms of "personal development" and "growth". Of major importance would be "leisure education", which helps the non-working citizen to make constructive use of the free time available.

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# Education and Worker Cooperatives: Obstacles and Opportunities

Godfrey Baldacchino

## Introduction

**E**ducational provision has always been an integral component of the strategy for cooperative development. Owenism, which inspired one of the earliest examples of a worker cooperative in an industrial setting, was in its very essence an educational movement. For every Owenite, education in its technical and cooperative aspects was a vitally important matter and a requisite for practical success (Cole, 1944, p. 71). Yet, within a few years, the Owenite-inspired worker cooperatives in Britain, as with other innumerable attempts at worker cooperation worldwide which followed, had fallen victim to either liquidation or transformation into private or state ownership.

Apparently, education via the actual experience of cooperation, along with training in cooperative and technical skills, has not been enough to ensure worker cooperative success. This article will propose a strategy for worker cooperative promotion in which education is seen as a necessary but not sufficient ingredient. It will also highlight in the process the crucial difference between the objectives and consequences of education as "schooling" and those of a "counter-hegemonic" education.

## Definition

**W**orker cooperatives represent one of the more elaborate forms of cooperative organisation. They are production units which are owned and controlled by their own workers under a variety of forms. A widely accepted, loose definition suggests that worker cooperatives embody a number of principles:

- Workers are (or can become) members of the firm by nominal holdings of share capital.
- Formal provision exists for direct participation in the firm's control and management by the worker-members.
- Control is autonomous, usually on the basis of one member, one vote.
- Worker-members share in the firm's surplus.
- Capital is rendered a fixed and limited return.

## Advantages

**O**n paper, the case for worker cooperatives can be made with a number of powerful political, social, economic and psychological arguments. Democratic control and management can avoid the dichotomy of interests between managers and managed and the normative conflict that this can generate (Fox, 1971). This is costly in terms of reduced motivation and in keeping untapped a vast resource: The workers' own initiative and decision-making powers, nurtured by the direct experience of work. Worker cooperatives can also be seen as "schools of democracy": The institutionalised practice of democratic participation at the workplace is in itself an educational, self-supporting and self-generating process: the more one participates, the better one participates. Thus, participation forces individuals to be free via socially responsible action, and provides for the political and economic liberation of men and women (Vanek, 1975). In contrast to pervasive social forces and experiences, worker cooperatives offer the promise of self-control, elevating work to a more fulfilling, emancipatory experience: After all, work is central to most people's lives, not simply as a condition of survival, but as a potential avenue towards self-actualisation (Maslow, 1954) and as a bestower of self-identity (Berger, 1963). Worker cooperatives also make possible the combination of economies of scale (enjoyed by large-scale enterprises) and the preservation of the pride of skills and craft (often associated with small-scale self-employment). Their economic performance suggests higher marginal productivity of labour with respect to capital which therefore increases the incentive to create even more employment opportunities than do conventional firms (Cable & Fitzroy, 1980). The issue of employment creation or preservation is indeed the major contemporary reason for considering worker cooperatives seriously as viable alternatives to provide employment.

## Poor Performance

**W**hile the above case may appear formidable, the long-term survival rates of worker cooperatives and their levels of internal democratic management have both been disappointingly low in practice. Most worker cooperatives have failed to survive; and, of those which did, most failed to uphold their democratic principles of

worker control and egalitarianism. However, consigning worker cooperatives to the dust heaps of utopic dreams would imply turning a blind eye to those few existing cases of impressive cooperative success.<sup>1</sup>

A number of strategies can be advanced for improving the economic chances of success for worker cooperatives. The provision of education is one such option: Training programmes in management, administration and accountancy would generate a higher level of managerial competence among cooperative members; training sessions in group dynamics, committee procedure, the history and practice of worker participation and industrial sociology would provide the skills and the knowledge needed for effective democratic management. More broadly, instruction in political science, political economy, social psychology and industrial law would improve the ideological consciousness of workers generally, making them more capable of pursuing their interests as workers and as citizens. Such an educational strategy has indeed often been pursued by centres of worker and cooperative education worldwide.

However, economic success will not guarantee the preservation of democratic management: Rather, there is evidence that, the more successful a cooperative is economically, the more likely it is to fail socially.<sup>2</sup> This is because the worker cooperative suffers pressures emanating from the wider environment which drive it into either performing a "reserve army" role<sup>3</sup>, which eventually leads to its liquidation, or, if the cooperative is economically successful, to lead to a degeneration of its internal democratic organisation.<sup>4</sup> Such pressures emanate from power relations which are legitimized and maintained by social institutions and individuals; from a dominant ideology which breeds values alien to cooperativism; and because the social environment provides at best only episodic experiences in democratic participation. Such forces cannot much be affected by educational provision as described above.

It should therefore come as no surprise that most attempts at establishing democratic worker cooperatives have ended in failure: All too often, the effects of the wider context are neglected. It has become increasingly evident that, for cooperatives to succeed, in an economic and democratic sense, then the right strategy is one which counters the effects of the economic, cultural and political environment (Fals-Borda, et. al., 1976). More positively, it ought to be a strategy which promotes a degree of social transformation in the desired direction, fostering the emergence of an environment which ideologically, technically and materially supports the cooperative form of organisation.

## Promoting Social Change

**P**romoting social change is much easier said than done: After all, the environmental variables to be changed are functional expressions, developed over time, of a particular social history and sets of power relations, not so easily dislodged. Education has been indicated as being a spear-heading force for such a transformation - a powerful instrument which could bring about the desired change under conditions of broad social consensus (Spear, 1982, p. 45). Such a reformist, incrementalist model however, tends to have only a limited impact. Where social institutions harbour values and attitudes alien to those of cooperation, as is often the case, then an incrementalist educational strategy is likely to serve the interests of the dominant power holders. Rather than promoting social change, education makes it even more unlikely by reproducing and strengthening the existing division of labour<sup>5</sup>.

Such experiences are supported by a 'political economy' approach which suggests that education is not a direct access mechanism for individual social class and power inequalities. Rather, education as "schooling"<sup>7</sup> serves to perpetrate the hierarchical division of labour which can be seen as a modern variant of the class structure (Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

The major functions of schooling are best understood according to this approach as reproduction and legitimation: It reproduces the existing social system by socialising the younger generation into adequate and appropriate civic and occupational roles, making them 'good' citizens and 'good' workers, able to comply with the political and occupational demands of their society. In the process, schooling also legitimizes the existing social and economic relations and power inequalities, such that power domination persists via consent and not coercion.

## A Social Movement

**H**ow then, can power relations be transformed and vested interests overcome such that successful worker cooperatives can be established? Such conditions may be met via the existence of a progressive "social movement"<sup>8</sup>. A social movement could prove to be a continuous source of support for cooperatives financially, vocationally and ideologically. It could institutionalise a power base and therefore provide a basis for legitimating cooperatives within the community at large while at the same time adapting these to best fit the local conditions. A social movement could resolve the tension between continuity and change by providing continually relevant responses to local problems by virtue of its dynamic character in the face of changing social conditions.

Such an approach presupposes a number of logistic problems: Firstly, the strategy takes time to mature. Secondly, the social movement's power base must be strong enough to withstand hostility from those who might feel threatened if genuine cooperativism and worker management take root. Thirdly, it appears contrary to human nature for a powerful social force to purposely adopt a strategy which, if successful, would lead to the generation of democratic consciousness from the experience of workplace democracy. Thus, the cooperative movement would, in the long run, tend to become independent of the social movement which established it in the first place.<sup>9</sup>

If this willingness on the part of the social movement is assumed, then the tactic for such a strategy aimed at fostering a degree of social change should be one of "war of position" - a term used by Antonio Gramsci whose insights are useful in clarifying the role of education and of a social movement in the broader process of social transformation towards cooperativism (Gramsci, 1975).

### The Gramscian Legacy

Gramsci's central theme of his vision of the functioning of the capitalist system is that of *Hegemony*: "An order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations" (Williams, 1960).<sup>10</sup> For such a logic of domination to be eroded, it must be replaced by a "counter-hegemony" which emerges from the organisation of the working class and by an investment in counter-hegemonic education, aimed at developing proletarian institutions, values and culture. In this respect, the seeds for a counter-hegemony already exist, since no society is structurally and culturally homogenous<sup>11</sup>.

The Gramscian vision of social transformation can be criticised for focusing exclusively on the political and cultural aspects of proletarian domination; it misses to consider the economic constraints to such a transformation. The constraints to such a transformation. The location of any society within the international economic order appears to constrain significantly any departure from the dominant hegemony<sup>12</sup>. It is therefore more realistic to propose that social change be so directed as to lead to a state of "dual power" with a cooperative economy and a cooperative environment in articulation with a non-cooperative one<sup>13</sup>.

The promotion of education as the avenue for the fostering of counter-hegemony remains a problematic one. The School under pressure from economic demands, cultural conditions and power interests, cannot help but breed non-cooperative values and non-participatory skills. Therefore the avenues for promoting counter-hegemony are best sought elsewhere.

### Counter-Hegemony Operationalised

Counter-Hegemonic promotion depends on the extent to which experiences of cooperativism and collective action are normalized and legitimized within the wider social environment. For one thing, this involves setting up worker cooperatives and letting them foster a cooperative culture from the very experience of cooperation. It may be true that there is no better educational experience than the actual practice of workplace democracy (Poole, 1975, p. 29). However, the extent to which the participatory culture can expand is severely limited to the number of actual cooperators.

Secondly, one can think of ways of promoting cooperative experiences in the wider community. This would create wider spaces where cooperative experiences can be accrued and, in the process, legitimized. Elements of local government - be they civic or religious - can be discerned in most communities. The institutionalisation of community participation however creates structures which compete with political clientelism and bureaucratic centralism.

Thirdly, one can consider investing in counter-hegemonic pedagogical provision out of the School system. Relieved from the constraints imposed by the social structure's reproductive and legitimacy needs, an out-of-school educational programme can be more genuinely directed towards counter-hegemonic purposes<sup>14</sup>. In this respect, worker education programmes by political parties, churches, trade unions and other social movements could be envisaged. If such initiatives are taken to foster a cooperative culture and to enhance the legitimacy of cooperative production among the public at large, and if the number of viable cooperatives also increases, perhaps consequently, then dependence on external agencies for cooperative education, in terms of technical and cooperative skills as well as in counter-cultural terms, may well decrease in the long run. In which case, the cooperative sector itself would be able to provide and organise its own educational programmes, independent of external support.

## Conclusion

The support of a social movement in creating the conditions suitable to cooperative organisation has been recognised as crucial to prevent the degeneration of worker cooperatives (particularly if they are economically successful) or their liquidation (if they are not). Yet, as long as a cooperative movement remains dependent upon the inspiration, initiative, leadership and perhaps also the finances of a social movement, then it cannot rest on a secure base. Rather, the condition is ripe for devolving into dependence or outright political indoctrination. The investment in counter-hegemonic education could solve this dilemma between autonomy and dependency; it holds the promise of leading to a gradual but steady social transformation towards an environment supportive of cooperative culture and structures.

## Notes

- 1 A sample of successful worker cooperatives includes Scott-Bader in Britain - see Oakeshott (1978, pp. 82-3, 95-8); Hirondele in France - Oakeshott (1978, pp. 130-1); and the Mondragon Cooperatives in Basque Spain - (Thomas & Logan, 1982).
- 2 A condition known as Gide's Paradox - see Pryor (1983, p. 162).
- 3 The 'reserve army' condition in a capitalist economy acts to keep down the general level of wages. The term is usually applied to the unemployed but worker cooperatives, along with certain other forms of employment - part-time, sub-contractual, piece-rate - tend to perform the same function.
- 4 Economic success increases the incentive to limit membership in worker cooperatives and to employ 'second-class' labour; It also makes the cooperative a target of private capital which may make lucrative take-over bids or of state control which may decide that the profitable operations should come within the umbrella of central planning. In any case, the effect is that the original cooperators are transformed into (or replaced by) private or state ownership.
- 5 This is clear, for example, in relation to the Comilla Project in Bangladesh where strong educational training programmes in managerial and cooperative skills only strengthened the position of well-to-do farmers - See Inayatullah (1972).
- 6 This is the approach of the so-called "New Sociology of Education" and of the "Correspondence Theory".
- 7 Schooling is "the age-specific, teacher-related process, requiring full-time attendance at an obligatory curriculum" - Illich (1972, pp. 25-6).
- 8 A social movement may be defined as a "collective identity bearing a common field of action and an antagonistic relation to an opposed group" - Touraine (1981).
- 9 This is the process of "social objectification" of democratic management, described by Bernstein (1976) and Kester (1980).
- 10 A detailed analysis of the origin and meaning of 'hegemony' is undertaken in Hoffman (1984).
- 11 Wertheim (1974) argues that there is a potential for a counter-culture in every society, which is the source of all emancipatory movements and of social change.
- 12 This is argued with respect to Malta in the 1970's by Kester (1980, pp. 128-131, 150-3).
- 13 'Dual Power' does not suggest two mutually exclusive categories; rather, the notion of articulation denotes a dynamic relationship.

- 14 Examples of this include the radical "conscientizing" pedagogy of Freire (1972) and the recommendations of Vanek (1977) and Levin (1980).

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# Work, Education and Scientific and Technological Development Knowledge and Training

Ettore Gelpi

**A** new facet of the productive structures is the accrued importance of the component "knowledge and training". Indeed, knowledge and training become parts of the productive process from the beginning to its marketing, the traditional vocational training being a limited part of the activities regarding knowledge and transfer inside the working place. At the same time, educational systems come more and more to resemble productive systems; first of all, because their employees are, in many countries, the most relevant part of the working force, secondly, because their "products" are quite often evaluated by the market; thirdly, because part of these educational systems are integrated in the productive system itself. As productive systems, educational systems are facing the same problems as any other productive system: skilling and deskilling, introduction of technologies, explosions, hierarchization, etc.

The education system, as productive system, is influenced by the available technology. For example, in China, the impact of technology on education broadcasting, production of suitable equipment for science education and pilot experiments in the introduction of micro computers in schools.

Three kinds of knowledge seem to be relevant in a

World economy dominated by technological industrialism: (i) technical, scientific and theoretical knowledge... It consists of rationally and systematically structured subjects including not only mathematics and sciences but also environmental, human and systems management studies; (ii) private, sub-cultural or even 'oppositional' knowledge that contains the values of individuals and social groups whose total human needs are not met by economically dominant 'technical' knowledge; (iii) mass-consumption distributed by mass-media<sup>2</sup>.

## Comparative Education and the World of Production

**N**ew foundations for comparative education and for education itself are needed, and a shift has to be made from the formal educational institutions and legislation to the real emerging needs of society, as far as education is concerned. Comparative education has to become a science of changing societies especially in the field of production, social relations and human values. In this respect, the world of work needs comparative analysis of the developing new education practices, related to the technological and social transformation of production.

There is a discrepancy between the social and economic reality and educational research: some topics, like the international division of labour, the social division of labour or the relations between the crisis of the modern state and education are not a part of the patrimony of educational planners and educators. How is it possible to forecast and to plan educational policies if we are not taking into account these trends of our society?

## State, Associative Life and International Organizations

**T**he crisis of the State as an employer and as a responsible body to provide social and educational services has an impact on educational policies and practices. It is not only the State that is in crisis but also other structures at lower and higher levels that provide educational services. I am speaking of the community associative life in various forms on one side, and of international organizations on the other.

The mobility of capital, workers and technologies has an impact on the state's structures. In the peripheral countries the State is appearing in its contradictions: on the one hand, powerful social groups are very often controlling the state machine and the majority of people cannot benefit from the State. But meanwhile, the associative life in the villages and in the urban and suburban setting has more and more difficulty to provide the social and educational services that are needed.

And at a more international level the development of public international structures is very low in comparison with the very strong international technological development. Technological transfers are having influences directly and indirectly on people. Take some examples: a) the migrant worker whose number can be reduced in some sectors of production, and, on the contrary, has increased in other sectors; b) the investment which is often moving from the peripheries to the centres depriving many countries of the necessary capital for their development; c) the polluted industries that are, on the contrary, moving from the centre to the periphery. But all these movements and transfers do not find correspondent international public bodies to regulate them.

## Work, Workers and Education

**T**he real and apparent crisis of education has a very negative influence on educational policy makers and on educators' practices and this crisis leads to a lack of strategies and a dangerous separation between the

philosophers and the technologists of education. There is a field where research is needed, and this is that of the relation between work and education. Because of the crisis, because of unemployment, because of the radical transformation of the labour market, there is a kind of consensus in all countries on the need to relate education and work and to combine theoretical and productive activities. Frequently, on this consensus, empty policies are developed of a moralistic nature. For example, early vocationalization of initial training is presented as a solution when it is well known that the new tendencies of the labour market are requiring, on the contrary, workers with communication skills and a broad cultural background, and not only traditional industrial skills.

Workers are not only economic or technological bodies. They are indeed global human beings. Many times they are informed by the newspapers of the "restructuration" of the factories and of the "redundancy" of industrial workers. Their feelings are distress and hopelessness. It is very easy to tell them that new jobs are appearing and that mobility is a necessity in the contemporary world. They feel excluded from the decisions which concern not only professional life but also their families and their own independent time. Work and salary heavily affect social relations.

### **Technologies, Jobs and Non-Working Time**

**I**nformation technology industries are growing and in some countries they represent a significant part of the GNP and, more and more, an increasing number of industries are acquiring important components of information technology<sup>3</sup>. Development of information technology has evident consequences on initial and further training.

If it is true that new technologies are changing the productive system in different countries, this does not mean that all prospective sectors are affected. New sophisticated technologies represent only a limited sector of production. For example, the industry of higher technology in the USA will represent only 3 percent of the global non-agriculture employment and 9 percent of the new employment created between 1982 and 1995. On the contrary, the employment that will develop faster will be those of janitors, cashiers, secretaries, salesmen and employees<sup>4</sup>. Unemployment is not an economic problem only but also a social one. Research is confirming that unemployment has consequences, for example, on the health of the unemployed and of their children<sup>5</sup>.

Unemployment is increasing in nearly all societies. Nevertheless productivity seems to be the goal of productive units as well as of national economic systems. Yet few researchers are work-

ing on the transition period from a working society to a future society when men will be liberated from work<sup>6</sup>.

Radical changes are needed in social and international relations. New values will need to emerge as far as the active and non-active population is concerned. But for the moment nearly nothing is being done for a future management of society where only a limited part of the population will be active in the formal productive process. Why is production considered only in its economic sense? Why are we unable to consider other parts of human activity as production, compulsory or not? There is a tendency to stress only the technological and scientific dimension of the evolution of production; on the contrary a broader cultural approach is needed to understand fully what is happening to man and his productive and creative experience.

### **Educational and Technological Transfers**

**E**ducation is becoming more and more relevant in international relations because it is strongly related to the transfer of technologies, training, communication and software. Powerful countries are using education to create a new impact and exercise greater control on more peripheral ones. International, bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of education is growing, but the multilateral cooperation, especially that managed by the United Nations, is facing greater and greater difficulties.

The internationalization of military power has also strong implications on training. It is clear that several nations are influenced in the training of their army by the most powerful countries that are providers of technology and weapons. Technological transactions are a very important dimension of modern trade. Roughly three quarters of technology exchange is between industrialized countries (and more or less three quarters of the investments of industrialized countries go to other industrialized countries, with the exception of Japan where 50 percent of technological exports and foreign investments go to developing countries mostly in Asia<sup>7</sup>).

Have the new technologies contributed to reinforce or to destabilize the peripheral countries? The three myths which, these last years, have constituted - or seem to have constituted - the Third World Power in North-South relations: exploitation, raw material, industrialization and planning, are today in crisis because new technologies have introduced the growth of immaterial production; the development of the tertiary sector and its integration with the industrial sector, and the vanishing of planning, because of the logic of an instantaneous market<sup>8</sup>.

## Research and Production

**I**s research also a facet of production? For some of the most advanced industries and services, yes. Part of their budget and time is invested in research; but still many industries and services have not realized the relevance of research in production and in education.

Research is becoming a vital part of the environment of industries and of services as well as education and training<sup>9</sup>. The extreme dynamics of industrial research means to find an appropriate framework for research within the place of work and within the traditional institutions for research and education. New management is needed for productive activities largely based on research production. This tendency means new directions for research in the place of work and especially in the educational and research institutions.

Industrial expenditure on research and development is very high in multinational enterprises. The share of the multinationals in the total financing of industrial research and development in the OECD countries is approximately 75 per cent. In order to illustrate the extent of this expenditure it is enough to say that SIEMENS puts aside a budget on research and development higher than that for the whole of Swedish industry and almost equal to that of all the Italian enterprises put together<sup>10</sup>. But we should not forget that small and medium size industries develop some kind of non-formal applied research too that is not always taken into account by statistics.

## Risks and Adventures

**I**t is important to analyze the implications of modern technology on human behaviour. "The cybernetic model suggests that human behaviour is entirely representable in the electronic mode: if we come to believe that it is possible to capture intelligence with artificial devices, then we shall come to believe that

human beings can make their own history, a profoundly totalitarian idea - if we are capable of making history than we have nothing to learn from it... information society is, as it is currently conceived a society incapable of being surprised; except by its own miscalculation"<sup>11</sup>. Man has a feeling that his autonomous actions, once governed by guess and judgement leaving space for error, have disappeared. We are living in an era of a more perfect market, leading to more perfect knowledge but in an extremely brittle and dangerous world, both economically and militarily<sup>12</sup>.

The introduction of modern technology in education is very useful but at the same time the learning process has to be respected. "Educational activities, particularly in the computer area, have suffered from being too detailed and have prohibited students from obtaining holistic views"<sup>13</sup>. Large horizons are needed: "Students should learn details, for example of syntax and of a programming language, only after principles and appropriate contextual frameworks have been established"<sup>14</sup>.

Creativity has to interplay with technology and the target of this creativity has to be human development and not merely efficiency and a faster production. Unidimensional technology, as well as resistance to technology, are possible but very risky solutions. Social and aesthetic values cannot simply run parallel to scientific and technological ones, the creative human adventure needs to combine all of them.

Interaction between scientists, technologists, artists, social scientists etc., is necessary, knowing that all of us may belong to these categories. Economic technological determinism is unfortunately a reality that many people have to face, but still, human creativity can oppose it, making economic and technological development an instrument for equal opportunities and not for domination. Everybody can contribute to it in his daily life.

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# Work/Education Relationships in Malta and the Concept of Lifelong Education



## Education, Work and Ideology

Kenneth Wain

**T**he matter of the proper relationship of education to work is a complex one because it involves different possible permutations and because the socio-political and ideological stakes involved are usually high. The polar edges of the spectrum of possibilities are: (a) that there is no proper relationship between education and work; that education is for something else, *not for work*, (b) that education is *for work*, that the requirements of the labour market should primarily determine what is taught. For the sake of convenience one can label the first a theory of classical liberalism (underpinned by the view that education has to do with the transmission of knowledge which is intrinsically valuable), and the second a theory of utilitarianism or instrumentalism.

Both theories can be criticised extensively from different points of view. The classical liberal theory of education is criticised by Marxists as classist in different ways; in its emphasis on the cognitive (a criticism which is shared also by many non-Marxists), and on the centrality of liberal and middle class values which it projects and hides behind the claim that they are 'intrinsically valuable'. The liberal theory sidelines the practical and scorns the educational and cultural value of the manual. The only relevant form of work it is indirectly related to is the intellectual. Classical liberal theorists implicitly, and sometimes also explicitly, admit that theirs is an elitist formulation of education (though they would define the elitism as meritocratic rather than classist) since it does not lie within the reach of all given the intellectual demands that it makes, while its critics accuse it of discriminating against the culture of the working class.

Utilitarianism, on the other hand, is criticised because of its narrowness. If the classical liberal theorist's focus on the mental ignores other important aspects of the human personality and other important needs of the human person, the same can be said for the utilitarian's focus on the economic. Moreover utilitarianism, like classical liberalism, is also open to political judgement. From this point of view it can be criticised on the basis of its inherent conservatism, and this consideration becomes particularly serious when it is the proposed policy within political and economic systems that are morally objectionable; there can be no moral justification for a narrowly conceived policy of 'training for work' if the systems of production are exploitative and manipulative and part of a repressive political system, because the policy merely becomes an agent for the domestication of the work-force. Finally, utilitarianism views the relationship between education and work from the

'wrong' end. It asks *first*, what are the economic and industrial 'realities' of the nation, it then defines a programme of training which responds as efficiently as possible to these realities; the individual receives secondary or no consideration in the programme, he/she is viewed as 'a worker' not as a person. The 'right' end is the opposite one; asking first what should be the proper (moral) relationship between the individual and work, educating according to this analysis *and* setting up productive systems that respond to it.

The most significant theoretical contribution towards an approach of this kind is probably Marx's. The most central element of Marx's discussion of human nature was the human person's *capacity to produce*. Marx continually refers to human production as 'life activity', as the vital element in individual self-realization. In 'Alienated Labour' he contrasts human with animal production in the sense that animals produce under the domination of immediate physical need while truly human production is both *conscious* and *free*, or creative. Free and conscious production was for Marx the characteristic activity of humanity, its 'species-being', and this understanding of production applies not only to the means of subsistence (work as it is usually understood) but to the entire life-activity of human beings in the world. Through the act of production, in fact, Marx says, human beings 'objectify' the world, they appropriate it for themselves and interpret it. The act of production is therefore the way in which human beings form their consciousness. Within this analysis, as is well known, Marx introduced another concept which he used to describe the absence of these conditions within capitalist modes of production; the concept of 'alienation'. The worker is alienated from his product within capitalist modes of production: because his relationship with the product lacks understanding, choice and creativity on his part, he merely produces mechanically what is indicated to him; and because he has no say as to how the product is eventually disposed of; not only, his labour, by adding to the wealth and power of the **system** contemporaneously helps to contribute towards his own greater enslavement; he is alienated from the market in another sense in which he himself becomes a mere commodity; and finally, he is alienated from his fellows - from his bosses with whom his relationship is merely mercenary, and from his fellow workers through the isolation and absence of communication that are characteristic of systems of production like the production line.

Marx's is, in fact, a powerful analysis with rich educational implications. But before these can be

worked out fully and assessed against the claims of classical liberalism and of utilitarianism one needs to establish the educational context of the analysis which is, as the title of this paper indicates, the conception of education as a lifelong process and it is to this context that I next turn.

## A Lifelong Education Analysis

A lot of different meanings are attributed to the term lifelong education. Mine is just one understanding of it; that which is held by the movement which has hitherto gravitated mainly around UNESCO, which includes writers like Gelpi, Faure, Dave, Lengrand, Cropley, Suchodolski, etc., and to which I subscribe. This understanding has crystallised mainly through the publications of these writers and through different reports and projects (of which the most influential has been the Faure report, *Learning to be*, Harrap, 1972). Dave attempted to capture it in his 'concept characteristics of lifelong education' (Dave, R.H. *Reflections on Lifelong Education and the School*, U.I.E. Monograph, 1975), and Cropley in *Lifelong Education: a stocktaking* (U.I.E. Monograph, 1979), attempts that are critically assessed in my own *Philosophy of Lifelong Education* (Croom Helm, 1987) which also attempts a synthesis of the different views and breaks new grounds.

According to my understanding of lifelong education: (1) the concept implies the complete reconceptualizing of education as a lifelong process (2) that education and 'life' must be so interrelated that each draws upon the other; (3) that the kind of learning constituent of education includes not merely formal but also informal and non-formal learning; (4) that education must be of the whole person and that it must be a process of liberation and growth; (5) that the formal aspect of lifelong education, that obtained through schooling or under the guidance of teachers or educators should have the learner's self-direction or autonomous learning as its goal.

Principles (2) and (4) reject the view that education is *not* for work as absolutely as they reject the opposite view that education is *for* work in its utilitarian sense. Paul Lengrand in his important book *An Introduction to Lifelong Education* (1975) proposes that work be considered a part of culture, an important part of culture. For this to happen, he argues, our concept of culture needs itself to be radically changed; we must move from what he calls a 'geographical' conception of culture to one which is personalised. Within the 'geographical' concept of culture, culture is a 'a self-contained domain

comprising the sum total of knowledge accumulated over the centuries'. (p. 13) As a domain one has the option of entering or staying outside, of occupying more or less of its territory, or none at all. The 'geographical' conception of culture divides the world into the cultural rich and the cultural poor, the privileged and the victims, the initiates and the uninitiated. Contrasting with it is the personalized conception of culture which locates culture *within the individual*, where 'A man's culture is the sum total of efforts and experiences through which he has become steadily more himself'. (p. 52) Within this personalised conception of culture each person becomes his own cultural project, and this is what education is all about, making this possible.

In brief, the view that education is of the 'whole person' implies that work, as an intrinsic part of every individual's life experience, is a primary source of concern for the educator. On the other hand work is not the whole of the individual's life experiences, and there are arguments and considerations to sustain the view that it should not be. Lengrand suggests how work should be held in relation to life, namely as part of the individual's personalised cultural project. But if we consider the individual personality ideally as an *integrated* whole than in each case, for every person, we must consider the implications of having to integrate his work experience with the other components of his culture. We have to consider, in other words, that the worker is not merely a worker but several things else besides, depending on his personality and background and we have to find ways to help each to integrate work with these other things in the course of his continuing education. This is in line with the Marxian viewpoint: Classical liberal education on the other hand contrasts with it by placing work *outside* culture and therefore outside education, while utilitarianism errs in ignoring the cultural aspect of work and in the process also the other aspects of the worker's personality. Both may, in some sense, be viewed as philosophies of alienation, but I am not going to press this point further. Instead I shall dwell briefly on the other principles of lifelong education outlined above and consider how they affect the relationship between education and work. Beginning with (1), reconceptualizing education as a lifelong process requires, lifelong education theorists have argued, holding a unitary view of education both in terms of its personal dimension, alluded to in the previous paragraph and captured by lifelong education theorists through the concept of the 'vertical integration' of the learner's educative experiences, and in terms of its social dimension through the 'horizontal integration' of the different potential educative agencies with which the individual comes into contact during his life.

If we build the work component into these two concepts we can see that they imply: (1) that the work experience should be positively integrated with all of the individual's other positive life experiences as part of his ongoing growth, something that is impossible, as Marx argued, unless the work situation, the productive process of which the individual forms part is itself an educative experience; (2) that the workplace, besides itself being an educative agency and viewing itself as such, should also coordinate its efforts with other agencies outside, the formal educational system, 'cultural' organizations, trade unions etc., so that the integration proposed in (1) is achieved for its workers (for instance through a creative use of educational leave); (3) that the school and formal education in general should note the implications of these processes for themselves and begin the process described in (1) as early as possible by building the concept of work positively into the consciousness of the learner as something potentially creative and as an essential aspect of one's self-fulfilment.

Unfortunately, as things stand in fact, in Malta as in other parts of the world a vast majority of workers, particularly those in the industrial or bureaucratic sectors of the economy, are still in the situation of alienation described by Marx; certainly their work experience satisfies none of the requirements described above. These belong mainly to the category of manual labourers but extend also to some of the skilled jobs. For these workers work is not education, it is toil. Its quality is at odds with the values projected by the liberal notion of education and it therefore enjoys a low social estimate and prestige, and this conflict is brought out, as Roy Edgley points out (1980, p. 6), by its general characterization as 'mindless' and 'mechanical', which is what it very often is. Nor has the recent rapid growth in technology produced the much promised 'liberation of the worker'.

I think it would be accurate to say that before the beginning of the 1971 Labour administration there was no sensitization at all in Malta to the problem of education in relation to labour. The outlook on education was, as one would expect given the country's long relationship with Britain, liberal. Since 1971 Labour governments sought to change this through socio-political and educational initiatives that have gone against the grain of this liberal tradition. How are these initiatives to be evaluated? This will be the question I will take up in the remaining sections of the paper.

## The Maltese Context

**H**istorically, the commonest way of viewing the relation between education and work in Malta has been to view the former as a preparation for the latter. Indeed it is hardly an

exaggeration to state that most people in Malta have regarded education in the past basically as a preparation for work and have tended to gauge its value accordingly. This is not to say that people were not sensitive to other values like self-development, socialization, academic excellence and so on, but the main consideration has always been the value of education for procuring work. This has led to some tacit popular assumptions that have received wide circulation: (1) that education normally stops the minute you leave school and start working; (2) that whatever further education workers may need is all of a vocational kind relating to promotion opportunities, greater on-the-job efficiency, retraining etc.

With regards to the first assumption things have changed somewhat over the past few years as the concept of lifelong education has begun to filter through. But the side-effect of this very process has arguably been the consolidation among many of the second assumption, since the growing sensitivity to the need for lifelong education has arisen mainly from the perceived effect on the world of work and production of the rapid developments in technology that have forced the industrial world to re-assess its methods and programmes, contemporaneously creating new pressures to learn for those within. Thus, the concept of lifelong education has come to be linked in many minds with the growing need and demand for vocational and professional programmes for workers that will help them to update their knowledge and skill continuously in order to come to terms with the new technologies and, possibly, entirely new jobs. In other words the view that education is for work has, indirectly been strengthened.

Does this outcome conflict with the intentions of the more direct socio-political and educational initiatives engaged in by the Labour governments? It is tempting to reply no without any further reflection because during the time they were launched and after, different government spokesman explicitly stated that the government was adopting a utilitarian philosophy with regards to its educational policy, and utilitarianism is, as we have seen, the extreme and literal sense of the 'education is for work' formula. Also, there was no mistaking the intentions behind the newly introduced trade schools, to be followed by the creation of junior craft centres, extended skills schemes, the new drift in technical education, and a school for agriculture. Yet this reply would be too simplistic, for it is possible to read at least some initial theoretical ambiguity into the attitude of the Labour governments towards the general relationship education/work notwithstanding, though it is my theory that this ambiguity was gradually worn away by the opposition of the lingering liberal paradigm in people's mentality.

In 1974 the first clause of the newly introduced republican constitution declared that Malta is a republic built on work. The object of the clause was partly at least ideological: to give work a new standing within the cultural consciousness of the people. The value of work, particularly the manual and vocational, was further emphasised in political speeches and government statements and declarations. Unfortunately, nearly contemporaneously, the idea was promoted, mainly through the speeches of prime minister Mintoff, that a dichotomous relationship exists between 'practical' and 'theoretical' knowledge with the former being more valuable. This was a distortion of the proper dialectical relationship between the two that could only be read as an attempt to redress the current social and educational bias in favour of the theoretical. But, in any case, it did irreparable harm and eventually prepared the way for the distortions of the reforms in tertiary education in 1976 which led to the abolition of all but the vocation-orientated faculties at the university. The other interesting move in this early part of the Labour administration was the initiation at about the same time of 'courses in culture' for the recently constituted labour corps. The courses collapsed nearly immediately because the workers complained about being forced to attend them in their free time, but the initiative itself is eloquent in its implications.

In the industrial sector the Labour government nearly immediately, initiated a process of workers' participation and ownership, to be followed by a system of workers' committees in government departments and places of work, and the system of workers' representatives (worker directors) on the boards of directors of parastatal and government controlled agencies. These were important positive steps since informal learning through participation has enormous educational potential, while the act of participating itself is a vital counter to alienation, as thinkers as diverse in outlook as Rousseau, Marx, Mill and Dewey have pointed out. There is no available published assessment of these particular initiatives but it is relevant to point out that after the initial outburst things cooled down considerably. There was no significant expansion of the programme, on the contrary there was some retraction (the workers' committees were discontinued) and a lot of distortion of its initial purposes.

A more direct educational consequence, connected with these industrial initiatives was the setting up at The University of Malta of a Workers' Participation Development Centre (the WPDC) with the twin purposes of monitoring the advance of workers' participation in the industrial sector and educating workers for participation. From the latter point of view the Centre has concentrated mainly on organizing different courses with an orientation towards the Social Sciences and in the skills of effec-

tive participation, leadership and management. There have also been other initiatives emanating from the growing consciousness over these years of the need for workers' education from the trade unions and from organizations like MAS (the Social Action Movement, with close ties with the Catholic Church) and GEM (the Ġuże Ellul Mercer Foundation, affiliated with the 'Labour Movement'). These run courses of a mainly formal nature, again with a predilection for the Social Sciences. The unions contribute towards the funding of the WPDC which also regularly runs courses on their behalf.

The work on behalf of workers' education that is being done by these organizations is no doubt valuable and important, one could add to them the extra-mural courses run by the university though these mainly require a degree of academic qualification and are therefore outside the reach of many workers. The most important initiatives, in a sense, appear to be those taken by the WPDC through their courses in participation skills and leadership, the others appear to be adopting the more conventional approach providing formal 'enrichment' courses for the more 'educated' workers. The WPDC is also doing this, but, in addition, it is also furnishing the other component of the ideal mutual relationship between learning *through* participating and learning *for* participation. There is, nonetheless, a third vital component of the ideal relationship between education and work as identified by Marx, which is neglected by this analysis and is beyond the control of these educative agencies. This is the educational value of the work itself. If the work-experience at the place of work continues to be negative because of the implementation of alienating productive systems, then the value of the other two components is extremely relative. Workers' participation, in effect, is self-actualizing only if all three components are present.

The worker-student scheme was the Labour government's most dramatic innovation in the educational system aimed at creating a synthesis between education and work. When it was first introduced in 1976 it was described as having several ideological goals, namely: to facilitate access to the university of working class students by giving them a wage; to facilitate access to the university of workers already on the job; to break the dependence of students on their families for economic maintenance, to introduce university students as early as possible to the culture and experience of work; to render tertiary education in Malta more relevant to the world of production and to the emerging economic and social needs of the country. I am going to leave aside in this brief analysis of the scheme the first two of these goals which are purely social and economic and have no relation to education, and will turn, to the other two

where the relation clearly does exist and where controversy has been most rife.

The principle that tertiary education should be relevant to the world of work or production and directly related to the emerging economic and social needs of the country was translated, as was indicated earlier, into a utilitarian or 'functionalist' education philosophy. Utility became the university's declared policy. There was declared to be no place for the Science and Humanities Faculties, and whatever elements of the disciplines they included were to be taught were only to be incidental to, or part of the servicing of the vocational and professional courses. There was, in short, a total abnegation of liberal educational principles and values. It hardly needs saying that these moves were fiercely contested not only by the existing university itself but by many sectors and institutions within the Maltese society. The principle that university students should be introduced immediately to the culture and experience of work was controversial also, but in a different way. Some held to the classical liberal position of separating education completely from work, not necessarily on ideological grounds but because they believed that the work would be a hindrance to 'education'. Others held that the introduction of the work component into the course had important practical value; it enabled students to see the relevance of their theoretical studies to their later working life and made for more informed theory. The government's own position was ambiguous at first. The principle that the work experience is of equal value to the academic was often stated, and is implied by the fact that the year was to be divided equally for the student between the two components: a work phase and a study phase, but what was to be the relationship between the components? This was the crucial question.

At the beginning it appeared that it was to be a cultural one in line with the Labour Party's ideological principle of closing the social gap between the intellectual world and the world of work, especially of manual labour. So the early message seemed to be that the work could, and ideally should, *not* be related to the academic course, and that it should enable the student to experience different kinds and levels of work outside his area of specialization. But this approach was resisted from the very beginning and never gained any real foothold on the system. Instead the assumption grew steadily, until it eventually prevailed even with the government, that the work component of the course should be so related to the academic component as to be directly relevant to it. Very recently the Standing Committee of the Commission for the Development of Higher Education was reported to have declared that 'Attention is expected to be focused on efforts

aimed at a more effective integration than has so far been the case of academic curricula and work experience; at a more rigorous assessment of the students' work phases ...; and at deeper and continuing contacts between faculties and students throughout the work phase.'

## Conclusions

**T**here are two things that must be considered when evaluating the relation between lifelong education and work. The first is whether work is itself an educative experience; whether it is part of the individual's growing self-realization over time, vertically integrated with his other positive educative experiences. The second is whether the workplace enters into a horizontal synthesis with the other educative agencies outside it; whether it is collaborating with and utilizing the resources of formal educational agencies and other non-formal agencies to the advantage of its members. It is not difficult to see which educational philosophy these considerations correspond with; they are certainly alien both to classical liberalism and to utilitarianism and fit better within a species of humanism to which Marx's analysis described in earlier pages is clearly a positive contribution.

I have described the major state initiatives in Malta in the political, industrial and formal educational field, over the past decade and a half or so to create a new synthesis between education and work. Their history has revealed ambiguity and uncertainty leading to changes of direction or outright abandonment. 'Cultural' courses for workers were short-lived, workers' participation has long stagnated, the cultural and ideological purposes of the worker-student scheme appeared to have hardened towards utilitarianism, like the trade schools and the other centres for industrial training. But, at the university at least, utilitarianism had appeared to be in retreat, and we were told that 'the stage has now been reached when ongoing worker-student courses should be supplemented by degree coursers in arts and science that will be more liberal in their outlook and less tailored to meet specific professional careers and vocational skills.\*' The different educational reforms and the other initiatives of the government to destroy the old liberalism failed because liberal academic values continue to dominate the mentalities of politicians, administrators and social leaders within the ranks of the Labour Party itself.

On the other hand the initiatives of the Labour governments were instrumental in raising the necessary consciousness to the need of viewing the relation of education with work as a problem. The

failure has mainly been that of projecting it in its cultural dimensions as a human problem not merely a vocational one. What is needed now is a growth in awareness and commitment towards the kind of synthesis described in the opening paragraph of this section. Workers' participation is a vital element within it, and the WPDC's support of the process at the university is essential to it and should be expanded together with the process. The other initiatives by trade unions, GEM, MAS, and others are also important though the formal

nature of the courses they organize and the nature of the courses themselves limit their efficiency and scope within the framework of the synthesis and should be reassessed for this reason. Workers should be exposed to the values of liberal education, but these should not be foisted upon them as 'education'. The main thing is that these values integrate with the values of work and active participation and that these features find their articulation within the growing personality of the individual.

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# The Cosmopolitan Educator

*John Harper*

## Adult Education Serving the Technology Transfer

- \*\* Adult Continuing Education provides most skills acquired after age 25 and all skills for two out of three jobs.
- \*\* By the year 2000, 75 per cent of all workers currently employed will need retraining.
- \*\* Continuing education technology has undergone significant changes in recent years and organisations are beginning to recognise the human resource as an asset to be developed, possibly the only one capable of providing desperately needed productive growth.
- \*\* More and more technological information, tied to community instead of individual goals, is being emphasised by educators today.
- \*\* New sources of continuing education, such as professional bodies and programmes provided by universities and polytechnics, have become frequently, and necessarily used.
- \*\* With NEED comes VALUE, and the adult educational function is showing benefits from its ability to demonstrate valuable results, to provide vital skills and to contribute to community goals.

In the sense that nations communities and 'have nots' need to absorb new technologies at a faster, or slower, rate, then they are also absorbing the new organisational cultures that these advances impose. The educational element of this cross cultural absorption is critical to successful implementation. And it is most often supplied by adult education agencies in each community. If, as Alvin Toffler in *The Third Wave* suggests, we are on the upward slope of the wave of a technological revolution, then adult education must be positioned in the forefront of developmental strategies of all progressive nations.

Additionally, educationalists present and future must be equipped with all of the sophistication in teaching, consulting and mentoring techniques which successful implantation of these technologies require.

To serve the technology transfer effectively, educationalists must become more cosmopolitan. The term "cosmopolitan" means "one who can function effectively anywhere in the world; a person who is comfortable both with him/her self and with differences in others in varying cultures and societies. Such flexibility is necessary to take on educational assignments with, for example, foreign manufacturers of high-tech systems where fulfilling the needs for transfer of technology may necessitate crossing a number of national/traditional boundaries.

Cosmopolitan teachers are not only professionally competent in the new discipline, they are also aware of both their own cultural conditioning and the uniqueness of the host culture in which they serve as educators.

Edward Hall states in *Beyond Culture* (1976) that the future lies in man's transcendence of the limits of individual culture. My own experiences in the Middle East show that successful transfer of technology through adult education is as much a matter of sensitivity to local culture as it is relevance of the technology itself. So educationists, 'cosmopolitan' or otherwise, need to increase their awareness of the subculture attendant to all or any technological advance.

## The Global Arena for Educationalists

**T**he teacher who functions 'globally' is in a unique position to exercise leadership as he/she supports transnational endeavours. Such an educator may be an expert engineer, agriculturalist, public health specialist or multinational consultant, but without intercultural skills his/her efforts will be undermined. A cosmopolitan educator can promote dialogue among people and their institutions, and even contribute to the reduction of cultural tensions - but only through insight and competence to foster cultural synergy. Dr. Gordon Lippitt observes in *Helping Across Cultures* (1978):

One of the most difficult things for an individual, a group, organisation, a profession or nation to accomplish is the act of helping another human system without creating hostility, suspicion or dependence. Results today, especially in education from one country to another, depend more upon people skills between the "helper" and the "helpee". Concepts and methods which are successful in one country can spell disaster in another. Cross cultural compatibility and skills can make the vital difference between effective educational performance and costly failures. Those engaged in international education today need to be multicultural, even more than they need to be multilingual.

The cosmopolitan educator must step into the private world or perceptual field of the student from one "technological country" to another to allow circular communication. Empathy is essential for all types of cross-cultural interactions.

Whatever technical base the international educator comes from, he/she should be aware that professional education and experience are culturally influenced. As a study of comparative management should convince multinational managers of the variety of cultural approaches to the process of management, so should those in architecture, engineering, agriculture and other specializations comprehend the impact of local culture on professional practice in these areas. MANAGING CULTURAL SYNERGY (1984) advocates that practitioners study the works of their colleagues in other countries and thus be better equipped to adapt more workable strategies and methods as they advise local consumers of new technologies.

Sometimes the result can be a synthesis; 'Theory 2' management for example, represents the combination of both Japanese and American management techniques to formulate a strategy that may be superior in certain settings to either Japanese or American management styles alone. The lesson for Maltese educators is to recognise the subtle differences which permit (or prohibit) the application of proven European strategies in a culture that is *not* fundamentally European.

### **"Cosmopolitan" Education and the Technology Transfer**

**T**he cultural factor in international education takes on an added meaning in relation to the technology transfer. If an educator possesses intercultural wisdom, he/she will be more likely to use only appropriate technology in development. Such a teacher will not promote a technology that is too sophisticated for absorption into the local economy and/or beyond the ability of indigenous learners.

The establishment of high technology firms in Third World countries points to another reality. Global teachers can do a disservice to students in less economically developed nations when they bring in obsolete concepts, methods, and technology. The industrial work culture is dying, and bureaucratic organisational models are disappearing. Why impose these methods on the

Third World Nations when it may be possible to skip the industrial stage of human development and move right into the new information society and technological era? Unless the cosmopolitan educator is futuristic and professionally alert, he or she may transfer irrelevant concepts and processes to the disservice of the community.

### **Culture as the Key to Community Understanding**

**E**very macroculture (country) is made up of numerous microcultures (regions, class systems, income groups, etc.) Teaching students from diverse minority or ethnic backgrounds can be improved with highly developed cross-cultural skills. The "cosmopolitan" educator has many opportunities to learn these skills overseas and then apply them to classes at home.

But a teacher, even when trained in cross-cultural education, must prepare for the unexpected within the domestic scene. Rejection of new technology, through fear of redundancy, "newness", or technical inadequacy, can result in most peculiar reactions by groups of his/her own countrymen. It is well for educators to remember that even the medium of communicating change requires much training before they can overcome studied resistance to technology.

Cultural awareness provides understanding to teachers and trainers who wish to get a better fix on what is happening in a group, an institution, a company or a government agency. Here the term "culture" is used in the broadest sense as the unique working lifestyle of a group of people; the coping strategies and the skills already developed and adapted for particular purposes. "Culture" represents a body of communicable knowledge and learned behaviour that humans acquire and pass on for survival and success within an environment. A group's culture makes it unique and gives it a sense of identity. It is manifested in the group's artifacts, the objects made by the group, as well as in its social institutions or organisations. A people's culture is seen in their customs and traditions, their knowledge and morals, their laws and regulations. In fact it is exemplified in their whole special way of life, their language and communications systems, their values and goals, their ideas and attitudes.

In the technology transfer change makers are trying to superimpose on these norms of behaviour and should therefore pay attention to established norms as a start-point for introducing concepts and technologies which may in the slightest way affect these norms.

## Understanding "Global" Organisations

**I**n Figure 1 Hay Associates use Human Resources Management Actions as a means of expressing different technological change behaviour requirements under three differing cultures. Comparison shows just how sensitive to these differences a change maker (or educator) must be.

In describing the technology transfer as it relates to *management education* I have identified the three major categories of organisational culture as defined by Hay Associates:

**The Bureaucratic Culture** - typical of protectionist and developing countries, most frequently found in organisations operating within protected and stable markets. Characterised by impersonal style, absolute reliance on standards, norms and rigid procedures. Best supported by pyramidal and centralised hierarchy with little internal competition and many organisational "types".

**The Technical Culture** - typical of communities with a tradition of technical expertise, often found in well established and traditional industries. Characterised by paternalistic style, technical knowhow, and a highly functionalised organisation with fierce interdepartmental competition. Recognition and ultimate power at the top goes to the technician.

**The Managerial Culture** - typical of trading countries which were open early to free competition and enterprise, encountered in organisations operating in highly competitive, innovative industries. Characterised by professional managerial style which is performance-oriented and supported by flexible and adaptive organisation.

Culture is the medium by which a community expresses itself to its members as well as to the outside world. Organisational culture is a human creation, subject to change and modification, and it touches upon every aspect of organisational life - from group structure to organisational climate. The cosmopolitan educator may find the following general classifications helpful as a mechanism for thinking about either national or organisational cultures.

**1. Organisational rationale and identity** - what is the organisation's sense of self and space? What is the philosophy that makes this entity distinctive? What are the beliefs and attitudes prevalent in this human system? What are the organisation's boundaries which denote its "territory" or which set it apart from others in related fields?

**2. Organisational purposes and standards** - what is the organisation's perception of its goals, missions or general objectives for its *raison d'être*? What are its values and norms? What is important to the organisation is translated into standards of performance or rules and regulations in codes of practice.

**3. Organisational look and style** - what is the system's *ambiance* (i.e. mood, character, quality, tone and atmosphere)? This cultural dimension gets translated for practical purposes into organisational attitudes towards such matters as appearance, dress or time consciousness. How does the organisation project itself to its members and to outsiders? What is the organisational and leadership style which captures its spirit and becomes manifested in policies and procedures?

**4. Organisational process and activities** - what does the organisation DO, and how does it go about this? Whether an organisation produces foods or provides services, it can be analysed relative to reasoning and human relations, information and marketing, manufacturing and mation and marketing, manufacturing and technology. Such personnel and managerial activities continuously undergo change in response to external forces or internal adaptations of people and behaviour.

**5. Organisational communication and information** - what are the organisational communication systems, both formal and informal, as well as external and internal? More specifically, how does the managerial information system work and what does it encompass? Are personal communications open, circular and authentic? What languages, signals and special vocabularies are used?

**6. Organisational human resources and relationships** - how does the organisation (community) view its people and decide their roles and interrelationships? What does it do to enforce or re-enforce the expectations of its members? How does it attempt to recognise, motivate and reward its people with compensation and benefit plans, educational opportunities, and learning processes?

How does it prepare personnel for the impact of the technological revolution and contribute to community retraining projects? What type of man-machine relations exist? What is the focus and quality of relationships externally with community institutions and internally between and among its groups? In all what is the quality of life that this endeavour engenders for its various human constituents? How wise is the use of power within this human energy-exchange system?

FIGURE ONE

## MANAGING TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE IN DIFFERENT CULTURES

|                                        | BUREAUCRATIC CULTURE                                                                                                                                 | TECHNICAL CULTURE                                                                                             | MANAGERIAL CULTURE                                                                                       |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * Structuring the Organisation         | * Establish rational & detailed organisation chart & communicate throughout the organisation                                                         | * Develop, organise & obtain consensus or interrelationships among functions                                  | * Keep organisation minimal & adaptive to change                                                         |
| * Designing Jobs                       | * Formalise & standardise Job Descriptions<br>* Put emphasis on tasks to be performed                                                                | * Formalise relationships as accountabilities will be most often shared                                       | * Be flexible & formalise accountabilities to be accomplished                                            |
| * Delegation Decision making authority | * Extremely limited delegation & freedom required                                                                                                    | * Decision making must be controlled                                                                          | * High degree of delegation and freedom is supported                                                     |
| * Controlling & Assessing Performance  | * Need for heavy system of administrative checks & balances to measure how tasks are performed<br>* Emphasis is on compliance with standards & norms | * Effective cost accounting system is required to measure efficiency<br>* Emphasis is no qualitative criteria | * Sophisticated control system is required to measure end results<br>* Emphasis on quantitative criteria |
| Designing Compensation Plans           |                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                               |                                                                                                          |
| * External Competitivity               | * Usually minimal                                                                                                                                    | * Median                                                                                                      | * High                                                                                                   |
| * Internal Equity                      | * Must be absolute & normatic<br>* Must integrate seniority                                                                                          | * Limited<br>* Must reflect balance of power among functions                                                  | * Fair<br>* Must reflect job value & performance                                                         |
| * Incentive Components                 | * None                                                                                                                                               | * Limited                                                                                                     | * High                                                                                                   |
| * Benefits                             | * Highly formalised & common throughout the organisation                                                                                             | * Formalised & Personalised                                                                                   | * Informal & Personalised                                                                                |
| * Providing Job Security               | * Must be absolute                                                                                                                                   | * Fair                                                                                                        | * Minimal                                                                                                |
| * Career Development                   | * Strict & objective rules & procedures must be established for promotions & career progression                                                      | * Develop bridges between functions to improve organisational integration                                     | * Reward high performers through rapid promotions                                                        |

From Human Resource Management Actions for Three Cultures - Hay Associates - 1979.

## Conclusions

The educational systems and processes espoused in a community are conditioned by the national culture in which it is situated, and in which the community's members were raised and educated. The cosmopolitan educator should be open to learning more about the culture of counterpart cultures from whence technology is being absorbed.

Within every organisation agency or technical association there is a unique institutional culture. The more the educator understands this cultural environment the more effective he/she will be, not only in functioning within it but also in changing this culture as technological needs dictate:

Many management techniques are developed to deal with complex technologies, or the volume of data to be recorded and analysed at a particular time. Such techniques concern primarily the technological, economic and financial side of organisations, and should thus fit different cultures. But the use of a technique, no matter how neutral, creates a work situation that may conflict with personal circumstances, values and beliefs already held (John Harper - Strategies for International Management Development - 1985).

Both the individual and the institution are products of human culture at a particular place and point in time. In advanced economic societies, the

individual has been conditioned by the industrial stage of development. Pre-industrial or less developed countries may operate mainly as agricultural cultures. Yet the entire planet is rapidly moving towards a post-industrial society and human beings will soon be challenged to create cultural adaptations suitable even for life and work in outer space. Therefore both educational culture and human systems are in the midst of profound transition. Many of today's people in new technology firms are contributing towards what will become tomorrow's meta-industrial organisational cultures. The cosmopolitan educator's responsibilities should involve creative experimentation with the new work habits, customs, traditions, beliefs and practices that will formulate tomorrow's culture patterns. In the world of the technology transfer, traffic on the cultural bridge is heavy. Success or failure of the transfer is in the hands of the educator to use effectively in the community's best interests.

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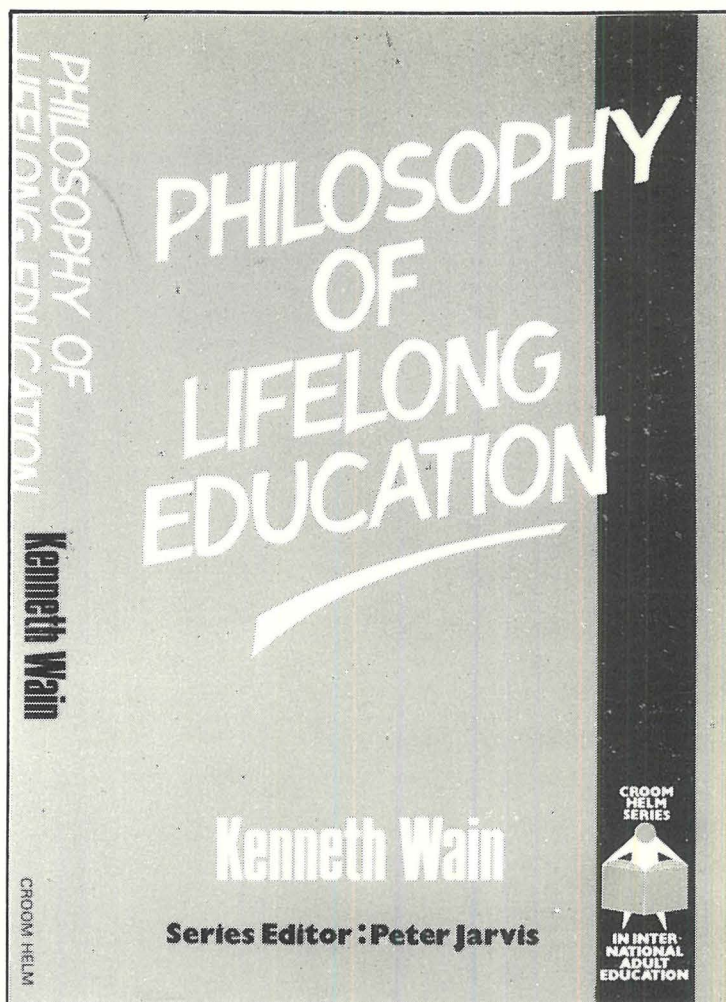
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# PHILOSOPHY OF LIFELONG EDUCATION

by  
**Kenneth Wain**

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