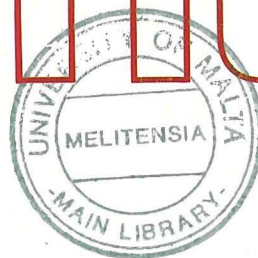# EDUCATION

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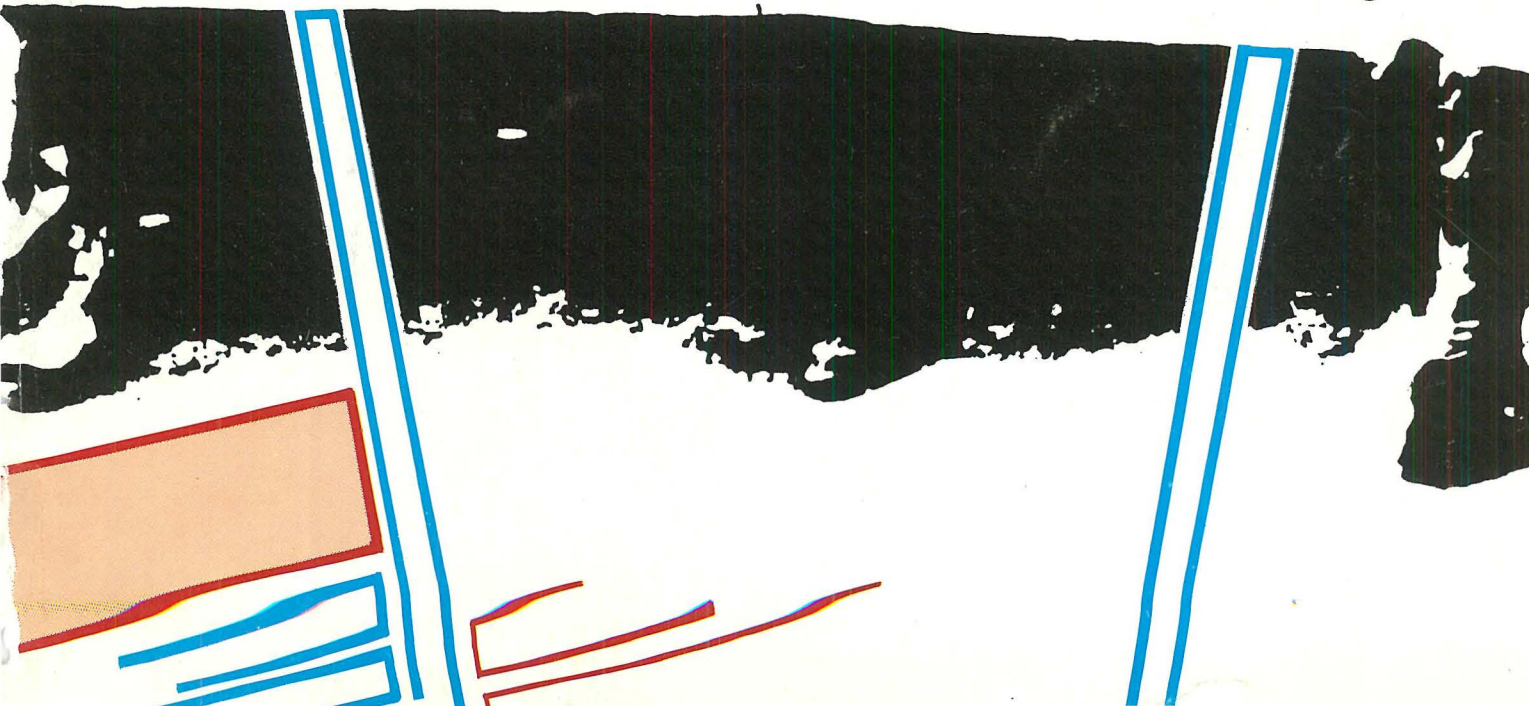No.1

The Journal of The Faculty of Education   **The University of Malta**

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INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Education is published twice yearly as the journal of the Faculty of Education at the University of Malta.

The editorial board welcomes articles that contribute to a broad understanding of educational issues, particularly those related to Malta.

Submitted articles are referred at least once and copies of referees' comments will be sent to the author as appropriate. The editors reserve the right to make editorial changes in all manuscripts to improve clarity and to conform to the style of the journal. Photographs, drawings, cartoons and other illustrations are welcome; however, authors are responsabile for obtaining written permission and copyright release when required. A manuscript, including all references, charts, figures and tables must not exceed 12 double spaced typed pages. Notes and references must be kept to a minimum and should be placed in single quotation marks but long quotations should form separate, indented and single spaced paragraphs. Notes and references must be numbered and the bibliography at the end should contain the following:
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Editorial

A dult education is increasingly being regarded as a very important sector of a country's educational set up. It is often of a non-formal nature and can be flexible and available at different stages of a person's life. It is also a vast and diversified field.

The range of adult education provision is broad enough to encompass such areas as Adult Literacy, Popular Education, Folk High School Education, Agricultural Extension, Community Development, Vocational Reorientation (including Education for the Long-term Unemployed), Workers' Education, Women's Education, Distance Education, University Extension, Health Education, University of the Third Age and Family Life Education. This is just a selection which cannot do justice to the range of adult education provision worldwide.

The broad nature of the field immediately indicates that the responsibility for adult education provision does not lie solely with governments, which, nevertheless, sponsor several programmes, but also with numerous other agencies. These include the Church, social movements, political organisations, the trade unions, social and community level organisations, Business and the Media. A number of such agencies make their presence felt in adult education in Malta. State sponsored programmes such as the national adult literacy programme, coordinated by the Education Department's fledgling Adult Education Unit, are available together with a variety of other programmes provided by a number of non-governmental organisations or institutions. These would include the Social Action Movement, the Workers' Participation Development Centre, the Academy for the Development of a Democratic Environment (A.Z.A.D.), the Guze Ellul Mercer Foundation and the Society for Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.), to name but a few.

The University, through its evening degree and diploma programmes and through its centres, is also making a contribution in this area. Universities have a long tradition of involvement in adult education. Many provide extra-mural courses. Others serve as centres for distance learning (eg. The Open University, U.K., Athabasca University, Canada; The Simon Rodriguez University, Venezuela), while several universities contribute to research in adult education, besides training practitioners and policy makers in the field. The universities' involvement in adult education was an issue

addressed by Waguida El Bakary in her doctoral dissertation on which her paper, in this journal, is based. She synthesizes six U.S. adult education programme models "for potential use by the national universities of Egypt."

As far as the Maltese scene goes, one adult education institution which has strong ties with the University is the Workers' Participation Development Centre. It is concerned with equipping workers with the skills necessary to participate effectively, and on a par with employer representatives, in a socio-economic environment which is ever changing for a variety of reasons. Among these reasons one can mention the great advances in information technology that are taking place. The main concern is therefore with industrial democracy. WPDC Research Officer, Godfrey Baldacchino, tackles the above issue in his paper. He argues that labour organisations and other institutions need to improve their provision of worker education programmes so that workers can gain the same access to and make the same use of information technology as those who sit on the other side of the negotiating table. It is felt that only if equal use of such technology is made would the term "pluralist democracy" become meaningful.

Baldacchino's paper deals with the issue of adult education for empowerment. Other papers in this journal develop this theme. Micheál O Cinnéide's paper addresses the issue of community empowerment as part of a process of local development. The author describes the role played by University College, Galway, in stimulating development of this kind. He also describes the process of education for community development taking place in one particular Irish community. O Cinnéide does this with a view to demonstrating the effectiveness of the type of educational intervention advocated in his paper.

One of the world's foremost proponents of a theory of radical adult education for personal and communal empowerment is undoubtedly the Brazilian, Paulo Freire. It is with his work that my paper is concerned. It examines the extent to which Freire's theory can be successful in contributing to a general process of social transformation.

This and some of the papers in the Journal deal with such issues as: Who benefits from particular adult education programmes and why? Are general assumptions concerning the purposes

of adult education problematic? These are some of the issues that the Argentinian sociologist, Carlos Alberto Torres, addresses in his paper which provides an agenda for research in the political sociology of adult education. Of particular concern in this paper is the relationship between the Capitalist State and adult education provision. An analysis of this relationship should constitute, according to Torres, the starting point for research in this particular area.

It is hoped that the selection of perspectives contained in this journal serves to bring to the fore issues that are central to the current international debate on adult education. These articles are intended to stimulate ideas and discussions among policy makers and adult education practitioners in Malta so that the quality of provision in this field can improve.

The publication of an issue of *Education*, dedicated to Adult Education, is indicative of the Faculty of Education's commitment to research in this field. A number of dissertations currently being prepared by students in the Faculty, both at the graduate and undergraduate levels, deal with the topic of Adult Education. Courses in Lifelong Education and the Sociology of Adult Education are offered as options in the B.Ed. (Hons.) programme, while a few scholars connected with the Faculty have published literature in the field. There remains, however, a crying need in Malta for the existence of an institution which produces well trained adult educators.

An Adult Education Programme Planning Model

Waguida El Bakary

Definitions

A programme planning model is defined as "a set of steps, tasks, or decisions which, when carried out, resulted in the design of an educational programme for an adult client group" (Buskey and Sork, 1982, p. 2).

Programme development is defined as:

"... the art of designing and implementing a course of action to achieve an effective educational program. This simple definition implies that the continuing educator is involved in reaching decisions through the implementation of a rational planning or developmental model. However, it should be recognized that a completely rational model is rarely, if ever achieved in the practical world of planning with people. The challenge is to achieve the most effective effort possible. This achievement is made possible by following the most appropriate practices and procedures that allow for utilization of the concepts implied in an acceptable program development framework" (Boyle, 1981, p. 42).

There are some universal components of the programme planning process.

"These components include a description of the needs of individual adult learners and learner groups, a statement of program objectives, and a description of educational strategies to achieve the stated objectives and to fulfill the stated needs. Moreover, this planned program reflects the nature and capabilities of the adult education organization, the nature of the learners and learner groups, the content area(s) involved, the support structure(s), to be used in program design and implementation, and a description of evaluation and accountability strategies" (Boone, 1985, p. 5).

There is a great amount of adult education programme planning literature in the United States which would render the selection of one model for a specific need very difficult. There are more than ninety different models and each advocates a number of steps which differ in detail and complexity. Moreover, there is little cross-referencing between the models or

cumulative development (Sork and Buskey, 1986, pp. 91-92).

John H. Buskey and Thomas J. Sork have simplified the process of selection between models. They studied approximately ninety models and classified them by planning context, level of programme emphasized, client system orientation, theoretical framework, and comprehensiveness. The resulting grid they developed, their commentary on the programme planning literature, and their development of a generic programme planning model (Buskey and Sork, 1982; Sork and Buskey, 1986; Buskey, 1987) is an important contribution to adult education programme planning literature.

Edgar J. Boone (1985) made an impressive comparison between nine programme planning models that include eight American models by Beal, Blount, Powers, and Johnson (1966), Boone, Dolan, Shearon (1971), Boyle (1981), Houle (1972), Kidd (1973), Knowles (1970), Lippitt, Watson, and Westley (1958), and Tyler (1971) and one model by the renowned Brazilian adult educator, Paulo Freire (1970).

Similarities and Differences Between Models

An examination of the published planning models in the United States reveals that there are similarities between the models.

"... All of them have basic programs/ processes of educational development in which the following elements are present: (1) problem/need identification; (2) setting of objectives, goals and means; (3) some formal or informal learning activity; and (4) either an explicit or implicit evaluation." (Boone, 1985, p. 34).

Other similarities are that most models are based on social and educational philosophies and are concerned about the needs and interests of the clientele (Boone, 1985, p. 34). Sork and Buskey (1986) concur that the differences between model are more contextual than substantial. They find that "While applications in specific contexts or environments are important, the major steps in planning are applicable to all contexts" (p.93).

Although there are commonalities between the models, this is not to say that there are no differences between them or that they are perfect models. Buskey (1987) points out some weaknesses in the models. According to him, they generally lack a theoretical framework. Few of the models are comprehensive. Many do not give sufficient guidance on budgeting, administration, marketing, and promotion. On the other hand, their strengths lie in their analysis of "needs assessment, instructional processes, and evaluation procedures" (p. 114). The author believes that a synthesis of some reputable models may reduce some of the weaknesses stated above.

Boone (1985) recognizes differences between the models he compared in his book. "The differences in approach to programming seem to be more of degree than of substance, and the degrees of difference appear to lie primarily in two areas: the values or philosophy of the author(s) and the purpose(s) for which the model was developed" (p. 35).

An Adult Education Programme Planning Model

It is within the above context that this author synthesized six U.S. adult education programme planning models for potential use by the national universities of Egypt. The six models from which this model was derived are those of Boyle (1981), Houle (1972), Knowles (1970), Knox and Associates (1980), Sork and Buskey (1986), and Tyler (1949). The proposed model was revised by a panel of Egyptian experts and adult education practitioners. As Egypt is in need of a massive amount of adult education programmes to aid its development, the author believed that a framework for planning would assist novice programmers as they develop new programmes and gain programming experience.

The effective use of this model will depend upon the level of skill of programmers using it, their knowledge of the model's assumptions, and following of the recommended steps and key tasks.

A. Skills Required for programmers who apply the Model
1. Familiarity with recent programme planning literature.
2. Administrative skills such as planning, organizing, decision-making, and supervising.
3. Ability to work in a team.

B. Assumptions of the Model

Programme planners should reflect upon and answer the following questions at the outset of the programme planning process:
1. What is the extent of change that you want to expose the learners to?
   - What will you do to prepare the learners to cope with change?
2. What is the type of programme that you will develop?
   - Is it a problem-solving (developmental) programme?
   - Is it a programme to acquaint learners with knowledge and skills of a certain discipline (institutional programme)?
   - Is it a new or repeat programme?
3. Who is the learner? What is his/her profile?
4. To what extent are you going to involve the learner in planning the programme?

C. Steps and Key Tasks of the Model

The following steps and key tasks of the model are recommended. They may be implemented sequentially or simultaneously.

I. NEEDS ASSESSMENT

1. Decide whose needs will be addressed: society, the learner, or the institution.
2. Decide the type of needs assessment to be used, for example, formal vs. informal, basic needs, normative, competency or felt.
3. Determine method of needs assessment, for example, survey, questionnaire, interview.
4. Draft instrument of assessment or select an available one.
5. Collect data.
6. Analyze and validate data; put in priority order, and examine alternatives.
7. Diagnose desired action.
   a. Is an educational programme necessary at all?
   b. What shape and form would an educational programme take?

II. ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMME CONTEXT

1. Specify *what* will be targeted for analysis, for example, the internal environment, the external environment, the learner, compatibility of proposed programme with institutional mission statement, internal or external constraints.

2. Determine the individual or team who will survey the environment.

3. Identify *how* the analysis will be conducted.

4. Collect data.

5. Based on data collected, decide if and how constraints can be overcome.

6. Based on data collected, decide whether or not to proceed with the educational activity.

III. INSTRUCTIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

A. *Development of Objectives*

1. Determine the learners' profile based on the needs assessment.

2. Write down objectives that include behavioural and content aspects.

3. Screen through the following filters:
   a. societal philosophy
   b. institutional philosophy and mission
   c. psychology of learning
   d. learner interest
   e. feasibility
   f. priorities

4. Relate objectives to assessment.

B. *Selection and Organization of Content*

1. Determine criteria for selection of content and learning experiences.

2. Select content and learning experiences.

3. Determine how to organize (sequence) content and learning experiences, for example, vertically and horizontally, chronologically, thematically, etc.

4. Determine how content and learning experiences will be delivered.

5. Place order for books, materials, and equipment.

B. *Assessment of Educational Achievement*

1. Determine standards to be used for judging success or failure of learners.

2. Determine the content and behaviour areas that need to be assessed based on the objectives.

3. Select and prepare instrument of assessment.

4. Check the instrument for objectivity, reliability, validity, and compatibility with objectives.

5. Conduct assessment and analyze results.

IV. Financial Development

A. *Financing*

1. Set financial goals based on a preliminary budget that indicates estimated income, expenses, and prospective number of learners.

2. Identify sources of financing, for example, student fees, grants from government, allocation from general funds, donations from individuals and corporations, etc.

3. Set plan to secure financing, for example, develop personal contacts, involve influential people and obtain their support, initiate the necessary paper work to request financing.

B. *Budgeting*

1. Develop budget based on estimated revenue, direct and indirect expenses in line with programme goals and objectives.

2. Obtain necessary budget approval.

3. Assign responsibility for authorized budget expenditures.

4. Determine limits to budget line items.

5. Determine degree of programme self-support and subsidy policy.

6. Determine basis for charging fees.

C. *Accounting*

1. Determine accounting standards and procedures that result in clear, complete, and accurate accounting and prevention of fraud (or use institutional policy).

2. Assign responsibility for the accounting process.

3. Plan for a CPA or an auditing committee to audit accounts at least once a year.

V. Development of Instructional Resources

A. Instructors

1. Determine criteria for selection, for example, sharing institutional philosophy, competence in subject area, effective communication, innovation, use of audio-visual aids, understanding the adult learner, adult education teaching experience.

2. Prepare job description, salary scale, and reward system (or use institutional policy).

3. Advertise positions.

4. Interview and select instructors.

5. Plan orientation programme and in-service training.

6. Set plan to assist, supervise, observe, evaluate, and reward instructors (or use institutional policy).

B. Support Staff

1. Select/train support staff that have an understanding of the psychology of adult learners and who treat adults pleasantly, efficiently, and respectfully.

2. Train support staff in admissions, registration, and placement procedures.

3. Train support staff to provide quality service in preparing instructional materials requested by instructors.

4. Train support staff in good inter-departmental communication.

C. Physical Facilities

1. Try to establish a comfortable and relaxing atmosphere for adults in classes, for example, good lighting, comfortable chairs, restroom facilities, accessibility to transportation, adequate parking, etc.

2. Assign adequate space for admissions, registration and placement tests (if necessary).

3. Consider utilizing the learning centre (if there is one) for adults.

4. Schedule the physical facilities to meet the needs of learners, instructors, and the institution in a way that helps meet programme objectives.

5. If necessary, check into the possibility of renting or borrowing facilities from the neighbourhood or other institutions.

D. Scheduling

1. Plan schedule around an institution's standard or fixed format if that is required.

2. If not, select best possible scheduling alternative for the particular educational activity in terms of length of programme, length of sessions, maintaining variety and interest, time of day, time of year, etc.

3. Fit optimum scheduling with learner convenience, available instructors, and physical resources.

VI. Promotion and Marketing

1. Bearing in mind the target clientele identified earlier, design overall promotion and marketing plan for the year which includes budget, methods, schedule, responsibilities, coordination with agency's marketing activities and objectives.

2. Implement the plan at the right time and place.

3. Evaluate the promotion and marketing plan and modify it as necessary.

VII. Programme Evaluation

1. Set criteria for evaluation, for example, effectiveness, quality, suitability, contact, importance of programme to learners.

2. Develop evaluation plan.
    a. Select type of evaluation, for example, formal, informal, formative, summative.
    b. Set budget for staff, supplies, interviews, and data collection.
    c. Decide what data to collect.
    d. Assign who will collect data. Include people who are involved in the programme and those who will be affected by results.
    e. Decide when and how frequently data will be collected.
    f. Collect data.
    g. Analyze and interpret data.
    h. Report findings in ways that are understood by the audience.

3. Implement programme improvements based on evaluation.

Correspondence: Dr. W. El Bakary, Associate Director (Education Programs), Commercial and Industrial Training Division, The American University in Cairo, 28, Falaki Str., Bab el Louk, Cairo, Egypt.

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Labour Education In The Information Age

Godfrey Baldacchino

"Neither hands, nor minds alone suffice;
The tools and devices they employ finally shape
them".

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), The New Organum

Introduction

Many of those concerned with social change would agree that the role played by communications technology and informatics in contemporary society is becoming ever more important (1). An iron law of economic development appears to have gripped the world's nation states, drawing them inexorably closer to each other. Supposedly independent sovereign political units find it harder every day to carve out their own destiny given their integration in a transnational web of commodity (trade), human (migration, tourism) but particularly information flows (2).

Social institutions must struggle actively to transform themselves along with the times if they are to preserve (or better still enhance) their relevance in the dawning information society. Workers' organizations, particularly trade unions, must similarly prepare to join battle under such terms and conditions as are ascendant in the new information game; terms and conditions which these organizations are also called to shape.

Mainstream theory postulates that, in the transition to the ascendancy of cultural capital, the arena of labour conflict is shifting away from the industrial shop floor and heading for the office, the counter, the computer terminal. But pragmatically, such a destination is not clear at all. The idea that labour conflict is not shifting to new pastures but rather calling it a day and winding itself up is a pervasive and rampant belief. The battle between capital and labour may indeed be lost before it is joined, because the enemy has become a sophisticated master of disguise. The rout of labour may be so complete and finite that labour may even fail to perceive its own exploitation. A crucial determiner of such an outcome is the subordination of labour to capitalist hegemony via ideological cooptation and integration (3). One component of this subordination is the restructuring of labour education and its degeneration into human capital formation.

The Argument

In the context of the managerial and economic restructuring currently underway, this article argues for a systematic policy of labour education meant to empower workers as active participants, critical members and knowledgeable negotiators at the workplace and in society at large. Such labour education is diagnosed firstly in terms of what it is not, by a critique of the dominant brand of "education for work" recently embarked upon by both state and private capital educational agencies. Secondly, in terms of what an effective labour education programme should include. The article concludes with some general ideas on how trade unions ought best to ensure that their interests are defended and advanced via the educational system.

Nails in the Union Coffin

Sadly, trade unions today appear unable to undergo the metamorphosis necessary to remain influential in a post-industrial setting: "Goodbye to the working class"; "The forward march of Labour halted"; "Are unions an anachronism?" So have been some of the headlines of the latest decades (4). The catchy phrases are the ominous reverberations of four interlocking dimensions of change which have altered the context in which trade unions operate.

The first concerns the structure of company ownership. The ownership of property, and therefore the focus of labour protest, has become increasingly diffuse and obscure. Less employees know who "the bad guys" are. Practically absolute executive control has been vested into a salaried class of personnel and managers who however have little, if any, ownership in the firm. They report to a distant group of human or institutional shareholders, each of which may again have little control over the company's policy. In some countries today the number of employee-owners matches that of trade union members. Employees in the numerous public sector jobs cannot even put their finger on an identifiable shareholder or owner because there isn't any. And there are other worker categories: those to whom work is sub-contracted on a contract or piecerate basis and who may be self-employed, working on their own premises or in their own homes. It becomes difficult for any of these expanding cadres to experience class consciousness, or even trade union consciousness, when their individualistic

work activity is characterised by high job discretion, self-discipline, self-responsibility and self-exploitation (5).

The second concerns the style of management. In large companies, where the nature and scale considerations of the task necessitates the bringing together of large numbers of workers under one roof, the nature of supervision and job differentiation is also changing. Taylorism/Fordism/ Scientific Management did prove successful in giving management control over the work process through the rationalization and fragmentation of skills. Work study techniques and assembly line ergonomics considerably expanded productivity and helped keep both consumer prices and labour bargaining power low (6).

Treating a worker as a machine may have had great productivity spin-offs but only as long as the worker resigned himself to his dehumanised predicament. The instrumentalisation of workers also brought about reactive worker solidarity, class identity and eventually even trade union militancy. A new wave of management practices was therefore ushered in, under the broad umbrella of the human relations movement (7). By educating managers in the techniques of leadership, employee motivation and cooperation building, the adversary us-and-them feeling is often stifled effectively. The job of management has widened to embrace not only the technical, commercial responsibilities of manufacturing commodities (goods or services) for the market but also the responsibility of manufacturing employee consent for the enterprise ethic (8). Employees concerned for the survival of their company and involved in schemes of worker participation may find it hard to understand not only who the enemy is but also that there is one at all. And if there is no enemy, what's the point of unionization? (9).

The third nail in the coffin of contemporary trade unionism is technological change. Computerization and automation have had effects both on the quantity and quality of manufacturing employment. Monotonous, routine and unskilled operations are generally being incorporated into ever more sophisticated machines, such that their former human operators are facing redundancy (10). And the quality of surviving and newly available jobs requires more skill both in a technical and in an abstract sense, thus defying not only technological incorporation but even rigorous supervision. These new professionals enjoying good working conditions and separately negotiated salaries would tend to be rather aloof from the taunts of mass trade union membership and militancy (11).

The fourth and final dimension of change is the occupational shift from manufacturing to a services dominated economy. Advanced market economies have been deindustrializing rapidly and new jobs are increasingly found in the tertiary sector (12). The effects of this shift on trade unionism are multiple. The "dark satanic mills" which spawned reactive as well as revolutionary trade unionism and labour protest have well nigh been systematically eliminated. The hard core of trade unionism - shipbuilders, shiprepairers, railwaymen, port workers, miners, construction workers - have been hardest hit in the process of transition. In their place, new jobs have been created as personal services, petty administrative and clerical tasks, distributive and transport trades with a growing concentration of females among the workface. Over and above this, the scale of the services sector enterprise is much smaller than its manufacturing counterpart. The industrial relations atmosphere in the former is therefore much more likely to be employer dominated and governed by paternalistic relations which enhance the corporate ethic among the employees. White collar workers, females and workers in small scale enterprises also have no tradition of trade union membership or activism. They are substantial niches where union mobilization drives have not been very successful (13).

The Union Crisis Revisited

The rout of trade unionism is therefore complete... or is it? Although definitely jolted by these diverse yet complementary forces, trade unions and other forms of labour organizations (including political parties, peasant movements and cooperative associations) remain very much alive in the contemporary world. They are however having teething problems in the transition to the information age. They are as if still trying to figure out the techniques to best defend and promote labour interests in the new scenario, within the four dimension straightjacket described above.

One of the major problems here is that labour unions have been slow at understanding the implications of a post-industrial society. The workers of the world today must still find viable answers to repression and exploitation. But perhaps the most important struggle now is to be waged, first and foremost, at the superstructural level, involving the search for viable answers to ideological incorporation. To do so, trade unions must recognise the politics of information and

ensure that they too share in the dissemination of knowledge and in influencing the socialization of their actual and potential members. Working men and women in general, and labour leaders in particular, must first become articulate in their objective condition, developing a "labour imagination" involving first a discourse of possibility and next a discourse of effective labour policy and action (14). The alleged extinction of trade unionism, similarly to the extinction of industrial conflict, has the trappings of a cultivated myth. But this is in itself an indication of how the control of information and of its dissemination goes a long way towards fashioning the real world.

Education For Human Capital

Unfortunately for labour movements, the world's educational institutions are by and large already fully taken up to provide the skills and attitudes congenial to certain other interest groups for the transition to an information based post-industrial world. The first wave of transformation was the closing down of many University departments oriented towards social science research and education. The student protests of 1968 over most of Europe suggested to policy makers that degrees in political science, political economy and sociology were only producing potential revolutionaries (15). The emphasis shifted from liberal to vocational and functional education. Long serving professors in Social Science faculties had to switch over to service business-oriented courses, or bust. Tertiary education was thus preempted from becoming the catalyst of democratic change in its social environment (16).

Secondly, that dose of social science education which persevered in the formal curricula took on a more conservative guise. It became civics and life skills studies dealing with the better (sic uncritical) integration of the individual into the existing social structure. The diagnosis of society shifted invariably from a conflict riddled analysis emphasizing power inequality and class struggle to the systems approach emphasizing propriety, roles and mutual interdependence (17).

Thirdly the neo-classical liberal economic creed of Adam Smith was revived as the dominant social philosophy by the resurgence of political conservatism in the industrial world (18). In the perpetual preoccupation of social science with structure and agency, it is the latter which has assumed contemporary ascendancy in different guises: Entrepreneurial studies, human

resource management, organizational systems, game theory, econometrics. The methodology of social science has shifted to a micro perspective, giving major consideration to the individual as master of the game; the fallacy here being that men make their own history just as they please (19).

Fourthly, the internationalised character of capital has accentuated the process of making educational provision more freely subservient to industrial needs (which include both technical skills and uncritical attitudes to power). Inter-university cooperation is being lavishly financed by private (including multinational) organizations towards directions of technical and scientific research and development from which private industry is most likely to profit. The arrangement conveniently ropes in governments as co-sponsors in expensive projects (20).

In the meantime, the intellectual elite of different countries is socialized into the capitalist hegemony as it passes through tertiary education: Promising undergraduates are more likely to find private industry as an interested sponsorship agent. Private corporations provide funds and internship slots to students, while universities honour requests for credit awards for placement in private industry. Major private corporations today have developed their own universities and training centres. Often, the employees of such companies are expected to undergo training in such centres every set time period.

Labour Education Today

The education of Labour - for long neglected by governments or business budgets and therefore the sole preserve of some trade unions - is now also undergoing encroachment. Given the increased flexibility being demanded by economic fluctuations and technological advancement, in-service labour training programmes have become a necessary way of life in many working establishments (21). Such labour education is carried out by a personnel management team which is, itself, regularly trained.

The scourge of long term structural unemployment and the vital need of upgrading labour skills to match industrial requirements has also meant that the State, often in alliance with industrial and business interests, embarks on long term training programmes for the unemployed. These often include placements in private companies and provide opportunities for the acquisition of new work skills and attitudes. In a parallel view, youth training schemes mop up

school leavers and teach them skills just as they enter the job market. And industrialising economies have similarly thought fit to introduce labour education intended invariably to improve labour productivity and therefore capital efficiency and economic viability.

The inexorable outcome of this "human capital theory" is that individuals find a place in the shifting, murky waters of labour demand by cultivating the requisite technical skills, flexibility and deferential attitudes to authority which make them "good workers"; what Paolo Freire has called "education for domestication" (22).

Labour Education: Why At All?

But why should one at all rediscover labour education? There is a deluge of justifications for the educational enrichment and empowerment of labour representatives: How would worker leaders otherwise match the educational and psychological preparation of seasoned and sophisticated negotiators on the management side from whom they are supposed to clinch advantageous deals? How would they remain competent and up to date on matters economic, financial and organizational? How would they avoid being mesmerized and subdued by the *fait accompli* of balance sheet analysis, statistical manipulations and computer-assisted financial projections? How would they communicate, effectively and selectively, news of their activities and policies to the mass public, thus marketing their services among citizens at large already heavily saturated by other information stimuli? How would they otherwise understand and master information technology such that they can exploit it in the production of their own educational and promotional material? How would they rectify and make up for the dearth of basic trade union literacy and work-related educational exposure from which students are starved during their formal schooling? How are they to utilize effectively the means of communication available for the facilitation of information exchanges within the trade union or worker organization proper, this defending and promoting its valuable democratic character? How would they develop the skills and critical methodology to carry out objective and scientific action research into relevant social developments? How would they see through and effectively react against cooptative worker participation schemes, and at the same time recognise and competently handle the potential of workplace democratization when the opportunity arises? And how would they otherwise inculcate and cultivate a pedagogy

which avoids being didactic, based on a dogmatic relationship between the teacher and the taught? The student therein would be thus reinforced in the role of a mere consumer of knowledge. This would fit in nicely with expectations of "good behaviour" from the individual at the workplace (as a tacit consumer of corporate authority) and in society at large (as a tacit consumer of commodities including goods, services, political decisions and information flows) (23).

There is a second, more overtly political, dimension to this argument. The loss of much of the vigour and vitality of workers' organizations would also cripple further the notion of countervailing power which forms one of the fundamental tenets of pluralist democratic society. A decline of effective union power may signify the rise of unfettered industrial power and an inevitable transition to a neo-corporatist state (24). The liberal philosophy which infuses all contemporary western democracies exalts the virtues of the free market as an optimal mechanism for resource allocation (25). The directive also applies to the political context where the presence of multiple autonomous and independent organizations guarantees self-regulation of power distribution. What is however not said is that it is in the interest of all parties within the freely competitive environment to distort the market mechanism to their positional advantage, promoting not only economic monopolies but subtle cultural hegemonies as well. Information technology in the modern world has never made it easier for those who control access and distribution to carve an information-cum-ideological monopoly on the large, amorphous, human market (26).

Roping In The Universities

Effective strategies for labour education as worker empowerment must be developed in the context of the information age. Linchpin of this campaign is the marshalling of state resources - be they funds, personnel, facilities or technology - for labour education. In particular, solid bridges must be built between state supported centres of adult and worker education as well as universities on one hand and worker organizations on the other. Just as the resources of the former are already directed towards meeting some of the needs of the world of work as seen and determined by particular interest groups, they should similarly address themselves to the other needs of the world of work, the needs as workers and trade unions perceive them to be.

Academic programmes oriented towards labour research, teaching and consultation in liaison with trade union bodies are either insignificant or non- existent in many countries. No doubt, partly to blame for this is that trade unions generally keep a safe distance away from academia. They may be put off by the sophisticated poses and discourse. Or they may downplay the sheer irrelevance of academic endeavors which may appear very much aloof from the real world. They may also fail to see how supposedly value- free and scientific pursuits can ever be harnessed to provide the more explicitly political and ideological grounding required by trade unions for their members. However, while most professorial staff may prefer not to concern itself with low-status, politically compromising (and low paid) union business, other academics may be waiting in the wings for overtures of research support, educational courses and consultancy projects forthcoming from labour organizations. If anything, such a linkage would help stave off the development of an "ivory tower" and "armchair" orientation into which even action-oriented academics my fall into.

Conclusion

Participative Education ought to be a means which leads people to acquire the orientations and tools required to live autonomously, to develop themselves within the environment within which they need to survive, and eventually to influence and master that same environment. In short, to usurp consumer status in all its forms. The task now at hand is to elbow out enough curriculum space, resources and interest (and this must be forthcoming also from trade unions and worker organizations) for such a form of educational activity.

Human evolution is altered by man-made tools whose use then creates a technical-social way of life. Machine technology has already infused contemporary society with scientific discipline, routinised and fragmented work organization, a proper "logic of industrialism". In this process of change, "natural" selection becomes dominated by cultural criteria and favours those able to adapt best to the tool-using way of life. Tools, initially external, effect their users and become first internalised aspects of behaviour and, next, priceless mechanisms for social survival.

The lesson is simple: What has applied for machine technology in the industrial age is being now taken up by information technology in the

post-industrial era. A vigorous and correct labour education policy, which recognises its political character in the context of the upcoming Information Age, may be the determining factor, tipping the scales in favour of a metamorphosis rather than an extinction of active and relevant trade unionism.

Correspondence: Godfrey Baldacchino, Research Officer, Workers' Participation Development Centre, University of Malta, Msida, Malta.

Notes

1. See for example Bell (1973), Galbraith (1971), Kahn (1967) and Toffler (1981).
2. The argument of a new international division of labour is discussed by Bush (1987) and Southall (1988).
3. This articles acknowledges the theoretical contribution of the Frankfurt School of radical sociologists who place their focus of social analysis on elements of the superstructure (art, education, language, information, ideology...) as the moulders, reproducers and legitimators of social order and inequality.
4. These titles, and others, are not, as some would imagine, drawn exclusively from such sources as *Fortune* or the *Harvard Business Review*. Radical social scientists share in the disillusionment.
5. See Dahrendorf (1959) and Offe (1985) for arguments contending the disorganisation of contemporary capitalism and the triumph of economic liberalism.
6. The classic text here is Taylor (1911).
7. Originally inspired by Elton Mayo, this school of thought has today many exponents of repute including Argyris (1964), Likert (1961) and McGregor (1960). An excellent summary is found in "The New Industrial Relations", *Business Week*, Special Report, 11th May 1981.
8. As poignantly argued by Burawoy (1979).
9. Such a critique of economic democracy is suggested by King & Van der Vall (1978, Chapter 1).
10. See, for example, Gill (1985).
11. On professionalisation see Rus (1984). Such new professionals are likely to shun general trade unionism and opt for establishing separate unions or staff associations whose interests may be contradictory to rank-and-file unionism.
12. See Bluestone & Harrison (1982) on deindustrialisation in the USA and the UK respectively.
13. See Goldthorpe *et al.* (1969) and Lockwood (1966).
14. The phrase is adapted from C. Wright Mills' "sociological imagination". See Mills (1959).
15. See Caute (1988, *passim*).
16. See Lovett (1988, *passim*).
17. See Cox (1977).
18. See, for example, Girvin (1988) and Green (1987).
19. See Capelli (1985) and Rainnie (1985).
20. Witness, for example, the EUREKA, ESPRIT, COMETT and ERASMUS projects funded by the European Community.
21. See Richardson & Henning (1984).
22. See Freire (1972).
23. Different authors expound different arguments for justifying labour empowerment as argued in this section. An assorted selection includes Baldacchino (1985); Haubert (1986);

Kessler-Harris & Silverman (1979); Kester & Schiphorst (1983); Levin (1980); Rizzo (1985).

24. See Blum (1987, p.10).

25. See, for example, Friedman & Friedman (1980) and the rediscovered Hayek (1944).

26. See De Sola Pool (1983) and Schiller (1981).

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13

Stimulating Local Development Through Educational Interventions.

Micheál O Cinnéide

Introduction

Community Development through education is the goal of an innovative programme of extra-mural studies offered throughout the West of Ireland by University College Galway, a campus of *circa* 5,000 students, situated on the west coast of the country (O Cinnéide, 1987). When it was first established as Queen's College, Galway, in the middle of the 19th century, the subjects of its professorships included Agriculture, Civil Engineering and Celtic among others, indicating that those who planned a university institution for Galway had in mind that it should contribute to the economic and cultural development of its predominantly rural hinterland, no less than to the scholarship of its students (O hEocha, 1984). The University, therefore, has a long history of involvement in the development of its region and its community development programme is but one facet of its current contribution. The purpose of this article is (a) to briefly review the fundamental principles of community development; (b) to outline an educational intervention found to be effective in stimulating local community development in Ireland; (c) to illustrate the potential of this approach by reference to one local community and (d) to identify the preconditions for the success of this approach to local development.

Community Development

Community development is a term which has come into international usage and is used loosely, ambiguously and even wrongly to denote a range of strategies and activities having different underlying philosophies (Commins, 1985). However, the essential elements in the classical community development model are not in dispute. They are: (a) the community is the unit of action; (b) emphasis is placed on the mobilization of indigenous human and natural resources; (c) internal resources are supplemented by external supports; (d) all segments of the community are given an opportunity to participate and in effect to obtain increased control over decisions and resources; (e) the approach is holistic or comprehensive going beyond segmented efforts and the limited

interests of particular groups within the community; and (f) the process of decision making is rational (e.g. based on identification of needs) and democratic (Cary, 1970). Accordingly, community development represents a bottom-up approach to development which involves: (a) local groups in organising, planning, co-operating and implementing projects for the benefit of their community; (b) emphasis on indigenous human and natural resources and (c) interaction with outside bodies (e.g. government agencies) from which necessary advice and support is sought.

The accomplishment of specific tasks such as the building of a community centre, the preparation of a local resource survey or the creation of employment opportunities locally, through the establishment of a community business, represents the most tangible results of community development. However, the ultimate goal is much less apparent and may be easily overlooked. In its ideological sense, community development places strong emphasis on the approach or method of undertaking local development. What is stressed is the intrinsic merit of getting a local community to identify its own needs, the desirability of involving all segments of the local community in a collaborative effort, the importance of representative democratic structures to encourage citizen participation in community affairs, the nurturing of local leadership and the development of the community's capacity to function effectively on a self-help basis in its own interests over a period of time (Commins, 1982).

In other words, community development is basically a training process. Participants are expected to acquire a range of multi-situational skills. The acquisition of these skills is a gain in itself and a gain with a potential to multiply so that most observers attach greater significance to the attainment of the educational goal than to the accomplishment of specific tasks which are best regarded as a means to the ultimate end. As such community development represents an approach to local and regional development that emphasises investments in human resources as opposed to the more traditional approach of

assisting lagging regions through the provision of buildings, locational grants and enhanced infrastructural facilities.

Adult Education and Local Development in Ireland

University College Galway provides courses on community development as part of its general extra-mural programme in adult education. The courses are aimed at community groups which lack the know-how to undertake development but which express an interest in developing that capacity with the help of the University. In this sense the programme is a reactive one with the result that courses are generally provided at centres in which local interest in them is previously expressed. The courses are usually staffed by full-time teaching personnel attached to various academic departments. Courses are held in appropriate centres (e.g. a local school) which are convenient to the community groups. They last for the duration of one academic year (approximately 25 weeks) during which class is held once weekly for a period of two to three hours. The need for follow-up support for the community initiatives is increasingly recognized. Attendance at the courses varies considerably, but generally approximates 20. There are no special requirements for admission to the course. Rather, at sometime prior to the commencement date a public meeting is held to which the local community is invited and at which details of the proposed course are given.

The overall aim of the course is to develop participants' interest in and awareness of their own community with a view to encouraging them to participate actively in local affairs. Specific objectives may vary slightly from centre to centre but generally include: (a) promotion of a spirit of self-help and self-confidence amongst local communities and dispelling of apathy and dependency; (b) encouraging widespread participation in community activities: (c) establishment of an appropriate vehicle for community development in the form of a local community organization; (d) increasing awareness of indigenous human and natural resources for development; (e) identifying development constraints and appropriate remedial measures; (f) familarizing participants with various external supports and incentives that may be available; (e.g. introducing the class to the rudiments of sound business management practices) and (h) assisting with the development of specific projects

so as to instil confidence in their ability to achieve something worthwhile as a group.

Course syllabi may also vary in order to meet specific objectives and because individual tutors may stress (or individual communities may have a particular interest in) some aspects of local development to the exclusion of other topics. However, each course contains two major distinct elements. The first one consists mainly of lectures and seminars on predetermined topics of special importance to local development. During the course of these sessions the fundamental principles of community co-operation and self-help are examined with particular reference to the Irish context. Approaches to regional development and the principal instruments of regional policy employed in Ireland and elsewhere are analyzed. Various models of community organizations such as community councils, community co-operatives and development associations are outlined and their appropriateness to the local scene is evaluated. Where classes express a desire to initiate community enterprises a number of teaching sessions may be devoted to topics such as product identification, feasibility studies, costing and financing projects, plant requirements, accounting procedures, taxation, marketing and industrial relations. No individual tutor is competent to lecture on the wide variety of topics covered. Consequently, every effort is made to recruit guest lecturers with special expertise and practical experience in the chosen areas.

The second major element of each course consists of class centred projects which are usually identified by the students in consultation with the course tutor. The element is essentially task orientated and is based on the maxim that to do is to learn and *vice versa*. A comprehensive survey of the local area is a commonly selected project. The object is to actively enlist the participants in recording the community's aspirations, in analysing local problems, in searching for solutions and in implementing and monitoring projects. In due course, the participants are expected to undertake more ambitious projects and to exert a catalytic influence on the general development of their localities.

Local Development: The Inishowen Example

Introduction. Inishowen is the most northerly peninsula in Ireland (Fig.1). The peripheral geographic location is compounded by an international boundary which distances Inishowen

FIG.1 LOCATION OF INISHOWEN
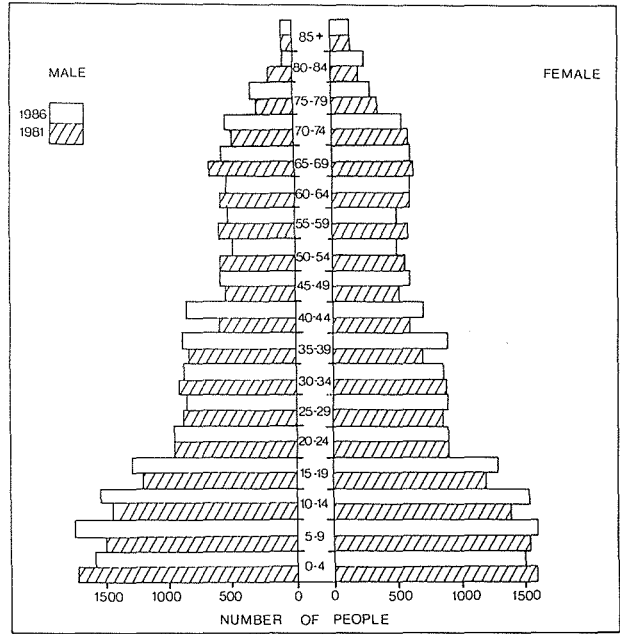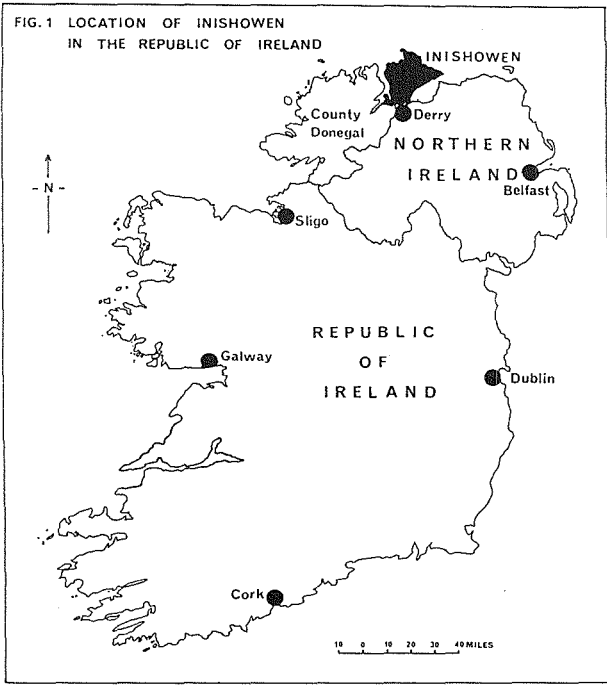IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

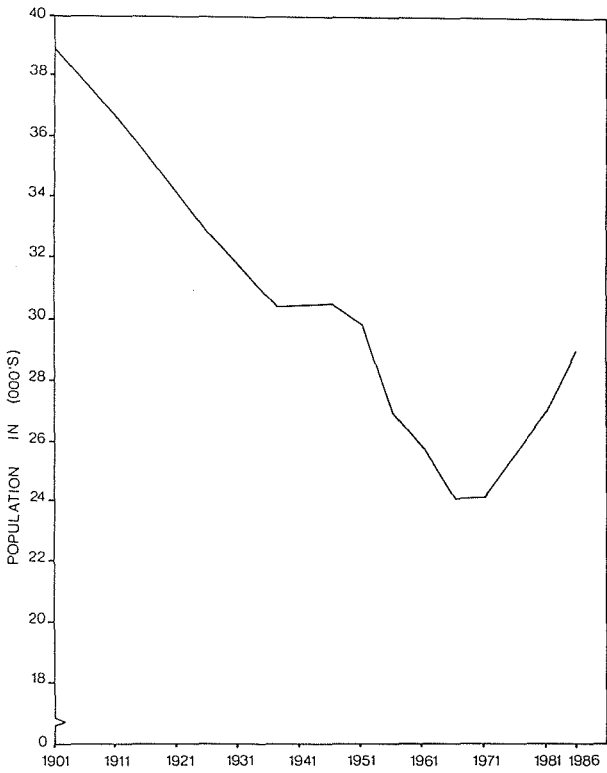Fig. 3.   Population Structure in Inishowen.

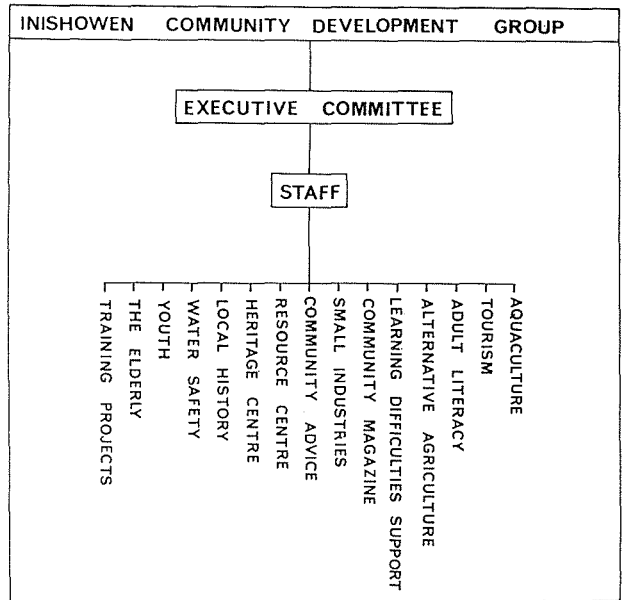Fig. 2.   Population Trends in Inishowen.

Fig. 4.   Structure of Local Voluntary Organization in Inishowen.

from its nearest major urban centre of Derry. The area consists largely of marginal land with a high preponderance of poorly drained soils. The climate is windier and wetter here than elsewhere in Ireland. In general, difficult physical conditions militate against successful exploitation of the natural resources of the area, especially with regard to farming and fishing. At the same time the rugged terrain of Inishowen, its attractive seashore and the unspoilt landscape represent natural resources upon which tourism may be developed.

Demography. The total population of Inishowen is 28,914 representing 36 people per sq.Km. Low population density is directly attributable to inadequate employment opportunities locally resulting in a prolonged history of net out-migration except for a brief period during the 1970s when a strong reverse migration flow occurred (Fig. 2). The salient features of the age/sex composition of the population and the changes in the intercensal period 1981-1986 are apparent from Fig. 3. The large numbers in the younger age-groups are especially noteworthy. The truncated bars corresponding with the 20-39 age group reflect the impact of out-migration on the population structure. Of particular concern is the very high proportion of the population (5.7%) represented by elderly (65+ years) people living alone, very often is isolated rural locations. Another concern relates to the exodus of young people which has become manifest again during the past five years or so.

Local Economy. The economy of Inishowen was traditionally dominated by small farmers. Although this sector has contracted severely since the 1960s it still remains a significant element in the local economy. Most farming families eke only a marginal standard of living from the land. Consequently, many are dependent on welfare assistance and other forms of financial transfers. The main industries are in the clothing and knitwear sectors giving largely female, unskilled or semi-skilled and poorly paid employment. There is a heavy overdependence on one major textile plant. Fishing is well established at one port in Inishowen but the realization of its full potential is being greatly impeded by the Common Fisheries Policy of the EC. The undoubted potential for tourism in the area has scarcely been tapped. Factors which militate against tourism development include its remoteness from points of entry to the country and its proximity to Northern Ireland with its adverse publicity associated with civil unrest. Over

20% of the population are officially registered as unemployed but the real level of unemployment is much higher because (a) many people, especially women, do not qualify for welfare assistance, and therefore are not on the unemployment register, (b) many farmers are underemployed and (c) out-migration reduces the level of unemployment locally.

Local Development in Inishowen. Inishowen Community Development Group (ICDG) spearheads the process of local development in Inishowen. This voluntary local body was established in 1984 following the completion of an extra-mural community development course in the area by University College Galway. ICDG consists of a central co-ordinating and planning committee together with numerous special-interest subcommittees (Fig. 4). Providing an opportunity for widespread community participation in the development process is a major objective of ICDG. It is hoped that through participation, skills and know-how will be acquired at the individual and community level and that eventually the apathy and sense of powerlessness prevailing at the local level will be replaced by a "can do" mentality. As the attainment of this long-term goal is regarded as being of paramount importance, great care is taken to involve local people in all stages of the development process so that "learning by doing" is a fundamental tenet of ICDG's overall development strategy.

The expansion of the original small group (circa 20), which attended the community development course, into what ICDG now is, represents a major achievement. A total of over 200 individuals are now actively pursuing a wide range of social and economic objectives through ICDG's various subcommittees. Each specific interest subcommittee has one or two representatives on the central co-ordinating committee known as ICDG which has an executive committee and three full-time staff (Fig. 4). The whole organisation is incorporated as a company limited by guarantee. Meetings of ICDG and of its executive committee are scheduled regularly on a monthly basis. Meetings of subcommittees are generally held prior to these meetings. The executive staff are, as far as possible, placed at the disposal of the subcommittees provided their projects are endorsed by the central co-ordinating committee. In this way the specific interest subcommittees generate ideas which are approved by the central committee and then progressed by the staff working in conjunction with the various

subcommittee members. The successful establishment of the local voluntary organisation represents a very important vehicle for the future development of Inishowen.

To enhance communication with the Inishowen community at large and to increase their support for, and active participation in, the activities of ICDG, an elaborate magazine is produced on a quarterly basis by a special subcommittee. The magazine carries a wide range of articles many of which are germane to the immediate goals of ICDG. Commercial viability is being achieved through sales approximating 1,000 copies per issue and through sponsorship from local business interests. The magazine represents a vital instrument in the hands of ICDG to promote its objectives. The quality of production has improved very considerably since its inception four years ago and it now rates among the very best publications of this kind in the country.

The exploitation of the maricultural and tourism potential of Inishowen are major objectives of ICDG and serve to illustrate the nature and range of their local development activities. Through a special subcommittee, ICDG has worked relentlessly on maricultural development. Progress to date includes: (a) a survey of various sites around the peninsula in order to identify ones potentially suitable for maricultural activities; (b) the identification of the Trá Bréaga Bay as one such site; (c) the completion of oyster growing field trials which established the suitability of the Bay for oyster farming; (d) the establishment of a pilot commercial oyster farm in Trá Bréaga Bay and, more recently, the establishment of a pilot clam farm in the same area; and (e) the preparation of an ambitious business plan aimed at translating these pilot farms into a viable community enterprise that would create the necessary funds to enable ICDG to continue to function as an effective local development body.

The establishment of privately owned farms represents another goal of ICDG's mariculture subcommittee. Considerable local interest has been generated through the establishment of the community farm and already several young men (some of whom are returned migrants) have undertaken an ICDG organised enterprise development course which was especially tailored to fish farming. As part of their studies they prepared private business development plans which they now propose to implement. A successful transition from training centre to fish farming is contingent on the issue of necessary

licences and raising of sufficient capital but already 10 private shellfish farms are at an embryonic stage of development.

Another sector of the local economy which has considerable potential for development is tourism. The coast line of Inishowen is dotted with sandy beaches and small harbours suitable for boating and sailing. Spectacular scenery, good fishing rivers and lakes, and a rich heritage of antiquities represent other largely unexploited resources upon which a tourism industry may be developed. In pursuit of this objective ICDG, through its tourism subcommittee, had embarked on a comprehensive programme to promote Inishowen as a tourist destination especially for special interest holidays such as archaeological and historical outings. Achievements to date include: (a) the publication of large-scale black-and-white and colour maps of Inishowen showing major tourism attractions and amenities; (b) the publication of a booklet entitled *Inishowen: A Journey through its Past* which is a popular introduction to some of the most interesting antiquities in the area; (c) the preparation and distribution of a superb 20 page colour brochure of the peninsula with English, Irish, French and German introductions; (d) the organisation of sporting and cultural weekend events; (e) exploratory work on the feasibility of establishing a local heritage centre and a maritime museum; and (f) the establishment of tourism information points throughout the peninsula.

The pioneering work in shellfish farming and the promotional work in tourism are only part of a wide-ranging programme of local economic development which was instigated in Inishowen through an adult education course in community development. Significant initiatives are also underway in promoting small industry and in identifying alternative agricultural enterprises such as mushroom production. New economic opportunities are being created through the mobilization of hitherto unexploited indigenous resources. Most importantly, there is some evidence that apathy and hopelessness are being replaced by quitely confident attitudes which come with success.

Preconditions for Success

A number of measures are necessary to ensure the success of this approach to local development. Above all the widespread apathy and sense of powerlessness that exists at local level must be tackled. Ordinary people must be persuaded that there is much they can and indeed must do. As Kearns (1974) observed about the

Gaeltacht (Irish speaking) areas of Ireland, no efforts to resuscitate these communities, regardless of how well motivated or financially supported, can be successful unless they are paralleled by a revival of the human spirit. There are no formulae to instantly transform dispirited communities into vibrant cells. A clear need for a programme of social animation exists. There is growing evidence that this can be accomplished through the type of adult education courses currently being provided on a reactive basis by some tertiary educational institutions such as University College Galway. The provision of these courses on a widespread basis is beyond the capacity of most regional universities. One solution, which is already being applied in the west of Ireland, is that universities offer such courses in conjunction with regional development agencies. A more satisfactory long-term solution is for universities to produce development agents with the necessary skills to act as community animateurs. The recent establishment in University College Galway of courses at masters degee level in community and rural development is intended to meet this specialized labour requirement.

Empowering local communities represents a very sophisticated approach to local development that requires a long-term strategy on the part of the communities themselves and the agencies which support their initiatives (Keane and O Cinnéide, 1986). It is vital that all parties should appreciate the emphasis on the attainment of this process goal and that task objectives (e.g. establishment of fish farm or promotion of tourism) should be pursued in a way that facilitates the acquisition of know-how and confidence. Meaningful participation of the local community in the development process is essential to the underlying fundamental principle of learning by doing. Supporting external agencies must also see the promotion of local employment initiatives as a learning process for them and the experience gained should enrich their policies (Hawker et al., 1989).

The establishment of a separate channel of funding for local development is another imperative for the success of local economic initiatives. The activities of ICDG to date have been largely funded by a grant of IR£310,000 through the Second European Anti Poverty Programme to Combat Poverty. This fund, of which 55% is provided from the European Social Fund and 45% from national exchequer, is payable over the four years 1986-89.

Considerable flexibility associated with the funding has enabled ICDG to maximise its impact on local development. They have succeeded in harnessing and orchestrating considerable voluntary local effort to the betterment of the community as a whole. They have also succeeded in coordinating the activities of various state agencies and voluntary bodies. It is unlikely that ICDG or any other local community would meet with significant success without a flexible funding arrangement over which there is local control.

Finally, the success of local development initiatives is critically dependent on vesting sufficient powers in the appropriate regional and local authorities. It is unreal to expect local communities to accept increased responsibility for their own development needs without giving them the necessary authority to discharge this role. Highly centralized systems of government, such as that which prevails in Ireland, creates a sense of powerlessness at local level and leads to dependency on the state (O Cinnéide and Keane, 1987). The essential response is to give local and regional authorities the necessary powers to advance local development in a manner which is consistent with national and EC goals.

Correspondence: Dr. M.O. Cinnèide, Senior Lecturer, Department of Geography, University College Galway, Galway, Ireland.

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Pedagogy And Politics In The Work Of Paulo Freire

Peter Mayo

The Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, has exerted a considerable influence on the field of adult education not only in Latin America but worldwide. The reaction to his adult educational theory has been varied. It has often been considered as "reformist" (eg. La Belle, 1986) and "populist" (Youngman, 1986). Other writers have, on the contrary, underscored the radical nature of Freire's pedagogy (eg. Torres, 1982) and the process of "conscientization" with which it is closely identified, a process regarded by Connolly (1981) as being "essentially geared to the radical transformation of social reality". (p.71)

This paper provides a critical exposition of Freire's adult educational theory, outlining its basic tenets and examining the extent to which it can be successful in contributing to a general process of social transformation.[1.] The paper emphasizes the radical nature of Freire's alternative pedagogical theory.

1. Ideological Domination Through Education

In his earlier writings (cf. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*), Freire dwells at length on the nature of oppression and the manner in which it is brought about. Such writings betray a number of influences, notably Hegelian dialectics and Phenomenology (Torres, 1982: 77), besides "catholicism, marxism, existentialism and a general humanism" (Lind, Johnston, 1986: 58). Drawing from the insights provided by a number of writers, notably Gramsci (1971), one may argue that oppression can be brought about through ideological domination and coercion. The latter is most pronounced in many of the Latin American countries which provide the context for Freire's writings, countries where resort to the State's physical control mechanism is quite frequent. Freire's writings, however, deal, for the most part, with education and most notably adult education. It is therefore with the ideological means of control and domination that they are mainly concerned.

One may argue that such means constitute a form of what Pierre Bourdieu would call "symbolic violence". This serves to mystify reality for the oppressed in such a way that they would

be prevented from gaining, in Freire's own words, "consciousness of themselves as persons or as members of an oppressed class" (Freire, 1970: 30). This process of "symbolic violence", it can be argued, serves its purpose in imbuing them with a sense of "false consciousness" which manifests itself in various ways, most notably in the tendency among the oppressed to internalize the image of their oppressors:

> "Their ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity"
>
> (Freire, 1970: 30)

The "oppressor consciousness", therefore, makes its presence felt inside the oppressed. Henry Giroux (1981) has indicated several forms of behaviour among the underprivileged which reflect such a presence. One of these is sexism, a common form of "violence" perpetrated by members of male subcultures in relation to women who "share their experience" (p.14). To this, one may add racism and ageism.

The process of domination and oppression is facilitated by other related means, most notably by a series of social practices that are "prescriptive" in nature: "One of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed is prescription" (Freire, 1970: 31). Such social conditioning prevents human beings from questioning what would otherwise be considered as problematic assumptions about social reality. In much of the Third World context which influenced Freire's thinking, people are "conditioned into accepting the interpretation of the world provided by the dominant culture" (Jarvis, 1985: 112).

Such conditioning discourages initiative and creativity. Under these conditions, even freedom becomes a fearful thing for the oppressed. Any activity which entails creativity, that which enables human beings to explore and enjoy such freedom, involves risk-taking (Freire, Macedo, 1987: 57) and therefore presents itself to them as a fearful journey into the unknown.

Traditional pedagogical methods, characterized by a "top-to-bottom" communicative approach, a case of "strong framing" (Bernstein, 1971), constitute a very

important example of a kind of social practice which is prescriptive in nature. These methods, through which the teacher is the only dispenser of knowledge while the learners are its passive recipients (Goulet, 1973: 11), serve their purpose in encouraging submissiveness. They stifle creativity and critical thinking, and therefore facilitate the reproduction of unequal social relations among human beings.

Freire (1970) refers to the foregoing as "the "banking" concept of education" (p.58). In a much cited passage from his most celebrated work, Freire (1970) states:

"Education .... becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat"(p.58).

In such a situation, the teacher is the only "subject" of the learning process while the learner is merely an "object", a person who is totally under somebody else's control. Everything is prescribed for the learner. The teacher is, here, engaging in what Freire would call "a pedagogy of answers" (Freire, in Bruss, Macedo, 1985: 9).[2] As a result, the "good educatee" is, in Freire's own words, one "who repeats, who refuses to think critically, who adapts to models, who finds it nice to be a rhinoceros" (Freire, 1972a: 179), the reference here being made to Eugene Ionesco's celebrated play, *Rhinoceros*.

"Banking Education" serves to "domesticate" rather than "liberate" human beings (ibid.). Deference to authority, an uncritical consumption of informatio and knowledge and an immersion in what Freire calls the "culture of silence" are normally the outcome of such a process. The prescriptive mode of pedagogy, a much favoured one, even in Maltese educational establishments, destroys any sense of relationship that the educatee may have with the material to be learnt. It constitutes a process of cultural alienation, in that the educatee is estranged from the content to be learnt. It also facilitates a process of "cultural invasion" in as much as the educatee becomes uncritically receptive to ideas imposed from above (ideas related to the dominant culture) and from without (ideas disseminated as part of a process of 'cultural imperialism'). The educatee would therefore be presented with a sense of reality that bears no relationship with his or her own culture.

"Banking Education" is a non-reflective mode of learning (Jarvis, 1987: 90) which fosters

undemocratic social relations and therefore supports prevailing structures of power and processes of domination. It is part of a hidden political process which helps preserve the status quo. Freire underlines the political nature of all educational activity, maintaining that education cannot be neutral: "It is ... impossible to deny, except intentionally or by innocence, the political aspect of education" (Freire, 1976a: 70). Educators therefore have to make what amounts to a *political* choice: "Educators must ask themselves for whom and on whose behalf they are working" (Freire, 1985: 180). They can either indulge in "Banking Education", and therefore help "domesticate" human beings, or they can become transformative agents, educating for "liberation".[3] The form which "Education for Liberation" takes in Freire's adult educational theory and practice, in the pre-social transformation, or "pre-figurative" (Allman, 1988), stage, is "Cultural Action for Freedom".[4] It is to a discussion of this alternative pedagogical practice that the paper now turns.

2. The Alternative: Cultural Action For Freedom

In Freire's writings, non-formal adult education constitutes the main site of social practice wherein education for transformation and liberation takes place. The reasons for this are obvious. Though he "talks", in his "dialogical" book with Ira Shor, of the possibilities for a transformative education which exist in a First World context (Shor, Freire, 1987), Freire draws a lot, in most of his writings, on his own experiences as an adult educator and advisor to organisers of adult literacy programmes in developing countries.[5] His ideas are often the product of experiences in Latin America and Africa where, in certain regions, only a very small percentage of the relevant age group receives a formal education. This, together with the fact that it is difficult to carry out counter-hegemonic schooling under conditions of extreme repression, conditions which obtain in a number of Latin American countries, has rendered non-formal education the area in which "Cultural Action for Freedom" takes place.

"Cultural Action" constitutes the vehicle whereby the oppressed gain awareness of the social and economic contradictions that place them in a subaltern position. "Cultural action is developed in opposition to the elite that controls the power." (Freire, in Torres, 1982: 83). Freire therefore underlines the counter-hegemonic nature of this adult educational process. It is a

process which reflects his faith in the potential of human agency to transform social structures.

His is a pedagogical theory couched in the "language of possibility" (Giroux, 1985: xiv), a theory with strong voluntaristic overtones. Because he accords great importance to the transformative potential of human agency, a "critically conscious agency" (Allman, 1988: 95), Freire repudiates the overly deterministic and mechanistic theories of reproduction associated with vulgar Marxism. He maintains that these theories convey a sense of "liberating fatalism ... a liberation given over to history ... It will come no matter what." (Freire, 1985: 179).

As is the case with a number of radical humanists, Freire derives much of his inspiration from the early writings of Karl Marx, notably such pieces as the *Third Thesis on Feuerbach* and the passage, "Concerning the production of consciousness" (cf. *The German Ideology*). In these writings, the dialectical nature of the relationship between human agency and structure is underlined: "Circumstances make men [sic] just as much as men [sic] make circumstances" (Marx, in Tucker, 1978: 165).

The basic tenet of Freire's pedagogical theory is that human beings have the potential to reflect upon their world of action, which provides the circumstances in which they live, in order to transform it and, in so doing, create new circumstances. His is a pedagogical theory which centres around the concept of "Praxis" that entails transformative action and reflection:

"But men's [sic] activity consists of action and reflection: it is praxis, it is transformation of the world".

(Freire, 1970: 119)

In Freire's view, any separation of the two key elements in the process of praxis (ie. action and reflection) is either mindless activism or empty theorizing, the latter being what Jarvis (1987) would call "armchair reflectivity"(p.90) The two elements ought, in Freire's view, to be inextricably intertwined. Freire's much celebrated "Method" seeks to combine the two, having "praxis" at its core. It involves a process in which elements relating to the social reality of the adult learners are objectified in such a way that they can be viewed by them in a better, somewhat detached manner. The process in question is that of "conscientizacao" (conscientisation), the term which was originally used by Catholic radicals in the sixties (Zachariah, 1986: 28) and which, according to Freire, was rendered popular by Bishop Helder Camara (ibid: 36). Owing to lack

of space, the entire learning process involved cannot be described in detail. For the sake of brevity, however, this paper reproduces Dennis Goulet's succinct description of the process from his excellent introduction to one of Freire's early publications in the English Language:

"-participant observation of educators 'tuning in' to the vocabular universe of the people;

- their arduous search for generative words at two levels: syllabic richness and a high charge of experiential involvement;

- a first codification of these words into visual images which stimulate people 'submerged' in the culture of silence to 'emerge' as conscious makers of their own 'culture'.

- the decodification by a 'culture circle' under the self-effacing stimulus of a coordinator who is no 'teacher' in the conventional sense, but who has become an educator-educatee - in dialogue with educatee - educators too often treated by formal educators as passive recipients of knowledge;

- a creative new codification, this one explicitly critical and aimed at action, wherein those who were formerly illiterate now begin to reject their role as mere 'objects' in nature and social history and undertake to become 'subjects' of their own destiny"

(Goulet, 1973: 11).

It is through the processes of codification and decodification that the people's reality, their "world of action", is objectified. This enables them to reflect better upon it with a view to transforming it. Praxis apart, the method adopted by Freire has other interesting features which are worthy of every consideration. Echoing Mannheim (1936), Freire acknowledges that knowledge is existentially determined. He therefore appears to be suggesting that any meaningful process of adult education should seek to affirm the relationship between knowledge and the learner's material existence.[6.] In contrast to the prescriptive model of "Banking Education", this is a process of knowledge sharing characterized by a "bottom - up", as opposed to "top-to-bottom", approach. The learners are helped to reflect on their own experience to arrive at new levels of awareness. The entire process is initiated by the Circle coordinator. All the circle members, however, help each other throughout the process. For Freire's method entails a "group pedagogy", another aspect of his work which recalls Mannheim (1936), an important source of

influence on Freire (Torres, 1982: 77). The "knowledge" attained could be regarded as "a cooperative effort of group life, in which everyone unfolds his [sic] knowledge within the framework of a common fate, a common activity, and the overcoming of common difficulties (in which however each has a different share)" (Mannheim, 1936: 29).

The foregoing suggests a mode of communication characterized by dialogue: "A cultural circle is a live and creative dialogue .." (Freire, 1971: 61). It is a process which serves to establish democratic social relations - the most important feature of what Jarvis (1985) calls an "Education of Equals" (p.49): "Through dialogue, the teacher of the students and the students-of-the teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer the one who teaches, but one who is himself [sic] taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach" (Freire, 1970: 67). Educators and educatees become "learners" acting as "cognitive subjects" in a constant attempt to discover "knowledge through one another and through the objects they try to know" (Freire, 1976b: 225).

Both learners and educators are *subjects* sealed together in a "joint act of knowing and re-knowing the object of study" (Shor, Freire, 1987: 100). As Ira Shor maintains, anything which the educator already knows is relearned through interaction with the educatees (ibid:100). Freire's early writings stress the horizontal nature of the social relations of education which characterize the Cultural Circle. One must not, however, be so naive as to assume that adult learners, conditioned by years of exposure to the idea of "Banking Education" and, according to Freire, fearful of freedom itself, would be disposed to partake of a dialogical, democratic education. Such conditioning could lead them to resist attempts at a dialogical education and bring pressure to bear on the facilitator concerned to adopt traditional, "tried and tested" methods of teaching (cf. Baldacchino, 1990: 53, 54; Arnove, 1986: 24, 25). The present writer's recent experience as coordinator of the Malta Adult Literacy Programme suggests that this can easily be the case. The pressures faced by the adult learning facilitator who persists with encouraging democratic social relations of education are indeed great.

Freire's later works suggest a slight shift in his position regarding the nature of these social relations of education. In these works, Freire plays down what several critics (eg. Torres, 1982: 84) took to be the "anti-directivist" nature of his pedagogy. His proposed process may be regarded as an "Education of Equals" but only to a certain extent. The educator, or adult learning facilitator, is also a learner but this is not to say, however, that she or he is at par with the educatee:

> "At the moment the teacher begins the dialogue, he or she knows a great deal, first in terms of knowledge and second in terms of the horizon that he or she wants to get to. The starting point is what the teacher knows about the object and where the teacher wants to go with it" (Shor, Freire, 1987: 103).

The pedagogy is therefore "directive" in that it is directed towards a particular goal, an unmistakably political one. The radical educator/facilitator has the political goal of facilitating, by virtue of what is essentially a "process pedagogy", a change in social relations, rendering them more democratic. The foregoing citation can be taken as an indication that Freire acknowledges a certain "superiority" on the educator's part. This is rarely explicit in his earlier writings, for which he had been criticized. Youngman (1986), for instance, states, in a work published a year before Freire's "conversational" books with Shor and Macedo, that the Brazilian educationist is "ambivalent about saying outright that educators can have a theoretical understanding superior to that of the learners and which is, in fact, the indispensable condition of the development of critical consciousness" (p.179).

That "superiority" is now acknowledged. The educator, however, can only realise his/her political goal by ensuring that the authority derived from his/her competence does, at no stage, degenerate into authoritarianism: "... the democratic teacher never, never transforms authority into authoritarianism". (Shor, Freire, 1987: 91). It ought to be remarked, once again, that years of social conditioning can lead the adult learners to create the sort of learning climate which prevents the facilitator from establishing her/his authority without being authoritarian.

Avoidance of authoritarian teaching methods would, however, be essential for the Cultural Circle to succeed in serving as a microcosm of the kind of "utopian" society which Freire has in mind. This would be a society characterized by dialogue and participation at all levels, in which an ongoing process of "denunciation and anunciation" (Freire, 1972b: 39, 40) takes place.

These are just some considerations concerning Freire's process of cultural action for freedom. The questions this paper attempts to address at this stage are: To what extent can this process of adult education truly serve as a means of liberation? Can this form of non-formal education bring about social and political transformation? It is quite natural to assume that, in countries governed by repressive regimes, counter-hegemonic activities would be considered anathema and would often be ruthlessly and violently stamped out. Freire knows this only too well. His activities in the north east of Brazil were carried out under "populist" governments and also benefitted from state funding (Kozol, 1985: 95). They were, however, brought to an abrupt end in 1964 when the Military staged a coup which overthrew the government of Joao Goulart. Freire was first imprisoned and then sent into exile. The subversive nature of Freire inspired "popular education" is also underlined by the fact that, in Nicaragua, centres where such activities took place were often the target of Contra attacks (cf. Arnove, 1986: 54; Carnoy, Torres, 1987: 31).

The foregoing may lead one to argue that there are limits to the effectiveness of Freire's pedagogy as an instrument of political change. There have been situations, however, where Freire-inspired pedagogy made an effective contribution to social and political transformation. Arnove (1986) states that Freire exerted considerable influence on the sort of counter-hegemonic pedagogical activities carried out in Nicaragua in the late sixties and seventies (p.8). Jesuits from the University of Central America (U.C.A.), many of whom belonged to the "Liberation Wing" of the Church, were involved in popular education activities that preceded the Somoza overthrow in 1979 (Arnove, 1986: 8). Such "Cultural Action for Freedom" may have appeared less of an outlawed activity since it was carried out under the Church's "umbrella". It would be relevant to remark, however, that, in this case, Freirean pedagogy was not carried out in isolation but in relation to a strong social movement, one which sought to draw together three strands, "Sandino's popular national revolt, Marxist class analysis and Christian Liberation Theology" (Arnove, 1986: 9).

The inference that one may draw from the Nicaraguan example is that adult education, or simply education, on its own, does *not* lead to social transformation. It can prove to be effective in this regard only when it is related to some social and political movement capable of effecting a rupture in the social and political structures. Freire himself warns us that one should not "expect" from education what it cannot do, namely "transform society by itself" (Shor, Freire, 1987: 37). It is not an independent variable. If left on its own, the adult education process proposed by Freire would only involve "intellectual praxis". This is a kind of "praxis" which would be capable of transforming the learners' consciousness. It would not, however, be conducive to their engagement in the social action necessary for them to transform their situation of oppression (La Belle, 1986: 181). If linked with social action, however, the educational process would involve "revolutionary praxis". This is akin to what Marx refers to, in the *Third Thesis on Feuerbach*, as "revolutionising practice" (Marx, in Tucker, 1978: 144). It is the kind of "praxis" which not merely changes the people's consciousness but, being carried out in relation to a strong social movement, as was the case with the consciousness-raising activities in Nicaragua, contributes to social and political action (La Belle, 1986: 181).

It is for this reason that Freire advocates that educators "expose themselves to the greater dynamism, the greater mobility" found "inside social movements" (Shor, Freire, 1987: 39). This certainly applies to "cultural action" within the Latin American context. In this context, Freirean pedagogy is closely related to Liberation Theology, "a critical reflection on praxis" (Boff. L, Boff. C, 1986: 69), which provides the basis for a strong social movement governed by Christian-Marxist principles. It also applies to the kind of critical education, to which Freire's writings provide a lot of the theoretical underpinning, which is being advocated by a number of writers (cf. Giroux, 1990) in a predominantly First World context. For Freire, it is in the "intimacy" of social movements that a radical, critical education, geared towards social transformation, has to develop (Shor, Freire, 1987: 88; Freire, Macedo, 1987: 61).

It can still be argued, however, that, irrespective of whether it does or does not take place within a social movement, cultural action does not *directly* lead to political action intended to bring about political change. In the cases of Guinea Bissau, the context for Freire's *Pedagogy in Process*, and Nicaragua, military action on the part of a guerrilla movement brought about the desired change. One feels, however, that the people need to be prepared beforehand in order to accept and partake fully of the cultural change which would be expected to take place following

the country's political transformation. Freire's proposed "Cultural Action for Freedom" may prove to be effective in this regard. It can help create the right cultural climate for such a process of transformation.

It has often been argued that Freire's process of transformative adult education would stand a much better chance of succeeding in a post-revolutionary or post-independence context, especially if the political climate is a most congenial one. The process would in such cases, be one of "Cultural Revolution" which "occurs in complete harmony with the revolutionary regime ..." (Torres, 1982: 88). The validity or otherwise of this assumption will be examined in the course of the next section.

3. Cultural Revolution

Once the desired change has occurred, a process of consolidation of the new order, often based on a new conception of human relationships, begins to take place. Freire was involved with the non-formal education programmes carried out in a number of countries which had just experienced a major political change. These included Nicaragua (Arnove, 1986), Grenada (Torres, 1986: 27), Guinea Bissau (Freire, 1978; Freire, Macedo, 1987), Tanzania (Torres, 1982) and Sao Tome and Principe (Freire, 1981).

Freirean pedagogy would be considered appropriate in a situation which calls for a change in social relations, a change intended to give the people a voice they previously did not have. This would be a change which would enable the people's culture - popular culture - to constitute the basis of their own learning. Of particular relevance here would be Melo's account (1985) of the "popular education" activities which took place in Portugal after the "silent coup" of 1974. The sort of cultural and political climate that prevailed in the country at the time was one which should have easily lent itself to the use of Freirean pedagogy, given the strong cultural and historical ties that exist between the Portuguese and Brazilian contexts. These activities were meant to lay stress on what the people possessed rather than on what they lacked. It was the sort of adult educational programme which had to instil in the people confidence in their own ability to participate fully in the life of the community. It is for this reason that an adult literacy programme was avoided at all costs during the initial stages of the post-revolutionary period.[7] It was felt that a literacy programme would have emphasised "what the people did not possess" (Melo, 1985:

42) rather than "what they had in abundance ...popular culture, the people's own store of knowledge ... in short, their own living culture" (ibid: 42, 43).

There is an obvious connection between the foregoing ideals and the basic tenets of Freirean pedagogical theory. This notwithstanding, the national director/s (?) of the Freire-inspired government sponsored programme in Portugal was, according to Lind and Johnston (1986: 61), suspended because of the programme's "political implications of action or potential action against the government". As Bhola (1988) maintains, "Freire's approach has .. brought something of anti-statism to adult education" (p.31). In sponsoring Freire-inspired programmes, therefore, the State would be furnishing the people with a weapon that can eventually be wielded against itself. Lind and Johnston's remark concerning the Portuguese experience leads one to consider as problematic the assumption that Freirean pedagogy works best within a process of "Cultural Revolution".

Though Freire's pedagogical theory would be relevant, there would obviously be limits to the extent to which its basic ideals can be realized. The "antistatism" which, according to Bhola (1988), is associated with Freirean adult education, constitutes a greater problem in the Third World. This is the context for Freire's proposed process of Cultural Revolution, where "most adult education .. is being delivered by the state" (p.31). There is much in Freire's theory, however, which must have been of relevance to the "new" political realities faced by such countries as Nicaragua, Guinea Bissau and Tanzania where Freire was involved, albeit "peripherally" in the case of the last mentioned (Torres, 1982: 87).

Unlike Portugal, these countries chose to carry out mass literacy campaigns which served a variety of purposes. In the case of Nicaragua, it was argued that the "Cruzada" helped maintain the revolutionary momentum. It also served to legitimize the Sandinista government in the eyes of a people who had been deprived of a basic education during Somoza's rule (Arnove, 1986). As Lind and Johnston (1986) maintain, "the mere promotion of literacy activities can benefit the state, and give it some legitimacy in the eyes of the people: 'the state is doing something for us' (p.33). This suggests a rather patronising attitude towards adult education which could serve to disempower people rather than empower them, rendering them "objects" instead of "subjects". Furthermore, in such countries, it was

essential to furnish adults with the skills of basic education necessary for them to participate effectively in the process of economic development. For, as was stated in Tanzania's first five year Development Plan, "the nation cannot wait until the children have become educated for development to begin" (cited in Unsicker, 1936: 231). Economic constraints may also have prevented impoverished countries like Tanzania from providing adequate schooling. Non-formal education appears to have been a cheaper alternative. A war situation as that which occurred in Nicaragua (ie. the Contra War) would render schools dangerous places to be in and non-formal education would therefore allow for greater flexibility in the use of premises.

Most of the countries mentioned in this section attempted to create a "new society" characterized by popular participation, an alternative to the one characterized by domination and exploitation which existed during the colonial or dictatorship period. Freire's adult education programmes projected a set of ideals that was in keeping with the kind of "new society" the revolutionary leaders of these countries claimed to promote.[8] It is also necessary to point out that the attainment of independence or the carrying out of a successful revolution does not change popular attitudes. Neither does it necessarily alter situations, characterized by a process of ideological domination, overnight. In this respect, Freire (1985) quotes Cape Verde's President, Aristides Perreira, as having said: "We made our liberation and we drove out the colonizers. Now we need to decolonize the minds" (p.187). Freire is one of the leading figures from the Third World to formulate an educational theory relevant to a process of decolonization. Nyerere (1979), who formulated a theory of "Education for Self-Reliance", and Gandhi, who is well known for his proposed "Nai Talim" (Bhola, 1988: 31), are two other such figures. Freire's pedagogy, with its emphasis on critical consciousness, personal and collective empowerment, democratic social relations and an educative process rooted in the positive aspects of popular culture, seems to provide the elements necessary for a programme of education intended to "decolonize" the minds. For Freire (1972: b), conscientization remains de rigeur even following the political change. Apart from constituting a force against bureaucrats, who could "deaden the revolutionary vision", it serves as "the instrument for ejecting the cultural myths that remain in the people despite the new reality" (p.78).

A very important feature of a "decolonizing" education would be the re-assertion of native languages. In the case of the former Portuguese colonies, where a variety of native languages are spoken by the different tribes, which necessitates the use of a lingua franca, Freire advocates the use of such means of expression as Creole. He points out that the failure of Guinea Bissau's literacy campaign was caused by the fact that only Portuguese was used (Freire, Macedo, 1987: 114). In a letter to the then Minister of Education, Mario Cabral, Freire maintained that excessive use of the colonizer's language, the language of the elite, would render the educational system a vehicle for the reproduction of an "elite dominant class" (ibid: 111). It would be relevant to enquire, at this stage, as to what languages were used by Freire in the literacy circles of North-eastern Brazil. Were indigenous languages used? A process of learning which involves the use of a language other than that which is directly related to the learner's material existence would hardly be characterized by "praxis". The language used would not be one of the native culture's "most immediate, authentic and concrete expressions" (Freire, 1985: 184).

In his writings concerning the process of "Cultural Revolution" in Guinea Bissau, Freire specifies the area of practical activity on which the adult learner is to reflect as part of a process of education through praxis. It is the area of productive labour. The use which Freire makes of the concept of praxis, in this context (eg. Freire, 1978), represents an important development in his adult educational theory. In his early work, it is used in a manner reminiscent of Marx's early writings and this reflects the belief, which Freire must have had at the time, in the spiritual and cultural bases of revolution. The area on which the adult learner is to reflect is his/her cultural surroundings. In *Pedagogy in Process,* however, it is used in a way that recalls *Capital* Vol.1 (Youngman, 1986: 163). In Letter 11 to Guinea Bissau, Freire underlines the need to relate education to production, a view that somehow recalls his literacy work carried out in relation to the Agrarian Reform in Christian Democrat-ruled Chile (cf. Freire, 1972b: 43). Freire (1978) states:

> "... the new man and the new woman toward which this society aspires cannot be created except by participation in productive labour that serves the common good. It is this labour that is the source of knowledge about the new creation, through which it unfolds and to which it refers" (p.105).

The need for an absolute fusion between education and production is further emphasized when, echoing Gramsci, Freire (ibid.) advocates the creation of a "new type" of intellectual. He or she should be an organic intellectual who is, however, "forged in the unity between practice and theory, manual and intellectual work" (p.104).

Freire's theory of adult education through praxis, as developed in his 1978 publication, is reminiscent of a number of well known theories of education and production that have emerged from the Third World. Two of these are the ones propounded by Mao, who sought to destroy the long standing Confucian dichotomy between intellectual and manual work (cf. Chu, 1980), and Nyerere, who proposed, among other things, the idea of "school-farms" (cf. Nyerere, 1979). These theories are aimed at generating a process of socio-economic development that stands in opposition to the various forms of cultural and economic dependency in existence worldwide.

Correspondence: P. Mayo, Officer in Charge, Adult Education Unit, Department of Education, Beltissebh, Malta.

Notes

1. I should like to thank Mr. Godfrey Baldacchino for his valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper. This paper is an abridged and slightly altered version of Chapter 3 in Mayo (1988).
2. The relevance of this point to the Maltese situation can be seen from Jeremy Boissevain's 1968 paper, "Why do the Maltese ask so few questions?" and the most recent Maltese responses to it, published in *Education,* Vol.3, No.4, 1990, pp.16-23.
3. The relationship between politics and teaching, especially the teaching of reading, is discussed in Bee (1981) who draws on her own experience as a school teacher in England.
4. The alternative to "Banking Education" does not lie solely in the field of non-formal adult education. Several writers (eg. Giroux, Apple, Simon and Shor), who contribute to the development of a project called "Critical Pedagogy", have written extensively on the possibilities for transformation existing within schools (cf. Sultana, 1990). Some writers (eg. Mclaren, 1989) openly acknowledge the potential for a critical education found in the work of Freire.
5. Freire is currently involved in the running of an adult literacy programme in Brazil. As Education Secretary in the Municipal Government of Sao Paulo, he is involved with a literacy movement (MOVA-SP) which is engaged in creating 2000 literacy "nuclei" meant to reach 60,000 people (Freire, in Viezzer, 1990: 4).
6. Freire stresses this relationship when advocating the creation of meaningful texts out of the learners' recorded conversations. He expresses his dissatisfaction with traditional primers which he regards as culturally alien and as promoting the "ideology of accommodation" (Freire, 1985: 9). He argues that ABC books do not capture the

people's "universe of language" (Freire, 1973b: 82). Creating texts out of the learners' conversations is a feature of modern adult literacy programmes.
7. The avoidance of an adult literacy programme would in no way render irrelevant the use of Freirean pedagogical ideas. For Freire, literacy learning merely serves as the vehicle for a process of political conscientization and is therefore not an end in itself. His "codification" and "decodification" method and pedagogical ideas can therefore be used in contexts where the participants are highly "literate". They have, for instance, been used in relation to issues with which particular social movements are concerned. These include Peace Education (cf. Moriarty, 1989; Bezzina, 1990) and Environmental Adult Education (cf. Finger, 1989). On the other hand, Freire's method has often been misused when applied in relation to literacy. Governments which had no intention of conscientizing the masses "co-opted" Freire (Youngman, 1986: 188, 189) by appropriating the technical aspects of his method, doing away with its political dimension. This was the case with the MOBRAL campaign in Brazil whose organisers "used" Freire's methods (Bhola, 1984: 130) despite the fact that the programme was sponsored by the Military regime which kept Freire in exile for sixteen years!
8. To what extent did these new post-revolution or post-independence governments succeed in creating a "new society"? To what extent were "dialogue" and "participation", two important Freirean ideals, a feature of these countries in the post-change period? Walker (1981) argues that there are those who would question whether the revolutionary leaders which Freire admires' can become engaged in a dialogical relationship with the masses and, therefore, whether it is possible to have a real dialogue in a post-revolutionary context. The same applies to Freire's pedagogy. To what extent was Freire's pedagogy successfully carried out in post '79 Nicaragua? His pedagogy was applied within the contexts of a mass literacy campaign and a popular basic education programme. The large scale of both programmes necessitated the involvement, as facilitators, of young students and the newly literate. One wonders how well equipped were these people to engage in Freire-inspired pedagogy. Accounts of the campaign indicate that they were not (Arnove, 1986: 55; Carnoy, Torres, 1987: 31; Lind, Johnston, 1986: 62). It is more likely that they engaged in "Banking Education" (Arnove, 1986: 58). This was explicitly confirmed by Fr. Fernando Cardenal, the Literacy Crusade's Coordinator and the Country's former Education Minister, who stated recently that it is only now that Nicaragua is beginning to do away with "Banking Education" (ICAE, 1990: 5).

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A Political Sociology Of Adult Education: A Research Agenda

Carlos Alberto Torres

1. Introduction*

With the publication of the Southam Report in Canada (1987) showing the widespread functional illiteracy of vast sectors of the Canadian population, and the renewed discussion on the shortcomings of literacy training programmes in the U.S. (Kozol, 1985; Gee, 1986), adult education has become again a priority for policy makers in industrial advanced societies. This article challenges some of the basic assumptions of conventional mainstream adult education, taking advantage of the experience and theories mainly developed in dependent-development societies of Latin America.

A political sociology of adult education takes as a starting point the relationships between the capitalist state and adult education. Therefore, the notion of the State should be considered central to any attempt to understand the "new" rationale for policy formation in this field. Some questions and queries on adult education policy formation are advanced here, and a new agenda for research is advocated.

2. Current Conceptions And Goals Of Adult Education Programmes

By definition, adult education and literacy training programmes have a broad range of goals and use several different methods and strategies. In general, adult education is conceived of as a means of providing a vast range of skills, abilities, intellectual patterns, and social and political values for a growing sector of a nation's population. Sometimes overlapping with the notion of "basic education" as defined by the World Bank (World Bank, 1974), adult education is assumed to be different from universal primary education in so far as it is concerned with the minimum learning needs of a specially identified group, particularly in Third World countries. It tends to transcend the hierarchy of the educational system and is provided in different forms in different countries, both through non-formal and formal means.

Nonetheless, the range of aims and goals of adult education activities varies from developing positive attitudes towards co-operation, work, community and national development and further learning, to the teaching of functional literacy and numeracy; from providing a scientific outlook on health, agriculture and the like, to incorporating functional knowledge and skills; from preparing individuals to enter into the labour market or strengthening their current occupational position, to making available functional knowledge and skills necessary for civic participation (Coombs, *et al.* 1973).

From a different and more radical point of view, literacy training and adult education have enormous advantages as a field for the development of innovative educational and political practices. Paulo Freire and the other educators for liberation originally developed their educational/political strategies in this field through their work in Latin America and Africa[1].

From this more radical political perspective, there are several significant factors which underscore the advantages of adult education over formal education, as part of a political strategy. Firstly, so far as community needs and problems are used as a basis for designing the content and vocabulary for adult literacy programmes, the political implications of adult education vastly exceed those of formal schooling. Secondly, adult education programmes are usually better linked to community needs and are more responsive to community pressures than the formal schooling system.

Adult education, as emancipatory practices, can therefore be understood as a form of education developed **by** the oppresed rather than **for** the oppressed. Thirdly, this education has the curricular and organizational flexibility that formal schooling lacks. Fourthly, the results of adult education are more immediate than the results achieved through formal schooling. It is not necessary to wait for ten to fifteen years, as with formal training, for the graduate to be incorporated into the labour market or into political activities. Fifthly, those who are likely to demand adult education in peripheral capitalist societies tend, according to this education perspective, to be the dispossesed. This is due to their lack of power. Furthermore, it shows that illiteracy, far from being a "social illness" as is often claimed, is an outcome of a hierarchical class struggle or of violent historical processes

such as colonization. Finally, adult education and literacy programs have demonstrated their importance as instruments for developing political consciousness in some processes of transition to socialism in such countries as Cuba or Nicaragua (Fagen, 1969; La Belle, 1986; Arnove, 1986).

3. The Contribution Of Adult Education To Development

One could next raise the question pertaining to the contribution of adult education to socio-economic development. What are the social and economic returns of adult education? Several studies thoroughly summarize the most important research done on this subject. (Waiser, 1980: 4ff; IDRC, 1978). Waiser shows that some authors believe adult basic education contributes to economic development in the following ways: 1) by raising the productivity of the new literates; 2) by raising the productivity of individuals working with literates - the so-called "spillover benefit" of literacy, 3) by expanding the flow of general knowledge to individuals (e.g. instructions about health care and nutrition), thus reducing the cost of transmitting useful information; 4) by acting as a device for selecting the more able individuals and thereby enhancing their occupational mobility, and 5) by strengthening economic incentives: that is, the tendency for people to respond positively to a rise in the rate of reward for their efforts (Waiser, 1980; Blaug, 1966: 393-394; Phillips, 1970; La Belle & Verhine, 1978; 7-27). Particularly in farming activities, better allocative decisions which could be made as a result of adult education, could increase the economic return from primary activities. It has been argued that shifting from production of self-subsistence crops to the production of grain or fruit for the market could in the long run increase farmers' productivity and welfare, and adult education programs can play a role in such processes of change (Muñoz Izquierdo, 1982).

The contribution of adult education to growth is smaller than the early human capital theorists and development economists thought. The correlation between earnings and education picks up many other influences on earnings that are also correlated with schooling but should not be attributed to it (Carnoy, 1982). Hence, much of the recent research has cast some doubts on the validity of the above stated premises. First, available evidence tends to suggest that the wage structure depends upon variables exogenous to individual productivity. These variables include gender, race, the nature of a firm's market of goods, maintenance of class structure in the face

of meritocratic rules, degree of monopoly power in the market, and/or social class background (Carnoy et al, 1979; Carnoy, 1977: 39).

Different rates of return to education are therefore not the result of inequality in the distribution of schooling, but are instead related to the basic inequality structures of commodity production societies (Carnoy, 1975: 5-6; Levin, 1980; Bowles, 1980: 207; Bowles, 1975: 47).

Secondly, the role of the State in education and income policy is a crucial variable in determining income distribution. In this sense, taxation, wage fixing, price control, inflation and employment policies are the means by which the State exercises this power - policies that are out of reach of adult education programmes.

Thirdly, a decisive standpoint from which to study the relationships between education, income distribution and capital accumulation is the theory of labour market segmentation. In the light of this theory, labour market conditions can be understood as outcomes of four segmentation processes: 1) segmentation into primary and secondary markets, 2) segmentation within the primary sector, 3) segmentation by race, and 4) segmentation by gender. The primary and secondary segments are differentiated because primary jobs require and encourage stable working habits while, at the same time, the skills are generally obtained through "on-the-job" training. Wages are high compared to other segments. Secondary jobs, on the contrary, do not encourage stable work habits. Wages are relatively low and the job turnover is very high. Jobs in this segment are primarily taken up by youth, minorities and women. (Reich et al, in Carnoy, 1975: 1).

Although the theory of segmented labour markets has a particular relevance to advanced industrial societies[2], it does help us to understand that adult education in dependent capitalist societies simply prepares people for improving their chances to enter the secondary labour market. It duly cautions us not to assume that education and training lead automatically to higher income distribution through increasing per capita productivity which leads, in turn, to higher earnings. And perhaps, through adequate theorizing, it would be possible to link a theory of labour market segmentation with the theory of the combination of modes of production, and therefore to explain in a more precise fashion how adult education intersects with pre-capitalist and capitalist forms of production in a given dependent society[3].

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Modernization theorists have overwhelmingly assumed that adult basic education is useful for improving skills among low-technical levels of workers and peasants, particularly those with a tendency to migrate, thus making them more employable, and reducing unemployment, underemployment and migration of the labour force - which, in turn, has demographic consequences. Other authors have identified types of differential outcomes produced by literacy training, distinguishing between purely cognitive effects, social effects, and instrumental effects (Bhola 1981: 9-11). A critical assessment is challenging this perspective on many grounds, particularly by questioning the same definition of literacy and basic education and its role in the production of the social life (Freire & Macedo, 1987).

Let us add to Freire and Macedo's critical perspective the need to develop a consistent theory of the relationships between political power, political authority and adult education in advanced and dependent-development societies.

4. Understanding Of Adult Education Policies Needs An Understanding Of The Role Of The State: New Questions for Old Answers.

What is missing from the conventional framework outlined above? First of all, it does not offer a, or rather any, theory of adult education reform, and of the underlying political rationality of reformist efforts in this area of research and policy making. This is due, in part, to the lack of an explicit theory of the state that could come to terms with the process of public policy making in dependent capitalist states.

Secondly, adult education programmes are not seen (as perhaps they should be) as part of a series of factual responses to the *legitimation crisis* of capitalist societies (to borrow a term from Habermas), and therefore related to the need for political legitimation of the Capitalist State. Paradoxically, this is due to the overemphasis placed by researchers and policy planners on the economic determinants of educational policies, either from a functionalist perspective (always looking for a functional policy to improve the performance of the economy and the productivity of the labour force) or even from an orthodox Marxist perspective which addresses reality only through the lenses of the role of education in the extraction of surplus values and, in so doing, has

failed to capture the significance of superstructural activities for social reproduction.

I will argue, instead, that since any capitalist state has a class content reflected in its policy-making, adult education policies constitute an example of class-determined policies oriented to confront the political and social demands of the powerless and impoverished sectors of any capitalist society. The issue is then, why and how does the capitalist State address the needs of the masses by ways of adult education programmes, instead of simply leaving them alone? Indeed, the political economy of the State is organized to support the development of a social formation directed towards commodity-production. State economic interventionism is therefore oriented towards performing those functions which Capital is unable to perform due to the fact that it is made up of many fractionalized and mutually antagonistic parties. However, *State interventionism tends to be oriented toward strengthening the legitimacy of the current ruling alliance as a prerequisite to sustaining a given pattern of capital accumulation.*

Any mode of State intervention and most of the State's policies are therefore linked to a changing pattern of potential or actual threats to the political system, or to structural problems that emerge out of the process of accumulation of capital. The modes of state activity can thus be seen as responses to these social threats and problems (Wright, 1978; O'Donnell, 1978a; 1978b; Offe, 1975: 137-147).

In this regard, it is important to note that adult education policies, like any educational policy, are also subject to an intense inter-bureaucratic struggle in centralized educational systems, and therefore, much of the policy outcomes would reflect these bureaucratic clashes. What does this mean for adult education?

The issue is how do adult education policies relate to the process of capital accumulation and political domination in capitalist societies? Has political rationality proven to be so far more important than technical rationality in the promotion of adult education reforms? In this respect, what has been the role of distinct and factional bureaucratic ideologies in adult education policy formation? What benefits can individuals and their families obtain by undertaking further adult education? Particularly, what is the use of literacy or adult basic education in the light of segmented labour markets, rising unemployment and interest-group oriented public policies, considering that as long as businesses have the upper hand, the basic decisions of

human life are taken away from the individual? Why are even innovative adult education programmes based upon individualistic assumptions while, in view of the increasing state interventionism, the opposite assumption (collective action and behaviour) seems to be the only chance that the poor would have to cope with the loss of power of the common citizen?

The questions posed above are much more fruitful for concrete research on adult education policies than the conventional view of adult education programmes as a tool for development or as an agent of change. This is particularly so because the available empirical evidence hardly shows any contribution of adult education policies and programmes towards those ends.

The grasping of the inner rationality of adult education programmes will help us to understand under which social and political conditions and for what purposes will a capitalist State undertake a new substantial reform in adult education programmes and policies. To what degree can new policies in this field, as a minor piece of the State educational policies, be related to the spectrum of political conflict in civil society? Should a new adult education strategy be viewed as an effective mode of national integration of the masses which the ruling elite is using to mould the people and marginal groups into a Nation State? Or, should this policy be viewed, instead, as an instrument which counteracts the decommodification[4] of the labour force?

In this regard, to what extent would any new adult education policies in dependent societies as well as advanced societies represent - as is often argued by policy-makers - some sort of response to new demands from the labour market for skilled labour? Or instead, to what extent would they represent an expression of an educational bureaucracy acting independently of the needs of capitalist development? Is there an inner bureaucratic rationale for educational planning which can be thought of as part of a "law of motion of a bureaucracy"? Are there any other alternative "laws" operating in public policy formation which underpin adult education reforms?

5. Need For Analytic Frameworks To Study Public Policy Making.

Coming back to the role of educational practices in social reproduction, educational institutions have been viewed as a versatile apparatus which contributes to the political legitimation of the status quo, to the reproduction

of the existing social relations of production and the political culture, and to Nation building or, alternatively, for political consciousness-raising. Education has also been very often seen as a prerequisite for human capital formation and capital accumulation. Viewed in this light, it is important to point out that education, as an activity mandated, sponsored and supervised by the State, is as much an apparatus of the State as any other agency.

However, one can hardly understand education's function in capitalist society - educational plans and programmes, codes, practices and policies - unless one emphasizes that capitalist education, like the capitalist state, has a *dual character*. On one hand, capitalist education is used to provide means to contribute to the reproduction of the capitalist system, either as a tool to enlarge capital accumulation and labour force reproduction, or as an instrument able to enhance political domination structures, practices and codes. On the other hand, education forcefully expresses the notion of national sovereignty and the demands of civil society upon the State. That is to say, education is concerned with people's consciousness and their expectations concerning greater social mobility, the attainment of higher personal skills with which to achieve better positions in the labour markets, or organized efforts which seek social, economic and political democratization. Education is also concerned with knowledge construction, transmission and reproduction; knowledge that may constitute in and by itself a gratifying experience of social and individual learning.

And, while capitalist education is in strong correspondence with the social organization of labour and with the social relations of production, it constitutes in itself a moral and empirical expression of democracy in capitalist societies. In this sense, almost every single educational institution is far more democratic, open to change and innovation, and subject to potential community control than any other State apparatus or the workplace.

6. Towards A New Research Agenda For Adult Education

In establishing the connection between the State's role and its adult education activities, one can argue that to inquire into the reasons behind the growth of adult education programmes, how they have been devised historically, by whom, for what purposes, and

how they are related to their educational clientele, is to ask for an explanation of the determinants of adult education policy formation in a way that is beyond and above the simplistic and perhaps misleading problem-solving approach. Expressed in more conventional terms, this inquiry means finding out and explaining which independent and intervening variables account for policy differences.

All in all, it can be claimed that it is necessary to inquire about policy formation in the light of the following dimensions: 1) *the main actors of policy formation,* including the bureaucracy, administrative agents and social constituencies and clienteles; 2) in terms of organizational studies, the *main systemic elements* which can be found within a given setting of educational policy formation (following Therborn's list); 3) *the main institutional phases, stages and/or units of policy formation,* that is to say, the levels of policy-planning, policy-making, policy-operation and even the policy outcome; 4) *the intellectual, institutional and ideological atmosphere* where those decisions are made which will be termed "the policy framework". Additionally, it can be argued that those dimensions are offset or shaped by the *general framework of organizational rules,* which are, in turn, historically laid down and superimposed in an organization-structure. Finally, it is important to identify *the production rules of public policy* with which to understand educational relationships between the political society and the civil society at a particular point in time.

Several questions and queries have been advanced in this paper; questions that call for concrete empirical research on adult education policies and programmes in Third World societies. At the same time, this agenda for research points out the need for a dialectical theory of adult education - a theory that is still to be developed in order to overcome the analytical weakness of the conventional views on the contribution of adult education to liberal democracy and national development.

Correspondence: Prof. C.A. Torres, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles, CA90024-1521, U.S.A.

Notes

1. See for instance Paulo Freire, Rosiska and Miguel Darcy de Oliveira, Claudious Ceccon *Vivendo e Aprendendo - Experiences do IDAC in Educaçao Popular,* San Paulo, Livraria Brasilense Editora, Third Edition, 1980. Also, Torres, 1982, 1984.

2. The notion of segmented labour markets is assumed in the context of monopoly capitalism and therefore grants a high degree of homogeneity to a given social formation. In Latin America, the segmentation processes could be considered simultaneously as an horizontal and a vertical process. At the "vertical level," the segmentation is due to the combination of modes of production (precapitalist and capitalist ones), which imply different labour markets for different workers. At the "horizontal level," however, the process of segmentation of labour markets, particularly in the most advanced modes of production, is somehow similar to the discussion posed for the advanced industrial societies concerning the historical specificities of the dependent societies.

3. In analyzing craft training programmes in Guyana, K. Bacchus argues that the labour market for craftsmen was not homogeneous, and that it was segmented into a "high wage" market and a "low wage" market in terms of demand and supply for skilled labour. This heterogeneity is further reflected within the "modern", high-paid sector itself. However, focusing on the low-wage sector, Bacchus forcefully argues that while the effect of upgrading skills through training undoubtedly resulted in a higher rate of private investment in their training by these artisans, "the effect of this (improved training) was that they were pricing themselves out of the "low wage" sector of the economy and, since the demands in the "high wage" sector were not increasing fast enough to absorb them, a high percentage of them remained unemployed" (Bacchus, 1976: 120). So, looking at the linkages between the pre-capitalist and capitalist forms of production in peripheral capitalism, it is important to note that, despite the hopes of policy-planners and politicians, adult education and training cannot easily cope with the economic needs of the poor and ever-increasing marginalized social sectors. This is the case when the situation is one of economic stagnation, chronic and increasing unemployment, and when the economy cannot grow as fast as the labour force in order to provide enough jobs in the primary markets of the economy while, at the same time, the same combination of mode of production is undermining the traditional basis of subsistence of farmers, artisans and the like. It is obvious that adult education programmes could not solve the gap between traditional and advanced modes of production, nor could they contribute significantly to the short-term needs of the poor. Thus, it is not surprising at all that adult education and training programmes are less and less appealing to men and women seeking jobs: the private investment is high but the economic return insignificant in the low-wage sector of the economy.

4. This term refers to the thesis that "decommodified" forms of social organization of labour power and of the value produced by society are growing quantitatively. These "decommodified" life forms, in the view of Claus Offe, tend increasingly to become a problem of social stability to be dealt with by political means, in so far as such social groups, excluded from the social life form of wage labour, yet nevertheless subject to relations of capitalist domination, represent a potential for rebellion. (Offe, 1984).

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Book Review

Saviour Rizzo

Baldacchino Godfrey (1990) *Worker Cooperatives with Particular Reference to Malta: An Educationist's Theory and Practice*, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, pp.168 + appendices.

Although cooperatives may not be playing a major role in the world economy, for very often they are confined to its marginal sector, the cooperative movement has nevertheless established itself in many developed and developing countries and is trying to branch out into different sectors of the economy. Malta does not seem to be in line with this trend. Indeed the few cooperatives that exist can hardly claim to have emanated from the high ideological principles that inspired the birth and growth of these work organizations and we can hardly boast of any long strides towards this ideal.

Failures And Successes

Baldacchino's book is an attempt to analyze the issues which surround and affect worker cooperatives so as to evaluate the spirit of cooperativism prevailing in Malta.

He does this by first delving deeply into the theoretical background of worker cooperatives at the macro level and then, after analyzing the local socio-political scenario, with its subsequent cultural legacy, presents the Maltese case to see how and why it fits or fails to fit into this macro setting.

The author does not try to hide the fact that there have been numerous cases of worker cooperatives that have failed to thrive or of those that have not managed to live up to their guiding principles. But this is not taken to mean that a defeatist attitude should be adopted for "there are a few beacons of success" which warrant "a fair dose of optimism in the feasibility of workers' cooperatives".

But success to a cooperative must be measured on a twofold dimension: "success is understood in terms of both economic viability and democratic participation in decision making". This quantitative, and qualitative success cannot however be achieved through a "hit and miss" approach. A strategy is needed for these cooperatives to become a beacon of light for others to follow suit.

Dominant Culture

It is here, in spelling out this strategy, that Baldacchino seems to be at his strongest point of argument. He does of course refer to the intrinsic values inherent in work in cooperatives: such as having the potential of offering the least alienated form of work by merging capital with labour, giving power to the workers and making work more meaningful.

However the author does not fall into the pitfalls of romanticising cooperatives by depicting them as the epitome of a completely harmonious group of workers cooperating in a conflict free environment. This may be a "utopian dream" - a phrase used by the detractors of cooperatives to define the impracticability of these work organizations.

And yet, though shorn of this illusion, he sees that many features of this dream can become a part of reality. This dream has not become a reality not because of the impracticability of its workings but more due to the fact that a market oriented society tends to reward competition and risk taking rather than solidarity and cooperation. Such a dominant culture naturally casts doubts on the legitimacy of cooperatives. In his typology of failure, Baldacchino asserts that the causes are located in "the degenerative pressures" that emerge from a dominant ideology which fosters values alien to worker cooperation.

So he maintains that the focus should be on "an environment that spawns and breeds" the principles of cooperativism. To create such an environment is no easy task for unfortunately the banking orientation" towards the school, where the grassroots values of society are nurtured and developed, is helping to produce "the values and behaviour patterns which legitimise the undemocratic structure of economic life" rather than the spirit of cooperativism.

This hegemonic culture can only be combatted by fostering a counter ideology that can act as a catalyst for the creation of a different kind of culture by disseminating the principles of cooperativism. Baldacchino, having had

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experience in the field of workers' and adult education, is here treading on ground with which he has grown familiar out of practice and some of the approaches which he prescribes to solve this dialectic between the hegemonic and counter ideology spring out of this practical experience. This is the ideal behind the workers cooperatives which is by and large given in the first part of the book dealing with theory building.

Idealism

In the second part of the book, Baldacchino attempts to relate this theory to the Maltese experience. His tenet is that the Maltese scenario has been characterised by two diametrically opposed forces. For the Maltese case is characterised by the emergence of social movements with their potential to mobilise people amid a culture where people have been conditioned to comply to paternalism and resort to clientelism and patronage. Opportunities have been lost which many not recur. The Roman Catholic faith which as a force has been "a moulder and reproducer of specific values which affect one's attitude and perception of reality could have given a greater and far more valid contribution in inculcating the principles of cooperativism". It is true that the Social Action Movement (SAM) - a body which has close affinities with the Church and which was pioneered by a Catholic diocesan priest drawing inspiration from the principles of Catholic social doctrine - has made its presence felt by constituting itself as a supporting agency initiating some successful ventures in this field. However I tend to agree with the author's assertion that "the Church authorities in Malta have failed so far to take advantage of their powerful cultural position and community and educative spheres by coming out with a clear policy in favour of Maltese workplace democratization". Neither have the other social movements (trade unions, political parties) shown any grassroots initiatives towards this high ideal even though there have been initiatives worth recalling. The author does not fail to mention these ventures for he is not hesitant to give credit where it is due. Nevertheless that idealism which moves people to action has been sadly lacking. An evaluation of the Italian cooperative movement makes clear the vital role that idealism can play in the setting up of a strong cooperative movement.

Indeed Baldacchino believes that the Italian building cooperatives together with the Cyprus cooperative societies and those of Mondragon in Spain should be our models. There is no detailed account of these cooperative movements: the author seems to presume knowledge on the part of the reader. I consider this omission to be a shortcoming for once the author presents them as being our source of inspiration he should not have been content with a passing reference but should have gone to some length to acquaint the reader with the basic features of these cooperatives. The contrast between the Maltese social movements and their counterparts on the continent would have thus been made starker. The author contends that the Maltese social movements devolved "into a dependence on external initiative and charismatic leadership" making them "vulnerable to political indoctrination". In other words they succumbed to the constraints and imperatives inherent in the culture which we inherited from the past colonial days.

This dialectic between the two forces (cultural inheritance and social movements) throbbing in the bosom of our nation naturally gives rise to highly contentious issues which may trigger controversies. Critics who may be inclined to be sceptical about the validity of this dialectical concept may find a lot of ground with which they will differ. But if they start looking for flaws in the book they are not bound to find many. It is well referenced and annotated and it seems to me to be authoritatively researched. It is about the ideal behind Workers' cooperatives but to give us that ideal the author looms over wide horizons. And, what's more, he looks forward. The analysis used can serve as a springboard for future policy for the advantage of hindsight makes us wiser in long term planning. What we need is the imagination to foresee the problems and the resolution to face them in order to combat the often repeated criticism levelled at these unconventional views about the place of work as being unrealistic and naive.

The cooperative movement in Malta has lagged behind to such an extent that, to most Maltese, a cooperative is synonymous with a sort of agricultural association. Why is there such a low level of consciousness about cooperatives among the Maltese public or rather what have been the cultural, economic and political factors that made the principles of cooperativism so difficult to be implanted?

These are questions to which this book tries to give an answer.

Notes On Contributors

GODFREY BALDACCHINO, B.A. (Gen.), P.G.C.E., M.A. (The Hague) is Research Officer at the Workers' Participation Development Centre and Tutor in Labour Studies at the University of Malta. He gained experience as an adult educator through his teaching commitments at WPDC and through his engagement as tutor and script writer for adult education radio programmes involving learning by correspondence. He is presently a doctoral candidate in Labour Policy Studies at the University of Warwick, Coventry, U.K. Excerpts from this paper were presented at the 12th World Congress of Sociology, held in Madrid, Spain in July 1990.

Dr. WAGUIDA EL BAKARY earned a Doctor of Education degree in Education Administration from West Virginia University in 1989. She is Associate Director for Education Programmes at the American University in Cairo's Division of Commercial and Industrial Training. She has ten years experience in adult education at the American University in Cairo's Centre for Adult and Continuing Education, the largest in the Middle East which serves approximately 25,000 adults annually. Her article is based on her doctoral dissertation entitled *An Adult Education Program Planning Model for the National Universities of Egypt.*
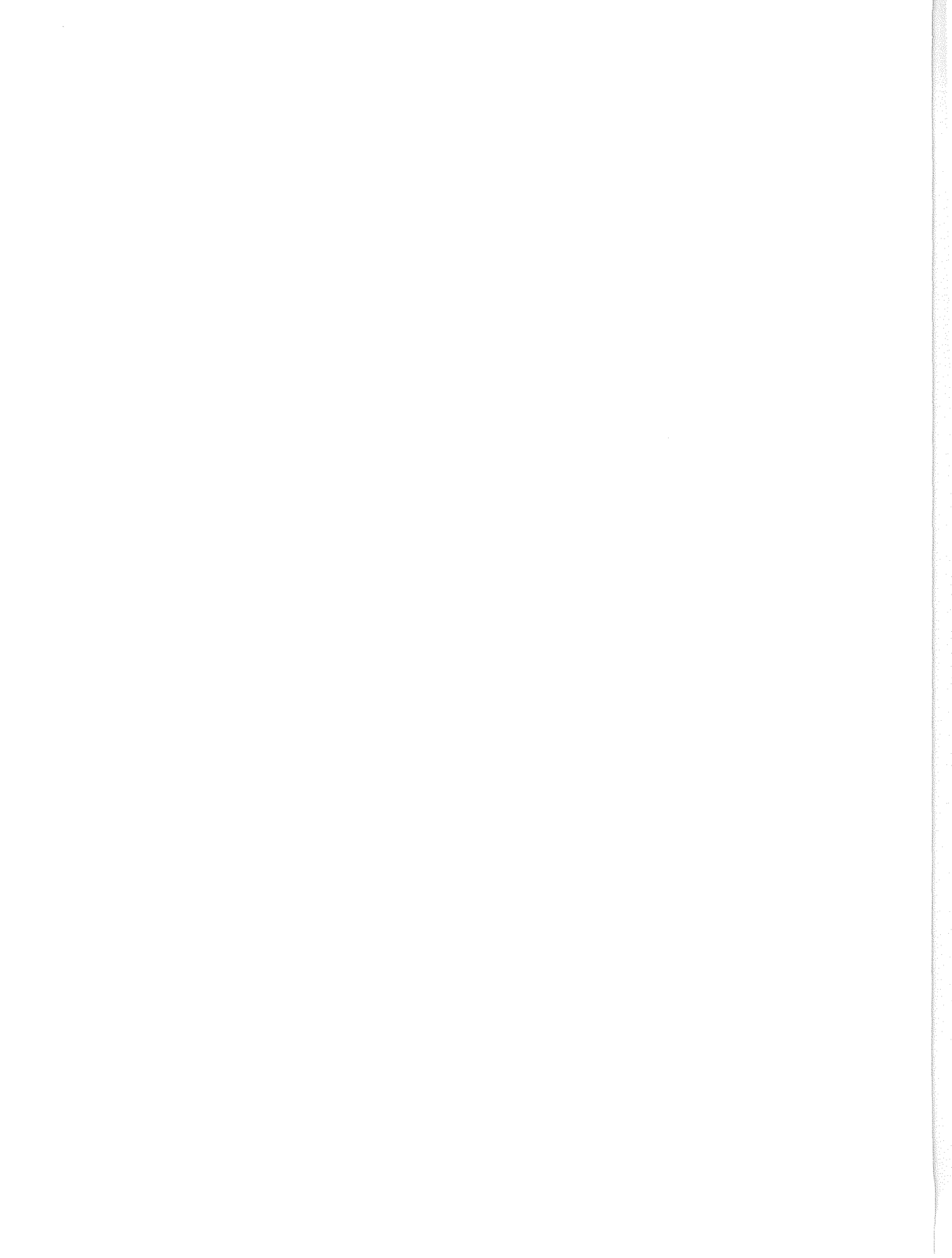
PETER MAYO (Guest Editor of this issue) is Officer in Charge of Adult Education in the Department of Education and part-time Assistant Lecturer in Sociology of Education at the University of Malta. He has written papers on adult education and a number of other topics which were either published in journals or presented at conferences and seminars in Malta and abroad. He is a member of the Council of Europe's Steering and Topic groups in connection with the project 'Adult Education and Social Change'. Peter Mayo has just taken up an O.I.S.E. Scholarship to read for the University of Toronto's Ph.D degree in Sociology in Education. His area of specialisation is the Sociology of Adult Education.

DR. MICHEÁL O CINNÉIDE is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Geography, at University College, Galway, Ireland. He holds degrees from the National University of Ireland (B.A., 1st Class Hons., Geography and Economics, 1968; M.A., 1st Class Hons., Geography, 1970) and the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor (Ph.D., Geography, 1974). His expertise lies in the area of rural and community development and especially in the process of local economic development. He is particularly interested in strategies that enable local communities to adopt a self-reliant approach to development. Dr. O Cinnéide is the author of several papers which appeared either in conference proceedings or in Irish and international journals of a specialist or interdisciplinary nature.

Dr. CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES is Assistant Professor in the Graduate School of Education, University of California at Los Angeles (U.C.L.A.). He obtained his Ph.D. degree from Stanford University and he previously held academic positions at the Latin American Faculty of Social Science (FLACSO), Mexico City, and at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, where, prior to being appointed Assistant Professor, he was a Killam Post-doctoral Fellow. Professor Torres is the author of numerous publications in Spanish and English, including *The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America,* published by Praeger in 1990. His areas of academic interest include Sociology of Education, Adult Education and Comparative Education.

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