ADULT EDUCATION AND LIFELONG LEARNING

3rd edition

Theory and Practice

Peter Jarvis

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ADULT EDUCATION AND LIFELONG LEARNING

This is the third edition of Peter Jarvis' classic textbook *Adult and Continuing Education*, which established itself as the most widely used and respected book about education for adults today. In this new edition, the author has made extensive revisions and included substantial additional material to take account of the many changes that have occurred in the field of the education of adults.

Additional and updated material in this much anticipated new edition includes:

- a discussion on both globalization and Europeanization – indicating the pressures that have been exerted on the educational system to change;
- a greater emphasis on lifelong education, lifelong learning and society;
- an extended discussion on the theorists of distance education, and introductory material on e-learning and on-line learning;
- an updated look at changes in UK policy and European policy documents;
- new material on the relationship between research, learning and the changing approaches to knowledge, with more emphasis placed on action learning and research.

Students of education for adults will find this an invaluable course companion, whilst practitioners and researchers in adult and lifelong learning will find the new edition even more of a fixture than the last.

Peter Jarvis is Professor of Continuing Education at the University of Surrey and has published extensively in the field of the education of adults.

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In memory of Mother, Father and Jack in gratitude

CONTENTS

List of figures x
List of tables xi
Acknowledgements xii
Introduction to the first edition xiii
Introduction to the revised edition xiv
Introduction to the third edition xvi

1 Towards a rationale for the provision of learning opportunities for adults 1

The nature of contemporary society 1
The social nature of the individual 24
Individuals as lifelong learners 29
The human being and the need to learn 34
Summary 38

2 From adult education to lifelong learning: a conceptual framework 39

The changing concept of education 39
Teaching, learning and education 42
Adult education and the education of adults 44
Continuing education 46
Recurrent education 51
Human resource development 55
Community education 56
Lifelong education 61
Lifelong learning 64
Summary 65

3 The adult learner and adult learning 67

The adult learner 67
Adult learning 82
Summary 117

4 Adults learning – some theorists' perspectives 118

Paulo Freire 118
Robert M. Gagné 123
Malcolm S. Knowles 125
Jack Mezirow 131
Carl Rogers 135
Summary 137

5 Teaching adults 139

Conditions of learning and approaches to teaching 142
The processes of teaching 148
Teaching methods 156
Teaching aids 185
Summary 187

6 Some theoretical perspectives on teaching adults 189

The human process of teaching 189
Some major writers about teaching 206
Summary 216

7 Distance education 218

The nature of distance education and distance learning 218
The continued development of distance education 224
Contemporary practices 227
Conclusion 229

8 Assessing and evaluating 230

Assessing learners' work 232
Certificates and credits 236
Conclusion 243

9 Curriculum theory and programme planning 244

Studies in curriculum theory 244
Programme planning 273
Conclusion 278

10 Practice, theory and research 280

Practice and theory 280
Research into practice 286
Conclusion 291

11 The professional preparation of teachers of adults 292

The process of professionalization 294
An historical overview of the development of the professional preparation of adult educators in the UK 297
Recent developments in the professional preparation of educators in both adult education and lifelong learning 309
Conclusion 312

12 The provision of adult education and lifelong learning in the United Kingdom 313

Sectors of lifelong learning provision 315
Some developments in lifelong learning in the UK 326
Organizations involved in lifelong learning and adult education 335
Conclusion 338

Selected further reading 339
Bibliography 351

FIGURES

1.1	The process of internalization of 'objectified' local culture	26
1.2	The process of internalization and externalization of 'objectified' local culture	27
1.3	The process of internalization and externalization of 'objectified' local cultures	28
1.4	Maslow's 'hierarchy' of needs	35
1.5	A taxonomy of human needs	37
2.1	The front-end model of education	39
2.2	Models of continuing education	47
2.3	Alternative models of recurrent education	52
3.1	A learning cycle	84
3.2	Awareness of the world and of time	94
3.3	Kolb's experiential learning cycle	102
3.4	A model of the learning processes	106
3.5	Possible learning situations	108
4.1	A problem solving cycle	126
4.2	A learning cycle	132
5.1	A stereotypical picture of teaching	149
5.2	A learning and teaching cycle	152
5.3	A facilitative learning and teaching cycle	154
9.1	A learning and teaching process model for the education of adults	247
9.2	A curriculum planning model for the education of adults	258
9.3	A diagrammatic portrayal of Verner's approach to the curriculum in the education of adults	274

TABLES

3.1	Adult learners – by gender	75
3.2	Learning styles	112
5.1	The conditions of adult learning and approaches to teaching	144–145
5.2	Teaching and learning aids and equipment	186
8.1	Types of assessment	236
9.1	The classical and romantic curricula	251
9.2	Macfarlane's analysis of adult literacy education in terms of two curricula models	253
9.3	A curriculum analysis of continuing and recurrent education	254
9.4	Summary of Boone's model of programme planning	275
9.5	Houle's major categories of educational design situations	277
9.6	Summary of Houle's decision points in programme planning	277
11.1	The recommended content for Stage I courses	302
11.2	The recommended content for Stage II courses	303
11.3	The recommended content of the City and Guilds course 730	304

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Once again, I must gratefully acknowledge the help and support of my wife, Maureen, and children, Frazer and Kierra, who have encouraged me to write, even though it has resulted in them undertaking additional family responsibilities.

Many people have helped me to produce this text but, like every writer, the final responsibility for what has been produced must rest with me.

INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST EDITION

The study of adult education is growing in significance as the training of educators of adults is being undertaken more frequently in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. But there are few textbooks that seek to introduce students to a broad sweep of the field, and so this text has been prepared with this aim in view. It is hoped that students of the education of adults on ACSET I, II and III, Certificate, Diploma and Degree courses might find it a useful volume. In addition, it is hoped that other practitioners in the field of adult and continuing education will find much in this book that is relevant to their work.

With this aim in mind, the book has been very fully referenced so that readers can follow up any of the points that interest them and can also refer to the original sources. Further reading suggestions for each chapter are at the end of book, so that ideas from each chapter might be developed by interested readers. The contents of the book are wide enough to introduce students and practitioners to a variety of contemporary issues in the study of the education of adults. The aspects discussed in this book reflect the purpose for which it has been written, so that a great deal of it is devoted to the teaching and learning transaction. These have been divided into different chapters in the book for reasons of clarity but in reality such a division is frequently artificial.

The text attempts to combine the theoretical with the practical and it is hoped that those who read it will find it informative, relevant and, above all, useful.

INTRODUCTION TO THE REVISED EDITION

This book was originally written as a textbook for the first year MSc course in Adult Education which I taught at the University of Surrey, a course which has subsequently been modularized in line with many of the other changes that are discussed in this revised edition. Adult educators are only too well aware of all the changes that have happened and, no doubt, like me they are not happy with all the things that they have been forced to do, despite many of the changes having been anticipated in one form or another for a number of years. But there have been so many changes that the latter part of this book has required considerable rewriting so that much of it is new. I hope that I have captured the changes without changing the nature of the book too greatly.

Not only have there been considerable changes in the fields of study, but over the period I have changed some of my views and also have published a number of other pieces about adult and continuing education. Where I have written something since the original version of this book was published, I have tried to make reference to it, so that readers of this revised version will see how much of my own development has occurred.

In addition, the original version was written using the pronoun 'he' in the impersonal sense, and I was rightly taken to task about this soon after the publication of this book. I hope that I have rectified this throughout this present study, although I acknowledge that it has made the revision even more complex than it would have been had only the changes referred to above been incorporated.

I am most grateful to Routledge, and especially to Helen Fairlie for asking me to revise the book, and for awaiting a slightly delayed manuscript, although the reasons for this have been due to events beyond my control. I am also most grateful to those who edited and typeset this revised version for taking the original book and all my alterations and making it into a comprehensive and comprehensible volume.

I would also like to thank those readers who made comments to the publishers about additions that they considered I should make to update this book. I hope that I have done justice to their comments, although,

like every other author, I cannot blame anybody but myself for what I have written!

Over the years some people have been kind enough to tell me that they have found the original version of this book useful and I can only hope that this revised edition might also prove useful to some who use it.

INTRODUCTION TO THE THIRD EDITION

It is a rare privilege for any author to have his work in print for as long as this has been – it is now 20 years since the first edition appeared. When I revised the book in the 1990s I thought that the revisions were extensive but I never dreamed that, if a third edition was to appear, it would almost be a new book. Indeed, when the proposal for this edition was read, some of the reviewers suggested that I should actually write it as a new book. At the time I thought that my proposals were sufficient, but having now completed this edition I realize that the reviewers were not wrong; there are so many changes, including the title, that I might have written a new book. However, I have tried to retain as much of the second edition as possible, and in one or two places I have retained some of the material in order to provide a full overview of the way that things developed.

The last ten years have seen massive changes to our field and it is now becoming more complex than ever. This complexity is reflected in the book's new title – adult education and lifelong learning. Lifelong learning is probably the more popular title for the field in UK at the moment, but as I travel around the world I still meet the term adult education as frequently as ever. The effects of globalization are rather like the ripples on a pond when a stone is thrown into the water. In Western Europe we are seeing rapid changes, while adult education is developing more slowly in some others. I have wanted to try and catch this diversity in the title and in the content of the book. Additionally, I was tempted to change the order of terms Theory and Practice to Practice and Theory – but, in the end, I retained them because this was the way that they appeared in the original book.

Over the years, people have been kind enough to tell me that this book has been useful to their understanding of the education of adults and it has also been translated into other languages. I am grateful for this and it has been this encouragement that inspired me to undertake this edition. I can only hope that this edition will also be useful to other people working on our field, and perhaps to some who have honoured me by reading the earlier editions.

I would like to recall the way that the first edition was written because I think that it is a lesson, for many of us have, or are expected by validating bodies to, become so much more instrumental and didactic about the way that we view education – often I think to its detriment. In the first edition, I recorded my thanks to the students with whom I worked on the Master's degree at Surrey at the time. That was a collaborative exercise – the students, all teachers of adults and part-time students chose the topics that they wanted to study throughout the year and we ordered them logically. We then decided which individual would lead which session – I did not lead many. However, each week during the year I wrote a paper on the same topic as the students, so that I could contribute to the discussion. My papers formed the basis of the first edition of this book, enriched by the discussions that occurred each week. Probably the book has survived for so long because they, practising educators of adults, chose the subjects because they were what interested them in their professional practice. It was certainly one of the most enriching groups with whom I have had the privilege of working, and if any of them read this book I hope that they will recall that time as fondly as me.

I wish to thank the unknown reviewers of my proposal for this edition for their many excellent suggestions and I hope that if they do me the privilege of reading this they will see that I have responded quite fully to their points. All the chapters have been rewritten, some quite extensively, one chapter has been subdivided – although I considered it for at least two others (Chapters 3 and 5), and some of the later chapters have been re-ordered so that there is a reasonable progression through them. Finally, I would like to thank everybody who has worked with the Publisher – which has also changed over the years – who over the years have ensured that this book should remain in print.

Peter Jarvis
Thatcham, Berks
August 2003

1

TOWARDS A RATIONALE FOR THE PROVISION OF LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADULTS

When the first edition of this book was published, it was important to argue a strong case for the education of adults since it was still something that we did not take for granted, but it was also the start of the most rapid period of social change that we have witnessed, which has transformed our understanding of both education and learning. Now we take it for granted that adults should continue to be educated throughout their lifetime. Now we no longer have to argue a case for this education to be provided, but it is still important to understand the changes that have occurred to help us understand education in our present society.

It will also have been noted that the title of this book has been changed, since when the first edition of the book appeared we were watching the development of continuing education amongst the professions and the rearguard action that liberal adult education was taking place to ensure its survival. Now continuing education, while still a term frequently used, is less common than lifelong learning, which is itself an ambiguous term which will be discussed more fully below. At the same time, the term adult education still retains considerable currency around the world and so it has been retained. However, the title to this chapter in the earlier editions was about 'the education of adults', a term that I started using in the early 1980s rather than 'adult education' in order to seek to combine the ideas underlying continuing professional education and adult education. Now the chapter is about the provision of learning opportunities for adults, which seeks to capture something of the ambiguity of the term lifelong learning.

The chapter has four major sections: the first is about the changing nature of society in which these learning opportunities are provided; the second is about the nature of the individual; the third is about human beings as lifelong learners; and the final section is about the nature of the human being as having a need to learn.

The nature of contemporary society

Any discussion on the nature of society inevitably assumes certain theoretical perspectives and in contemporary society there are certain concepts

that we do need to grasp. For instance, the terms globalization, knowledge society, learning society, and so on are buzz words today but they all indicate in their different ways how education has been forced to respond to contemporary social forces. In order to understand this relationship, it is necessary to discuss each of these processes from the outset, starting with globalization, and see their relationship to education and learning.

Globalization

There are a variety of different ways of looking at the concept of globalization, e.g. economic, sociological and social, amongst others. Indeed, for some people it is also about the global rather than the processes of globalization. However, this book is not a study of the processes of globalization *per se* (see Castells, 1996; Held *et al.*, 1999), but we will treat it here as a socio-economic phenomenon that has profound political and cultural implications for education.

From an over-simplistic perspective, it can be understood by thinking of the *world* as having a substructure and a superstructure, whereas the simple Marxist model of society was that each *society* had a substructure and a superstructure. For Marx, the substructure was the economic institution and the superstructure everything else in social and cultural life – including the state, education, and so on. In Marx's analysis those who owned the capital, and therefore the means of production, were able to exercise power throughout the whole of their society. But over the years ownership has changed to control, the capital has become intellectual as well as financial and the boundaries between the states have been lowered – Europeanization is a good illustration of this. However, a major weakness of Marx's model is its determinism. But there is a sense in which globalization still acts rather like the rudiments of Marx's model of society – now this substructure has become global rather than societal, but it does not determine the shape of the global superstructure, only influence it in the same way in different societies of the world. This process of globalization has two main drivers (which we could see as the global substructure): the economic institution and information technology.

Now those who have control of the substructure in the countries of the dominant West have been enabled to extend their influence over the substructures of all the other countries in the world. The effects that these substructural changes are having on the superstructure of each society mean that the common substructure exerts similar forces on each people and society despite each having different histories, cultures, languages, and so on.

The other driving force in the globalization process is information technology. The tremendously rapid changes that have occurred in this have facilitated the global processes and have also contributed to the devel-

opment of rapidly changing knowledge. Significantly, the widespread use of information technology almost makes state boundaries redundant in respect to the flow of information across the globe. Consequently we can see that the forces of globalization exercise standardizing pressures, but a variety of peoples and societies resist this by endeavouring, to differing extents, to retain their uniqueness and independence. Robertson (1995) refers to the processes whereby societies retain their unique cultures whilst still functioning within the wider globalization process as glocalization.

The global superstructure is now more like a lattice work in which the various parts are fluid and changing as some lose their distinctness within the sea of change, whilst others fight to retain their uniqueness. Each state apparatus, for instance, has endeavoured to retain some of its own sovereign power but this is at the time when those who have power at the substructural level operate on a global playing field, so that individual governments are now almost incapable of regulating the global market or its substructure. We can all think of cases of large corporations who could, and we have seen how they should have been regulated by governments but they have appeared to be almost independent of them. Beck (2000:11) actually suggests that globalization is 'the *processes* through which sovereign national states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities and networks' (italics in original).

The process of globalization, as we know it today, began in the West (USA followed by Western Europe) in the early 1970s. There were a number of contributory factors at this time that exacerbated this process, such as:

- the oil crisis in the 1970s, which dented the confidence of the West;
- the demise of the Bretton Woods Agreement, that eventually enabled both free trade and the flow of financial capital to develop throughout the world;
- the development of sophisticated information technology, initially through the star wars programme, through which the information technology revolution took off, with one development leading to another, as Castells (1996:51f.) demonstrates. He (1996:52) makes the point that 'to some extent, the availability of new technologies constituted as a system in the 1970s was a fundamental basis for the process of socio-economic restructuring in the 1980s';
- the economic competition from Japan, which challenged the West;
- the use of scientific knowledge in the production of commodities in the global market;
- the fall of the Berlin Wall – the democratization of the Eastern Bloc – for, from the time it occurred, there has literally been 'no alternative' (Bauman, 1992) to global capitalism and so it reinforced the process.

It was at this same period in the 1970s that theorists, recognizing these processes, first began to suggest that there was actually a world economy (Wallerstein, 1974, *inter alia*) based on the capitalist system of exchange. His approach was questioned in part by Robertson (1995), amongst others. Castells (1996 – vol. 1) has also argued that the state still has a place to play in a not-completely free but extremely competitive global market. Nevertheless, corporations began to relocate manufacturing and to transfer capital around the world from about the early 1970s, seeking the cheapest places and the most efficient means to manufacture, and the best markets in which to sell their products so that an international division of labour has been created and a competitive international market generated. Additionally, the corporations have been able to locate themselves in countries where they have to pay fewer taxes, so that they underplay their responsibility to the world (see Cohen, 2002 for a recent example), although some of them seek to persuade the world that they are exercising social responsibility by establishing charitable foundations or contributing some financial and intellectual assistance to under-privileged peoples, or to other needy causes. Somewhere, I think, Reinhart Niebuhr called this paternalistic.

However, as manufacturing has been relocated, new knowledge-based industries have taken their place in the West, and this has had a phenomenal effect on the nature of education and learning.

While this is a brief outline of the globalization processes, we want to focus on two aspects here in order to develop our argument: power, and inequality and social exclusion. But before we do so, it is necessary to remind ourselves that Europeanization is also helping to penetrate the boundaries of all the member states and bring about some forms of standardization. It is paradoxical that this process should act in a similar manner to economic globalization. Other outcomes of these processes will be discussed during the remainder of the chapter [see Held *et al.* (1999) for a full discussion of global transformations].

Power

The law of global society is the law of the global market in which transnational corporations are the major players, whereas the laws of the states are still apparently controlled by the democratic (or not so democratic) governments, although the extent to which the national governments are sovereign is much more questionable (see Korten, 1995; Monbiot, 2000). Certainly the laws of the market have simply by-passed the laws of the states and the corporations are now able to exert tremendous pressures on national and local governments in order to pursue their own policies. These processes have made the nation states far less powerful than ever before in their history, so that politicians now call for partnerships between the public and private sector. But politicians are only willing to

do this and to cooperate with these powerful institutions because they are realists and recognize where the power lies – it is at least shared, if not lost! But as Bauman (1999:156) noted:

> Once the state recognizes the priority and superiority of the laws of the market over the laws of the *polis*, the citizen is transmuted into the consumer, and a 'consumer demands more and more protection while accepting less and less the need to participate' in the running of the state.
>
> (*italics* in original)

We are nearly all aware of the way in which education, even state-supported education, has become a commodity to be sold on the learning market rather than a state provision for the good of its population, and some of the points discussed below will refer to this.

However, it might be claimed that the tragic events of 11th September 2001 and the allegations about the way that a few leading corporations, especially in the USA, have illegally mislead the world might actually have called into question their socio-economic power because they do not have the control of legitimate force and they can still be brought to courts of justice, so that politicians conceivably have the opportunity to act independently of the corporations – although their willingness to do so might sometimes be questioned. But as we have suggested already, if the states are part of the superstructure, then those who control the substructures will continue to exercise very strong influence over them and get them to defend the corporations' interests.

Inequality and social exclusion

The global market always favours the rich – since the market is never free – so that its operation is actually a function of power. Very few people who have had power have not used it in some way to become rich – even very rich (fat cats)! Countries also have made themselves much more wealthy by the same process. Those countries that have developed a knowledge economy have continued in their growth, others like Zambia are virtually excluded from the market. Similarly, those people who are employable can – if they wish – play an active part (to greater or lesser extent) in being citizens, but those who have no job are socially excluded. Bauman (1999:5–6) summarizes a United Nations' Development report, which illustrates these points:

- consumption has multiplied by a factor of six since 1950, but one billion people cannot even satisfy their most elementary needs;
- 60 per cent of residents in developing countries have no basic social

infrastructures, 33 per cent no access to drinking water, 25 per cent no accommodation worthy of the name and 20 per cent no sanitary or medical services;
- the average income of 120 million people is less than $1 per day;
- in the world's richest country (USA), 16.5 per cent live in poverty, 20 per cent of the adult population are illiterate; 13 per cent have a life expectancy of shorter than 60 years;
- the world's three richest men have private assets greater than the combined national products of the 48 poorest countries;
- the fortunes of the 15 richest men exceed the total produce of the whole of sub-Saharan Africa;
- 4 per cent of the wealth of the world's richest 225 men would offer the poor of the world access to elementary medical and educational amenities as well as adequate nutrition.

While the lack of welfare provision, or little genuine concern for the poor, is not a precondition of globalization, it certainly helps global capitalism expand its profitability because corporations can, and do, pay lower wages when there is a surplus of labour both nationally and internationally. The poor are excluded socially and economically from both local and global society. The division between the north and the south, for instance, is one of inclusion and exclusion. In those countries that are excluded, whilst they may aspire after lifelong learning policies, for example Nepal has a policy, they may not be quite so exposed to the driving forces of capital and information technology to have changed their ways of life nor forced upon them the necessity of lifelong learning. In these countries we find that the education of adults is still in its infancy and, even if there were to be cultural changes, it is doubtful whether they would have the finance to introduce it, so that they borrow from the West, for example the World Bank, and put themselves permanently in its debt. However, in this new economy it is not only poverty that leads to social exclusion, it is also the lack of the requisite knowledge to get work; we will discuss the nature of knowledge in the following section.

The changing nature of knowledge and the knowledge society

In order to understand the nature of social change and its effects on education, it is necessary to understand the way that our conceptions of knowledge, and even knowledge itself, have changed.

Knowledge

There are at least seven ways in which these changes have occurred: the legitimation of knowledge, the social construction of knowledge, its rela-

tivity, the types of knowledge, the nature of practical knowledge, the integrated nature of knowledge itself and Mode 1 to Mode 2 knowledge. We shall discuss these briefly and then show the relevance of the discussion to what we commonly call the knowledge society.

LEGITIMATION OF KNOWLEDGE

When I was young, knowledge was considered to be something that was factual and true and even when I started my academic life we still regarded research as a gathering of facts. But even then we were aware that knowledge was legitimated as fact by at least three different processes:

- *Rational* – we start with a premise (a priori) and argue a case; if the premise is accepted then it is only the rationality of the argument that can be disputed – we find this approach in philosophy, pure mathematics, and so on.
- *Empirical* – something is factual because it can be verified by empirical measurement and sense experience. For many people this is the main type of knowledge. For something to be true it has to be measurable, as we see in the constant endeavours to measure learning outcomes. However, not all measurement of phenomena is actually empirical and we do well to remember at this point that no fact has meaning – facts still need to be interpreted.
- *Pragmatic* – Pragmatism has been a significant part of the intellectual history of the United States for much longer than it has in Europe. Basically, pragmatism suggests that knowledge is legitimate if it is practical (see Rorty, 1982:160–175 for a discussion on James and Dewey). In more recent times, Lyotard (1984) has used the word performativity to argue that this is a major means of legitimating knowledge in a capitalist, market-orientated society in which it is important to know in order to do.

Habermas (1972) would list a slightly different three:

- empirical, incorporating a technical cognitive interest and coming from the analytical sciences;
- historical-hermeneutic, incorporating a practical interest;
- emancipatory, which comes from the critically orientated social sciences.

Knowledge, then, can be legitimated in a number of different ways, but there are other ways of looking at knowledge.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE

Different scholars have, at different times, recognized that knowledge is subjective and socially constructed. Berger and Luckmann (1966) brought this to the attention of a wide audience and yet, from an entirely different perspective, Marx and Engels made a similar point many years before:

> The ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas: i.e. the class which is the dominant force in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force.
>
> (cited from Bottomore and Rubel, 1963:93)

Marx and Engels were not so concerned about the epistemological questions as about why certain forms of knowledge dominated society. Gramsci (Joll, 1977) called this control of knowledge, which is often unrecognized, hegemony. Thus we can see why thinkers from the critical theory school, such as Habermas, were concerned to highlight the significance of emancipatory knowledge. Foucault also related dominant ideas to power, but he was concerned to illustrate that knowledge also legitimizes the exercise of power:

> . . . at one point in history power could be understood quite simply in terms of a king or queen having a divine right to exercise it (they more or less stood in for God, so you could not really argue with them, from the seventeenth century on the guarantor of power – God – was replaced by something else – truth and knowledge.
>
> (Danaher *et al.*, 2000:25)

While these analyses differ from each other, they all point to the idea that knowledge is constructed and in some way it is related to the exercise of power in society which, as we have suggested, lies with those who control the economic institutions and information technology.

RELATIVITY OF KNOWLEDGE

In 1926, Max Scheler (1980:76) began to isolate the issues of the relativity of knowledge and he suggested that there are seven types of knowledge based upon their speed of change:

- myth and legend – undifferentiated religious, metaphysical, natural and historical;
- knowledge implicit in everyday language – as opposed to learned, poetic or technical;
- religious – from pious to dogmatic;

- mystical;
- philosophic-metaphysical;
- positive knowledge – mathematics, the natural sciences and the humanities;
- technological.

Scheler regarded his final two forms of knowledge as artificial because they changed so rapidly, whereas the other five are embedded in culture. Whilst his analysis was a little over-simple, he does make the point clearly that positive and technological knowledge change rapidly – he suggested 'hour by hour' – but that was in 1926! Not all scientific knowledge changes rapidly – the speed of light, for instance, has not changed, whereas our understanding of the nature of light has changed. Hence, Scheler's typology, whilst useful for our discussion only represents some aspects of our understanding of the complex nature of knowledge itself. We might also dispute with Scheler that the humanities should be coupled with mathematics and the natural sciences – indeed, I would place them in the same category as philosophical and metaphysical knowledge. While Scheler was not totally correct, his artificial forms of knowledge are related to the driving forces of globalization.

Whilst we have talked here about the relativity of knowledge, it must be pointed out that relativism in the philosophical sense not only accepts the idea that knowledge changes but also that no one form of knowledge is better than any other. But we have already clearly made the point that dominant knowledge, even if it is relative, is related to the power structures of society and consequently to those forms of knowledge useful to those who exercise power in society.

TYPES OF KNOWLEDGE

In *The Practitioner Researcher* (Jarvis, 1999a) I distinguished between knowledge and information but here I want to suggest that there are four types of knowledge important to our thinking about knowledge: data, information, knowledge and wisdom.

Data These are collected during research and fact-finding. They are about facts, but we do have to recognize that 'facts' have to be qualified and interpreted. They do not have intrinsic meaning; it is a construction of meaning, and data are therefore open to control and to being relative.

Information This is objective and transmitted to people through teaching, literature or the media. It is what is frequently referred to as objective knowledge. Information is usually written down and it is, therefore, unchanging. Both cultural and artificial knowledge should be seen as

information when they are written. All forms of theory should also be treated as information that has been constructed and selected for transmission. Once information has been learned by individuals it becomes knowledge that can be transmitted to other people as information for them to consider.

Knowledge This is information that is learned and accepted – although it is not necessarily true, or fact. In this sense knowledge is always personal – but many people can learn the same information and that gives it the impression that it is objective. In fact, it is often inter-subjective which gives it the appearance of objectivity, and this commonness helps to bind individuals together – but as society becomes more open, there are more choices in learning, more opportunities to reflect and even more opportunities of creating one's own individual knowledge. However, the inter-subjectivity and the similarity of some individual knowledge between individuals is reflected in networks and communities of practice.

Wisdom This is a concept that has, until recent times, fallen into disfavour because there has been a greater emphasis on young people and rapidly changing knowledge. Consequently, the idea of the wisdom of the fathers has been something of an anachronism, although it seems to be regaining some of its credibility (Jarvis, 2001a). However, wisdom is knowledge gained through a great deal of experience, knowledge gained through repeated action and thought/contemplation. The idea of practical wisdom can be found in the writings of Aristotle, who claimed that this is a form of knowledge to be found amongst adults. He emphasized that:

> What has been said is confirmed by the fact that while young men become geometricians and mathematicians and wise in matters like these, it is thought that a young man of practical wisdom cannot be found. The cause is that such wisdom is concerned not only with universals but with particulars, which become familiar from experience, but a young man has no experience, for it is length of time that gives experience . . .
>
> (Aristotle, VI. 8:148)

He also noted that the possessor of practical wisdom must be able to deliberate about the reasons for acting accordingly, and amongst the reasons should be that of producing ends which are 'just and noble and good' (Book VI. 12:154) for humankind. Wisdom is usually regarded as a cognitive phenomenon but Aristotle was concerned with practical wisdom and this suggests that there is another element – expertise.

PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE

Rather than distinguish knowledge from skills since we do not perform skills mindlessly, I want to combine them and to consider the combination as practical knowledge. This personal, practical knowledge has at least six dimensions which interact with each other in an integrated fashion when we act in any way:

- content knowledge – prepositional and theoretical (in some instances) knowledge;
- process knowledge – knowledge of the 'how' to do it;
- everyday knowledge – the experience which we bring to the learning/action situation, which includes my understanding gained through the senses, such as smell and taste (Heller, 1984; Schutz, 1967 [1972]);
- attitudes, beliefs, values and emotions;
- tacit knowledge – that which enables me to function without apparent thought and to presume upon situations for whatever reason (Polanyi, 1967; Schutz and Luckmann, 1974);
- skill – the ability to do something.

Naturally, this formulation raises fundamental questions about the relationship between theory and practice (Jarvis, 1999a), and we shall return to this apparent problem later in the book, but we can see here why, not only wisdom, but also expertise are being re-established as part of the acceptable vocabulary and we can also see why Aristotle thought that practical wisdom is an adult characteristic.

However, expertise is also a form of wisdom since it involves practical knowledge; experts are usually knowledgeable about what they do even though they sometimes find it difficult to explain it.

INTEGRATED KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge has been divided into its academic disciplines and we have been accustomed both to teach and learn individual disciplines and sub-disciplines. However, when we act in almost any capacity we do not divide our practical knowledge into a little bit of philosophy, a little bit of sociology, and so on; we assume it to be totally integrated. It is important to distinguish here between multi-disciplinary knowledge and integrated knowledge; the former is about looking at a phenomenon from more than one perspective whereas integrated knowledge does not divide knowledge into disciplines – so that educational knowledge, nursing knowledge, and so on, are integrated practical knowledges. Now this does not mean that disciplinary knowledge is of no value – we still need it in order

to analyse and interpret phenomena. Both a knowledge of the academic disciplines and of practical knowledge are important to the expert practitioner and to our understanding of the nature of knowledge and the knowledge society.

MODE 1–MODE 2 KNOWLEDGE

These terms have come to the fore as a result of the book by Gibbons *et al.* (1994) in which they suggest that:

> in Mode 1 problems are set and solved in a context governed by the, largely, academic interests of a specific community. By contrast, Mode 2 knowledge is carried out in the context of application. Mode 1 is disciplinary, while Mode 2 is transdisciplinary. Mode 1 is characterised by homogeneity, Mode 2 by heterogeneity. Organisationally, Mode 1 is hierarchical and tends to preserve its form, while Mode 2 is more heterarchical and transient.
>
> (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994:3)

It will be seen from the above discussion that this distinction only achieves the types of changes that have been discussed already and, in a way, it over-simplifies that complexity of the ways in which knowledge has changed. At the same time, it does capture what we have discussed in a straightforward manner.

Our conception of knowledge has, therefore, undergone quite profound changes over recent years, but it is not difficult to see that these have major implications for teaching and learning; we shall consider these throughout the following chapters. Before we undertake this, however, it is important that we relate this understanding of knowledge to the concept of the knowledge society.

The knowledge society

Stehr (1994) suggested that the knowledge society is based, not on all forms of knowledge, but on scientific knowledge – that is, in Scheler's terms, on artificial or relative knowledge. But this knowledge has grown in volume and changes rapidly, so that Senge (1990:69) makes a significant point that perhaps for the first time in human history humankind now produces more knowledge than people can absorb.

Sociologists have always studied the structures of society although in recent years the survival of society itself is being questioned (Bauman, 2002), but one thesis, relevant to our thinking that attracted considerable attention in the 1960s and 1970s when society was a taken-for-granted concept, was that of the logic of industrialization. This was first published

at the beginning of the 1960s in *Industrialism and Industrial Man* (Kerr *et al.*, 1973). Like Marx, but from an entirely different viewpoint, these authors implied that each society has a substructure and a superstructure. They argued that the substructural driving force of change was the industrialization process itself. However, it was the identification of this substructural force that was to prove a major weakness in their thesis; they did not foresee the changes that were to occur in the 1970s with the processes of globalization and the introduction of information technology that was to alter the faces of the industry and commerce. I have explored this elsewhere (Jarvis, 2001b) and so I do not want to pursue it here.

But another aspect of their argument that is important is that they regarded higher education as part of the social superstructure – as the handmaiden of industrialism:

> The higher educational system of the industrial society stresses the natural sciences, engineering, medicine, managerial training – whether private or public – and administrative law. It must steadily adapt to new disciplines and fields of specialization. There is a relatively smaller place for the humanities and the arts, while the social sciences are strongly related to the training of the managerial groups and technicians for the enterprise and for government. The increased leisure time, however, can afford a broader public appreciation of the humanities and the arts.
>
> (Kerr *et al.*, 1973:47)

They claimed that the higher educational system would have to expand to meet the needs of industrialization, and this would create an increasing level of education for all citizens, albeit with a greater emphasis on those subjects relevant to the substructural demands. But it is not only higher education that has been affected in this way, it is the education of adults – especially what is now termed lifelong learning. Whilst Kerr and his colleagues misread the driving forces of change, they actually had focused on precisely the direction that education would be forced to take. They recognized that certain forms of knowledge would become prevalent in the higher education of the latter part of the twentieth century; these were the sciences, law and relevant social sciences. Basically, they were saying that in the knowledge society, the dominant form of knowledge by which all other knowledge is assessed, is based on rapidly changing scientific and technological – especially, information technological – knowledge. This dominant form is now prevalent and the holders of power place far less value upon Scheler's cultural forms of knowledge, because apparently they are not wealth producing, than they do on scientific and artificial knowledge. Individuals in the work force are expected to keep

abreast with all the technological changes that occur in their place of work. This point was made as early as 1982:

> In recent years the obsolescence of knowledge has been most marked in the professions. Many professional bodies now encourage, and sometimes require, their members to undertake regular courses of continuing education and professional development. The need for regular updating will broaden across much more of the working population.
>
> (ACACE, 1982b:9)

By this time, continuing education had become a reality in the professions (see Houle, 1980) and by the mid-1990s it had become lifelong learning. Over this period some more traditional occupations have declined while others have disappeared leaving many to seek new forms of employment and industrial training, while many more new occupations have appeared, especially in knowledge-based industries. Government retraining schemes have now become relatively common in the United Kingdom and many forms of vocational education have increased and expanded. Indeed, Woodhall (1980:22) estimated that in 1978–9, in the United Kingdom, a figure of £3,000 million was spent on all forms of vocational training, equivalent to one-third of the total expenditure on education and equal to about 3 per cent of all wages and salaries. In 1988:83f. she repeated these figures whilst arguing that it is tremendously difficult to calculate the real cost of part-time education, although it had been clear for years that the amount of investment in education was growing.

What was also actually growing tremendously rapidly was corporate investment in education. Companies in Germany in the 1990s, for instance, invested some 27 billion DM annually in further training, which is nearly 40 per cent of the total amount spent on all forms of continuing education in Germany in 1994 (Dohman, 1996:15). Employers are regarded as good if they invest in people – but the reality is that unless they do so they will not survive in today's knowledge society.

In America, Eurich (1985:6), citing Harold Hodgkinson who was formerly the director of the Professional Institute of American Management Associations, suggested that the cost of training in 1981 came close to the total cost of running the whole of America's higher education system, which in that year amounted to $55 billion. But by 1990, Carnivale *et al.* (1990a:xi) were suggesting a figure closer to $210 billion on formal and informal job training. The growth was not to stop here, however, and by 2002 Morrison and Meister anticipated that the corporate budget in America for e-learning alone in 2003 would be $11.5 billion (Morrison and Meister, 2002:1). The cost of providing education for the work force is, therefore, not a small addendum to the total expenditure on education

each year, a point to which we shall return in the final chapter of this book. Technological innovation has also led to structural unemployment, which calls for retraining and this also costs countries a great deal in financial support that has to be included in any final calculations about the cost of providing vocational education.

With the rapidly changing knowledge being at the heart of what we regard as the knowledge society, we can see how the focus of education and learning has moved much more to be responsive to the demands of the global substructural forces and away from its traditional humanistic orientation – although this move has not occurred without considerable resistance, as we shall see later in this book, but it is also hardly surprising that we now also have the concept of the learning society.

The learning society

The learning society is both a confused and a confusing idea that requires some explication here, but in this instance the learning society is associated with social change. The more prevalent or profound the changes that occur in a society, the greater the likelihood that it will be regarded as a learning society. Change is now endemic but the speed of change is different in different countries, and it is slower in the socially excluded south where behaviour is more patterned and repetitive giving the society a sense of permanence and people can take their behaviour for granted, so that there is little new learning in later life. In other words, for societies to exist their members must repeat certain fundamental processes, like language and behaviour patterns, but in many societies of rapid social change these patterns are at a minimal level and so taken-for-grantedness cannot always be assumed, and more learning occurs (Jarvis, 1987 *inter alia*). Consequently, we may think of modern society being threatened by the rapidity of social change – but even in the West not everything is changing; there is still a degree of stability and permanence. There must be both learning and non-learning in social living. However, Coffield (2000:28) suggests that, as a result of the research projects for the learning society programme in the UK for which he was the ESRC co-ordinator, 'all talk of *the* learning society will have to be abandoned rather than refined' (*italics* in original). He says that there are simply too many modern and post-modern readings of the term for any general agreement on one approach or model to be possible. He highlights ten different approaches to teaching and learning that can be detected in the various research projects on which he (p.8) reports, which are:

- skills growth;
- personal development;
- social learning;

- a learning market;
- local learning societies;
- social control;
- self-evaluation;
- centrality of learning;
- a reformed system of education;
- structural change.

A number of things emerge from these: first, that they are not different models of society but merely different aspects of learning in the society being studied; second, they may be describing something of the fragmentation of contemporary post-modern society; third, they have neither a sophisticated nor an agreed model of learning on which to base the analysis which prevents genuine comparison of the fourteen projects; this is something about which Coffield is acutely aware.

Since all the ESRC projects were conducted in the United Kingdom, I want to argue that these projects have actually demonstrated that learning, in a variety of different forms, is becoming embedded in the culture of society – but whether there is enough evidence to say that fourteen projects are sufficient to indicate changes in the whole of society is debatable.

Coffield's ten approaches indicate that the forces of change do not produce standardized responses, but we should not expect this unless we have a deterministic model of society. Nevertheless, we can see that it is possible to reduce his number of categories to four:

- *personal development* – personal development, self-evaluation, centrality of learning;
- *utopian vision* – social learning, structural change;
- *planned development* – social control, skills growth, reformed system of education, local learning societies;
- *market* – learning market.

The personal development issues occur naturally in any learning process and so they are not distinctive to the learning society, but if the development is controlled and directed then it involves planning and falls into the category of planned development, or strategy. The other two, vision and market, are distinctly different from each other.

However, one aspect of a learning society not touched upon in Coffield's report is that of everyday learning, which occurs in what Beck (1992) calls reflexive modernity. Coffield (2000:22) makes an implicit reference to this when he claims that the phrase 'We're all learning all the time' is anodyne. The fact that we are being forced to learn all the time is actually the very basis of a learning society, rather than an educative one, something that underlies many of the projects in this programme. Society

is changing so rapidly that many of the traditional educative organizations are not able to keep abreast with the new demands and so individuals are forced to learn outside of the education system. Much of this is either unplanned or uncontrolled, or both, but it is an aspect crucial to contemporary society – for the learning society is also reflexive. This form of everyday learning is a crucial dimension of the learning society but it is one that cannot be controlled, something that is very important when we consider the complex nature of teaching. Only those who have disengaged from society are not really being forced to learn a great deal, and even they are still exposed to some of the forces of change. I suggest, therefore, that there are four other dimensions to a learning society: vision, planning, reflexivity and market; the order in which we shall now examine them.

Vision

Early writers about the learning society, Hutchins (1968:133) for instance, started with an educational vision that everybody would have access to part-time adult education throughout the whole of their lives, but it would also be a society which had 'succeeded in transforming its values in such a way that learning, fulfilment, becoming human, had become its aims and that all its institutions would be directed to this end'. For him, the learning society would be the fulfilment of Athens, made possible not by slavery but by modern machinery.

It was the realization of the computer revolution that led Husen (1974:238) to very similar conclusions when he argued that '*educated ability* will be democracy's replacement for passed-on social prerogatives'. He recognized that the knowledge explosion would be fostered by a combination of computers and reprographics and he (p.240) foresaw the possibility of '*equal opportunities* for all to receive as much education as they are thought capable of absorbing'. Despite Sweden's long history of adult education, Husen still regarded the learning society as being educational and based on an extension of the school system.

There are reflections here of Dewey's (1916:51) claim that

> It is commonplace to say that education should not cease when one leaves school. The point of this commonplace is that the purpose of school education is to insure the continuance of education by organizing the powers that insure growth. The inclination to learn from life itself and to make the conditions of life such that all will learn in the process of living is the finest product of schooling.

In a sense these are all variations on an educative society concept, but in a more recent book on the learning society, Ranson (1994:106) has suggested:

> There is the need for the creation of the learning society as a constitutive condition of a new moral and political order. It is only when the values and processes of learning are placed at the centre of polity that the conditions can be established for all individuals to develop their capacities, and that institutions can respond openly and imaginatively to a period of change.

The vision of these authors, and others who have written on this topic, is of a 'good society' that is both democratic and egalitarian; one in which individuals can fulfil their own potential throughout the whole of their lives through education and learning, for which school is but a preparatory mechanism. The question that arises is: is this what those in power are planning?

Planning

There have been many policy documents published by European governments in recent years, all illustrating the strategies that they regard as important in the development of the learning society. It is unnecessary to make reference to many of these here, but they all recognize the significance of the knowledge economy and, as we pointed out above, influence societies to become more standardized despite the doctrine of subsidiarity, and so these forces act in the same direction as globalization.

In the introduction to the OECD report (1996:13), the following occurs:

> Success in realising lifelong learning – from early childhood education to active learning retirement – will be an important factor in promoting employment, economic development, democracy and social cohesion in the years ahead.

The OECD reports have been quite influential beyond the confines of the European Union and many of the countries that aspire to modernize cite these OECD documents. Nevertheless, the European Union White Paper (1995:18) made a similar claim:

> The crucial problem of employment in a permanently changing economy compels the education and training system to change. The design of appropriate education and training strategies to address work and employment issues is, therefore, a crucial preoccupation.

This idea has developed in Europe, but it is also prevalent in some other societies of the world, such as Hong Kong and Singapore. But in the

British government report *The Learning Age* (DfEE, 1998:13) it is clearly stated that the learning society is something still to be created, rather than something emerging out of structural changes, and that it will be educative and vocational in nature:

> In the Learning Age we will need a workforce with imagination and confidence, and the skills required will be diverse: teachers and trainers to help us acquire these skills. All of these occupations . . . demand different types of knowledge and understanding and the skills to apply them. That is what we mean by skills, and it is through learning – with the help of those who teach us – that we acquire them.

However, there is just one place where *The Learning Age* (p.7) makes a totally different reference:

> As well as securing our economic future, learning has a wide contribution. It helps make ours a civilised society, develops the spiritual side of our lives and promotes active citizenship.

The recognition that lifelong learning is more than economic is also to be found in recent European documents (EC, 2001a). But despite the rhetoric about learning enriching our humanity, even our spirituality and the democratic society, the main emphasis of planning in all of these documents is that the end-result of learning will be employability, since the new welfare state will be built around it. In a world where global capitalism exercises such influence, it is perhaps not unrealistic to see why the concerns of the planners are orientated towards employability, but the concept of lifelong learning has been usurped by those who use it to define work-life learning. Work is something that is clearly essential both to our human development and to the good of society, but with the rapid social change we must recognize that work is no longer a permanent phenomenon for many people so that they are compelled to keep abreast with employable knowledge.

But the other main concern of the planners has been active citizenship. Knowledgeable people, it has been argued, are much more able to play a part in the wider life of society, and democracies need people who are not only able to think but who are also knowledgeable about areas of social and political life. Only by having a thinking and educated populace can a democratic society be achieved; and even if the ideal of democracy is only an ideal, it is still a goal to strive towards (Jarvis, 1993a)! Lengrand, one of the most influential writers on lifelong education, suggested that modern democracy

> in its political, social, economic and cultural aspects can only rest on solid foundations if a country has at its disposal increasing

> numbers of responsible leaders at all levels, capable of giving life and concrete substance to theoretical structures of society.
>
> (Lengrand, 1975:30)

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that one of the other central aims of lifelong learning for the European Union (see EC, 2000 *inter alia*), and elsewhere, has been to create active citizens, although it is doubtful whether there are sufficiently innovative forms of education being provided to create *active* citizens. Such events as the huge peace rallies around the world on 15th February 2003 suggest that it might be an issue or a sense of injustice created by the issues that generate active citizens rather than lifelong learning.

Reflexivity

Change is endemic and rapid. This is a risk society (Beck, 1992), one in which the complexities of the contemporary world make decisions based on certainty impossible, and uncertainty is introduced into an instrumentally rational world. There are now hardly any points of decision in individual or social life that do not offer alternative viable solutions. Every decision and subsequent action involves a risk, which demands monitoring, or reflexivity:

> Let us call the autonomous, undesired and unseen, transition from industrial to risk society *reflexivity* (to differentiate it from and contrast it with reflection). Then 'reflexive modernization' means self-confrontation with the effects of risk society that cannot be dealt with and assimilated in the system of industrial society – as measured by the latter's institutionalised standards. The fact that this very constellation may later, in a second stage, in turn become the object of (public, political and scientific) reflection must not obscure the unreflected, quasi-autonomous mechanism of the transition: it is precisely abstraction which produces and gives reality to risk society.
>
> (Beck, 1994:6 – *italics* in the original)

That society has emerged in the way that it has means that its leaders take risks when they implement 'solutions' to its problems because there is no necessarily proven answer. Consequently, there is always a need for society to confront itself about the outcomes of the decisions it makes, or fails to make. Individuals are also forced to take risks, to learn and reflect upon their decisions, so that Beck's distinction between reflexivity and reflection seems rather forced. Therefore, people must decide for themselves, adjust to social changes and keep on learning, either by doing and reflect-

ing upon the outcomes or thinking and planning before the action takes place. As Beck (1994:13) suggests, individuals 'must produce, stage and cobble together their biographies themselves'. In this society, individuals begin to ask questions about their own identity and about the meaning of life.

Market

Contemporary society is also a consumer society and the history of consumerism can be traced back to the romantic period in the eighteenth century (Campbell, 1987), when pleasure became the crucial means of realizing that ideal truth and beauty which imagination had revealed. Significantly, this Romantic Movement 'assisted crucially at the birth of modern consumerism' (Campbell, 1987:206), so that a longing to enjoy those creations of the mind becomes the basis for consuming new phenomena. The market transforms individual members of society into individuals and consumers who endeavour to satisfy their desires. In other words, there can be no market economy unless there are consumers who want to purchase the products that are being produced. Advertising creates these consumers and the learning market underlies the learning society.

Advertising plays on imaginary pleasure, indeed, it might actually distort desire. However, once further learning is separated from education, learning becomes fun! It has become a more popular thing to do in the United Kingdom, especially since the creation of the British Open University. It marketed learning packages as commodities, and other organizations have followed suit. Now it is possible to learn all the things people want to know – by purchasing their own multi-media personal computers and surfing the web, watching the television learning zone programmes, buying their own 'teach yourself' books and magazines and, even, purchasing their own self-directed learning courses. Increasingly people across the world are being exposed to global events, as information technology penetrates more countries and more cultures.

Consequently, it may be seen that education is a form of production whereas learning is a form of consumption – the learning society is a consumer market. This has tremendous implications for our understanding of teaching since the social milieu in which we teach has changed, people of all ages are exposed to much more information and are free to, and do, learn a wide variety of things. Now teachers can no longer have the authority of being the possessors of knowledge that their students lack, nor can they assume that they know more about their topics than do their students: the nature of teaching is being changed by the learning society.

Two other elements of the learning society need to be looked at here: learning towns and cities, and learning organizations.

Learning towns and cities

The idea of 'educating cities' was developed as early as the 1970s, and it was about this time that the first books pointing in this direction were published (Illich, 1973a; Schon, 1973). But the first international congress of educating cities was held in Barcelona in 1990, and the second in Gothenburg in 1992. It is significant that the term 'educating' was still being used, but by the mid-1990s the concept of the 'Learning City' had emerged. This might be defined as:

> one which strives to learn how to renew itself in a period of extraordinary global change. The rapid spread of new technologies presents considerable opportunities for countries and regions to benefit from the transfer of new knowledge and new ideas across national boundaries. At the same time shifts in global capital flows and production are creating uncertainties and risk in managing national and local economies.
>
> (Learning City Toolkit)

The emphasis, once again, in this document is economic and the definition itself reflects the argument of the previous pages. A more simple definition is that provided by the European Lifelong Learning Initiative:

> A Learning Community is a City, Town, or Region which mobilizes all its resources in every sector to develop and enrich all of its human potential for the fostering of personal growth, the maintenance of social cohesion, and the creation of prosperity.
>
> (cited from Longworth, 1999:109)

While this definition does not contextualize the learning city in quite the same way as does the former one, it does overcome the weakness of overemphasis on the economic factor. The European Lifelong Learning Initiative has also developed a charter for learning cities (Longworth, 1999:205–206). Learning cities, illustrating the standardizing tendencies in the global economy, have developed in all parts of the world. In the UK, there is a Learning City Network eNews, which held its conference in Milton Keynes in 1998; in Australia there was a first national conference in 2000 in Albury/Wodonga (Adult Learning Australia); in the OECD (2001) report the learning regions cited come from different European counties. Ireland has proclaimed that it is to become a nation of learning cities and counties (Press Release – November, 2002). Learning regions are developing elsewhere in the world and research on the learning cities is also ongoing in Korea.

Learning cities try to create partnerships and involve as many sectors of

society as possible in the planning and organising of their activities, and the national UK survey (HMSO, 1998) illustrates this. Norwich, for instance, had amongst its partners, the City Council, the Norfolk County Council, the tertiary education college, the university, the local Training and Enterprise Council, the Chamber of Commerce, the voluntary services, the schools, the media, the careers service and the employment service. The Learning City committee, which I attended on one occasion, in Albury/Wodonga had the mayor as its chair, rather than an educationalist – even though the driving force behind it was an adult educator, and the local military establishment was also a member. The task of these committees is to plan the wide range of provision of learning opportunities for the local population. It is interesting to note that in Norwich the schools were included in the partnership, whereas the schools are often omitted from lifelong learning opportunities and, significantly, the education of adults is hardly mentioned in the *Teaching and Learning in Cities* report (Learmouth, 1993), despite the fact that one of the reports was focused on partnerships. (Many of these reports and newsletters are available on the World Wide Web.)

Learning organizations

In the same way as the ideas of learning cities were being pointed to in the 1970s, so was the idea of learning organizations (Argyris and Schon, 1978). This was part of their larger studies in theory, action and learning. However, it was the 1990s before the term learning organization gained currency, Senge (1990) being in the vanguard. The questions that he asked in this book were reminiscent of my own work on organizations in the 1970s, from a sociological perspective (Jarvis, 1977) when I discovered that the practitioners (ministers of religion) having a professional orientation towards their work were more likely to have low job satisfaction working in bureaucratic organizations, such as the churches. Senge (1990:17ff.) asked whether an organization has a learning disability, in other words does it have a tendency to be bureaucratic? He (1990:69) recognized that for the first time in history humankind has the capacity to create more information that the human mind can learn, but with systems thinking people can be seen as active participants in shaping their reality. His was a book for management that pointed the way beyond sending single individuals for continuing education, to introducing the new learning to the whole organization or to a relevant section of it. Pedler *et al.* (1997:3) define the learning company as 'an organization that facilitates the learning of all of its members and *consciously* transforms itself *and its context*' (*emphasis* in original).

Throughout the studies there is an idea that teams learn (see also Watkins and Marsick, 1993) and while this conveys the idea of a group of

people all learning the same thing together, it is quite misleading. Only individuals learn, but within a team there is a great deal of inter-subjectivity, so that exposed to the same pressures different individuals might reach similar conclusions and decide together on a plan of action. The learning organization metaphor reflects the reality that individuality has been over-emphasized in contemporary society and that we need to learn to collaborate a great deal more.

In a real sense, the learning organization is the antithesis of bureaucracy; it is more democratic and much flatter. It accepts that individuals can learn and contribute to the good of the whole, provided that the organizational structures (and management itself) are open to change. It is easy to see how this approach to learning has achieved the degree of popularity that it has, since it is both outcomes based and measurable.

This first section has illustrated how the global processes have generated both the knowledge and the learning societies and has begun to indicate how the education of adults and lifelong learning fits. We shall explore this to a greater extent in later chapters, but now we need to see how individuals fit into this form of society, moulded as they are by the forces being exerted upon them as they seek to discover a place for themselves in society. However, human beings are not merely the passive recipients of social pressures acting upon them, they are also able to act back upon their world and become agents who contribute to the processes of social change.

The social nature of the individual

The nature of humankind has occupied the minds of philosophers and theologians for centuries and it is not the purpose of this section to encroach upon their deliberations, nor even to attempt to summarize their arguments. It is intended, however, to suggest that human beings are active participants in the learning process throughout the whole of life and that the reason for this lies both in their nature and in their relationship with the wider society (Jarvis and Walters, 1993).

Traditionally, every society has produced its own culture, which is carried by human beings and transmitted both through social interaction and through the educational system. Culture, in this context, refers to the sum totality of knowledge, values, beliefs, etc. of a social group. It is in the process of socialization that individuals learn their local culture. There is a sense in which some facets of education may be regarded as part of the process of socialization, although the former is usually viewed as a more formal process than the latter. Consequently, it is possible to understand precisely how Lawton (1973:21) could regard the curriculum as a selection from culture. Obviously, the process of acquiring local culture is very significant during childhood, both through socialization and education.

However, sociologists regard socialization as a lifetime process having at least two aspects: primary socialization is 'the first socialization an individual undergoes . . . through which he (*sic*) becomes a member of society. Secondary socialization is any subsequent process that inducts an already socialized individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:150). However, in this global society, individuals are exposed to many more local cultures – it is as if each was a subculture of a more global culture. Yet, as we have already pointed out there is resistance to this process and local cultures are seeking to retain something of their difference. Being exposed to other local cultures is now a lifetime process – a process of lifelong learning. Similarly, education may be regarded as a lifelong process and further reference will be made to the concepts of lifelong learning and lifelong education below.

It is not difficult, however, to realize that in a society where the rate of social change is very slow, such as pre-industrial Europe or a primitive tribe, it would be feasible for individuals to learn most of the cultural knowledge necessary for them to assume their place in that society in childhood. In such societies it was, and still is, only the elite (e.g. Plato's philosopher-kings, the priesthood) who continued to study esoteric knowledge during adulthood, while the remainder of the populace are regarded as having completed their education. Consequently, it is not hard to understand why a front-end model of education emerged, although it is equally obvious that such a model has little relevance to a society whose culture is changing rapidly.

From the onset of the Industrial Revolution, with the introduction of more sophisticated technology, the rate of social change increased. Indeed, change is endemic to technological societies. This means that the learning process should not cease at early adulthood. New knowledge, new ideas, new values and new practices all have to be confronted. Hence, a growth of educational provision occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the people were encouraged to learn more. Both children and adults were provided with additional educational opportunities, Sunday Schools and other educational institutions emerged to respond to this need, and it is frequently claimed that the reason for this new emphasis on education was because a need existed to produce a competent and literate workforce. Clearly this was so. Yet education, once introduced, had functions of a non-educational kind; we might today say that these are amongst 'the hidden benefits of learning'! Quoting one of Her Majesty's Inspectors for Education in London during the late nineteenth century, Kumar writes: 'If it were not for her 500 elementary schools London would be overrun by a hoarde of young savages' (1978:248f.) Perhaps education is still being used to keep people 'off the streets', but now the subjects are a little older – and maybe unemployed!

Education has many purposes, but, clearly, it is an important agency in

assisting individuals to respond to the rapid social change that is occurring. Because it is so rapid, it is necessary for individuals to keep learning, so that they should not become alienated from the culture that engulfs them, but we can also understand that this is a way in which individualization emerges. The more technologically based the society, the more easy it is for individuals to become alienated unless they keep on learning, but as they learn they will individualize, and we note, for example, that more people are choosing to live alone as they develop their own individuality. All are affected by the changes in technology, as evidenced by the introduction of the pocket calculator, the digital watch, the micro-computer, and so on. Hence individuals need to learn new knowledge to prevent the onset of alienation or anomie, and lifelong learning – even lifelong education – helps them to adjust to the cultural changes prevalent in their society, but, paradoxically, the more that they learn the more likelihood that they become individualized and perhaps alienated. (Given the fact that all people are born with their unique genetic inheritance, individualization is exacerbated by lifelong learning).

But, more recently, with the advent of globalization and the networked society it is much more difficult to think of any society having a single culture. Every society is affected by innumerable cultures since they are also being transmitted by all forms of information technology, as well as by people with whom we interact. Because of its apparent commonality among members of a society, culture seems to be a phenomenon external to the individual and objective. Actually this objectivity is more apparent than real since individuals have internalized a great deal of their own local culture and shared it through social interaction. It is the fact that individuals do share it that provides the impression that it is actually objective and residing outside them. Consequently, culture should be regarded as 'objectified' rather than objective, and the manner by which infants acquire culture having been born into a society is illustrated in Figure 1.1. In the earlier editions of this book I referred to this culture into which

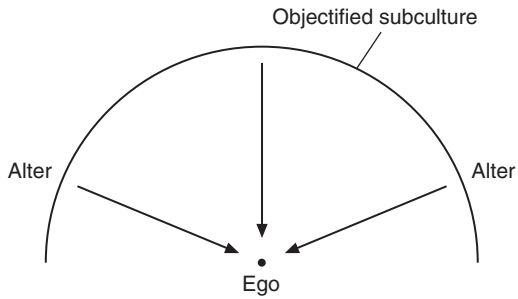


Figure 1.1 The process of internalization of 'objectified' local culture.

children were socialized as 'objectified culture', but it is now more accurate to regard it as 'objectified local culture'.

All individuals have the culture of their local society transmitted to them through interaction with others. The arrows in Figure 1.1 suggest that both children or other recipients of this objectified local culture are passive, that is, they are passive learners – and while this may be true in the very early days of life, it is not so for very long as the following figure (Figure 1.2.) indicates: it is an interaction between 'ego' and 'alter' that actually occurs in a two-way transmission of individually internalized subcultures. Human beings rarely merely process ideas that they receive, they are frequently proactive in the pursuit of the knowledge, ideas, values, beliefs enshrined in their objectified culture, which is also indicated in the double arrow (see Jarvis, 1987, 1992 for a much more extensive discussion of this).

Since we live in an information society we are the recipients of a great deal of information (see the discussion on information above) and so some of the arrows are still one-way whereas the others are two-way illustrating the fact that our society is one in which we gain a great deal of information through interaction, when we can also influence others.

In these situations, it is easy to understand how people can feel secure supported by like-minded people within a community setting. Individuals knew who they were within the dominant site of their daily existence. However, as society has become more complex and we now live in a multicultural society, the arc illustrating objectified local culture is too simple since we are recipients of a variety of local cultures and so we could depict this situation in which ego is at the centre of a number of different subcultures, as Figure 1.3 illustrates.

In this figure we can see how individuals are involved in a variety of local subcultures, each of which affects the roles that they play in different situations, so that they might see their role in one subculture as being totally different to that in another. Not only might they play their roles

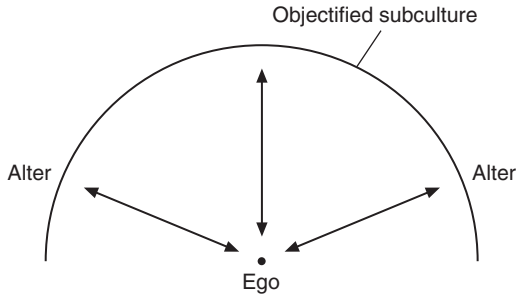


Figure 1.2 The process of internalization and externalization of 'objectified' local culture.

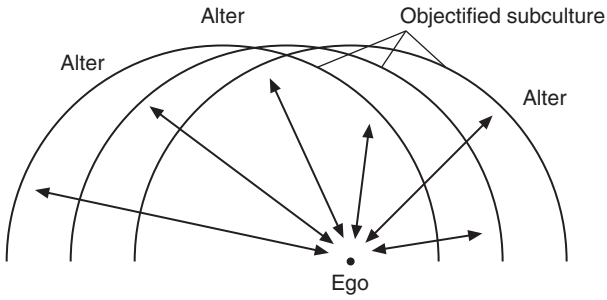


Figure 1.3 The process of internalization and externalization of 'objectified' local cultures.

differently, they may actually be perceived and/or see themselves differently. O'Neill (2003) has studied the way in which young males acquire their identities in a residential school and he has shown quite clearly that their self-identity is often not acquired through the culture of the school, but their social identity is acquitted through the culture of the school. Consequently, we can see the process whereby people acquire multi-identities, and we shall return to this shortly.

In multicultural society individuals are exposed to more than one culture, or a number of subcultures, as Figure 1.3 depicts. However since the subcultures are undergoing change, it would be possible to redraw the diagram with ego having moved further along the base axis to mark the change in time and then all the overlapping subcultures would need to be redrawn to illustrate that they had also changed. This would be too cumbersome here, although we can see that since people are exposed to different subcultures and that they process their learning differently, each person rapidly becomes individualized and distinct. But, as we noted earlier, some cultures change more rapidly than others and so we have to try to imagine them changing at different speeds. However, we can begin to understand the complexity of individuals' life-world from these simple diagrams.

It is clear from the above that many individuals have lost the security of a single dominant local subculture, which helped provide them both with a sense of membership of a community and an identity. For some people this new situation is at the heart of identity crises, which Giddens (1991) refers to as 'existential anxiety'. He also notes how personal counselling has mushroomed as a result of these changes.

However, there are additional reasons why lifelong learning opportunities should be provided in society; there is a growing body of evidence that there are hidden benefits to learning and, at the time of writing, the Department of Learning and Skills is funding research into these, such as having better health – including mental health (Grossman and Kaestner,

1997); self-fulfilment (Cox and Pascall, 1994); sense of belonging (Jarvis and Walker, 1997); and so on. In addition, the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education has been running a major campaign about education and the elderly *Older and Bolder* (Carlton and Soulsby, 1999). Over the coming years the evidence for the social benefits of learning will no doubt grow a great deal stronger.

Individuals do not just receive passively all of these changes but they process and change them as part of the process of cultural change. Hence, human beings are not only born into a changing culture, but they are part of the process of change. Their adaptation to this ever-changing society is itself a learning process, and all forms of education assist people processing and adapting to these changes throughout the whole of their lives. In this sense human beings are lifelong learners, and in the remainder of this chapter it will be shown that they are also seeking meaning for their existence. This endeavour of human beings to understand themselves, their society and their universe lies at the root of the learning process. Finally, it is concluded that the provision of education for people of all ages is essential because it helps to facilitate this quest to understand, which is at the heart of humanity itself.

Individuals as lifelong learners

Lifelong education is not a new concept (Yeaxlee, 1929) but the rapidly changing social conditions of contemporary society have provided impetus for a wider acceptance of the idea. In recent years the stimulus has been strengthened by a considerable number of publications and an increasing amount of research has also been devoted to the topic. Organizations such as UNESCO and the European Union (1995 *inter alia*) have adopted it and have thereby brought it into the political arena. However, adult educators have, generally, been a major force in drawing attention to the practice of lifelong learning. One of the earlier writers to popularize the idea was Ronald Gross (1977) who recorded some of the stories of lifelong learners. Quoting from one of these, Cornelius Hirschberg, he wrote:

> I am stuck in the city, that's all I have. I am stuck in business and routine and tedium. But I give up only as much as I must; for the rest I live my life at its best, with art, music, poetry, literature, science, philosophy and thought. I shall know the keener people of the world, think the keener thoughts, and taste the keener pleasures as long as I can and as much as I can.
>
> (Gross, 1977:27)

In case this sounds too idealistic to be practical, Hirschberg read on the subway to and from work each day, and during his lunchtime, for most of

his business life. He estimated that he had undertaken some ten hours of serious reading each week for about 2,000 weeks – enough reading time to get at least five college degrees! His university was the world of books and the opportunity to think about the ideas he acquired from them.

Consequently, there are many sources and sites of learning. We have already indicated that work has become a significant one and we shall return to this later in the book. But libraries and museums are also important adjuncts to human learning. Their existence is an indication that people seek to learn from numerous sources. Adult educators have taken considerable cognizance of their significance to lifelong education and a number of studies have been published in this field, such as Chadwick, 1980; Dadswell, 1978; Dale, 1980; Surridge and Bowen, 1977. Additional learning facilities are provided by the media. Groombridge (1972:27ff.) regarded television as a liberal educator because it makes people aware of what lies beyond their milieu, it helps them to understand each other and it provides a rich diet of imaginative experience. As long as it is recognized that what is seen and heard is actually a distillation of reality through the media, then these claims are valid. Indeed, the British Broadcasting Corporation's charter specifically states that one of its functions is to educate. In a totally different context, Moemeka suggested that in African countries local radio can 'provide a continuous flow of educational information and messages on all aspects and endeavours that affect the lives of rural communities, and so arouse their awareness and stimulate them' (1981:104). Travel is another medium through which individuals learn, so that the European Union has introduced many opportunities for educators to get to know and understand how colleagues in other countries work, through Erasmus, Grundtvig, Socrates and other programmes. Perhaps these educational programmes will be extended as greater cooperation between the European Union and the Asian countries on lifelong learning begins to emerge, as a result of the first conference and six-month project on the first half of 2002 (ASEM, 2002).

In addition, many adult education institutions, schools and colleges organize visits and study tours both in the United Kingdom and abroad as part of their programme of learning activities. The arts, museums, libraries, radio and television all cater, in one way or another, for something in human beings which drives them to learn more about the universe in which they live and about other people with whom they inhabit this planet.

Not only have technological innovations led to unemployment but recent monetarist policies in Western Europe, especially the United Kingdom, and in the United States have resulted in increased unemployment and also in a gradual lowering of the age of retirement. Indeed, it could well be argued that the capitalist system which needs a lean work-

force that is paid the lowest possible wage actually creates unemployment – 'regrettable lay offs' – and so education has become important to help the unemployed learn new knowledge and skills in order to get them back into the workforce, and also to help them consider the meaning of their lives.

This process has resulted in more leisure time, even though it is enforced and often unwanted. In a society dominated by a work ethic, in which it has been regarded as good to work but evil to be idle, leisure has always been regarded as a mixed blessing. Consequently, it is being recognized that values about leisure will have to adapt or they will be changed, which, incidentally, illustrates a way by which values respond to social pressure. But some people have to learn how to use their leisure time and Parker (1976) drew a useful distinction between education for leisure and education as leisure.

That some people have to learn how to use this leisure may appear to be surprising initially, but it is less surprising when it is realized that many who are now entering enforced unemployment at an earlier stage of their lives than they originally anticipated were brought up with the expectation that they would work until they approached the end of their lives and that not to work was regarded as malingering. Hence, the expectation of having to work for the greater part of their lives has meant that many people have not really learned how to use non-work time as constructively as they might. Yet it may actually be wrong to tell people what to do with their leisure, but correct and beneficial to provide them with the opportunity to consider how they employ creatively the additional freedom that technological changes and specific economic policies have produced. One aspect of preparation for unemployment that has occurred has been pre-retirement education (see Coleman, 1982; Glendenning and Percy, 1990, *inter alia*; Jarvis, 1980, 1983b) in which programme time is frequently devoted to the use of leisure. Indeed, there is now a *Pre-Retirement Association of Great Britain* which devotes much of its time to mid-life planning, pre-retirement education and other aspects of education for retirement.

By contrast, education as leisure has traditionally been undertaken by more educated people because many, especially those from the working classes who were unsuccessful during their initial education, have tended to shun the formal provision of leisure time education once they had completed their initial and, perhaps, their vocational education. The history of liberal adult education is a long and honourable one being enshrined in the university extension movement and other types of provision, such as the Workers Educational Association, and the demand for it appears to be unabating (ACACE, 1982b). This may be demonstrated by the many people who attend the university extension classes, local education authority classes, and courses organized by other commercial and voluntary

agencies. Additionally, the creation of the Open University demonstrated the tremendous attraction that academic study has for many people who do not possess the traditional, formal qualifications for university entry. Similar movements exist in many parts of the world (Rumble and Harry, 1982) and in America with its Free Universities movement (Draves, 1980) and the provision of part-time degree education throughout the lifespan. More recently, education and the elderly has assumed increasing significance: in America, there are the elderhostels (Zimmerman, 1979:10, 22) and the '*université du troisième age*' began in France and spread throughout Europe, so that it is now to be found throughout the world and has its own international meeting. Many of these new educational movements have already shown that leisure time education does not necessarily result in any lowering of academic standards; indeed, the academic standards may be lifted in some instances. Hence it is more than hobby-type education, which is often belittled. Yet the provision of this latter form of education is also of great importance since it provides opportunity for life enrichment and reflects a positive attitude on behalf of the learner to the acquisition of new knowledge and skills. Parker (1976:99) quotes Jary with approval when he concludes that 'the leisure centredness of liberal adult education ought not to be hidden or apologised for. It should be recognised and its gratifications elaborated. It should be seen as a highly distinctive form of leisure.'

If adult education can help people to relate more easily to contemporary culture, if it can help them to use their leisure time in a creative manner, if it can enrich the lives of many who undertake it, then it would appear to be quite ludicrous to relegate it to the margins of the world of education; and, clearly, its provision will become even more important since more people are living longer and hence have more actual time in their lives to learn things. 'But what is the use of learning new things when a person is old?' is a question frequently posed. Yet if learning is life enriching, as it is for many people, then the elderly have as much right as anyone else to enjoy the fruits of learning. Dewey wrote that since

> life means growth, a living creature lives as truly and positively at one stage as another, with the same intrinsic fullness and the same absolute claims. Hence education means the enterprise of supplying the conditions which insure growth, or adequacy of life, irrespective of age.
>
> (Dewey, 1916:51)

Indeed, people of all ages are realizing that they either want, or need, to continue learning all their lives. This has led to the growth of other important spheres of education, such as ACCESS and return to study courses. ACCESS courses began in order to help disadvantaged adults to

gain access to professional preparation but they soon evolved to offer opportunity to prepare individuals of all backgrounds to enter higher education. Some of these also began to offer fresh horizons for women who felt that they had been disadvantaged earlier in their lives (see Hutchinson and Hutchinson, 1978). In addition, there has been a growth in courses teaching people the skills of studying, such as Richardson (1979) and Gibbs (1981).

There is considerable evidence that a large proportion of the British population have returned to study. Sargant *et al.* (1997:vi) reported that 40 per cent of the adult population had taken a course of study over the past three years from the time of the survey, whereas the National Learning Survey (Beinart and Smith, 1997:35) found that 74 per cent of those surveyed had taken part in a learning activity over the previous three years. It should be noted that the latter statistic refers to learning activities rather than courses of study. Nevertheless, both of these figures are higher than that which Sargant (1990) found only a few years earlier, when she suggested that one-tenth of the adult population were engaged in education and that a further 16 per cent had undertaken some form of study within the previous three years. In addition, she found that a further 10 per cent were engaged in self-directed learning, which suggested that over one-third of the adult population are undertaking some form of planned learning exercises. Obtaining accurate statistics about the participation rate of adults in education is a very complicated undertaking and, therefore, in the end an estimate is all that may be obtained.

The same is true in the United States. For instance, Johnstone and Rivera (1965:33) calculated that between June 1961 and June 1962 there were at least 2,650,000 adults in full-time education, 17,160,000 in adult classes and some 8,960,000 undertaking self-education, but they recognized that these totals were no more than approximations. Nevertheless, their research highlighted the prevalence of the autodidact and they wrote that 'the incidence of self-education throughout the adult population is much greater than we anticipated' (Johnstone and Rivera, 1965:37). They had discovered millions of lifelong learners who were not using the educational services, people who wanted to learn and understand under their own direction. Not long after Johnstone and Rivera published their monumental study another seminal research report highlighting the lifelong learner appeared. Allen Tough (1979) reported research into adults' self-directed learning projects and he suggested that self-directed education is even more common than Johnstone and Rivera indicated. He wrote that it 'is common for a man or woman to spend 700 hours a year on learning projects. Some people spend less than 100 hours, but others spend more than 2000 hours in episodes in which the person's interest to learn or to change is clearly his primary motivation' (1979:1). Tough was not concerned merely to count the odd hours of enquiry in

which an individual might indulge, since he considered that these could not be described as learning projects. Rather he defined a learning project as 'a series of related episodes, adding up to at least seven hours' (1979:6). Tough, and his fellow researchers, interviewed 66 people in depth in their initial research and discovered that all but one of them had undertaken at least one learning project during the year prior to the interview, that the median number of projects was eight and that the mean time spent on learning projects was 816 hours. A participation rate of 98 per cent was discovered – far higher than Johnstone and Rivera would have anticipated from their research. But Tough and his colleagues employed a more intensive interview technique than Johnstone and Rivera and this method of research was one reason for the higher statistics. Additionally, Tough acknowledged that his sample was not random, so that it is not technically correct to claim that 98 per cent of the population of Canada, nor even of Ontario (where the research was conducted), undertake at least one seven-hour learning project per annum. Indeed, his statistics may be a considerable overestimation, although they might actually be correct, but they do suggest that people have a need to learn, know and understand.

These various research statistics may all indicate that the human being has a basic need to learn, a need that may be as basic as any of the needs identified by Maslow in his well-known 'hierarchy' of needs.

The human being and the need to learn

Maslow's 'hierarchy' of needs is usually represented as in Figure 1.4. D. Child (1977:40) suggested that the need to know comes at the top of the hierarchy, but in the third edition of his text he (1981:43) has adapted this slightly and omitted the highest stratum. At the same time he has continued to highlight the significance of knowledge and understanding. Maslow (1968:60) certainly considered the need to know but claimed that knowledge has a certain ambiguity about it, specifying that in most individuals there is both a need to know and a fear of knowing. However, the fear of knowing may be the result of social experiences rather than being basic to the person. The need to know may be fundamental, even if the consequences of that knowledge may be dangerous. If this is the case, then Child's suggestion does require further consideration. Does the need to know actually occur at the apex of the hierarchy? Is there a progression through the hierarchy which occurs only when the more preponderant needs are satisfied? Is it even a hierarchy? Argyle (1974:961) suggested that the main supporting evidence for the hierarchy comes from the lower end but that there 'is not such clear evidence about the upper part of the hierarchy'. Houston *et al.* (1979:297) claimed that the order of needs is itself arbitrary and that the exact order is not particularly important. If the

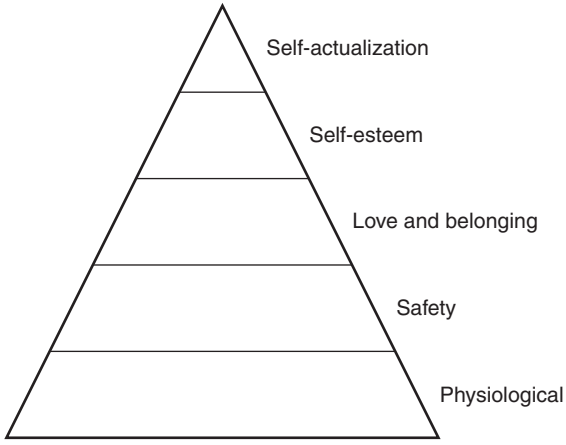


Figure 1.4 Maslow's 'hierarchy' of needs.
Source: Maslow (1968).

order is unimportant, then both Maslow's and Child's construction of a needs hierarchy is open to reconsideration.

Child may be correct when he suggested that the intellectual pursuit of knowledge is a higher order need, but this may only be true for the academic pursuit of knowledge. But the fact that Tough (1979) has suggested that many people undertake learning projects implies that the need to learn may be quite fundamental to the human being. Indeed, this need may be better understood as being one to learn rather than to know and understand since individuals need to learn in order to comprehend the world in which they live and to adapt themselves to it. If this is the case, then the need to learn is quite basic and should perhaps occur lower in Maslow's hierarchy because the individual is conscious of the need to learn from very early in life, as is manifest in children from the time that they acquire the facility of language (and ask the question 'why?') and during the process of the formation of the self.

Elsewhere (Jarvis, 1983c:20–23) this theme has been expanded a little in the context of the religious development of the individual. Without seeking to rehearse that argument, some of its conclusions are summarized here because of their significance to this discussion. It is suggested that the processes of the formation of the self and of beginning to make sense of the objective world occur simultaneously during early childhood. Indeed, Luckmann maintains that a human organism becomes a self, constructing with others an 'objective and moral universe of meaning' (1967:50). Prior to the construction of this universe of meaning, however, it must be recognized that every individual poses many questions of meaning. This process of focusing upon the 'unknowns' of human

experiences begins in childhood and appears fundamental to humanity. Nearly every parent has experienced that period during which their child persistently asks questions about every aspect of its experience. Initially these questions appear to be restricted to its immediate experience but as the child's universe expands its questions of meaning change. Answers, however, demand different types of knowledge: empirical, rational, pragmatic, belief, and so on. Hence, learning initially progresses, unfettered by the boundaries of the disciplines, as a result of a process of questioning at the parameters of children's experiences. As the questions are answered children acquire a body of knowledge, so the learning need receives some satisfaction. During early childhood these questions are overt and the learning experience explicit. When children attend school, however, teachers (and other adults) sometimes attempt to provide information that bears little or no relation to the questions being posed at that time and, therefore, the knowledge being transmitted may appear irrelevant to the recipient. Unless the teacher is able to demonstrate its relevance and create a questioning attitude there may be little internal stimulus to learn what is being transmitted. (This does not mean that children do not want or need to learn, only that they may not want to learn what is being transmitted.) However, by the time children mature, answers to many of the questions may have been discovered and the adults socialized into the objectified culture(s) of society. The adult appears to ask fewer questions. But during periods of rapid social change the questioning process is evoked. During traumatic experiences the accepted internalized body of knowledge may not be able to cope with the situation and the questioning process is reactivated. Schutz and Luckmann write: 'I only become aware of the deficient tone of my stock of knowledge if a novel experience does not fit into what has, up to now, been taken as a taken-for-granted valid reference scheme' (1974:8).

In other words, when individuals' biographies and their current experience are not in harmony, a situation is produced whereby they recommence their quest for meaning and understanding. It is this disjuncture that underlies the need to learn and this has been developed much more thoroughly in other works (Jarvis, 1987, 1992). While the need to learn occurs continuously throughout most of the lifespan, the religious questions are raised intermittently throughout life, so that the process is never really complete. Perhaps, as Tough has implied, questions are asked much more frequently than adult educators have generally assumed, so that the learning need is ever prevalent.

Before progressing further with this discussion it is necessary to recall Maslow's original 'hierarchy' of needs and Child's adaptation of it. Maslow suggested that there are five basic areas of need: physiological, safety, love and belonging, self-esteem and self-actualization. Child suggested that understanding and knowledge should be added to the pinnacle of the

hierarchy. But it was suggested that the needs do not actually form a hierarchy and it has been argued here that the need to learn is quite fundamental to humanity and that it manifests itself during the process of the formation of the self, so that in any formulation of human needs the learning need should be specified. Hence, it is suggested that Maslow's hierarchy should be adapted and seen as a taxonomy (see Figure 1.5). This is clearly not a hierarchy but a process through which a child passes during early maturation. All the needs exist in individuals and, wherever possible, human beings seek to satisfy them. Hence the provision of education throughout the whole of the lifespan may help the learner to satisfy a basic human need, especially in a rapidly changing world in which the individual may be posing many questions of meaning. More recently, I (Jarvis, 2002b) have argued that learning is actually an existential phenomenon and so I want to revise Child's adaptation of Maslow's famous diagram even further.

It might be objected that if human beings have a basic need to learn, there is no need to provide education since they will seek to satisfy their learning needs in any case. However, this argument contains no substance because education, the provision of libraries, museums, and so on, have all emerged as means by which individuals may learn answers to their questions of meaning. Yet it must be recognized that education *per se* is only one of a number of ways through which the learning need can be satisfied. Another answer to the objection may be posited in the form of an analogy: if safety is a need that is always going to be satisfied then there would be no reason for legislation about health and safety at work, and yet today there are probably very few people who would dispute the need for the existence of such an Act of Parliament.

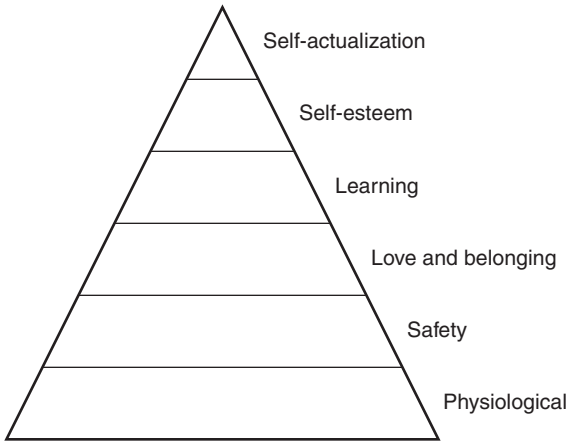


Figure 1.5 A taxonomy of human needs.

Summary

In this chapter it has been argued that the provision of education for adults is necessary because of the nature of contemporary society and the nature of humanity. It was suggested that there are various features in society that have to be taken into consideration, including: globalization and the knowledge society resulting in the need for individuals working with such knowledge to keep abreast of developments; an increase in the amount of leisure time and an increasing number of people living into old age; the need to work towards a democratic society. Additionally, it has been suggested that human beings have a basic need to learn and that they are lifelong learners and that the provision of education across the lifespan is one way by which people can satisfy this basic need.

However, it was recognized at the outset that these two aspects are not discrete entities but that there is an inter-relationship between the individual and society, and that this division is made only for ease of analysis. One approach without the other is to present a false picture of reality, so a rationale for the provision of education for adults must always contain a combination of both sets of reasons proposed here.

Thus far the concepts employed have gone undefined and undiscussed, so it is now necessary to explore some of the many concepts that are discussed in the literature about the education of adults.

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