Adult Learning in the New Millennium

Editor's Notes

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This issue addresses three important segments of adult education. Section one provides the reader with three stimulating articles on the topic of adult learning. In the first article, Ahteenmaki-Pelkonen carefully analyzes Mezirow's view of adult learning which has been influenced by Habermas. Her research raises questions about his widely known perspective transformation theory which she believes should go beyond the individual to embrace a more holistic conception that includes power relationships.

In the second article, Miettinen discusses the legacy of experimental learning, based on Kolb's model. His critique of Kolb and adult education raises important questions about the need for adult education researchers to connect with a broader analysis of cultural and social conditions of learning.

The final article in this section deals with the importance of liberal adult education. Blomquist shares the results of 20 narrative interviews which she analyzes using a narrative methodology pioneered by Geimas in order to determine a process of creating one's own biography.

Section two moves into the larger domain of community programming. The importance of creating a regional residential program for adult learners is upheld by Takemoto in her case study of an American folk school known as *The Clearing*. It was designed by Jensen following the Danish pattern pioneered by Bishop Grundtvig.

The second article, by Ilsley, describes another important community-based program. He emphasizes the differences among the liberal form, the democratic form, and mixed model forms, and the implications of such an analysis for the field of adult education.

In this section, the final article stresses the importance of diversity as expressed in cross-cultural training and multicultural education. Lindstead draws on her own experience as a North American Indian scholar to provide helpful insights into this critical topic.

Section three opens with Helenius' article on professional development through the use of learning journals and interviews to undergird the planning of training. From this research study of medical laboratory technologists, adult educators are presented with a case study on the value of reflection as a learning method for career development in a professional field.

Next, Vaara's article reports on individuals moving toward part-time retirement as a transition from work. This pilot study found that part-time retirement contributed a positive value toward the quality of life. From her interviews, Vaara explores a number of issues to pursue in this critical area of research that is so closely related to the aging process.

The final article, and a capstone to this monograph, is LaTourette's article raising the question of whether a new millennium requires a new university. He ponders the implications of lifelong learning and electronic delivery systems for the stakeholders affected, i.e. adult learners, their employers, university faculty, and administrators. This provocative article analyses the trends, explores the critical questions, assesses their impact, and urges the leadership required of adult educators and other post-secondary educators to meet the needs of a changing adult population.

In conclusion, this issue was made possible through combined efforts of the University of Helsinki and Northern Illinois University. I especially appreciate the assistance of my two colleagues, Dr. Seppo Kontiainen (Professor of Adult Education, University of Helsinki) and Dr. Gene Ross (Professor of Adult Education, Northern Illinois University) in hosting the 2000 Conference at Lahti, Finland, from where these articles emerge.

Transformative Adult Learning: A Systematic Analysis of Jack Mezirow's Conceptions

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Central to Jack Mezirow's influential theory of adult learning is the concept of perspective transformation. This term refers to the moment when an adult learner experiences a shift in his or her meaning perspective. A whole new frame of reference serves as a paradigm from which to understand one's perceptions, feelings and thoughts. New codes and categories help the adult learner to manage a much wider range of experiences.

The discussion of Mezirow's transformation theory in the adult learning literature has been quite extensive (Clark & Wilson, 1989, 1991; Collard & Law, 1989; Mezirow, 1991a, 1994a, 1994b, 1997b; Newman, 1994; Taylor, 1997; Tennant, 1994). While his advocates for strategies of self-directed learning have attracted great interest, they have also received their fair share of criticism in the United States.

First, Mezirow does not ground his concepts in the most commonly used humanistic approach. Instead, he puts forward an alternative critical view of self-directedness. Some of the authors cited above suggest that since his ideals of consciousness raising and critical reflection have been based primarily on studies of middle-aged female students, they should not be seen as representative of all or even most adult learner populations. European specialists of self-directed learning seem not even to be familiar with Mezirow's ideas.

For these reasons, it seemed useful to review what Mezirow has really said—especially since he continues to teach and write important texts—and his conceptions have long been of great interest to me. I suspect that some of the criticism of his work has been one-sided and that the perspectives on his work represented in the literature need to be diversified. In this article I concentrate on his transformation theory to identify the main sources of his learning theory. My review of his texts reveals how central his view of self-directedness is to all the other elements of his transformation theory. Perhaps this is a natural evolution in a theory that forms such a tight unity. Mezirow's use of self- directedness was gradually merged into other important aspects of his ideas as the relationship between elements of his thinking became more intensive. For him, the ideal of self-directed learning became the ideal of authentic learning facilitated by dialog or even critical discourse. Why was this so important to him? Because he came to believe that an adult learner's deepest need is to understand his or her own experiences and to express oneself in social action when necessary (Mezirow, 1985a, 1985b, 1991b, 1997a).

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Research Questions

In this presentation I am describing a research project aimed to analyze and clarify Mezirow's concept of adult learning. The research questions are:

1. What are the essential elements in Mezirow's view of adult learning. How does Mezirow see their relations? How coherent is Mezirow's view of adult learning seen from the content perspective?
2. What phases has Mezirow passed through in developing his view of adult learning? What

are the similarities and differences between them? How coherent is Mezirow's view of adult learning as seen from the time perspective?

3. What are the main sources in Mezirow's conceptions of adult learning? Which features of them does Mezirow emphasize? Which elements of the sources does Mezirow leave aside? Is it possible to conclude why this happens?

4. What implications does Mezirow's view of adult learning have to adult education? Are there applications for different learning contenxt, for example, for open learning or informal learning in working life? What themes for further research emerge? How does Mezirow's conceptualization potentially help concretize and operationalize transformative learning?

In this article, I focus mainly on the first research question, but also touch on the others.

Methodology

The research method is systematic, interpretive analysis. It is used to identify main contents and structures in a text. It also reveals gaps and contradictions in the conceptions. This method has close connections to other styles of analyzing and interpreting textual and visual materials, for example, holly scriptures of various religions, literature, films and multimedia. A hermeneutic process occurs between the material and the researcher, as well as between the research report and the reader (Jussila, Montonen & Nurmi, 1989).

The method is also closely related to qualitative content analysis (Weber, 1985) and grounded theory/ methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1991). The main techniques are similar: an analysis of the text as in content analysis, and a constant comparative analysis between the data and the emerging categories as in grounded theory There are also differences: content analysis aims to classify and order the contents of the texts while grounded theory (methodology) tries to find the conceptual expression for the content. In systematic analysis, the researcher's task is to reveal the structures of the text and its ideas: the essential concepts, propositions, and argumentation.

The Concept of an Adult Learner

Mezirow is an expert in adult learning and education. He does not address life-long learning, childhood, or youth. Still, he mentions that adolescents have the ability for abstract thinking which also makes reflection possible. Mezirow sees the adult person as a product of a successful primary socialization: Adult authorities have taught the values and norms which represent the culturally-legitimized conceptions, and the children have internalized them (Mezirow, 1978, 1981, 1990, 1991b). Mezirow does not pay much attention to a situation in which the socialization has not succeeded and the child opposes socially-accepted norms through criminality or drug use. The persons whom Mezirow describes are well-educated, rather wealthy, middle-class people whose main problems are parents and teachers who have made their best efforts to provide the children with a harmonious future. This one-sidedness has also often characterized the research of self-directed learning, as Brookfield (1984, 1985, 1986) has noticed.

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According to Mezirow, the adult can also be the victim of his/her primary socialization. If the young adults do not criticize the norms and values that their parents represent, they accept them uncritically and act according to the norms that are not originally theirs. In Frier's words, "they do not say their own word to the world and in the world" (Freire, 1972, p. 61), but they repeat the words which they have learned and which they are taught to respect. This condition represents a kind of culture of silence in which the adults do not give their own contribution to the society but reproduce the models on which they have not reflected.

In Freire's pedagogy, the adult learners were oppressed, both externally and internally; and during the learning process, they realized their oppression. Originally, they did not act in a way that, according to Freire, would be worthy of a human being (Freire, 1975, 1979). In Mezirow's view, adults are externally free in their well-being, but they are internally tied to their conceptions, categories, and world views.

The learning needs of adults arise from this

situation. They are not so much concerned with knowledge or skills but rather with the need to reflect on the essence of the world, of human beings, and the relationship between them. This need can be unconscious, but it is very deep in the essence of a human being.

Mezirow's conception of man is expressed in two main propositions which form the basis for his conception of learning. The adult's deepest need is to understand the meaning of one's experiences. The adult's basic right is participation in human communication with others. Mezirow's conception of adult learning is very complex. Many issues could be addressed in this article. However, these two basic assumptions or propositions may now form the guiding line through the various texts and conceptualizations.

The term "perspective" refers to "meaning perspective," which is a personal paradigm or frame of reference according to which the person understands his/her perceptions, thoughts, feelings, and actions.

Perspective Transformation:
The Interpretation of Experiences

The main idea of adult learning for Mezirow is the process of perspective transformation. The term "perspective" refers to "meaning perspective," which is a personal paradigm or frame of reference according to which the person understands his/her perceptions, thoughts, feelings, and actions. The meaning perspective contains the codes and categories according to which one can handle different experiences. Adults often use meaning perspectives which they have internalized in childhood, and they store knowledge and feelings according to their earlier orientation. If the earlier and new experiences are similar enough, it is possible to put them in the same category (Mezirow, 1978, 1991b). In Piaget's terms, it is question of an assimilation process.

There are, however, life situations and transitions that demand another kind of learning. When the changes are rapid, and especially radical, they are new in their essence. They do not contain many familiar elements that they would fit into the old meaning perspective. The earlier categories do not work in these situations, and this is an embarrassing experience (Mezirow, 1981, 1991b). The old habits have become useless—for instance, in working life. The individual sometimes with a very solitary way of working must now work in groups and teams that demands different kinds of qualifications. One can no longer decide alone but must be willing and capable of discussing and relating to opposite views. In private life, there are also life situations where the old habits no longer work: The old friend that used to phone weekly is dead, and the phone is quiet.

In Piaget's terms, it is a question of accommodation. These transitions concern not only knowledge: They do not show a picture of a successful person who is learning more and more and getting further and further. They refer to the difficult experiences of changing times that force us to change. These transitions are embarrassing. They reflect our loneliness and uncertainty. They demand balance and harmony—but how, when the earlier ways of understanding situations are not longer valid?

These dilemmas are the starting point of adult learning. In the middle of these difficult transitions, the adult has a deep need to understand the meaning of his/her experiences. The helpless question, "What is happening to me?" is the first question of adult learning. It is an existential question: It concerns the whole orientation to life.

There are different kinds of world explanations that could serve as an answer to this deep, personal question. The disoriented adult can be willing to rely on any orientation that could show him/her a path forward. During this time, any authority who seems to understand the unclear feelings of the adult finds words for the, and guides them toward the next steps, is welcome to harmonize the difficult situation. The adult has learned that there is a familiar and safe order in life, and whoever has a vision that corresponds with this belief will be the prophet.

In Mezirow's own family life, he has seen the impact of the women's movement. And, although his attitude toward it is very positive, he also notices the dangers in the process when the women change the traditional role expectations of husbands and parents to

the newer role expectations of the movement members. This process can be merely a change of reference group—not a conscious selection and internalization of the new values (Mezirow, 1981; personal communication, September 6, 1992 and September 18, 1993).

The view of adult learning is very holistic. Mezirow emphasizes many times that the meaning perspective is not only cognitive: The perspective transformation process also concerns the whole person. According to Mezirow, adult education has been too narrow in teaching technical and instrumental knowledge in order to control different situations. The most important form of adult learning is existential learning in which the search for the meaning of life is addressed. It is a question of self-reflective or emancipatory learning which challenges the adult to question his/her earlier categories and views (Mezirow, 1985c, 1991b).

The idea of perspective transformation occurs in all Mezirow's texts, from the late 70s to this day. It is combined with Jurgen Habermas' different ideas of knowledge and its use. In the article "A Critical Theory of Adult Learning and Education" (1981), Mezirow names the domains of adult learning on the basis of the interests of knowledge as defined by

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Habermas. According to Habermas (1972), knowledge has three kinds of interest: technical, dialogical, and emancipatory. Technical knowledge is aimed at controlling the world, dialogical knowledge helps people understand each other, and emancipatory knowledge handles the questions of power and tries to release the people from the ties of unconsciousness.

From these interests of knowledge, Mezirow leads to three learning domains: instrumental, dialogical, and emancipatory or self-reflective. Perspective transformation means emancipatory learning. It helps to reveal the underlying assumptions and distortions that can be epistemological, sociocultural, or psychological. For instance, different prejudices belong to the psychological distortions (Mezirow, 1985b, 1991b). Mezirow questions the distortions in the environment and in the learner's ideas, thoughts, and feelings that can be wrong compared with the authentic phenomenon. In this way, Mezirow differs from the humanistic view of adult learning in which the self is understood as good, and learning as a process of self-fulfilling.

The direction of perspective transformation process is "trans" meaning over or beyond the prevailing norms, values, and conceptions. The new experiences can be seen from this new, more abstract perspective, and thus interpreted in a new way. A "formation" (or re-formation) of the meaning perspective occurs. The rules and categories inside it are made transparent, and therefore they are open for reflection. The deepest idea of self-direction is seen when the person leaves the helpless question, what is happening to me? and begins to ask questions that are mentally more active, such as what does this occurrence mean to me? What is my role and my task when encountering it?

Human Communication: A Common Orientation to Reality

Perspective transformation or emancipatory education is a highly individual process. This deep need to understand one's own experiences, however, is closely connected with the basic human right to human communication This connection occurs in two different ways in Mezirow's texts. We can characterize them with the terms *dialogue* and *discourse*, although we must admit that Mezirow does not use them quite consistently.

In his earlier texts, Mezirow mentions three domains of adult learning. They are based on the Habermas definition of the interest of knowledge. The instrumental and emancipatory are understood as opposites. Instrumental learning, with its technical interest, is narrow and aims to control the world. Emancipatory learning is a holistic process in which the individual releases himself/herself from the power of distortions. What is the role of dialogical learning in this combination?

Although emancipatory learning is very individualistic and also means self reflective learning, it can never happen in isolation. The context of emancipatory learning is a dialogue. In dialogue, people learn to understand different ways of communication and defining problems. The person who lives in a dilemma situation can find alternative ways of interpreting and in this way expand his/her own meaning perspective. Thus, dialogical and emancipatory learning belong close

together, and emancipatory learning is opposite to instrumental learning.

Later in his articles, Mezirow draws this line still more tightly as he mentions only two kinds of adult learning. Roughly said, communicative learning means dialogical and emancipatory learning, but there are still some shades that are more complex.

Mezirow borrows the idea of communicative learning from Habermas' theory of communicative action. Habermas divides social action into two categories: one that is dictated and based on one-sided orders, and the other which arises from common decisions and commitment. The background of this dichotomy is in the history of Germany, in the question, why it was possible for Hitler to have so much power without the citizens resisting him? This question is difficult to answer, but at least it shows clearly for Habermas the basis of social action—either dictation or discourse. When there is no discourse, someone uses power along or with his/her small inside group and makes decisions on behalf of the others. When a critical discourse occurs, there is at least a possibility to solve problems together and, even more, to define and pose problems together (Habermas, 1984, 1987).

Does Mezirow limit the forms and tasks of adult education in a fatal way?

Communicative action is based on critical discourse, in which the arguments are continuously evaluated according to the following validity:

(a) what is said must be comprehensible;
(b) its content must be believed to be true;
(c) the speaker must be accepted as truthful or sincere and hence believable, and
(d) what is said must be accepted as appropriate or *right* in light of prevailing norms and values, so that agreement is possible (Mezirow, 1985b, pp. 143-44).

Mezirow borrows from Habermas this list of the features of critical discourse and uses it in describing adult learning. However, Mezirow leaves one important point of Habermas's thoughts aside. According to Habermas, the critical discourse is a basis for social action, the aim of which is to improve, for instance, different social defects. For Mezirow, critical discourse is the ideal of the adult learning process, the aim of which is to facilitate perspective transformation. By trying to reach an authentic understanding of the prevailing circumstances, one can become free from the distortions, see his/her situation clearly, and evaluate different solutions and attitudes. This kind of critical discourse also helps the adult learner to resist the temptation to simply change the reference group in a difficult situation (Mezirow, 1985b, 1991b).

What about the social action aspect, so important in Habermas's thoughts? Some adult educators have seen Mezirow's theory as too individualistic. Mezirow calls it *critical theory*, especially in his earlier texts. Primarily ;the critical paradigm is connected with the idea of transforming and improving social circumstances. How does Mezirow see the problems of society? Or, does he see them at all?

The material shows that Mezirow does not talk very much about social problems. His central idea is the process of individual perspective transformation, the solution of a social process and the struggle for justice are consequences of this. He does not want to decide for people: If they want to use their newly-awakened consciousness for social action, they are quite free to do so. But, there is nobody else who can make this decision except the people themselves. The learning and education process can give them tools, especially for self-reflection, but it is their task to select to which aim they want to use these tools (Mezirow, 1985c, 1991b).

Mezirow may interpret Habermas' thoughts so that the critical discourse in the learning process can be called *communication action*. For Habermas, communicative action is social action. For Mezirow, it is a part of adult learning. Mezirow has left Habermas' critical view aside and at least softened it. Mezirow seems to mention culture more often than society. The question of culture is much more neutral that the question of society—and much more obscure. Some may call this caution, others as a real respect for and fulfillment of democracy.

Conclusions for Adult Education

Mezirow's conception of adult learning is very crisis-centered. According to Mezirow, the task of the adult educator is to facilitate perspective transformation. Other forms of adult education are not seen as

adult education, one can talk about adult education only when deep existential feelings and needs are touched. What does this mean concretely? Should we have adult education only for adults who live in a dilemma-situation? Does Mezirow limit the forms and tasks of adult education in a fatal way? When he has developed his ideas from the perspective transformation process of middle-aged women, has he made this experience into an ideal model for adult education? Is he not able to see his experiences in a wider perspective?

At the moment, Mezirow (1991b, 1994a) mentions four kinds of adult learning. They are learning within the prevailing meaning schemes, learning a new meaning scheme, learning as a transformation of meaning schemes, and learning as a transformation of meaning perspective. Of course, only the last one (the transformation of meaning perspective) is the real adult learning process. However, the others are certainly not unimportant. It is still difficult to say if the first three forms are prerequisites or pre-stages of the fourth. Mezirow does not raise this question. Nevertheless, it is possible to conclude from his texts that the first three forms can also function in quite opposite ways. The adding of a new meaning scheme can, of course, lead to questioning the whole meaning perspective; but mostly, it just makes the familiar meaning perspective stronger and more useful in different situations.

Should our work as adult educators consciously cause dilemma-situations in the educational context so that we would have good starting points for the perspective transformation process? Mezirow himself has also worked in this way. For instance, at the beginning of the course *Introduction to Adult Education*, he gives himself a passive role as an adult educator. He does not begin to direct the situation. He does not talk about the aims and contents of the course nor does he tell the students what to do. The reactions of the students have been very active and very aggressive. In this way, they have also revealed their underlying assumptions that concern the adult education situation and especially the role of the educator (personal communication, September 8, 1993). Although this is one possible way to act, it is also very demanding. We still remember those encounter or T-groups of the 70s when people were encouraged to be open and when there was no competence or willingness to heal the wounds revealed. Mezirow's holistic, existential approach is, however, much wider than the modern education of working life with exact learning needs and targets. It helps us to deal with new kinds of problems, but it never looks into the background of these problems.

Mezirow's view of adult learning is very individualistic, as we have seen. This view has also been the object of critics in some articles (see, for instance, Newman, 1994). Mezirow does not pay much attention to the social problems. Yet Mezirow has also worked in developing countries in the so-called third world. How have thes4 years influenced his view of learning? The question seems to be difficult for Mezirow. In an interview (September 8, 1993), he said that when society is static and the sons continue the work of their fathers, there is no need for transformative learning. I wonder why not. Are there two kinds of people in respect to the emancipatory or transformative learning? Is it only the people in high-technology countries, in the midst of well-being, who need to understand the meaning of their experiences? Is the basic right to human communication reserved only for a part of mankind? Are there people meant to do stable work and other people meant to reflect? These questions do not find their answers in Mezirow's texts.

The consequence of Mezirow's individually holistic approach to adult learning is the broadening learning context or learning environment. Emancipatory or transformative learning may occur in many places, not only in educational settings. For instance, the therapy process is also a transformative, emancipatory process, although Mezirow claims that the therapy process is still more emotion-centered than the more cognitive learning process (personal communication, November 13, 1997). Mezirow also knows the therapy process because he has cooperated with Roger Gould, working in videotaping sessions. Mezirow represents the psychoanalytic approach to therapy. I think that his ideas also have many similarities with short-term therapy, especially with logotherapy, developed by Viktor Frankl. Mezirow does not mention this connection.

Conclusions for Research

Mezirow's theory is widely used in many empirical studies (Taylor, 1997). I have chosen here some examples, both from America and Finland, to illustrate some central ideas as well as causes for criticism of Mezirow's transformation theory. To begin with the combination of learning and therapy, I would like to

mention an empirical study of transformative learning in the supervision of therapy process. This study occurs in hospital settings in the Lahti district. It concerns the professional learning of therapists which occurs in sessions directed by a competent supervisor and in which the problems of everyday work life are explored. What are the aims of these processes which can last from two to three years? The professionals in psychotherapy often have strong emotional burdens because of the nature of their work. Is the task of the supervision to relieve these feelings and help the professionals continue their work? Is it realistic to set some kind of transformative targets when the organization wants to control the supervision process and especially its results (Ahteenmaki-Pelkonen, 2000)?

However, the supervision group is a special place for critical reflection of one's work, and especially of the habits that have taken root in the practices. How do the professionals of supervision and therapy see these possibilities, and how do they make use of them? One factor that causes changes, even in the field of therapy, is the new multimedia system. The therapy context has not been the traditional context for high technology; the presence of a living person has been the most important element in the therapy process. However, more and more professional learning takes place nowadays—for instance, on the Internet. Is there transformative learning on the Internet connections? One could suppose that the Internet best serves the instrumental and technical interest of knowledge—that of getting more information for more effective work. You can go far on the highways of information and find answers to your questions where nobody would ask if your question was relevant, the background of your question, or the intention of it. Where do the elements of transformative learning originate?

Mezirow's view of adult learning is very crisis-centered. The dilemma situation is usually not chosen by adults. Nevertheless, Mezirow also mentions intentional, voluntary changes which can cause the perspective transformation process. A research study of ethical vegans indicates, however, that Mezirow's transformation theory does not adequately account for power relations in this kind of learning. The role and the power of normative ideologies re not represented in Mezirow's theory, according to these researchers and, therefore, they are seeking a more holistic theory that would combine both the psychological and the sociological aspects of adult learning (McDonald, Cervero & Courtenay, 1999). This case indicates very clearly what the omission of societal and ideological critics in Mezirow's transformation theory means in the practice in empirical studies. The theory does not encounter the social reality in this respect, and it especially ignores the power relationships. And no wonder, for not even Freire pays attention to the power relationships in the culture circles where the peasants work for their learning (Hannula, 2000).

This research lets us see how complicated the relationship between individual choice and normative context is. The vegans had changed their lives voluntarily; but when they made this decision, they achieved a very tightly regulated, normative culture. Mezirow's transformation theory better suits the investigation of individual learning. This process is seen clearly in Terttu Myllari's research about adults who voluntarily seek help for their problems and stress related to public appearances (for instance, in giving speeches or lectures). The methods used in this process are the change of mental models and images through relaxation and re-orientation. There is no common standard for a good and natural performance, but every one of these people forms his/her own characteristic and realistic ideal. By interviewing these people and analyzing their notes, the researcher explores whether this process is a transformation of one single meaning scheme or if it concerns the whole personality and is a transformation of meaning perspective (Myllari, 2000).

Mostly, the dilemma situations are not intentional, as in the research of HIV-positive adults. In this research, the inductive analysis of 18 interviews very clearly showed the central meaning of the initial reaction. The basic assumptions about the world and self are formed in that time. Also, the role of the catalytic experience was recognized. This research helps us understand the process of meaning-making and its phases (Courtenay, Merriam & Reeves, 1998).

Similarly, a recent master's thesis in adult education deals with the life history of Carellian evacuees from the years 1939-1944. How did they get over those difficult times? What were their orientations in the new, difficult situations that they had not chosen themselves and that made them leave their homes within two hours, without knowing where they would end? This research clearly showed the flexibility of the evacuees' meaning perspectives. They could use the same source of power as earlier, but in new situations and in new ways. Most of the time they were self-

directed, and even when the pressure of the circumstances forced them to obey, they began to direct their lives as soon as possible (Tuomi, 2000). These results made us think about how radical and total the perspective transformation process is. What happens to the old meaning perspective? Can at least some parts of it also remain during the changes? Are there different levels in the meaning perspective so that some are more abstract and, therefore, also not so unchangeable as other, more concrete, and context-related levels?

These examples show how inspiring Mezirow's conceptions of adult learning are. They raise many questions and give answers that make us pose questions in a new way. In my opinion, these questions are relevant. They help us understand more about adult learning and the center of it: the adult learner, a human being, an everlasting mystery.

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About the Legacy of Experiential Learning

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Experiential learning is an important approach within the theoretical tradition of adult education in Europe and Australia (Boud et al., 1985; Boud & Miller, 1996; Kohonen, 1989). The approach, or a movement, has a special nature as a cognitive enterprise. It can also be seen as a kind of ideology needed to confront the diverse challenges of adult education. Its theoretical frame has diverse sources of inspiration: the T-group movement, the learning style technology, humanistic psychology and critical social theory. Without doubt, the two concepts that characterize the approach most clearly are experience and reflection.

In this article, I shall evaluate the concept of experience primarily from an epistemological point of view, that is, as a representation of learning and gaining new knowledge. I will argue that in the light of the philosophical studies on gaining new knowledge of the world, the model of experiential learning is inadequate. Through its humanistic connection, the concept of experience also has an ideological function: the faith in an individual's innate capacity to grow and learn. This feature makes it particularly attractive for adult education theory and for the idea of life-long learning. The humanistic connection is also epistemologically significant since it strengthens the methodological individualism of experiential learning. To fully evaluate the legacy of the experiential learning approach, the concept of reflection and its roots in critical theory should be analyzed. In this article, I will focus on the concept of experience. These two concepts are, however, interrelated. It is experience that is reflected. If the conception of experience is problematic, so is the possibility of its reflection.

David Kolb's book, *Experiential Learning: Experience as a Source of Learning and Development* (1974), is perhaps the best known presentation of the approach. I shall deal with Kolb's work and his book and through them elucidate the problem of the concept of experience. First, I shall discuss the technological background of Kolb's model and his method used in substantiating it. Second, I shall study the use of historical sources of the book by studying how it uses and interprets the work of Kurt Lewin, especially his interpretation and application of John Dewey's conception of experience. Third, I shall also study the epistemological root problem of the approach: the thesis of immediate, subjective experience as the source of learning. I hope that my critical discussion will contribute constructively to the evaluation of the experiential learning approach and more generally to the problem of how concepts are appropriated, developed, and used in adult education theory.

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The Problem of Method

Kolb's model of learning was originally formulated to state arguments for the utility of the socio-technology developed by the author in the 1960s, the Learning Style Inventory (LSI). The first version of the model was presented to substantiate the use of the inventory in an exercise book, *Organizational Psychology* (Kolb et al., 1971, p. 28). The main implication of the model was to manage and gain control of individual learning by inventing one's learning style (Kolb, 1976a ,1976b). By recognition of her or his learning style profile and goals, an individual is supposed "to choose which set of learning abilities will be brought to bear in any specific learning situation." In *Experiential Learning* (1974), Kolb further elaborates both the foundations of the model and the extended societal use of the Learning Style Inventory.

The social technological and practical background of the model is reflected in the way the theorizing proceeds in the book. The substantiation of the model combines widely different ingredients, ideas, terms and conceptions. Kolb starts his book by defining the

historical roots of experiential learning. According to him, the founding fathers and developers of the conceptions are John Dewey, Kurt Lewin, and Jean Piaget. According to Kolb, the approach was further developed in therapeutic psychologies based on psychoanalysis (Carl Jung, Erik Erikson) and humanistic psychology (Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow) as well as by radical educators such as Paolo Freire and Ivan Illich. He also utilizes the results of neurophysiology which report the functional differences between the right and left hemispheres of the brain cortex and the theory of world models presented by an American philosopher Stephen Pepper. He further indicates (Kolb, 1972, p. 17) that techniques and methods like T-groups and action research have contributed to the conception of experiential learning. Kolb says that he does not want to develop an alternative theory of learning, "but rather to suggest through experiential learning theory a holistic, integrative perspective on learning that combines experience, perception, cognition, and behavior."

This procedure and method can be called eclectic. Kolb unites terms and concepts taking them apart from their ideal historical context and the purposes they served and puts them to serve the motives of his own presentation. As a result theoreticians with quite different backgrounds, motives, and incompatible conceptions can be used as founders and "supporters" of experiential learning. This situation occurs when Kolb lumps together Carl Jung, Kurt Lewin, and John Dewey with humanistic psychologists as founders and developers of experiential learning.

In the development of his conception, Kolb uses the theory of world hypotheses of the American philosopher, Stephen Pepper. In his theory, Pepper suggests that there are four basically different hypotheses of world, four ways of conceptualizing the reality: formism, mechanism, contextualism and organism (Pepper, 1972). Kolb fuses these hypotheses to his model and combines them with those findings of brain physiology that indicate functional differences between the right and left hemispheres of human cortex. Broad historical types of conceptualizing the world (that is, history of ideas) is combined with the physiology of the nervous system. Pepper has a relentless attitude toward such a mixing of ingredients. Two central principles of his method are Eclecticism—which is confusing (pp. 104-114), and Concepts—which have lost their contact to their root metaphors and are thus empty abstractions (pp. 113-114).

Pepper (1972) evaluates the possibilities of the eclectic method as follows:

> It is a tempting notion, that perhaps a world theory more adequate than any other. . .might be developed through the selection of what is best in each of them and organizing the results with a synthesis set of categories. . . .It is the eclectic method. (p. 106)

Our contention is that his method is mistaken in principle in that it adds no factual content and confuses the structures of fact which are clearly spread out in the pure root-metaphor theories, in two words, that is almost inevitably sterile and confusing. Pepper argues, that the concepts—taken apart from their theoretical context, the context where they come from—change into "thin, little more than names with a cosmic glow about them" (1972, p. 113). The concepts and terms outside their theoretical context do not have intrinsic or ultimate value in themselves. It is a paradox that Kolb uses Pepper's basic metaphors in a way that is contrary to Pepper's methodology, by taking them out of their context and by fusing them as auxiliary terms into his "holistic, integrative perspective." Kolb does not use Pepper's route metaphors to analyze the background presuppositions of his own synthesis.

Background and Logic of Experiential Learning Cycle

Kolb's theory is best known through the four-stage model of experiential learning which he calls "The Lewinian Model of Action Research and Laboratory Training" (Kolb, 1974, p. 21). This model is generally known as Kolb's model, and Kolb constructs his own theory with it as a starting point.

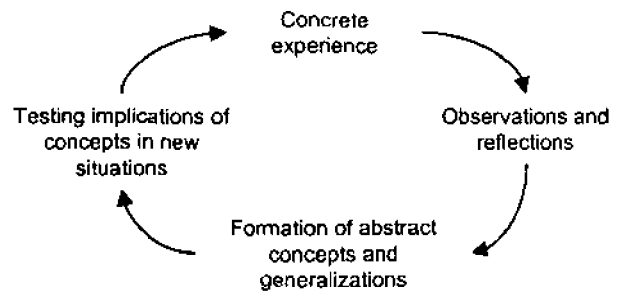

Figure 1. The "Lewinian model of experiential learning" according to Kolb (1974, p. 21).

It is problematic, however, to call this model a Lewinian model. Kolb does not refer in his presentation to Lewin. Instead, he uses as his source a report written by Ronald Lippit on a training and development enterprise organized by Lewin and his colleagues in 1946 in the Research Center for Group Dynamics in Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). The theme and substance of the training intervention were

John Dewey resolved the tension between experience and reflection by taking, as the basic point of departure, the practical, material, life activity.

the analyses and solutions of the racial prejudices and conformations in the State of Connecticut. Lippit's book (1949) is one of the finest and most careful reports ever written about an educational enterprise oriented to effecting change in community life. However, Kolb uses the report very selectively. He picks up from the rich array of content and methods of the seminar only one aspect, the direct feedback related to the group dynamics after the group sessions. The recollections of the participants in the feedback situation can be regarded as the "here and now experience" to be analyzed. It was these feedback sessions that, later on, developed into the heart of the laboratory and T-group training movement. It is this aspect that Kolb picks up to form the basis of the concept of experience. He leaves out other working methods of the seminar such as collecting information of the racial prejudices, the analysis of the reasons of typical racial conflicts, and the developing of community programs for construction collaboration between groups of local population. When this "immediate" experience is combined with humanistic and psychoanalytic conceptions, a strongly subjective conception of experience emerges.[1]

Kolb states that all of the phases of the model are "different forms of adaptation to reality" or different "learning modes" (Kolb et al., 1971, p. 28). A separate individual ability corresponds to every phase of the model (1974).

> Learners, if they are to be effective, need four different kinds of abilities: concrete experience abilities (CE), reflective observation abilities (RO), abstract conceptualizing abilities (AC), and active experimentation abilities (AE). That is, they must be able to involve themselves fully, openly, and without bias in new experiences (CE). They must be able to reflect on and observe their experiences from many perspectives (RO). They must be able to create concepts that integrate their observations into logically sound theories (AC), and they must be able to use these theories to make decisions and solve problems (AE). (p. 30)

The quotation above expresses rather well the consequences of the technological background and of the eclectic method combined. The phases remain separate. They do not connect to each other in any organic or necessary way. The separateness of the phases may reflect the fact that the model is constructed to substantiate the validity of the Learning Style Inventory. The postulation of distinct styles makes it necessary to argue for distinct modes of adaptation. In this way, the technological starting point partly dictates the mode and content of the theoretical model. The author does not present any concept that would connect the phases to each other. Rather he collects into his model historically and theoretically distinct ingredients. He continuously speaks about "dialectical tension" between experiential and conceptual. However, he resolves the tension by taking both ingredients as separate phases to his model. There is surely no dialectics in this approach. Dialectical logic would show how these two are indispensably related to each other and determined through each other. It would look for the origin of their inter-relatedness.

For instance: John Dewey resolved the tension between experience and reflection by taking, as the basic point of departure, the practical, material, life activity. He regarded a non-reflective experience based on habits as a dominant form of experience. The reflective experience, mediated by intelligence and knowledge, grows out from the inadequacy and contradictions of the habitual experience and ways of action. For Dewey, the basis and reason of reflection was the necessity of solving problems faced by habitual ways of action. He also shows that a hypothesis generated by reflection can only be tested in experimental activity which might solve the problem that elicited the process of reflection. In contrast to Kolb's model, in Dewey's

model every phase is necessarily interconnected. It is the problems and dynamics of a life activity that is the common denominator for both the habitual and the reflective experiences for Dewey.

Epistemological Root Problem of Experiential Learning

In his summary, Kolb presents a working definition of learning, "Learning is a process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (Kolb, 1974, p. 38). Accordingly, the core of his model of experiential learning is a "simple description of a learning cycle—how experience is translated into concepts, which in turn are used as guides in the choice of new experiences" (Kolb, 1976a, p. 21). This characterization resembles the empiricist theory of scientific knowledge proposed by the logical empiricists in the 1930-1950s. This theory was a prevailing conception of the origins of knowledge up to the last decades. Since then, the epistemological discussion within the theory of science concerning the foundations of this conception and man's possibility of acquiring new knowledge about the world is the most relevant issue for any theory of experience.

People from different cultures see the same perceptual stimulus in different ways.

According to the empiricist theory of science, true knowledge is based on perceptions. With his senses, an unprejudiced observer can make unbiased perceptions of reality. These can be presented in the form of elementary observation statements. These statements form a foundation for true knowledge. Following the rules of formal logic, it is possible to infer laws and theories from these statements (induction). From these laws and theories, in turn, one can infer new propositions and forecasts concerning reality (deduction) that can be tested empirically, that is, to show their correspondence with unbiased observations. Although Kolb speaks about experience and reflection instead of observation and induction, the basic problem remains the same.

The above discussed conception of the formation of knowledge was denounced by several prominent philosophers already in the 1960s and 1970s (see, for example, Hanson, 1965; Kuhn, 1970). They showed that the idea of objective, unbiased observation of facts was not tenable. They showed that observations were necessarily guided and laden by prior conceptualizations and cultural expectations. This principle was called theory-ladenness. It was substantiated by the results of comparative cultural psychology and the psychology of perception. The people from different cultures see the same perceptual stimulus (for example, a three-dimensional figure) in different ways. The picture projected on the retina does not explain the content of observation. John Dewey formulated the cultural mediacy of observations in 1925 in his book *Experiences and Nature* as follows:

> Experience is already overlaid and saturated with the products of the reflection of past generations and bygone ages. It is filled with interpretations, classifications, due to sophisticated thought, which have become incorporated into what seems to be fresh, naïve, empirical material. It would take more wisdom than is possessed by the wisest historic scholar to track all of these absorbed borrowings to their original sources. (Later Works 1, p. 40)

Dewey regards that one of the purposes of reflection is to be conscious of the layers of culture woven in the observations. They can be prejudices and carriers of the circumstances of past time, therefore being an obstacle for sensible action in the present circumstances. Once made visible and critically transformed by reflection, they can turn into means of enriching thought and action. In the 1990s, the philosophers have stressed that observation is not only laden by theory but also by instruments and practices. A scientific observation, as the Australian philosopher of science, Allan Chalmers states, is a practical accomplishment. It is a result of getting a whole arsenal of instruments to work (Chalmers, 1990). It is laden by local cultural traditions and resources (Barnes et al., 1996).

Chalmers elucidates the principle of theory-ladenness using the following example: What do a philosopher and a biologist see on the screen of a microscope? Where an experienced microscopist sees a cell dividing, a philosopher can see nothing but a "nebulous milky substance" (1990, p. 42). Had a bundle of philosophers or adult educators collected beside the

microscope, they would not have been able to make any kind of sensible or usable generalization. Likewise helpless would the philosopher be in the control room of a paper machine, beside the concrete casting of a cellar, or in the inspection of the errors of a firm's accounts. Observation necessarily takes place in a certain activity, context, or thought-community using the concepts, instruments, and conventions historically developed in that context. They steer the observations, and with them, the observer interprets and generalizes what is seen and regarded as problematic and important.

Philosopher Michael Polanyi (1964) characterized the communal origin and theoretical and historical mediateness of observations by analyzing how students of medicine learn to interpret x-ray pictures. In the beginning, the students see practically nothing in the pictures. It is only after months of practicing, discussion, and analysis of hundreds of pictures together with an experienced analyst, that the capability of seeing and interpreting the pictures develops. Therefore, there is reason to acknowledge that concepts and hypotheses precede adequate observations. Accordingly, the reinterpretation of conceptions and practices is an essential part of reinterpretation of observations and learning. Learning can, therefore, be regarded as a relationship between the culturally appropriated conceptions (hypotheses, ways of doing) and the empirically new, deviating from previous and problematic elements in practical activity.

In the light of our knowledge of observation and knowledge formation, it is highly unlikely that an individual could, as Kolb stated above, "be able to involve themselves fully, openly and without bias in new experiences" let alone draw any generalizations of such experiences. Karl Popper calls the assertion of such a possibility absurd (1981, p. 72). A student of Dewey's logic, Tom Burke, crystallizes Dewey's conception of the issue as follows (1994, p. 43): "the problem is not only how to formulate hypotheses on the basis of given data ...but how to reformulate hypotheses, based on the given data and on prior hypotheses that suggested how and why to gather those particular data in the first place." Dewey, therefore, asserts that hypotheses are drawn from observations, from the hypotheses and conceptions that directed the observations and, if necessary, from the totally new cultural resources and conceptions that are mobilized to interpret the observation data.

A solution to this problem was proposed by the founder of pragmatism, Charles Peirce. He analyzed the difference between induction and hypothesis as forms of logical inference (1992/1876). Induction leads to the recognition of a fact on the basis of the similarity of facts. Hypothesis, instead, often suggests something that cannot be inferred from immediate perception at all. Peirce resumes "Induction classifies, hypothesis explains" (p. 194). Peirce calls the inference that proceeds through hypotheses, an abduction. Dewey further elaborated this logic and applied it to the social practice.

Dewey's Conception of Experience and Learning

Having presented the "Lewinian model," Kolb introduces with few sentences, John Dewey's model of experiential learning (1984, p. 22) (See Figure 2). He states that it is remarkably similar to the Lewinian model. According to Kolb, Dewey studies in his model "how learning transforms the impulses, feelings and desires of concrete experience into higher-order, purposeful action" (op cit 22). This interpretation is based on a lengthy citation that the author has taken from Dewey's small book *Experience and Education* (1938). This text excerpt is selected so that it supports the author's aims. It is taken from a text that deals with the problem of motive at school. However, from the point of view of Dewey's general theory of experience and thought, it is marginal.

Dewey presented his conception of reflective thought and learning most clearly in his works on Inquiry (1938).[1] Dewey's approach is a naturalistic one. It is based on Darwinian biological theory of evolution thought and logic: *How We Think* (1910), *Essays in Experimental Logic* (1916) and *Logic, Theory of Inquiry* (see Dewey, 1976), taking the adaptation of the organism to its environment as its starting point. In adapting to the environment, individuals form habits—routine ways of doing things. When these habits do not function, a problem, uncertainty, and crisis emerges and demands reflective thought and investigation of the conditions of the situation. As in experimental research in natural science, a hypothesis is formulated and then tested in practice.

Dewey makes a distinction between primary and secondary experiences. A primary experience is composed of material interaction with the physical and social environment. For Dewey, things are—as he says in *Experience and Nature* (Dewey Later Works 1, p.

28): ". . .objects to be treated, used, acted upon and with, enjoyed and endured, even more than things to be known. They are things had before they are things cognized." A secondary experience is reflective experience that makes the environment and its things into objects of reflection and knowledge. It is the failure and uncertainty of the primary experience that gives rise to reflective thought in learning. The key phases and concepts of Deweys model of reflective thought and action are presented in Figure 2.

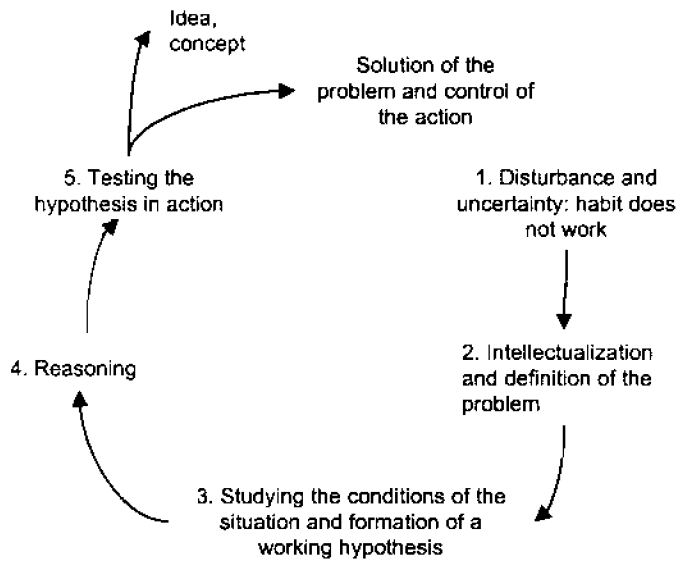

Figure 2. Dewey's model of reflective thought and action.

The first phase depicts the dilemma and uncertainty that emerges when a habit or routine way of doing things does not work. The second phase is the definition of the problem. The third phase is the study of the conditions of the situation and action and the formulation of a working hypothesis. The fourth phase is the reasoning: the testing of the hypothesis in thought experiments. The fifth phase is the testing of the working hypothesis through actions. Dewey is adamant in emphasizing that experience includes the things of environment and that a hypothesis can only be tested by practical actions, by reconstructing the situation according to the hypothesis. If the working hypothesis works, the control of action is achieved. In addition, the hypothesis is transformed into an established, although tentative, concept. This hypothesis, or concept, can be transferred into another situation.

None of the phases of Dewey's model of reflective activity is included in Kolb's model of Lewinian experiential learning. None of them is included in the model that Kolb presents as Dewey's model of learning either. Kolb speaks about experiential learning. Dewey speaks about experimental thought and activity. These terms are phonetically near each other. However, they are theoretically and epistemologically quite far apart from each other. For Dewey, there is no reflective thought without a disturbance in the habits and ways of doing things, without hypotheses and their testing in practice. According to him, experience includes all the artifacts and things involved in the interaction between humans and their environment. To Dewey, experience is neither a psychological state nor anything inside the head of an individual.

In 1949, Dewey started to write a new introduction to his main metaphysical work, *Experience and Nature*. In this unfinished introduction, Dewey expressed his disappointment that his nondualist conception of experience (covering the individual and the world) is mainly interpreted in an individual and psychological way.[2] Dewey says that had he had an opportunity to rewrite *Experience and Nature,* he would give it a new name, *Culture and Nature* (Later Works 1, p. 361). He would use culture "in its anthropological sense." He regarded it philosophically important that culture covers both artifacts and humans in their mutual interaction. The concept of culture also covers the rich web of human activities and practices necessary for understanding the thinking and actions of individuals. Dewey cites Bronislaw Malinowski (Later Works 1, p. 364), "Culture is at the same time psychological and collective." In this late text, Dewey comes very close to the cultural psychology of the 1990s (Cole, 1997; Shweder, 1990) that regard the interaction of individual and culture as the basic unit of analysis.

Conclusion

In my mind, the concept of experiential learning, in the form used by Kolb and the adult education tradition, represents the kind of psychological reductionism that Dewey regarded as a misinterpretation of his antidualist conception of experience. This conception is based in Kolb's book on the model of a very particular institutionalized way of behaving: the immediate feedback in human relation training. Although this procedure has developed one of the tenents of the T-group training, it is epistemologically highly problematic and cannot be generalized as a way in which people learn and gain

understanding of the world and their own possibilities in it. When the romantic, biological, and therapeutic ideas of humanistic psychology are combined with it, a thoroughly individualistic conception of learning emerges.

Why is this conception so popular within adult education? Why is the language set apart from the philosophical theorizing of man's possibilities of gaining knowledge in the philosophy and sociology of knowledge? Perhaps the idea of experiential learning forms an attractive package for adult educators. It combines spontaneity, feeling, and deep individual insights with the possibility of rational thought and reflection. It maintains the humanistic belief in every individual's capacity to grow and learn, so important in the concept of life-long learning. It includes a positive ideology that is evidently important for adult education. However, I doubt that the price of this package for adult education research and practice is high. Along with the package, adult education is at risk of continuously being a quasi-scientific, academic field without connection to philosophical, anthropological, sociological, and psychological studies of learning and thought. Moreover, the belief in an individual's capacities and individual experience leads us away from the analysis of cultural and social conditions of learning that is essential to any serious enterprise of fostering change and learning in real life.

Endnotes

[1]For a good presentation of Dewey's conception of experience, see *Art and Experience*, chapter three, "Having an Experience (Later Works 10, 42-63). For the phases of reflective thought and learning, see *How We Think* (Later Works 8, 199-208) and *Logic, a Theory of Inquiry* (Later Works 12, 105-122). At page 157 of *Democracy and Education* (1916), Dewey has concisely presented the key characteristics of reflective thought (Middle Works 9, 157). For recent philosophical interpretations of Dewey's theory, logic and thought, see Burke (1994) and Campbell (1995).

[2]"Experience" had become effectively identified with experiencing in the sense of the psychological, and the psychological had become established as that which is intrinsically psychical, mental, private. My insistence that "experience" also designates what is experienced was a mere ideological thundering in the Index for it ignored the ironical twist which made this use of "experience" strange and incomprehensible."(Later Works 1, 362).

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Liberal Adult Education in Postmodern Society:
Educators' Narratives About Their Mission and Future

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Nearly 70 years ago, Professor Zacharis Castren (1929) published a one-man committee report, *The State and Liberal Adult Education*. His argument was that the state should provide financial support for liberal education activities, but it should *not* attempt to constrain the pedagogic independence and professional autonomy of educators. This position has been reflected in Swedish adult educational programming and in other Nordic countries as well. Castren established his principles specifically from the perspective of humanism (Yrjsls, 1990; Toiviainen, 1997). Liberal Adult Education (LAE) has been generally understood in Scandinavia as an expression of modernism. As a phenomenon of the modern era, it had, and still has, its roots in nationalism, Christian faith, individualism, Enlightenment rationality, scientific progress, and Scandinavian democracy.

Educators must face up to the task of reframing their understanding of adult learning in a rapidly changing social context.

Liberal Adult Education in Postmodern Society

Today, this educational policy consensus is being challenged by the erosion of central tenets of modernism. Educators in a so-called *postmodern society* face challenges to some of the basic assumptions upon which Liberal Adult Education has been built. First, there is the attack on scientific rationality. Postmodern thinkers raise new questions, for example, about the very nature of knowledge. They valorize stories of ordinary people as sources of knowledge and reflection. By using narratives, a researcher can collect and analyze experiences in a variety of groups in a society. In the post-modern era, respect is given to multiple little narratives because all knowledge is local, inescapably fragmented, and culturally specific. This reversal in the definition of knowledge poses difficult questions for liberal adult educators.

Not all agree that we are in fact in a postmodern time (Giddens, 1991). Some authors believe that all the economic, technological, and cultural changes that characterize conditions in late modernity are merely an intensification of long-existing trends. Whatever the answer is to this issue, liberal adult educators must face up to the task of reframing their understanding of adult learning in a rapidly changing social context. This may be neither comfortable nor uncontroversial, but if LAE is to remain relevant to the life-long learning movement, it cannot be avoided.

In an effort to begin the process, I have begun a case study designed to develop access to the narratives of the work of selected adult educators drawn from a wide range of settings. I was interested in testing how a postmodern investigation might approach the task of understanding the present state of the thinking of LAE educators from their own narratives. The theoretical basis and method of analysis of the study will be drawn from Greimas's semiotic theory of grammatical structures. In what follows, I describe the respondents, interview questions, design, and proposed method of analysis of the study.

LAE Sites

On a practical level, the areas of emphasis within LAE lie in general education and in non-formal, leisure, and self-development studies. General interest courses provide skills and knowledge that help adults cope with everyday life. Non-formal, leisure, and self-development studies provide adults with an opportunity to deepen their knowledge and skills in a particular field such as arts and crafts, self-expression, and sports. One of the aims of liberal adult education is to encourage people to take part in organizational activities in the

society. In social studies, for example, there has been a strong focus on teaching principles of democratic communication including the skills of debating and supporting views with evidence. In the Nordic fashion, the state supports liberal adult education activities which are carried out by folk high schools, adult education centres, and study circle centres.

Study Centres

There are eleven study centres (study circle centers) in Finland. They are maintained by civic organizations such as trade unions, political parties, cultural organizations, advisory organizations, and Christian associations. These study centres are members of the Finnish Adult Education Association.

- Democratic Association for Adult Education (DSL)/Study Circle Centre of the Democratic Association for Adult Education
- The National Education Association (KANSIO)
- People's Educational Association (KSL)
- The Parish Work Association in the Lutheran Church of Finland (SKSK)/The Christian Study Circle Centre (KO)
- The Union for Rural Education (MSL)
- The Association for Educational Activities (OK)
- The Swedish Study Circle Centre (SSC)
- The Educational Association for Unions of Salaried Employees (TJS)
- The Workers' Educational Association (TSL)
- The Association for Free Cultural Activities (VSL)
- The Educational Association of the Green Movement (VISI O)

Study centres function actively in an area between the state and the citizen society. The study centres and their regional offices organize courses and lectures on social and non-formal adult education. The state gives statutory financial aid to the study circle centres. Other main sources of revenue are membership and participation fees.

Folk High Schools

In the first decades of the 19th century, Nikolai Frederik Severin Gruntvig (1783-1872), a Danish philosopher, historian, politician, poet, priest, and a writer on pedagogy, thought of a new concept for an institute of higher education. His idea was to create a university which would not be based on classical education, but on an indigenous, Danish, and popular (or folkelig) education. His idea formed the foundation for the Nordic educational institutions which we call *folk high schools* today. There are now about 400 folk high schools in the Nordic countries, 91 of them in Finland (Hjerppe, 1997).

Folk high schools are mainly private residential schools for adults. They may also offer distance teaching courses. Folk high schools are maintained by diverse civic organizations, trusts, and associations such as cultural and Christian organizations, political parties, and trade unions. Traditionally, folk high schools have had great freedom in forming their own curricula. Folk high schools award certificates for comprehensive and upper secondary school studies; some also arrange basic vocational education leading to diplomas in cultural and social work. However, a large majority of the courses offered by folk high schools are within the sphere of general education. Folk high schools are authorized to provide open university tuition.

Under the present system, the funding of folk high schools is based on state subsidies determined according to the number of student and course fees paid by the students (about 50%). Thus, folk high schools are now operating strictly in accordance with management-by-result principles, and they naturally also compete with each other for student credit (Hjerppe, 1997). The Finnish Folk High School Association acts as a cooperating organization for all the folk high schools in the country.

Adult Education Centres

There are 276 adult education centres (earlier named Civic and Worker's Institutes) in Finland. Adult education centres have been established by municipalities to satisfy local educational needs. Primarily they offer courses in general education. Many adult education centres also offer basic or supplementary vocational training, courses in comprehensive and upper secondary school syllabi, and open university courses. Teaching usually takes place in the evening after working hours. Intensive courses are either held during the weekends or on successive evenings during the

week (National Board of Education, 1996).

Case Study Method

In Spring, 1997, from the study centres and folk high schools previously identified, I interviewed 20 experts who represent a variety of organizations in the field of liberal adult education. The interviews took about one hour each. In the beginning of each interview, seven thematic questions were asked about the informant's work, the present and the future mission of the organization and the possible difficulties of the present and future. After the seven questions, I started the narrative interview which gave those being interviewed a better possibility to tell about their concepts of liberal adult education. The following topics were discussed: What is general adult education? What are the expectations in the future? How do those interviewed see the future of society?

There are paradoxes in this learning as there are paradoxes in our life.

Analysis

Analyzing the interview text, I use a semiotical method (Salonsaari, 1989a, 1989b; Sulkunen & Tsrrsnen, 1997). The main source in methodology is Algirdas Julien Geimas, French semiotic, who elaborated a complete theory of narrative structures. The universal structure I refer to is that which Greimas calls the semiotic square.

The semiotic square may be treated as a dynamic model, as a series of transformations following one another. Each logical relation between the categories of the model may be interpreted as a certain transformation. Since the dominant model covers two elementary structures which are logically connected with each other (s2, s1 and s-1, s-2) in each elementary structure, the following relations are possible:

opposition	-s1 -s2, s-1 -s-2.
contradiction	-s1 -s-1, s2-s-2.
implication	-s1 -s-2, s-1-s2.

Secondly, I introduce the notion of modalities. They are certain expressions attached to propositions (to operators in logic) for example, possibility, impossibility, and necessity. In narratives, the modalities are necessary constituents of a story by dominating a whole sequence of actions as a global constituent: a modal category takes charge of the constituent and the message and organizes it by establishing a certain type of relations between the constituent linguistic objects.

The fundamental sequence of Greimas' modal values may be presented as want-know, that is, how-be able-do (vouloir-savoir-pouvoir-faire). These values, as has been said, organize certain types of relations on the syntactic level. On the superficial level, we have to deal with the equivalent of the transformations—the actual "doing" (faire) which Greimas calls performance (using the term in the sense of generative-transformational grammar as realization of the modal values, the acquisition of which is presupposed in any performance). If a narrative utterance consists of a number of performances, it means that it also presents the introductory attempts to achieve modal values according to the above presented sequence.

The acquisition of a modal value (desire, knowledge, capacity) may be manifested by obtaining a magical object or some information which enables the subject to arrive at the right decision. The method above analyzes different discourse spaces in the interview text. The study is not completed, and analysis of the subjects' statements will reveal to what extent they are grappling with postmodern conditions.

Conclusion

Human learning is the process of constructing and transforming experience into knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, emotions, senses, and beliefs. Learning is a process of creating our own biography. In this study, LAE people were treated as learners building new stories to make sense of their world. There are paradoxes in this learning as there are paradoxes in our life. Learning depicts the human condition, and it is a paradox (Jarvis, 1997). The main question is what new stories are in the making. The results of the study are not yet in, but this is an example of how we might approach making knowledge in changing times.

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The Clearing: The Story of an American Nordic Folk School and its Struggle to Sustain its Heritage

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Near the tip of Wisconsin's wooded Door County peninsula, surrounded by the waters of Green Bay and Lake Michigan, thrives The Clearing, a private, independent, adult folk school dedicated to the study of the arts, nature, and humanities. Located in the beautiful secluded bluffs of Ellison Bay, The Clearing was founded in 1935 by Jens Jensen (1860-1951), a Danish-born and internationally acclaimed landscape architect, known for his designs of some of Chicago's major public parks and private estates.

Calling The Clearing a "School of the Soil," Jensen believed that the soil represented the embodiment of regional culture and was the basis for clear thinking, responsible citizenship, and love of country. He modeled The Clearing after the Danish folk and agricultural schools that he attended as a young man in Denmark, and he incorporated the folk school traditions of communal living, open admission, no grades, the spoken word, work with the hands, and small classes. He guided students toward their own independent understanding of themselves in relation to their social and natural environment, a philosophy which still governs The Clearing today. Jensen spent the last 16 years (1935-1951) of his life creating a unique American folk school, The Clearing.

The Clearing was founded in 1935 by Jens Jensen, a Danish-born and internationally acclaimed landscape architect.

Jens Jensen was born on September 13, 1860, in Dybbol Township on the Jutland Peninsula of Denmark. He was born into a family of well-to-do farmers from whom he learned to appreciate the beauty of the Danish coastal and natural landscape. Jensen wrote of his youth in Denmark:

> When the first flowers appeared in spring, father made pilgrimages with his boys to the bluffs towering above the open sea. . . this great love for the out-of-doors, for its history and its beauty and its spiritual message was so woven into the lives of my people.
>
> Schools days brought more adventures. Three miles we walked to school along roads lined with hedges full of color and the song of birds in summer, and waist deep with snow in winter. These hedges gave us children an education equal to that received in the little village school, and to us far more interesting. For myself it helped lay the foundation for my life's work. (1939, p. 14).

Politically, the 1850s and 1860s were trying times for the Danes. The Prussians, under Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, desired the Jutland peninsula because it could provide Germany with military control and commercial access to the North Sea. In 1864, just a few years after Jensen's birth, Bismarck's forces invaded Jutland, and at a major battle at Dybbol Mill, located about 1/2 mile from Jensen's home, the Danes suffered an historic defeat. As a result, over 200,000 Danes fell under Prussian domination, affecting all aspects of the Danish economy, military, culture, and education.

This crushing defeat initiated for the Danes a period of serious national self-examination. They found their philosophical inspiration in the teachings, ministry, and writings of a Danish Lutheran theologian, Nicolai Severin Frederick Grundtvig (1783-1872), called the "Prophet of the North." His writings inspired a spirit of

nationalistic resistance, a revitalization of Danish pride in their native language, culture, and history, and resulted in the establishment of a new educational institution—the Danish folkschool. Grundtvig encouraged the Danes to think for themselves and to oppose the dogmatism, aristocracy, and authority associated with the Prussian schools.

Many farm families, including the Jensens, agreed with Grundtvig and felt that the future of Denmark rested with the educated farmer-patriot.

Grundtvig wrote that the main purpose of this new form of education was not merely to inform, but to inspire, to provoke, and to effect social change. He called these folk schools "Schools for Life," in stark contrast to the Prussian schools which he called "Dead Schools." To him, a Prussian education was based on rote memorization of the irrelevant "dead" languages of Latin and Greek which lacked any meaning, or use, to Danes. Instead Grundtvig wanted to awaken in Danes a personal commitment to their nation through the "living word"—lectures, discussions, stories, songs, drama, interpretations, folk tales and mythology—all celebrating Danish culture and achievements. The primary precepts of the Danish folk schools were:

- To provide students with a sense of confidence in their own native experiences and knowledge instead of feeling inferior to the Prussian ways;
- To learn through experience and doing, not reading;
- To be proud of the Danish culture instead of imitating the Greeks and Romans (or Prussians);
- To celebrate the spoken "living word" instead of memorizing the writings in "dead" books;
- To learn from one another—students and teachers had much to teach each other;
- To foster friendships and a sense of communal sharing through residential living;
- To respect and to know one's own land and the environment;
- To teach the Danish people to become better citizens of their country;
- To judge by accomplishments, not written examinations;
- To focus on teaching young adults, not children.

The success for this new approach to education rested largely with teachers who could inspire students to build on their knowledge, skills, and life experiences. The best teachers were those who did not talk to their students, but *with* them.

A parallel development to the folk schools were the Danish agricultural schools. Their complementary purpose was to revitalize the Danish economy by harnessing Denmark's two greatest resources—the spiritual vigor of the people and the fertility of the land. These schools taught future Danish farmers new agricultural techniques for reclaiming the heaths and preventing soil erosion and commercial skills for establishing marketing cooperatives.

A common saying of the day was that the Danes established folk schools to strengthen their country while the Germans built fortifications. The first Danish folk school started in Ryslinge in 1861, and within twenty years, there were 64 schools in operation. They were established as residential schools for rural young adults, in contrast to the formal academies in the cities that served the urban elite. After their training, folk school students returned home to their communities, while students who were educated in traditional schools often remained in the cities.

Many farm families, including the Jensens, agreed with Grundtvig and felt that the future of Denmark rested with the educated farmer-patriot. In 1878, Jensen attended a folk school in Vinding. Its innovative and flexible curriculum offered a program of world and national history, politics, literature, Nordic mythology, and music. There were no examinations nor diplomas, for this was "education for life," not preparation for a "profession." He next attended Tune Agricultural School from 1879-1880, where he studied botany, chemistry, soil analysis, drafting, and other scientific techniques designed to train free-hold farmers to play a vital role in the revival of the Danish economy. Both schools were small, accommodating 50-60 students for

a term. It was the optimal size for encouraging participation and establishing a sense of community.

Had Jensen returned home to Dybbol after Tune, we may never have heard of him, but instead he was next drafted into the German Imperial Guard. He was assigned to Berlin and Hamburg for two years, an experience which affected him in two significant ways:

- It instilled his lifelong hatred of militarism and authority.
- It broadened his horizons, introduced him to a cosmopolitan society, and awakened in him a desire for new adventures and new horizons.

In 1883, soon after his tour of military service ended, he left Denmark for the United States. Accompanying him was Anna Marie Hansen, a young woman from a lesser farming class whom he could not marry in the stratified 19th century Danish society. They joined 90,000 other Danes who emigrated from Denmark in the 1881-1890 decade. Of this departure, Moritzen (1924) wrote:

> After having served in the German Army, I went across the Atlantic to my new home. Here on the great plains of the west, new life was to be lived, and a new tree was to root itself in the deep soil of the prairie. (pp. 9-10)

Jensen and Hansen married, and they settled in Chicago joining thousands of other Scandinavian immigrants who streamed to the midwestern plains of the United States in the 1880s. He started as a day laborer in the West Side Park System, but because of his agricultural school training, he rose in the next 13 years to head gardener, superintendent, and finally general superintendent of the West Side Parks System, which included four magnificent city parks—Humboldt, Union, Columbus, and Garfield Parks.

In this vibrant city, Jensen rose socially as well, and joined organizations like the Cliff Dwellers Society, a literary and artistic group. His professional colleagues were Ossian Simonds and Wilhelm Miller, and together they formed the "prairie school of landscape design" which advocated native, indigenous plantings that complemented the Midwestern environment. They felt that the U.S. should glorify the landscapes of the American plains instead of imitating the formal closed gardens of Europe. Prairie landscaping also enhanced the newly emerging prairie style architecture, epitomized by the works of Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright, both of whom collaborated with Jensen on some major, private commissions.

Jensen retired from the Chicago Park System in 1908, and moved to Ravinia, Illinois, where he established a very successful landscaping business for the next 25 years. He landscaped the estates of many of Chicago's and the Midwest's leading citizens and industrialists, including Julius Rosenwald (department stores), Joseph Cudahy and Ogden Armour (meat packing), William Kelley (mayor of Chicago), Edward Ryerson and Samuel Insull (steel), Henry Pabst (beer), and Henry and Edsel Ford (automobiles).

At the age of 75 years, in 1935, Jensen established a school he called "The Clearing" in Ellison Bay, Wisconsin.

During this period, he also designed major parks for cities in Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Illinois, as well at the Ford Pavilion for Chicago's 1933 Century of Progress Fair. He founded an organization called "The Friends of Our Native Landscape" whose advocacy work resulted in the designation of several important public parks in Illinois and Indiana.

However successful he was in his private practice, it did not fulfill him the way his public works did. He enjoyed teaching the landscaping students who interned with him at his studio in Ravinia, and he wanted to share with young people his knowledge of horticulture and his personal philosophy of the relationship between nature and mankind. So, at the age of 75 years, in 1935, Jensen established a school he called "The Clearing" in Ellison Bay, Wisconsin. He had purchased 125 acres of land in the Door County Peninsula in 1919, but it was used only as a summer retreat until 1934 when his wife died. He often commented that the area reminded him of his Danish homeland.

In the 55 years since his school days in Denmark, he distinguished himself as a successful, American, landscape architect and a prominent civic leader in Chicago. He played a significant role in the Chicago "Renaissance" movement at the turn of the 20th

century when artists, writers, poets, architects, educators, journalists, landscape architects, and others, gave that city a sense of creative vitality and national prominence. He belonged to many artistic, scientific, and cultural organizations, and among his intellectual colleagues were poets Carl Sandburg and Vachel Lindsay, playwright Kenneth Goodman, educators John Dewey and Francis Parker, sculptor Lorado Taft, and social worker Jane Addams. Jensen had become an urbane, sophisticated, successful civic leader, well-acquainted with the major proponents of contemporary education, social reform, artistic innovation, and environmental preservation. Thus, his decision to model The Clearing in the Danish Folk School tradition takes on a greater significance because he was fully aware of many other educational models, philosophies, and practices. That he patterned The Clearing after his early Danish folk school experience is clear. He wrote:

> What I do hope to do is to give them [students] an appreciation of the real things, to lay a foundation of inspiration on which they can build for the rest of their lives. That is the sort of education I received at 19 years of age, and I am still building. This school is a result of that early education in the agricultural school in Denmark. (Butcher, 1935, p.1)

In "A Program for the School of the Soil" (1939), he described his plan for the school, based on these principles:

- An enthusiastic, dedicated, knowledgeable teacher should be the guide.
- There would be no mandatory curriculum because that would impose a compulsory nature to learning.
- There would be no exams because tests created a power relationship between teacher and student.
- Students would learn to think for themselves—to not memorize.
- Students would learn from the land and from each other.
- There would be no threats of failure, dismissal, degrees, grades, or credits.
- Classes were to be small to encourage discussion.
- Time would be allotted for communal work, nature study, horticulture, and private contemplation.
- The oral traditions of talking, singing, drama, and storytelling would be encouraged.
- The study of native and folk arts of the region would be a part of the curriculum.
- The main purpose of learning would be to arouse a student's enthusiasm for life and higher moral purposes.

Like Grundtvig, Jensen felt that it was useless merely to fill people's heads with knowledge and to steer them to action unless the action was governed by a higher purpose—which Jensen found in nature. He wrote:

> Amidst nature's giants, I find man looks upward in place of downward when he meditates, he looks forward rather than backward. To know these lessons is man's first essential in seeking to find himself and his place in a benevolent pattern. (1947, ed. p.)

Jensen's philosophy invoked Nordic elemental forces—gods representing growth, harvest, fertility, the soil, and nature. He felt that the soil was the key to a balanced and honest life. He said that the land was the teacher, and that he was only the guide. The physical campus of The Clearing was also designed to illustrate his philosophy:

- Five acres were allotted to each student; so the school could accommodate only 25 people on its 125 acres.
- The buildings were built close to the earth and used local construction materials of logs and limestone.
- The council rings (circular limestone seats build around a campfire) embodied the American democratic ideal of equality and paid tribute to native Indian campfires.
- The clearings in the woods and winding trails invoked the mystery and spiritualism of nature.

There have been a few other attempts to establish Danish folk schools in the United States. But, most have failed because their programs were based on perpetuating Danish language and culture for the children of Danish immigrants. Mortensen (1976) concluded that such a curriculum was too narrow and

ethnocentric; the children of immigrants valued the homogenous culture of American society over their Danish heritage. Instead, "A folk school by definition should grow from the seeds and conditions of the culture from which it exits," wrote Parke (1964, p. 9). She cited the John C. Campbell School, established in 1928 in Brasstown, North Carolina, and the Highlander Folk School, established in 1932 in Summerfield, Tennessee, as American institutions that have successfully woven the Danish folk school model into their efforts to resolve social, economic, and cultural problems of the Southern Appalachian region of the United States.

brought him public visibility and some acclaim from university faculty. His long years of public service and teaching were formally recognized when the University of Wisconsin awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1937, and later established a Professorial Seat in the Department of Landscape Architecture in his honor.

But the economic depression of the 1930s and WWII brought great financial hardships, and the school existed marginally under Jensen's tenure. In 1949, approaching his 90th year and in failing health, he formed The Clearing Council to ensure the school's future after his death. Because Jensen was too ill to teach, the Council initiated various, 2-3 day symposia,

Jensen adopted the Grundtvigian curriculum of practical knowledge of nature and the soil, broad liberal education for responsible citizenship, and the transmission of one's culture through the oral tradition and the study of native crafts and folklore.

Unlike the Campbell and Highlander Schools, The Clearing's primary purpose was not social and economic reform although, like Jane Addams, Jensen did believe that education should be a tool to improve the conditions of society. Jensen adopted the Grundtvigian curriculum of practical knowledge of nature and the soil, broad liberal education for responsible citizenship, and the transmission of one's culture through the oral tradition and the study of native crafts and folklore. For Jensen, the native culture of Wisconsin included the philosophy and art of the American Indians. From John Dewey and Francis Parker, Jensen adopted the philosophy that individualized, student-centered instruction with self-determined goals and assessments was the appropriate way to teach the adult student.

The Clearing's term ran from October to June, and it attracted small classes of landscaping students from the U.S. and abroad. During the decade 1935-1945, Jensen also became one of Wisconsin's leading conservationists, writing for *The Capital Times* (a Madison, Wisconsin newspaper), lecturing, and serving on park boards which acquired 8 county parks and 5 state parks in Wisconsin.

During this time, he also designed the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Gardens in Springfield, Illinois, and two parks in Madison, Wisconsin, and he wrote two books, *Siftings* (1939) and *The Clearing* (1949) which using members of the Council (architects, painters, dramatists, writers) as the teachers. These were especially difficult times for The Clearing, and the Council struggled to keep the building and grounds maintained and to offer enough classes to retain the school's tax-free status.

Jens Jensen died on October 1, 1951, leaving a great void and many questions about how to keep The Clearing alive. The Council spent two years searching for a financially stable and philosophically compatible sponsor. They explored affiliation with the following groups:

- the Midwest Conference of Colleges (a consortia of small, liberal arts colleges—Beloit, Lawrence, St. Olaf, Carleton, Cornell, Coe, Grinnell, Knox, Monmouth) in the region;
- Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, who proposed a summer camp for landscape students;
- the National Audubon Society, who proposed a bird sanctuary and birdwatching camp;
- the Wisconsin Farm Bureau Federation (WFBF), who proposed a program for young farm men and women.

In 1953, The Clearing's Board and Council decided to affiliate with the WFBF because:

- the WFBF program would bring rural and urban people together;
- courses on conservation, leadership, and crafts would be major parts of the curriculum; the WFBF promised to make some major capital improvements to the campus;
- the WFBF agreed to a multi-year contract with annual review by both parties;
- Jensen's assistant, Mertha Fulkerson, would be retained as resident manager;
- classes would remain small, 25-30 students;
- enrollment would be open to all;
- the WFBF was a Wisconsin-based organization.

The Wisconsin Farm Bureau Federation

The WFBF is an agrarian organization whose roots can be traced to the mid-19th century, populist, cooperative, extension movement under which American public land grant universities were mandated to share the results of their applied agricultural research with farmers. Across the nation, county agricultural experts from universities disseminated information about new farming techniques through farmers' institutes, short courses, mechanics' institutes, and experimental demonstration farms. Courses taught by the county agents included such topics as new hybrid seeds; improved farming equipment; effective soil and water conservation techniques; forming marketing cooperatives; sewing, canning, and gardening information; livestock breeding; and nutrition and family health matters. Their goals, much like the Danish agricultural schools, were to instill pride in the country life and to boost the agricultural economy.

The WFBF also promoted educational activities for young farm couples, farm women, and rural youth through leadership seminars, rural arts programs, Future Farmers, and 4-H Clubs. In a 1968 newsletter, the WFBF defined itself as an organization whose goals were to "achieve educational improvement, economic opportunity, and social advancement, thereby promoting the national welfare" (p. 2). Wisconsin farmers believed that the strength of the U.S. democracy rested with independent-thinking, educated, industrious people whose values were firmly planted around family, community, and the land. Jensen had been an outspoken advocate of the virtues of country life, the importance of land conservation and the preservation of wildlife and woodlands for future generations. His philosophy resonated with the farmers of Wisconsin, many of whom were Scandinavians and familiar with the folk school philosophy.

The WFBF saw the school as an opportunity to secure a campus for their rural youth programs, to provide farm families with a vacation-like retreat to study nature, art, and conservation, and as a way to bring urban and rural people together. In 1953, they agreed to become The Clearing's sponsor and accepted the principles under which Jensen had established the school. The WFBF (1953) promised to "teach people, especially the youth, to seek their own roots in the soil, and to express themselves by whatever talent they seem to possess" (*The Capital Times*, p. 2). The Statement of Principles they agreed to in their lease agreement, ended with the statement:

> . . .[E]ach person who has participated in the life at The Clearing will return to his community with a greater appreciation of our United States of America, its ideals, its principles of constitutional government, and the beauty of its land. (Telfer, 1982, p. 81)

With its financial future assured, the next step was to create a new curriculum for the school. Just as The Clearing had earlier benefited from the rural education movement, it now became the beneficiary of the liberal education movement, which by the early 1950s had attained immense popularity. At the end of World War II, the United States was seen as a shining example of a strong democracy and a world leader. In the best of progressive traditions, educators felt that a broadly educated American citizenry could better assume the new civic and international responsibilities—political, social, and economic—that would be thrust upon them. A healthy economy, bolstered by the war efforts, allowed industries to support this movement; and corporate foundations like Carnegie, Kellogg, and Ford generously funded a broad range of adult education activities. For example, in 1951, the Ford Foundation established the Fund for Liberal Education administered through the Center for Liberal Studies in Chicago. The Center hired many of the faculty of the University of Chicago in an especially rich and fruitful collaboration. The University had started a Basic Studies Program of Liberal Education in the mid-1940s which incorporated

Great Books Seminars, a study series which promoted a liberal education based on reading the classics of western culture, history, and philosophy.

In an article in *School Review* (1946), Robert Maynard Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, echoed the words of Grundtvig when he wrote:

> Liberal education is education for free men, and education to make men free. . . . A free society depends for its continued existence upon citizens who are in a state of becoming wise, and who are constantly applying to the problems society faces, the wisdom they have acquired. The prior and most important purpose for the Basic Programs is to prepare its students for life. (p. 446)

The University's four-year program of liberal education was developed for adults, and there were no formal admission requirements, no exams and no grades other than pass or fail. Upon completion, a student would receive the Certificate of Liberal Arts. Instead of lectures, the lessons included discussion of the readings, and the development of collegial relationships between teacher and students was encouraged.

Jensen's long and illustrious career, his writings and public appearances, and the acclaim of his public works had garnered the attention and respect of many educators, architects, and landscape architects, including faculty from the University of Wisconsin, Lawrence College (in Appleton, Wisconsin), the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago, and the University of Chicago.

The Council turned to some of Jensen's friends who were on the faculty of several of these schools, and they created a liberal studies program which promoted a vacation experience of intellectual discourse amidst a natural setting. With such a curriculum in place, The Clearing flourished during the 1950s and 60s, with long waiting lists of students. But, by 1975, circumstances were beginning to shift with the following developments:

- Interest in Liberal Studies was waning across the country, being replaced by a growing interest in professional training and recreational courses;
- The faculty were growing older and were retiring;
- The campus facilities (buildings and grounds) were in need of major repair;
- Elderhostel programs and other continuing education programs offered by colleges, community organizations, and YMCAs were emerging as strong competitors;
- The new generation of WFBF's leadership were agri-businessmen, not progressive farmers, and their business priorities did not include supporting a non-profit school.

In April of 1985, the WFBF announced that it planned to close The Clearing on January 1, 1986, unless $500,000 of supplemental funds for capital repairs could be raised by the end of 1985. But there's a happy ending to the story—a group of former faculty and students formed an organization called "The Clearing in Transition" which negotiated a new deadline and raised over $600,000 by the end of 1987. Formal ties with the WFBF ended in 1987, and the school is now an independent, non-profit operation with a strong fiscal base and thousands of loyal alumni students and teachers. Over time, The Clearing's course offerings have broadened and now include a rich array of classes in nature studies, creative writing, fine and folk arts, in addition to studies of literature, history, and philosophy. Thus, we can see how The Clearing adapted and grew from the needs and conditions of its culture. It was the Danish Folk School model that kept The Clearing's leaders responsive to the needs of the students and to changing times.

Jensen's imprint on The Clearing remains strong today. Just as his prairie landscape designs glorified the local and indigenous plant and land formations, so The Clearing was his distinctly American creation. Jensen designed The Clearing to be his prairie school, an institution combining various European and American educational traditions interpreted through his own artistic and naturalistic vision. This feature was the key to the uniqueness of The Clearing from other residential folk schools in the United States. And, like other folk schools founded by a dynamic and charismatic leader, The Clearing became the ideological expression of Jens Jensen, the Danish-American.

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Researching Citizenship in a Modern Technological Culture

Making a Case for Public Forum Discourse[1]

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This article is intended to celebrate an alliance among adult educators throughout Europe and North America. The article centers on the topics of citizenship, participation, and public forum discourse in our modern technological cultures and the role of adult educators in their investigation. The premise is that public discourse, defined here as both formal and informal modes of expression, is the subject and the object, the ends and the means, for investigating, knowing, and ultimately living citizenship appropriate to the swirling forces of the 21st Century. Political conversation in a democracy must be thought through anew in light of modern developments in rhetoric, philosophy of language and, of course, the Eurpeanization and globalization of commercial, industrial, and social enterprises. Such a forum must find its way not only into the community lives of ordinary citizens, but also into the great city-states of science, multi-national corporations, and professions. A healthy critique of public discourse or citizen forums does not deny the existence of expertise; rather it builds bridges of demystification among worlds of discourse by revealing the ways in which the politics of discourse implicates us all in the dynamics of world-making.

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As someone who has attended a variety of town meetings in northeast Maine, many demonstrations on civil rights, peace, and women's rights, consultant to dozens of professional organizations, as well as instructor and advisor of graduate level students, the topic of public discourse is crucial to me. Public forums are supposed to provide common citizens structures for understanding, creative meaning-making and ultimately, civic or professional action. There can be no sense of mastery of our civic enterprises, such as the professions, governments, and associations, nor intelligent rediscovery of our civic commons, without deliberate and critical dialogue. Few activities in modern society lend a critical pedagogy to citizens in a way that permit an understanding of everyday life, an opportunity to unpack everyday problems, and a rediscovery of civic purposes underlying our specialized activities, as do successful public forums.[2] Yet, as everyone knows, successful public forums are very rare and poorly understood when they do occur. The forum, adequate to capture the rhetorical demands of democracy in a sophisticated secular age, remains to be invented.

Essential Aspects of Public Forums

At first glance the topic of forum discourse seems impossible to capture. Some, but not all, public forums are formally organized, ritualized, and institutionalized. The life span of forums varies considerably as well, from the long-standing type (a tradition-bound folk school or town meeting, for example) to ad hoc ones, (such as a farmers' collective designed to stave off inevitable farm closures, a public forum on nuclear waste disposal, the "Million Man March," etc.). Some forums are constrained by context and organizational requirements. Others promote interplay between action

and thought, invite higher levels of both, and work toward the praxis of increased voice and empowerment of marginalized people as well as of the power elite. Owing to their unique conditions and purposes, it is difficult to define what public forums are, to construct reasoned queries about them, or to determine why and how people learn in them. Several basic questions block the pathway to clarity. For example, how public is a forum that poses membership requirements? Is educative purpose an essential constituent of all forums? Can some formal educational activities be counted as forums? Thorny questions of definition and purpose must be cleared up before a treatise on public discourse in forum settings can make sense—let alone have participative value. Certainly it is easier to investigate the sturdier institutionalized form of public discourse or association. The intended purposes of formal associations are more measurable, to the extent they are aligned with ends of efficiency, agency, and efficacy.

In that cause, this article seeks to contribute new thought to the topic of the forum. It is designed to invite increased interdisciplinary and intercultural cooperation among those who share a concern for the political significance of speech in a modern democracy. The rhetorical aspects are introduced by a preliminary excursus on the "naturalization" functions of language. Awareness of this dynamic, as argued here, is what most distinguishes, even defines, the role of the adult educator.

The necessity for the forum is the need to rediscover the civic commons and its associated identity of citizenship amidst the varied settings of modern life.

Two Models of Public Forums

Especially taking into account aspects of the American regime and of its incumbent cultural, economic and political hegemonic forces, we may agree upon the dualistic nature of a liberal democracy.[3] On the one hand, there is the prevailing rule of the market economy, and on the other, popular sovereignty. It is from this dichotomy that we may construct and contrast the two ideal forum types. One model is the "Liberal forum" and the other is the "Democratic forum," respectively. These two forum models are contrasted in terms of three criteria; (1) the presumed identity of forum participants and the intended and unintended education to be achieved, (2) the type of consensus sought relative to social change, and (3) the experiential analogy from which guiding metaphoric images emerge. In applying these criteria to the two forum models, I stress the phenomenological aspects associated with them.

The Liberal Forum Model

The Liberal forum model is based largely on a policy education perspective. Whether in workshops, retreats, or drop-in centers, the forum exists to educate professionals, leaders, and even workers in the range of alternative policies of the sort debated by thoughtful policy elites[4], and to ultimately enlist the citizenry and, of course, policy-makers in these deliberations. The range of policies is constrained by the imperatives of the market economy, including the morale of the business classes. In order to accomplish this purpose, forum participants must be induced into disciplined habits of creating consensus based on evaluating policy decision. That is to say, issues must be phrased so as to illuminate relative tradeoffs between morally plausible and politically practical policy orientations. At work is a feel for the professional, even the moral, compliance, as visions of how we can do what we are doing now, only better, are translated into policy action. Ultimately, so it is hoped, increased professional development leads to social awareness and ethical practice, which in turn invites action-oriented experiences and globally-oriented policy development.

The conception of the forum experience is set within limits of the professionalization process. Participants enter with categorized, but potentially unlimited "wants" that are translated into "problems" by thoughtful facilitators and curriculum designers. (Under the cause of efficiency, it is far easier to solve problems than it is to solve wants.) Outcomes focus on consensus of purpose and definition, though with emphasis on the pragmatic concerns of improved performance and practice. I believe this model of the Liberal forum is generally what most middle class people regard as the most rationally ideal form for the many concrete forums that take place in Western and "westernizing" societies. This important consensus-building conference

represents an outstanding example of this model.

The Democratic Forum Model

The type of education associated with this model is civic education in a fairly classical though democratically updated sense. What is to be learned are the constitutive facts, myths, and categories of the moral order itself. In this sense, all citizens are involved, perhaps especially including those seeking voice, power, and mobility, away from marginalization toward empowerment. In this tradition of thought, the self and its consciousness is a social product, continuous with its history of group memberships and its locus in communities of collective memory. Individuation is not a naturally given fact but a prescriptive norm growing out of a culturally prized dramaturgy of "personhood."[5]

To understand the analogy of unity through diversity, one must remind oneself that the phenomenology of diversity transcends the boundaries of race, class, and gender.

According to this understanding, the forum exists for its own sake as the place where citizens meet to make justice. It also is expected to prevent legitimacy crises, not of scarcity but of incompetent cognitive and performance standards for political conduct. Such crises can ensue from ignorance, corruption, or from complexities of social organization producing hyper-specialized factions and identities that overwhelm the "commons," The necessity for the forum is the need to rediscover the civic commons and its associated identity of citizenship amidst the varied settings of modern life.

Civic education does not preclude policy deliberation. But the educative function of policy deliberation is different from the liberal version of policy education. Rather than accepting policy options as described by thoughtful elites, policy issues are treated as civic, pedagogical devices with which people themselves can interrogatively and cooperatively trace out the constitutive workings of their own society. In other words, Democratic forum pedagogy would reveal to citizens the ways in which they not just influence policy makers but are policy makers, consciously or not, through means that range from how they use their language to the institutional practices in which they daily engage. This pedagogy implies a notion of political education whereby the consequences cannot be separated from the ideal of policy-making.

Consensus is based on a principled acceptance of a certain kind of process. This does not imply, as it does in the Liberal model, surface-structure agreement on specific value or policy directions. Rather, it has to do with negotiating a shared, cumulative, deep-structure narrative regarding the collective story and where members want to take it into their own hands. It is from within this on-going narrative that specific problematic features of collective life are examined. Any particular policy commitment is justified in terms of its virtues as a contribution to the development of a common aspiration for community progress.[6]

The experiential analogy that comes to mind is unity through diversity, the power of the collective, even a sense of family. Unlike the Liberal model's dependence on scarcity, the Democratic model in modern times is better off stressing the collective. To understand the analogy of unity through diversity, one must remind oneself that the phenomenology of diversity transcends the boundaries of race, class, and gender. It is really about moral reintegration, not just adaptation or acceptance of difference. It is about accepting agency above one's own sense of self, seeking communitarian principles, blazing pathways of social mobility, enabling people through various skilling processes (helping people to find life-work), and socializing children into a society of acceptance. All of these examples involve crossing borders between and among worlds. Together they make immigrants or emigrants of most of us at one time or another. Obviously such ideals are not manifest; the opposite is closer to the truth. To achieve such ideals at least begins with the recognition of the need for human metaphors, not the language of the system, the machine, the hospital, or the military. It begins with recognition of our own experiential analogy.

Mixed Models of Forums

In Western culture there are also rhetorical themes that support a different conception of the forum. These themes are not elaborated into a forum model equal in detail to the Liberal one. If the Democratic model sounds more academic, that is partially because it

carries with it severe methodological problems of translation into practice that make it seem abstract compared with the pragmatism of the Liberal model. It is worth noting that part of what makes the rhetoric of pragmatism so congenial is that it accepts the naturalization of the social world without much question and defines what is "practical" as that which can be accomplished within its reified interstices. What usually happens in Western culture, particularly in the more individualistic cultures such as the United States,[7] is that people pay lip service to the ideals of the Democratic model while allowing their practices to collapse into some version of the achievable pragmatism of the Liberal model. This judgment should not be read as a denigration. It is the consequence of practical people trying to be practical and idealistic at the same time. The intimations of an alternative forum model remain largely at the level of rhetorical implication.

The Liberal forum model is likely to provide exactitude, standardization of materials, and a program that is not difficult to "sell" to the right audiences.

Implications for the Field of Adult Education

One benefit of such an analysis of forum discourse, so basic to the ideals of the field of adult education, is that the educative purposes and disparities between promise and practice within and among a variety of educational programs become clearer than before. Arenas of adult education practice, such as continuing professional education, adult literacy, and voluntary action, to name only a few, often have forum-like conditions arising within them. It is important for us not only to deepen the level of thought about what forums are good for, but to do so in multidisciplinary fashion. The resulting promises are threefold: (1) the development of educational curricula and experiential criteria for developers and moderators of civic forums can be made more substantive. (2) Cooperative investigation among social scientists representing a variety of disciplines may lead to more holistic visions and action. (3) The contexts of our investigations can more adequately take into account global trends and issues. Adult educators will be called upon to facilitate public conversations and debate on such morally new dilemmas as genetic engineering, recognition of increasing financial and informational disproportion, shifting class structures, widening gaps of access to information, participation, and policy conversation, to name but a few. The ability of educators of adults to answer the call with proper and alert readiness depends upon our understanding of forum-building, public discourse, and the potential to provide citizenship-meaning to the public.

Another key benefit to understanding forums lies in a heightened awareness of choice among institutional purposes. To take human resource development and continuing professional education as two examples, the Liberal forum model is likely to provide exactitude, standardization of materials, and a program that is not difficult to "sell" to the right audiences. The Democratic forum model relies more on facilitating an awareness of connections between stocks of knowledge and the context of action from which knowledge-claims are generated. The point of the Democratic forum model is to enhance communicative competence for the purpose of increasing a sense of control over one's life, a sense of control that is elaborated as a concept more subtly than it is in the Liberal model.

Both enterprises are fundamental to the modern civil society, albeit based on contrasting assumptive bases. Adult educators would do well to periodically examine fundamental assumptions and to align purposes accordingly. Toward that end, the following points are intended to instruct us toward a research agenda:

1. Do classical civic concepts such as public, polity, office, agency, civic virtue, and citizenship have any relevance in a modern political culture based upon ideas of interest group, pluralism, cost benefit, economic development, and public policy? For the purposes of adult education, is there such a concept as civic literacy?
2. What is a non-technocratic civic concept of public policy? How can adult educators define competence for the various professions beyond discrete technical skills alone? To what extent may we guide the professions, corporations, military structures, the judiciary, toward

discourse on ethical issues such as diversity, polity, human rights, and sovereignty?[8]

3. Beyond descriptive civics is a coherent and universal standard for civic education possible in our segmented, culturally pluralistic societies. Adult educators are uniquely and well-suited to transcend boundaries of different social worlds. How can we use this opportunity to facilitate understanding of the civic education themes implicit in the American national and the European Union experiences? How can we contribute to the global discourse on what it means to be educated? How can we bring to the front, discussions on diversity, justice, liberty, equality, and peace?

Endnotes

[1]The author is indebted to Professors Seppo Kontienen and Kari Nurmi of Helsinki University for their proposal entitled *Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe*. The theses presented here are intended to be a reaction to their queries and intellectual investigations.

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[3]Dewey, J. (1977). The Future of liberalism. In D. Sidorsky (Ed.), John Dewey: The essential writings. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

[4]See McFarland, Lynne Joy, Larry E. Senn, and John Childress (1994), 21st Century Leadership. Los Angeles, CA: Leadership Press.

[5]Dewey, J. (1916). Democracy and Education. New York: Malton, Balch Books.

[6]For a more thorough treatment, see Niemi, H. (1999). Moving horizons in education: International transformations and challenges of democracy. Department of Education. Helsinki University Press.

[7]Dewey, J. (1962). Individualism—old and new. New York: Capricorn Books.

[8]Barber, B. (1984). Strong Democracy. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Third World and Cross Cultural Training

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The dialectic approach of this article will be that of a First Nation perspective. The concerns raised will be of protection of cultural identity, natural resources, and sovereignty. Having made this statement, it is understood that globalization and what this concept encompasses is a reality and an opportunity for advancement of all peoples, particularly of the third world. Inherent in globalization is training and education and the resultant global contracts that will require the coming on board of corporations, who will be the ultimate designers of values and their implementation. The strongest articulated motive for education and training is a way out of poverty for the third world and marginal populations.

When this new all-world order meets with ancient, historical, cultural, sovereign people, many problems present themselves. Not the least is the possibility of the complete genocide of the people. The guiding principle of sensitive enlightened training and education must precede the corporations entering the third world nations. Altruism and mutual benefit must be the goal. Otherwise, the corporate goal will simply be securement of the natural resources, exploitation of a very cheap, uneducated, and unorganized work force, with no environmental laws with which to contend; thus resulting in the bottom line of much greater profit. Stated another way, a capitalistic system is pitted against a tribal/village system. One is technologically advanced, the other culturally rich—entirely different values systems. Stated another way, the one represents the digital technologically advanced, the other 50% of the world's population has never used nor received a telephone call. In order for the third world to use these processes, it must be educated. The position of this article is that third world populations must be protected.

The strongest articulated motive for education and training is a way out of poverty for the third world and marginal populations.

Both the United Nations and the Peace Corps have recognized the importance of sovereignty and cultural diversity. Each has been working most diligently to recruit, train, and dispatch ethnically diverse personnel to the third world. Having been a consultant to the Peace Corp for the purpose of recruitment and training on diversity, I would like to take this opportunity to outline the most basic principles applied. First, the recognition of differences of historical perspectives, sense of self and world, and the societal structures that have determined the groups cosmology. Secondly, the very phrase third world has such a different interpretation for the advanced technological societies and first nation people. Third world, for the technically advanced countries, means—among other things—uneducated, untrained, possible market consumers, certain providers of cheap labor and resources, and ultimately contributors to the world economy. Compare this to a First Nation interpretation of third world. The first world is water, time in the mother's womb, also representing the birth of the earth from the sea; the second world is earth, where we dwell after we are born. The third world is the passing from this life to the next or the element of air. How we go from the first to the third world is on the footsteps of the ancestors. Our forward thinking actions are governed by the overriding principle of the 7th generation. In other words, all activities must take into consideration the long-range impact on the unborn children's children. This concept includes the use of land and all living things and the perpetuation of sacred, traditional ceremonies. There is no concept of short-term gain. There is an omnipresent intuitive knowledge of long-term pain if traditional ways are violated. Compare these two diverse goals and objectives and the problem of cross cultural training and education of third world people and how it begins to manifest the complexity, political sensitiveness, and major differences of the two different worlds.

The model that I would suggest scrutinizing most carefully is that of observer, recorder, and then partici-

pant. When language and custom are similar and a homogeneous population exists, the problem to educate and train is not difficult. Third world education is a much different situation. Normally none of the customs, beliefs, nor basic language is known. Sometimes a crash course is developed to provide a modicum of communication. Almost always lacking is the appreciation of the sovereignty of the target population, its long history of survival against monumental odds, both natural and political, and the peoples' will to survive. Inherent in their oral traditions are their history, their role in the world (the one world) as they perceive it and frequently the methodology to fulfill their collective mind or memories destination. Pit this concern against the advanced societies five-year plan—linear thought and projected outcomes. It is no wonder third-world people are frightened and untrusting of the new world order of globalization with its education and training. What appears to work the best is the model that first recognizes the differences, utilizes the mother tongue, and most closely educates and trains in the customary style of the population; always remembering private for profit is a new concept. Third world populations understand sale, barter, and subsistence existence. They also understand working together, perhaps much more so than advanced societies. Rugged individualism is not a part of their group dynamic. In fact, in tribal/village society, it is the anti-thesis of the groups, working order.

Before proceeding to methodology of third-world and cross-cultural training, I would like to identify a few basic questions:

- •Why is the targeted population going to be trained? What is the goal and objective of the trainers, and for what outcomes?
- •Has the targeted population been asked what they want and for what end?
- •What steps are to be taken to protect sovereignty, cultural traditional rights? And for how long?
- •Have legitimate negotiations taken place that deal with disparities, inequalities, optimum conclusions, and possible shared sovereignty?

It has been my experience as a trainer, educator, and consultant in cross-cultural training and education in the U.S., Canada, Europe and Island populations that the answer to the above four questions would be categorically "no." Frequently what does occur is political engineering—most times for sheer profit. It has also been my experience that, in the majority of times, custodial sovereignty is what really happens. Custodial sovereignty with its relative inequality of power usually abandons the psychological history of the people and frequently causes dissonance to the very population it is trying to help. The most difficult principle to accomplish, even with the most altruistic motives, is a diverse coalition of politics between the trainer and the trained to accomplish the education and training investment in individuals and protect their future.

The issue of shared basic needs is, or can be, an illusory concept when providing education and training to the third world peoples. If the above four questions are applied, time taken for cross fertilization of ideas, agreements, goals and methodologies, then the rewards are positive, measurable, and beneficial to all.

What appears to work the best is the model that first recognizes the differences, utilizes the mother tongue, and most closely educates and trains in the customary style of the population; always remembering private for profit is a new concept.

Interestingly enough, the United States now has developed cross-cultural/multicultural education with the following goals:

- •Respectful environment: "Who" the children are;
- •Value of the contribution of their population group;
- •Being different does not mean being inferior;
- •Teach principles of equality;
- •Unique individuality;
- •Recognize and value cultural heritage everyone is different. Differences make for

uniqueness;
•By acquiring as much knowledge as possible, the full range of potential is encouraged and can be accomplished.

This same U.S. policy of multicultural education has as its three foundation points: race/ethnicity/gender. These points represent a major attempt to reduce/eradicate racism and bigotry in the U.S.

for mentioning these few wonders of the ancient world is to demonstrate that incredible knowledge and value does exist in these under-developed nations. Theirs is an ancient, shared history, an eidetic memory that could be tapped for new developments benefiting all of mankind. Ancient people are a proud people, carrying their histories within them.

Utilizing a teaching model that parallels the societal culture in which the training is to take place is an

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I identified the U.S. policy of multicultural education because the United States has been one of the most guilty of countries in not considering nor valuing race and culture. Quite the contrary. It has the "melting pot" theory. The ever-changing, demographic populations of the U.S. has forced change along with Civil Rights actions of the people demanding less disparate and more equity in education, housing, and employment, just to name a few. Again, from a first nation perspective, in the U.S. there are nine categories of Indian/Native. Canada has two: status/non-status. When you fracture and stratify a population into nine separate categories, you are reducing the population, the power and the group recognition. Native and other minority groups continue their fight for equality in the U.S. today. We can all learn from this U.S. experience. The colonial mentality of the right to control all has no place in the new emerging world. However, globalization may be the biggest threat yet to indigenous peoples, environment, culture, and ancient collective memories. How we approach globalization and third world education and training is of crucial import to all. We must avoid ecological and social catastrophe.

What is fascinating with the advanced technological societies is how little they value the ways of the under-developed nations and, at the same time, know that they are taking resources that are out of proportion in order to meet the demands of a consumer society. This must be greatly reduced. Curiously, and with great irony, the advanced nations cannot figure out how the ancient societies built the monoliths of Easter Island nor the engineering feats of the Inca, Aztec, Mayan, and Egyptian cultures, just to name a few. The only reason

exciting and mutually beneficial practice. I will give an example of a model that I used in a pilot project in Washington state. The population, language, and custom can all be substituted. This particular model was targeted for Indian/Native population in an area that had no record of graduation, employment, nor recognition of social accomplishment. First, the, program was called "Indianization." It would be taught to Indians, in the Indian way, utilizing Indian languages and concepts. This challenge was a most difficult challenge as I had over 151 tribal representatives. Some had a history of tribal warfare. Does this seem representative of the world that we live in today?

First we went into the different communities. We explained the program, the objectives, why "we" thought it would benefit them and asked them what they wanted for their life and if they thought that education and training would benefit them. This Indian/Native population has the most dismal statistics of all U.S. populations regarding infant mortality, school dropout, drugs and alcohol abuse, and early mortality. Quite an indictment on a population. Or was the indictment on the system that served them so badly?

The Indianization program consisted of Indian principles. First, it was intergenerational—great grandparent to young offspring. The elders were learning right along with the young. They were also making certain that the integrity of their individual tribes was protected, not only in the curriculum offerings but in the total psychology of the school. Loosely described, "Indianization" means the Indian way for Indians. For the concept of time, for example, we used a parallel system—Max Weber's concept of linear time and

space—along with the first nation's concept of circular time. Students had to really think about this approach, apply it to their everyday lives, and figure out the value of each. In Mathematics, I had both Indian and other native teachers. Each explained unique ways of calculation and applied these to present day and past practices. The students used this class to develop models of how they imagined the ancient peoples of the Americas, the Hawaiian navigators, and how the people of both the African and northern peoples navigated, predicted and made calendars. The students from oral traditions and present day research methodologies had a mandatory assignment to produce a "Winter Count," the first form of census on the U.S./ Canadian shores. I will explain "Winter Count" for those of you who do not know the phrase or are not familiar with the concept. In the winter time, the tribes had the quiet time, like the earth mother. Game was not plentiful; they mostly took shelter from the elements. This time was used to take stock of all they had. This accounting was done on skins or "parfieches." They recorded the number of people, whether young or old, the type of housing, the animals, game, oftentimes clothing, and sometimes battles. These were the history of the people of a band. Petroglyphs give a rough idea, but the Winter Counts were a much more detailed and pictorial representation.

ontological relativity as a mutually dependent concept.

The student was outside of his classroom sitting on a chair. This situation was peculiar in and of itself. I asked him why he was out there. He explained that his teacher said that he was not paying attention. I was curious how she would know as this particular student had unusual eyes. When you looked at him you could not tell where he was looking. I asked him if he minded being out there. His response," Oh no, I kind of like it. It is quiet and peaceful, and I can think." I asked him what he thought about, and he said, "the North country." I asked him if he had ever been there, or did his family or anyone talk to him about it. He said No to both questions. He was not raised by blood kin. He told me he heard the sound of the North and then proceeded to describe what I had heard, felt, and seen. I was astounded. I then went to his teacher who blithefully told me that he knew nothing of his culture, had no idea where he came from, did not know he was native, and probably would not succeed in the public school system that he was in. From there, I went and talked with the superintendent to ensure more positive learning experiences for this young student who was also my teacher. That was the beginning of what was to become a lifelong interest in the ancient or racial memory of people who have not experienced a geographical location or event, have not read about it, and

That was the beginning of what was to become a lifelong interest in the ancient or racial memory of people who have not experienced a geographical location or event, have not read about it, and yet know it personally.

The teaching faculty and students had to develop trust and understanding as they explored the different learning modalities. What was fascinating was the evolvement of complex projects that grew out of the interaction and mixed cultural modeling. It was actually through this teaching process that I was to learn a valuable lesson from a young native student. I had just returned from the north, Kotzebue, and was still thrilled and amazed by my Arctic experience. *The sound, the sight, nowhere or forever, was a feeling that permeated my being.* I encountered this young student, who actually taught me the concept of eideticsm and yet know it personally. Jung called eideticsm a racial memory. I have since found with my experiences that it appears to be an ancient memory tied to ontology that relates places and events with a unique relativity that allows knowledge without experience. During my tenure as Director of the Kinatechitapi Indian Alaska Native School and later Director of education programs in public schools and universities, plus as a private consultant, this phenomenon of people with ancient memory was to become a part of my academic, professional, and personal life.

Other unique properties of the Indianization pro-

gram was the accessibility of faculty and student, not totally governed by linear time, but a more loose structure, with exceptionally high expectations and a moral commitment to the group, and the responsibility that each one was to help and teach ten. One could not fail because it would let down the whole group if they did. The school had contracted for fifteen students. We graduated 151. It was this model that originally brought me to Finland and Russia in 1980 to study folk schools and adult basic education. I found many similarities in the conceptual application of all.

Of all of the required courses for high school graduation, plus the job readiness classes, the one course that was the liveliest, most controversial was history. Once the students (who are classified as members of third world populations, even though they are first nation in North America) started feeling comfortable and of worth, they really became involved. No apathy here! History classes never sounded like ours did. They gave tribal histories after reading the accepted published versions, such as George Washington, the father of this country. They rewrote passages in the context of their history. Where some of them had elders, they brought them to school and they told their oral histories of which they have a sacred vow to faithfully relate as it has been related to them with no literary nor philosophical freedom allowed. From that school, not one was lost to alcohol or drugs, no trouble with the law. Many went on to college, and many have important positions in Washington state, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. When I see them, I ask them why it was a success for them. They all have said it was because it was done in a way that they could understand, be valued, and contribute.

A model that fits this article is that of Wingate College in the U.S. which has as a part of its curriculum, a requirement that students are to travel outside of the United States to foreign nations for study.

There are two components to this "Indianization" program that I feel are readily adaptable to third world and cross-cultural training. First is the knowledge and consideration of the population to be educated and trained. Second is the attitude of different but equal. This latter is imperative for the first to have an opportunity to be successful. Third-world native cultures do so much more with body language, eye contact or eyes averted, hands touching or not touching, and voice volume. These things are culturally normed, and outsiders have a most difficult time with these not so obvious but crucial aspects of teaching and training. The learning styles of different people is fascinating. Many studies have been done in America and Europe on how people learn, body language, etc. However, one can get into a lot of trouble applying these as a matrix to a third-world population without intimate knowledge of the culture and customs of the people.

Another incident that I will relate occurred while acting in the capacity of Director of the Indianization program. I was invited to the Arctic to work with some of the native programs on their education and training in preparation for their people to become gainfully employed in arenas that were non-traditional for them. One day a computer company came in to give them a contract on making components. Now this activity was totally out of my area of expertise. They explained to me that even though I did not know how to put together a computer, I should be able to help them develop core training processes that would work for their people.

Secondly, and simultaneously, a big construction project was scheduled, and men were flown in from the south 48 States. I was to meet with them to help them interface with the Eskimos of that village because they had no previous experience. This I decided was the worst day of my professional career. I decided to deal with the second request first because I had construction experience and might be of some use in the communication. First, the south 48ers were a little nervous with the Eskimos; and in true Eskimo style, the Eskimos were extremely quiet and just sat there making no eye contact, not talking, nor acknowledging the presence of the men by any visible sign. The men had decided they would give the Eskimos blueprints, have them work on the engines, leave, and return many hours later. We all agreed. However, I was apprehensive, because in my experience with the northern natives, they did not learn this way. Sure enough, the men left; the natives then stacked all of the blueprints very neatly and proceeded to take the engines apart

completely, laying everything out in a most methodical way. Before they had put everything back together, the company men returned, assumed the natives were stealing parts, and proceeded to make a very uncomfortable situation. I intervened and explained that this is how they learn, not by reading diagrams but by hands on. A matter of record is that Eskimo students test the highest on spatial relationships and hand-to-eye coordination. This example illustrates another cultural difference. Neither is right or wrong; just different.

We as educators and trainers have a wonderful opportunity before us to both teach and be taught. A very small factor, but one my elders taught me: you do not have to know the language of the people, but you must be courteous and say thank you in the language of your host or guest.

In preparing this article, I pondered as to the best way to proceed, and I decided on the model of first person experience working with diverse cultures to pinpoint ways that have worked, produced the most success, and yielded the least political/social misunderstanding.

The City of Seattle, which employs me as a Senior Civil Rights Analyst working in the arena of diversity, has been undergoing a major reorganization. The outcome has been a commitment to diversity. Enjoining in this action is the State of Washington and the U.S. government. Coincidentally, the Secretary General of the United Nations, while in America, made a speech stating the guiding principles of the United Nationals (UN). After pleading for the need for more equal sharing of the financial and physical burden of peacekeeping, he stated that the UN must deal with globalization in terms of human rights, the environment, and labor. He went on to state that the UN process and Globalization needs to be a transparent process so that the world can see what is being done and that all must work for common humanity. We must never support power and greed where war objectives—women, children and food—are used for political advantage. He also stated that we must no longer tolerate systematic abuse of human rights and the abrogation of sovereignty. Future generations must be protected, and resources of a country must be protected for the benefit of the people of that country. His closing comment was that we must understand moral dimensions of the issues.

A model that fits this article is that of Wingate College in the U.S. which has as a part of its curriculum, a requirement that students are to travel outside of the United States to foreign nations for study. This concept ties in with an old and abolished U.S. policy—that of the Striped Pant Ambassador Corp. Ambassadors must learn the language, customs, politics, religion, and philosophy of the people before they were ever assigned to a specific country as the U.S. Ambassador. This excellent practice gave way to one much less stellar, basically of political favor, usually for financial support, with no prerequisite of any basic abilities of language, culture, or political philosophy of the people.

Specific points I would like to capture in the developing of third-world and cross-cultural training are that the trainers research the country where the training is going to take place and learn of the natural resources present; the religion and structure of the politic of the group; practices of the people for health, childbirth, and death; as much of the spoken language, signing, or forms of communication as possible; the social structure (role of men and women) and how actual power is determined; and one of the best tools for learning of a people is through their songs and dances.

Pharmaceuticals, lumber, minerals, and fish are just a few resources that must be inventoried. "Watch dog" operations must be set up in conjunction with the training programs

I know that these points seem to be more work than flying into a country and beginning immediately to prepare the natives for the world of advanced technology. The road from tribal village/ancient customs to computers and digital technology is a long one. Understanding, compassion and a real willingness to work together takes time. *There is no acceptable alternative.*

People are proud, even though impoverished, and know that they need help. But when one is fighting just to stay alive this day, it is difficult to think of the tomorrows. When water and food are the overriding concern, these basic needs must first be met; then training and self-help begins. A model that seems to work with third-world people is the collective coop where the

people work together and produce a product. Advanced technology then comes in, sells for profit, and returns a portion of the profit to the tribe/village for more products and, in the interim, helps improve the living conditions where the people live. The Peace Corp has used this model extensively and determined it successful.

Another example of the disparity between advanced technologies and traditional customs occurred when the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act passed. Natives immediately were expected to go from subsistence existence to the 21st century technology. They were to set up corporations, bylaws, boards of directors, businesses to run, and land and resources to manage. Half succeeded, and half failed. Some of the biggest recipients of this largess were outsiders and attorneys (also outsiders). Overall, the legacy has improved the quality of life for the native peoples. The reason for the success, however, was that this was international law. The natives have repeatedly stated that on-going training would have been a major help in those early years of transition.

As previously stated, corporations will have to come aboard and be implementors of values and technologies. Some present-day, corporate policies and strategies will have to change. First, there must be a conscience as to what is given and what is taken from third-world countries. There must be an ever vigilant eye on the true value of the people, their resources and products, plus a major change in corporate psychology. Corporations cannot continue to pollute or exploit underdeveloped countries and indigenous peoples. Pharmaceuticals, lumber, minerals, and fish are just a few resources that must be inventoried. "Watch dog" operations must be set up in conjunction with the training programs—and, in fact, could be "training programs" in and of themselves. This sounds radical, but no other system will really work to bring third-world people into the modern technological era. It also has not been proven that third-world people want to come into this century. They just do not want to starve or die of disease or political massacres. The problem and responsibility lies with us, the advanced technology sector, to attempt to bring the people in via education and training derived from an existing source.

It would appear that from the issues presented in this article that the most feasible course of action would be to abandon all third-world, cross-cultural training. That action, however, is not an option given globalization and world economy. Given this conclusion, we as developed nations will provide the training driven by economic forces. We must therefore change our paradigm and provide new humanistic mantras. No longer can the bottom line be just for profit, but it must have as the basis for all programmatic development and concern for the human condition. If we develop training programs focusing on the three most important items identified by the Secretary General of the U.N. (Human Rights, Environment and Labor) and develop these training modules tailored to the uniqueness of the population being trained, then we will be successful and education and training of third-world people will fulfill both the immediate and long-term goal of leading them out of poverty to a more fulfilled existence with greater tools for autonomy and self preservation.

Reflection in Professional Development

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Due to constant changes in working life, people who have the desire, will, and ability to learn new things and treat information critically are needed. In an ideal situation, individual professional growth continues throughout working life and results in a versatile career. This is how career development based on continuous learning has been described. In this article, career is seen as storage of information gained through experience, as accumulation, part of growth through which expertise and interactive networks develop. Learning is changing at the individual level. An individual can be regarded as the creator of knowledge, the one having the knowledge capital. The learning organization, or any kind of organization, cannot exist without those individuals who operate in organizations. The relationship between the individual and the organization should be mutual, bound, and loyal (Otala, 2000; Ruohotie, 1998).

People need to accept the idea that everlasting working relationships no longer exist and that they need to change occupations a few times during their working life. Everyone has to take the responsibility for his/her professional skills and ability to compete in the labor market. All development that maintains and increases professional qualifications is professional growth. It should be seen as an ongoing process which lasts the whole life; and instead of being a careerist, one should focus on the new knowledge and skills that are gained through the growth of personal skills (Ruohotie, 1998, 58).

This study is to find out, with the help of learning journals, what kind of reflection springs up in a professional development process. With the help of learning journals, the learners can reflect their own thoughts, aims, hopes, experiences and attitudes. Questions in this research are (1) whether learning journals can help finding descriptions and concepts for the medical laboratory technologists' reflection of their professional development process, and (2) how the medical laboratory technologists evaluate their professional development.

This study is to find out, with the help of learning journals, what kind of reflection springs up in a professional development process.

The subjects of the study are the medical laboratory technologists participating in the Laboratory Diagnostics Expert Pilot Project of the Helsinki University Central Hospital (HUCH) in 1999-2000. In the hospital district of Helsinki and Uusimaa, individual professional career models have been created for all nursing careers. The models serve as the basis for rewarding competence. This expert pilot project is a part of developing a professional career model for the medical laboratory technologists. The duration of the project is one year, and the medical laboratory technologists participating in the project keep a learning journal of their development.

The participants have received uniform instructions for keeping learning journals. However, keeping the journal is voluntary. Concept and content analysis will be made of the learning journal data. Questions for theme interview, concept classes, and possible generalizations will be made based on the analysis. The questions supplement the information generated from the learning journals. Supplementary interviews are necessary because this one-year project covers only a fraction of the professional development of the group or their lives. All the participants have at least a five-year professional development history; some even have 25 years. Professional development is studied both from the point of view of theory and practical experience.

Central Concepts

The central concepts in the study are (1) learning journal, (2) expert, (3) tacit knowledge, (4) professional growth, (5) professional skills, (6) professional qualifications, (7) professional development, and (8) reflection. A learning journal is a systematic way of documenting the learning process and gathering information

about reflection and self-analysis. In a journal, the learner can bring up questions about the subject which is learned or discussed and can return to these questions later. Writing is a way of learning and reflecting personal experiences more thoroughly. Primarily, it should help professional growth and be the means of reflecting the learning process. It is often reassuring to read your own learning journal later on and see your own development in a concrete way: the concepts and subjects that previously seemed difficult often seem self-evident later. In a learning journal, the learners give a personal account of their own development and its phases.

In my pre-research (Helenius, 1998), the participants were medical laboratory technologist students who kept learning journals in 1997. The results of the research include, for example, that medical laboratory technologist students declared their concepts of practical training and of the whole process of clinical laboratory work from taking blood tests to giving the right answers to the ward. They reflected their own experiences of practical training and connected them to their vocational school learning experiences. They assessed themselves critically and suggested improvements in their working ways, conscientiousness, attentiveness and responsibility.

In the laboratory, an expert can be considered a motivator and inspirer of professional interest; he/she is sensitive to the changes around him/her and to the effects the changes have on the job and the profession.

An expert should be willing to participate in professional training continuously and needs to have certain personal qualities, for example, interactive skills, creativity, the will to become an expert, the ability to identify entities, adjust to rapid changes, and make decisions. An expert in clinical laboratory work needs to control problem-solving situations and understand the meaning of laboratory work in the nursing chain. An expert understands the impact earlier experiences have on professional growth, and has the will and ability to study, develop, and plan improvements and continuous training. In the laboratory, an expert can be considered a motivator and inspirer of professional interest; he/she is sensitive to the changes around him/her and to the effects the changes have on the job and the profession.

Expertise can be seen as a manifestation of task-based division of labor, as skills based on knowledge, or as a new synthesis of professional and scientific tradition. Expertise can be pictured as a fusion of skills, attitudes, beliefs and behavior. It is scholarship that appears as a continuous aim to learn more from experiences and different situations. One grows into an expert by learning and by gradually connecting optimal understanding and control of personal skills. Optimal connecting means the ability to see new things repeatedly and the ability to interpret and offer productive alternatives in changing working environments (Benner, 1984; Jarvis, 1999).

An expert applies theoretical knowledge gained through training in his/her working environment. Theoretical knowledge is a tool in solving specific problems. Scientific theory is in the core of the profession whether the experts are considered as individuals or as a profession. Emotion, expert touch, and intuition are considered as the basis for expertise. Theoretical thinking has a central role in good expertise (Etelapelto, 1991, pp. 20-41; Pietila, 1997, pp. 73-74). The experts also have a lot of tacit knowledge, which is expected of them. Sharing tacit knowledge calls for good interactive skills and the ability to utilize earlier knowledge and experiences so that they benefit the whole working community. An expert needs to think the earlier experiences out loud (Otala, 2000).

Tacit knowledge is personal—hard to put into words and communicate. It is based on personal actions and experiences, ideals, values, and feelings. Tacit knowledge can be divided into two dimensions. The first dimension is technical, covering unofficial and not so easily identified skills and capacities; for example, the earlier mentioned test-taking is something the nurses either can or cannot do. The second division is cognitive, covering outlines, mental models, beliefs and opinions that have gradually become self-evident truths. Technical dimension corresponds to the idea of "know- how" (cf. the professional skill of craftsmen), and cognitive dimension is formed by personal mental models, schemes and beliefs. The subjective and intuitive nature of tacit knowledge makes it difficult to process and communicate it in a systematic or logic

way. Tacit knowledge must be put into words and numbers before it can be communicated and shared within an organization (Jarvis, 1999; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). For example, the tacit knowledge of the medical laboratory technologists is apparent in their daily work, but I have pondered their ability to create new knowledge. We can write instructions and act according to them, but what blocks innovation within us?

Professional growth can be seen as a process. In the first, so-called exploration phase, the individuals can assess themselves, their values, hobbies and skills and search for new career possibilities and options, or re-evaluate their present jobs and professions. Exploration means the actions which aim at increasing information about the self and the environment. The purpose of these actions is to make career development easier. Because of exploration, the individuals can try different, new things (Ruohotie, 1998, p. 66).

Professional skills can be defined as the ability to control the whole working process mentally and the ability to act right in different situations, or as readiness to act, which calls for certain extended knowledge and skills of which only a fraction is visible at a given time.

In Helsinki University Central Hospital, the career model for medical laboratory technologists defines three skill areas in which the technologists can illustrate their skills according to the model criteria. These skill areas are (1) clinical laboratory work, (2) organizational tasks and tasks related to one working role, and (3) teaching and tutoring. These skill areas arise from our work. According to Benner (1984, 1999), the following levels can be achieved: novice, performer, qualified, and expert.

Professional qualifications contain more than performing the tasks related to work and developing the qualifications further. They also include adopting the profession's norms, operating principles, set of values and the general conception of the world. The aging of knowledge and skills becomes an evident problem when the work-related tasks, duties, and responsibilities change and the workers are unable to handle these changes with their present professional qualifications because they do not have enough of the newest up-to-date knowledge and skills. Professional underdevelopment means the incompatibility between the profession's demands and the person's professional readiness (Ruohotie, 1998, p. 57).

The concept of qualifications has been used in creating the career model skill areas for medical laboratory technologists. According to Toikka (1984), the worker's personal qualities are the issue here. Qualifications mean that people are qualified for the work. They contain all the capacities and skills that are needed in performing the tasks needed in the job. Qualifications have been classified in many ways, for example, into productive-technical, normative, and innovative qualifications or into technical, motivational, adaptive, sociocultural, and innovative qualifications (Kivinen, 1991, 1994, 1998; Vaarala, 1995). Metsamuuronen (1999) divides the qualifications used in the social and health sectors as indicated in the following.

Here qualifications are the qualities, abilities, and competence that are needed for full participation in working life. Qualifications change and have different quality emphasis.

Soft qualifications are the ability to affect others and lead them. The person needs to be tactful, diplomatic, inspired, inspiring, genuine in the interaction with others' feelings, and intuitive. In laboratory work, this means that the medical laboratory technologist has mental resources with which she/he encourages the other members of the working community in an open and inspiring way.

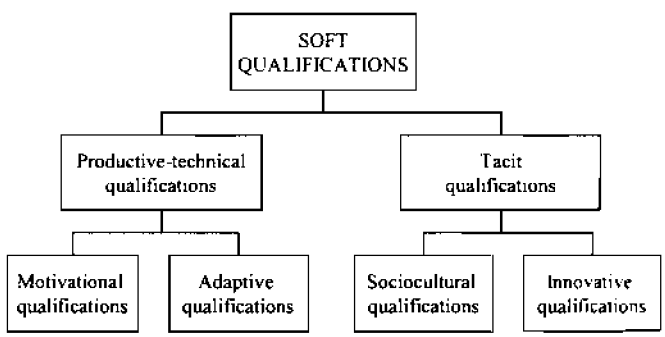

Figure 1. Relations between qualifications (adapted from Metasamuuronen, 1999, p. 143).

Productive-technical qualifications are those personal professional skills, knowledge, and competencies which are essential in performing the work-related tasks. Profession is thus seen as a group of well-defined tasks, and professional skill as the sum of the separate skills and knowledge needed in performing the tasks. In medical laboratory work, this means, for example, the professional skills—the skill to use the laboratory equipment and perform laboratory

experiments.

Tacit qualifications are practical and functional knowledge which is part of the work, but an unconscious part. The knowledge has been gained through experience and has been so well internalized that it is not thought of consciously. In this case, the tasks are performed well—even automatically, hence the name tacit qualification (Jarvis, 1999; Kivinen, 1991, 1994, 1998; Metsamuuronen, 1999). On the other hand, tacit qualifications are considered as personal qualities which can be, at least, partly learned. In medical laboratory work, this means the whole day-to-day working environment, and the skills and knowledge the medical laboratory technologists have internalized during their careers.

Motivational qualifications refer to those stable personal factors with which the worker motivates him/herself and commits to work (commitments, self-steering, reflection, consent, loyalty, and continuous learning). In medical laboratory work, every person contains these factors. They make possible the professional advancement and development.

Adaptive qualifications are the factors, norms, and rules that are needed in adapting to work (discipline, working time, working phase, speed, working community, and conscientiousness) to which all workers need to submit to some extent. In medical laboratory work, adaptability means a flexible way of working within the working community and the person's sense of situations.

Sociocultural qualifications are the workers' relation or attachment to the organization/s (proportioning, teamwork skills, networking, communication, role-taking and shifting, and interaction). A medical laboratory technologist is capable of cooperating with other professions and patients, is capable of communication, and is committed to the tasks assigned to him/her.

Innovative qualifications are those tasks that are different from routines and make it possible to improve functions (controlling changes, analyzing the work, concentrating work during changes, and developing professional skills). In medical laboratory work, it should be manifested as a positive attitude to changes, willingness to participate in development projects, enthusiasm, openness, and the will to try and develop new things to benefit the department and working community.

Professional development is closely related to external rewards which are connected to the working environment. Ruohotie has suggested that these rewards include wages, external support and encouragement, thanking, recognition and the possibility for participation. These external rewards satisfy the needs of feeling of togetherness and safety (Ruohotie, 1998, pp. 37-38). In regard to professional development, the nature of work and work arrangements, relations between directors and employees, the atmosphere of the organization, working place human relations and the leadership policies and practices are important encouraging or limiting factors. What is important is how the people perceive and experience the environment, not so much the objective reality (Ruohotie, 1998, p. 122).

Reflection is individual learning in which the individuals have to evaluate their operations thoroughly, justify their opinions, and analyze the differences between different points of view. Critical thinking and understanding is connected to personal operations. A conflict between the individual's exceptions and reality challenges the individual to reconstruct the ideas that are the basis for expectations. Thus, the individuals can learn to understand their own way of realizing the empiric world better (Rauste-von Wright, 1994, p. 70; Ruohotie, 1998, p. 77).

Method of Analysis

The main method of analysis will be conceptual analysis. I will try to find concepts and make some conceptual generalization from journals. After the conceptual generalization, all participants are interviewed. The interviews are very important because they clarify the medical laboratory technologists' concepts of their own professional development.

The professional growth criteria compiled in Helsinki University Central Hospital can be utilized in classifying the concepts arising from the learning journals. The criteria has been compiled for the earlier mentioned three skill areas, and they consist of three levels: does not cope at this level, needs to improve at this level, and has excellent knowledge and skills at this level.

Professional Development or Taking Possession of Experiences

This study includes, for example, whether experienced medical laboratory technologists can incorporate the new things they learn into their earlier experiences. The following Chart 1 pictures this process:

With reflection, we aim to understand what we are

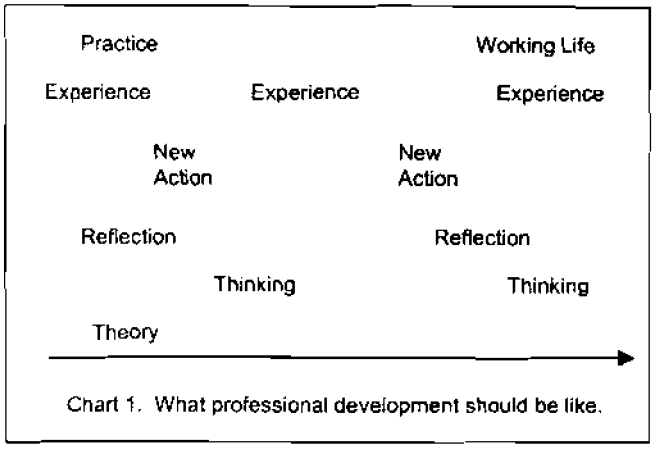

Chart 1. What professional development should be like.

doing and learning. We aim to understand the reasons for and consequences of the actions. Reflection ranges from pondering personal understanding and learning thoroughly to pondering the working life's practical and cultural values. Reflection aims at a new level of understanding which, in turn, is a precondition for learning new things.

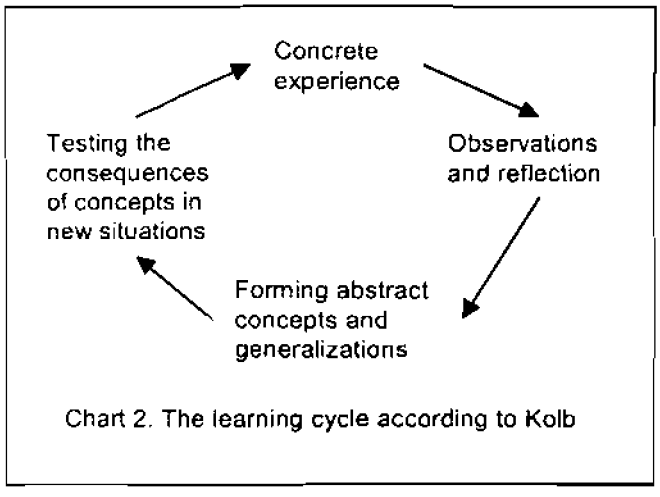

Chart 2. The learning cycle according to Kolb

Kolb writes about the value of having experiences against which personal history can be reflected. A human is considered a unique, consciously thinking, reflecting individual with past, present, and future. An individual aims at clarifying the contents of things personally, and at changing earlier learned ways or ideas so that they fit into the new, present reality. Human behavior is self-steering, often unique, and constantly changing. An individual should have an inborn desire to develop—to try one's limits. Other people and surroundings affect the individual's behavior, and the individual affects the surroundings. The role of interpreting and understanding information is emphasized. Understanding is an efficient way of reflecting own experiences. According to Kolb (Chart 2), a person needs to have a concrete experience which he/she can consider/reflect. This experience can become a generalization, a conceptualization after a sufficiently long reflection or observation. Experience is put into practice after conceptualization. In medical laboratory work, this means that all the things that have been learned are valuable to the person, but they can also be used to benefit others in developing the working environment and community. Personal knowledge can be shared by interactive discussions in which personal opinions and reflections are presented. Each medical laboratory technologist's past, present, and future should be appreciated (Kolb, 1984).

Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) present the creation of new knowledge as follows: Japanese companies continue to puzzle Western people. The companies formerly were not very efficient or spirited. Production-wise, they were known for their imitation skills rather than innovations. However, the situation has changed notably, and it is interesting to know what brought about the change. Nonaka and Takeuchi set out to prove that organizational knowledge creation lies behind the change. Organizational knowledge creation means the organization's capability as a whole to create new knowledge, to spread it within the organization, and to include it in the products, services and systems.

The Western way of thinking has created the view of the organization as the machinery for "processing knowledge." Accordingly, the organizations get and gather information and process it in order to keep up with the ever-changing conditions. This gives an idea of how the organizations function but does not reveal how knowledge is created. When organizations innovate, they do not only process external information but produce completely new knowledge and information.

A theory of organizational knowledge creation is needed to explain innovations. This new theory does not apply so much to the way individuals create new knowledge. It is primarily interested in the organizational knowledge creation. This is why creation units (individual and group, within and between organizations) are the structural and functional cornerstones of the theory.

Coded information can be easily transferred via communication networks; it can be processed with computers, and saved in the computer memory, for example, in laboratory or quality manuals. Tacit knowledge is bound to individuals, and it is thus more difficult

to transfer, process, and record. Tacit knowledge has to be put into words and numbers before it can be transferred and shared in an organization.

Tacit knowledge and coded information are not completely separate; rather, they are areas that support each other. They interact and are interchangeable in creative human work. The dynamic theory on creating new knowledge is built on the critical hypothesis that human knowledge is born and grows with the help of the social interaction between tacit knowledge and coded information.

The modes of the knowledge change are (1) from tacit to tacit, (2) from tacit to explicit, (3) from explicit to explicit, and (4) from explicit to tacit.

1. From tacit to tacit: Socialization is sharing tacit knowledge between individuals. Tacit knowledge is shared directly via interaction and working together, via being together, spending time together in the same room and environment (for example, the discussions medical laboratory technologists have over a cup or coffee).
2. From tacit to explicit: Externalization is expressing tacit knowledge in a form that is understandable to others (for example, e-mailing the coffee table discussions to other co-workers).
3. From explicit to explicit: Forming explicit information into more versatile explicit information by connecting the explicit information received from different sources (for example, compiling a laboratory manual on the basis of several separate organizations' manuals—new large organization).
4. From explicit to tacit: Internalizing is changing explicit knowledge into tacit organizational knowledge and individual tacit knowledge through learning by doing, practice, simulation, and other such methods.

Conclusion

The results of the study support planning of training which, in turn, supports professional development and training and each medical laboratory technologist's possibility to develop professional skills. This study gives general information about reflection and learning journals as a learning method and strengthens the professional identity of nursing personnel as they advance in their careers.

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Part-time Retirement in the Process of Transition from Work

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Part-time retirement in Finland came into force in 1986. It was not a very popular form of retirement before Summer, 1998, when the age limit was experimentally lowered to 56. This increased the amount of part-time retirees to 14,728 persons from 5,453 which it was as late as 1995.

Original Problem and Researcher's Perceptions

One of the central ideas in my research plan was a social aging. Both financial and human resources have been sacrificed enormously in the 20th century to be able to minimize inconveniences caused by natural aging. As a result of these efforts people noticeably live to an older age today, and they are much healthier than before, whereas social aging resulting from acts of society has been allowed to develop and grow in peace.

According to Giddens (1993), people (including the aged persons themselves) continuously produce and reproduce social aging; in a way, a person is *made old*. I wanted to see if part-time retirement eventually produces and maintains social aging, and if so, how does it do it? In other words: Is part-time retirement a door to the quality of life, or is it possibly a shortcut to a premature old-age? My presumption was that all forms of early retirement forward social aging to a certain degree and estrange elderly people from real life.

Is part-time retirement a door to the quality of life, or is it possibly a shortcut to a premature old-age?

The Pilot Group

To begin, I did pilot interviews of five women and one man. The group was rather homogenous, all the interviewees, except one, had a university education, and each had a comfortable life and enjoyed good health. Five of the interviewees (an architect, a psychologist, a head of a department, a doctor, and a secretary) were 59-64 years old, and they had been part-time retirees for 1-3 years. The sixth interviewee was 75 years old and already permanently retired. I took this female entrepreneur into the pilot group to get more out of the surrendering theme.

The Interviews

The interview themes were aging, the meaning of work, and part-retirement. Each interview took about 2.5 hours. It was very difficult to discern aging as a separate theme; the interviewees observed life and its phenomena from the viewpoint of aging—the aged person actually was the warp thread in the whole woven fabric. The interview took place in *the aging* wherein the changes and surrendering were present. The conscious handling of surrendering brought a new phenomenon, a control of change, into the interviews.

The Analysis of the Material

In the material, I tried to find concepts which I thought would join some similar phenomena. After taking apart the material, I put it together again in three, new, coded categories which were somewhat differently accentuated than the previous themes. Therefore, I also renamed them: (1) Working life, (2) The aging person, and (3) Pension time. After that, I summarized the material by themes allowing study of not only the material as a whole but, also, the part of every single interviewee in a certain category. I also composed a short biographic picture of each.

Because of a pilot nature of the interviews, I did not deem it necessary to continue the classification further but tried to familiarize myself with the coded material as much as possible and find in it, entireties of thought for grounds to make some interpretations. The way of approaching might be called naturalistic in the meaning presented by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

Interpretations and Conclusions

The Choice and Alternatives of Part-time Retirement

All the interviewees said they had made the retirement decision by themselves. However, what freedom actually meant in their decisions varied quite a lot depending on the person and her or his life situation. In my opinion, part-retirement (only in two cases) can be said to have been part of the person's own life plan, fully free, whereas the retirement plan of others had 'ripened' quite spontaneously and thus had been the result of a quick decision process. When asking about the possible alternatives to part-time retirement, I expected to get suggestions about different, more informal, working arrangements of project nature or something similar, but I did not get any new ideas.

A Door to the Quality of Life

The pilot group members said they were very satisfied with their retirement decisions. The most important factor in their satisfaction was freedom—a feeling that you are able to make decisions by yourself, as free as possible, concerning your own time. As to social aging, I felt that most of the interviewees did not quite understand what I had on my mind when asking about 'the influence of part-time retirement on aging'. Almost everyone seemed still to be so tightly connected with working life that I had a feeling that my question was simply not relevant to them. They had, however, gotten a certain distance from their work and were no longer so distressed. All of them felt that their health (both physical and mental) had remarkably improved. All in all, it seemed that part-time retirement (against my preconception) was to quite an extent, a door to the quality of life.

The Control of Change

The disengagement theory (Cumming & Henry, 1961), which has been widely criticized, sees the disengagement, besides being universal and unavoidable, also necessary to the individual's well-being. In the course of the interviews, this theory started to seem quite reasonable, and it brought along a few questions as well. Were my interviewees already gradually starting the disengagement process which they saw unavoidable in the future? How much influence had part-time retirement had on initiating this process? How had they thought to overcome finally giving up their work, and what about the plans for permanent retirement?

When looking for answers to these questions, I paid attention to the different ways the interviewees had resorted to in *the nodes* of their lives. Most of them had chosen some of the following coping systems: the escape (mostly to work), supporting oneself with friends, or seeing the change as a problem to be solved. These ways of behaving seemed to function also in part-time retirement transition.

I found three different ways of orienting oneself to work which, for their part, were connected with the way the persons in question reacted to part-time retirement transition.

Different Ways of Engaging to Work

The important meaning of work came out clearly in the material. However, the way people talked about work varied considerably. I tried to find out the individual meaning of work by asking: "How would you divide the 100% of your life between work, family, friends and hobbies?" I found three different ways of orienting oneself to work which, for their part, were connected with the way the persons in question reacted to part-time retirement transition.

For those engaged in the contents of work (the architect and the psychologist), the work was also an essential part of their identity. Giving up the work was not a separate incident, but a part of an entire surrendering process belonging to the aged, which would gradually happen. For those engaged in the working community (the doctor and the secretary), more important than the work itself was the workplace and especially the human relations there. With the help of their friends and their social network, they hoped to overcome the time when they would be obliged finally to leave the working life. The two executives emphasized most *the doing*, the hard work itself, and the results they had reached through it. They had had hard times, but had overcome them and reached, as a result, both an appreciated and respectable socio-economic status as well as certain self-confidence.

Economic, Cultural and Social Capital

Retirement transition might have a very different impact on different people, depending on economic, cultural, and social capital of their class in society (Bourdieu, 1984; Roos, 1990; Marin, 1999). The different capital resources were extremely well represented in the lives of my interviewees, and maybe this was also the reason why, for example, the concepts of ageism or social aging were not any problem for them. An independent economical situation, a strong social network, and a position high enough in the working community are effective shelters against ageism.

At the Crossing

The pilot phase was a meaningful experience even if (in a way, when thinking of the continuation of the study) I had to return to the starting point. The interviews raised new aspects besides the things already mentioned above, the essential meaning of the time. My interviewees belonged to a generation *raised to be wives*, which is gradually being displaced. Also, the attitude against the elderly has noticeably changed (more valued?) during the last year and will continuously change because of the universal aging of the population.

Now I should decide to which of the paths, opening from the crossing, I ought to orient myself: (1) to stick to the original plan, but extend the sampling also to other classes of society; (2) to concentrate, instead of the role of part-time retirement, on learning which possibly happens between the first thought of giving up work until the decision and final realization; or (3) to focus the study more clearly on critical education and learning of the elderly people. I think that both the social position and the position of generation were emphasized in the knowledge internalized by my interviewees. On the ground of this knowledge, they had created the assumptions of how a successful retiree, assimilated into the society, should live and behave so that she or he would satisfy all the expectations laid on them. The assumptions included certain privileges—the internalization of which had happened so naturally that the supposed knowledge had become self-evident, even unconscious; it was an essential part of their aging. I am especially interested in the possibilities that adult education has *to empower* older people to reflect critically on the self-evident assumptions associated with giving up work and with their lives as retirees.

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The Third Millennium: Does it Require a New University?

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At the 1994 conference, I spoke of the tremendous increase in workforce learning required by the rapid pace of technological change and globalization. Citing the projection that people entering the workforce in the 21st century in the United States could expect to change jobs seven or eight times during their working years, with some of these changes involving significant career shifts, it was obvious that the commitment to life-long learning was not just a tenet advocated by adult educators, but a basic necessity for every working adult.

Drawing on the experience of the life-cycle of knowledge in engineering—the need for a semester-length learning experience every five years—and applying it to all professional fields, it was projected that post-secondary enrollment could potentially double in the next decade if colleges and universities were able to adapt to the rapidly changing workforce skills associated with global competitiveness. If this were to be realized, it had the potential of making adult learners the majority of our college and university students, although the enrollment would be primarily job related.

I used the following statistics to illustrate the potential increase in enrollment at U.S. colleges, and universities. In 1994, college enrollment at all levels was 14.7 million. The civilian labor force was, at that time, 131 million. Of this workforce, 97 million had at least a secondary or high school education. Of the 97 million, 30 million had some college, including degrees from two-year schools, and another 30 million had at least a bachelor's degree. Assuming that this labor force population of almost 100 million would need continuous or periodic educational renewal to maintain professional competency or to support professional advancement equivalent to a semester's duration every five years, you can derive an additional 20 million enrollment to add to the almost 15 million enrollment in 1994. The continuous learning environment being promoted by technology-oriented corporations is a logical extension of the engineering life-cycle concept to all workers, particularly when so many of our professional fields are experiencing rapid change. Leading international giants like Motorola recognized the need for a continuous upgrading of skills two decades ago by encouraging all of their employees to engage in at least two weeks of education or training every year. A recent U.S. Department of Education survey confirms the approach I have taken to estimate adult enrollment demand. The survey found that college graduates, at 63 percent annually, had three times the propensity of non-high school graduates to pursue continuing education. It also found that the average length of training each year was 89 hours. Over a five-year period, such training would be approximately the length of a semester. Thus, it certainly would be possible to have a significant increase in university enrollment if colleges and universities could exploit this emerging adult education demand.

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To place this potential enrollment increase at the college/university level in perspective, it should be noted that a little more than 6 million (or 41 percent) of the enrollment of 14.7 million, cited earlier for 1994, consisted of adults over 25 years of age. Thus, the education of adults over 25 years of age is already a substantial component of college credit enrollment. Also, there is a large enrollment of adults in non-credit programs and other educational activities. The base for the large expansion of the enrollment of adults to capture this new market appears to be in place at our

universities and colleges.

Our Finnish colleagues, living in a country of 5 million people, might find it amazing that the U.S. labor force has grown by almost 10 million since my discussion of these trends in 1994. Perhaps a more interesting statistic is that of the 10 million increase in this period, almost 6 million of the new job entrants had at least a bachelor's degree, and another 3 million had at least some college (with a substantial number of the latter having two-year degrees). Thus, almost all of the increase in the workforce over the past six years involved college-educated adults. The percentage of the U.S. workforce who have at least some college is now approaching 50 percent. This situation suggests that colleges and universities are in an even better position to participate in the expanding continuous learning environment. Will they participate in this new education market? Or will the market be dominated largely by other providers?

The basic question for colleges and universities in the United States, and perhaps for those in other developed countries, is will they decide to participate significantly in the rapidly expanding market to provide the education and training essential to maintain or increase professional competency in a rapidly changing world? If the answer is yes, will colleges and universities be able to make the necessary organizational adjustments fast enough to gain and maintain a solid foothold? If the answer is no, or if they try to be players in this market and lose out to new providers, how will the presence of new providers affect the role colleges and universities have historically played in meeting traditional educational needs? In the latter case, will the successful new providers penetrate even the traditional market?

I do not have a perfectly clear crystal ball available to give you answers to these and other related questions. But, it is clear that we stand on the threshold of the greatest historical increase in adult and continuing education throughout the developed world. How will that increase be met? Although we cannot foresee the future perfectly, I believe we can identify the major, emerging trends, look at where technology is taking education, and speculate on the future role of colleges and universities in adult education. I will likely leave you with more questions than answers.

There are three trends that will influence the future of adult education. They are the growth of electronic technology and its application to education, the attractiveness of just-in-time, job-related training, and availability of training at the desire of the user. The economics of the new technology and its impact on education transcends all three. I am not saying this just because I am an economist. The reasons why I emphasize the economic aspects of these trends will become evident during the course of this article.

The home, the office and other locations will significantly or, for some students, fully replace the schoolroom.

The three trends and their economic impact will work in an interactive fashion to fundamentally change the post-secondary education market. First, changing technology will continue to make available new education methods and delivery systems. It is obvious that post-secondary education will go electronic in a big way. The home, the office and other locations will significantly or, for some students, fully replace the schoolroom. This condition will also change the role of faculty and the nature of their work. The new technology is already forcing faculty to redefine their role as teachers and scholars and their relationships with students. Concurrently, universities will be forced to redefine faculty workloads and critically examine traditional measures such as credit hours generated per faculty member. Legal issues related to property rights will increase dramatically as faculty and staff develop sophisticated and expensive electronically delivered courses and programs that may be available to users anywhere in the world. While the cost of electronic transmission is likely to continue to decrease, the cost of developing educationally valuable programs will remain relatively high, requiring significant faculty and staff input. Yet, the potential revenues are enormous. Determining how the costs and benefits of the use of technology are shared between faculty and the

university will be a significant factor in how successful traditional colleges and universities will be in tapping into the rapidly growing post-secondary education market. Issues relating to the intellectual property rights of faculty and universities are now being debated intensely at many college and university campuses. These and other issues will have to be resolved quickly if traditional colleges and universities are going to be competitive in this new market.

The new technology is changing the basic economics of post-secondary education, eliminating the need for a large physical plant and, with the cost of electronic transmission low, the historic barriers to entry into the post-secondary education market are falling. A number of writers have commented in recent years that traditional U.S. colleges and universities, which have enjoyed a semi-monopoly or monopoly position in the market because of high entry costs, are now losing that advantage. In fact, the high overhead costs of these campus-based institutions could increasingly be a major burden in terms of competing in the new markets. The lower cost of entry encourages private corporations, particularly those in the information technology and communications industries, to enter the market. The large multi-national conglomerates that are being formed have a decided advantage in this market because entry can increase their efficiency. These companies can take advantage of what economists refer to as joint products and economies of scale. The cost of producing or operating one product line can be reduced by adding new product lines that use or share the same technology and delivery systems, spreading the overhead, and reducing the unit costs of all products or services. Also, the new entrants into the post-secondary market are not likely to face the difficult faculty workload, remuneration, and property rights issues. These issues can and will be defined at the time of entry with clearly understood roles for faculty and staff and clearly articulated policies on how the risks and benefits of the operation will be shared.

The growth of private, for-profit enterprise is dramatically illustrated by the University of Phoenix which operates in 38 states and is fully accredited.

The new reality is already here for post-secondary education. First, the growth of private, for-profit enterprise is dramatically illustrated by the University of Phoenix which operates in 38 states and is fully accredited. The university is part of the Apollo Group and is listed on the NASDAQ exchange. Recent news articles indicate that Apollo claims a total enrollment of 94,000 students, had a net income of $21.1 million on revenues of $167.6 million during the company's third fiscal quarter, and has plans to continue to move heavily into the on-line market. A second example illustrates the joint product communications industry combinations I cited above. A recent article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* indicated that Kaplan, Inc., a division of the *Washington Post* (a newspaper, radio and TV company) is moving beyond its original emphasis on educational test design and preparation. In addition to offering an on-line law school through the Concord University School of Law, Kaplan is purchasing Quest Corporation, a chain of 30 commercial colleges, specializing in accredited programs in business, information technology, and health care, and enrolling over 13,000 students in 11 U.S. states. Investment fund analysts were quoted as saying that Quest was a highly desirable acquisition because it was "well run" and "undervalued." It was suggested that Kaplan would try to take full advantage of Quest's on-line accreditation, challenging companies like the Apollo Group with its University of Phoenix Online.

Perhaps one more example may illustrate a couple of points: the use of brand or perceived brand names in this emerging adult market, the importance of location even if students are fully on-line, and how small a physical facility can be to enter the market. When I moved to Prescott, Arizona a few months ago, I was amazed to discover that a new for-profit university was about to open in what has become an attractive retirement community of 50,000 at an elevation of 5,500 feet in the Arizona mountains. North Central University—I repeat, North Central University is located in a single facility of 20,000 square feet about 1,800 miles (3,000 kilometers) from the area of the United States known as the "North Central States". This institution has no relationship with North Central College, a highly respected small liberal arts college in the Chicago suburbs. It is now seeking accreditation from (check the name) The North Central Association, which is the

regional accreditation association for the north central states, and Arizona and New Mexico. North Central University will be an on-line university offering graduate programs, including the Ph.D., to students around the world. Why locate this deceptively named university in a retirement community? It appears that there are over 500 retired Ph.D.'s, located in Prescott, whose talent can be drawn upon as part-time, adjunct faculty!

All of the factors cited above will create some very challenging situations or, depending on how you look at it, opportunities for college and university administrators. The role of the president, and even more so, the chief academic officer, will be crucial in determining how successful colleges and universities will be in competing in these new post-secondary education markets. Given the traditional methods of teaching and learning in college, with clearly defined faculty teaching loads, it has been difficult to increase faculty productivity. If the input/output ratio is fixed, it is impossible to increase productivity. This situation leads to higher and higher costs per credit hour as faculty salaries and other support costs increase over time. This is the great dilemma faced by U.S. higher education. With a fixed input/output ratio and rising costs over time, tuition must increase proportionately or, in the case of public universities, the state must continuously provide more budget support. Having dealt with state legislators for thirty years as a dean, chief academic officer, and president, I am keenly aware of why state legislators eagerly look to the use of an electronic delivery of education to hold down tuition and budget increases

The higher education financial accounting system will need to be completely overhauled to meet the demands of the new technology.

about which they receive a great deal of pressure from their constituencies and the public press.

On the issue of the barriers to productivity improvements in education, an economist, who was the president of Princeton University, commented some years ago that the situation facing administrators was even more difficult because of the widely held view that the lower the student/faculty ratio, the better the education. In this context, he also called attention to the tendency on the part of departmental faculty to argue that student choice and learning would be improved if more disciplinary specializations could be offered to students and if there were more faculty depth in the specializations offered. Of course, either one of these approaches would mean more faculty per student and higher costs passed on to the student and/or the state. On this issue, I might note that the entire system of higher education accounting in the US is not conducive to promoting or measuring productivity improvements, given its assumption that the value of the output is equal to the cost of the input. If student learning is increased with the same input, the accounting system does not capture the improvement. Outcomes assessment, which is being introduced in higher education, not only has the promise of improving student learning, but also offers the potential to capture the improvements which occur in productivity. Thus, offering more specializations or more depth might lead to measurable improvements in learning, i.e., an increase in productivity.

The higher education financial accounting system will need to be completely overhauled to meet the demands of the new technology. The current system focuses on a single fiscal year and generally ignores the future impact of investment, except to record in the current year the expenditure of funds on buildings, equipment, and other long-term assets. This system is not well suited to a situation in which electronically delivered programs might be used over several years, generating revenues that might be shared between faculty and the university. We need to recognize that there are likely to be large start-up costs for these programs before the education or training is delivered and the revenues begin to flow. Some of the most exciting projects may require huge venture capital investments. Not only is the current accounting system lacking in terms of dealing with this situation, but so is the entire structure of higher education. I do not have to emphasize to this academic audience that most academics are risk adverse. It just is not in most faculty or administrators' blood! Close public oversight of public education, particularly by governors and legislators, makes risk-taking, by even the courageous among us, a hazardous activity even if successful.

What does the increased use of electronic means of education delivery, the increased competition associated with new entrants into post-secondary education, and the pressure from the public and the legislature to hold down costs mean for the faculty at colleges and

universities? To be involved in the expanding adult education market, faculty will have to be more entrepreneurial, more aware of what the adult learner really wants in terms of the educational experience or training (its quality, ease of access, location and time), and much more cost conscious. Faculty will have to be part of the business decision-making process as that process affects the design, development, and delivery of adult education and controls costs as well as quality. Unfortunately, most faculty today have little training or understanding of higher education finances. It fact, most of them do not want to be bothered with financial considerations. However, if colleges and universities are to compete in the new adult markets, faculty will have to take some ownership in the financial operation of the university, sharing in the risks as well as the benefits.

If some faculty members become very successful in developing highly effective, interactive programs for the delivery of adult-job-oriented training, which also generate significant revenues, we may see a new set of standards emerging to judge faculty performance. Success, particularly monetary success, will force institutions to look more closely at the economic value of a faculty member. There may be considerable pressure to include dollar productivity among the factors reviewed for salary adjustments and tenure. Excellence in teaching, or perhaps more correctly, excellent production values, may increase in value to the institution at the expense of faculty research and service. In this altered state of standards, questions could be raised about how many "loss leaders" (solid faculty without a media flair) a university might be able to afford. It is entirely possible that a new breed of academic superstars, who have both excellent professional credentials and great media skills, may emerge. There would be considerable competition among universities, as there is now for internationally known scholars, to line up these superstars on their faculty. With enormous revenues at stake, the bidding could be very intense. Also, this new environment could foster exclusive market agreements between universities that are highly successful. We have already seen an agreement among three major schools, the University of Virginia, the University of Michigan, and the University of California, to deliver an MBA program electronically where the program will be a mix of courses from the three universities. The press release announcing this agreement read, "These joint courses may be a window into the future of management education—a future in which schools regularly team or co-brand to offer their best courses to students and executives who are located at multiple sites around the world and who need and want such training now." Could this advance to the stage where most of the market is controlled by a few major universities like Division IA football? Could it go far enough that the federal government might consider these agreements to be in restraint of trade? Non-competing agreements also could be part of a faculty member's relationship with the university. On the faculty side, will faculty success in the electronic age lead to the academic equivalent of free-agency agreements like we see in the major sports?

Excellence in teaching, or perhaps more correctly, excellent production values, may increase in value to the institution at the expense of faculty research and service.

If the adult market is dominated by new private providers, rather than by colleges and universities, some of the changes I have outlined above may occur as the delivery of credit programs becomes more electronic. On the other hand, it may be more difficult to trace the economic impact and value of credit programs, particularly in areas like the arts and humanities. Also, the economic return on a bachelor's degree comes over a long period of time, as opposed to the relatively short payoff period associated with job-oriented programs. In my judgment, therefore, the greater the degree of penetration by colleges and universities into the new adult market, the greater the impact of these changes is likely to be.

The challenge to colleges and universities is even more significant when we take into account the second major trend in adult education. The technology now in existence, and even more so in the future, permits the delivery of education or training exactly where and

when the user wants or needs it. The largest segment of the post-secondary education market will be non-credit, industry (job)-oriented courses or programs modeled after the "kan-brain" concept adopted from large, forward looking, industrial training divisions. Based on the Japanese just-in-time parts delivery system, training will be provided when the trainees need job-related information or new skills, rather than when a college or university wants to offer it. These courses and programs will be largely electronically based during its early period of operation and not bound by date, time, and location, or a university's semester or quarter system, or a faculty member's schedule year.

The rapid, bottom-line oriented response of Business Industry Services (BIS) was completely foreign to our regular faculty. The potential for substantial, extra compensation did not overcome the difference in culture, philosophy, work patterns, and general orientation to education. Regular faculty members were not willing to interrupt their academic calendar to respond to the needs of business and industry. The few faculty members, who had already carved out some corporate consulting arrangements, were hostile even though we assured them that the market was big enough that BIS would not impact them. One faculty member, who had been successful in developing training programs, systematically tried to convince some corporate clients recruited by BIS that the organization was ineffective. What we saw with BIS and regular faculty was the typical conflict between the corporation's desire to have training delivered quickly with an immediate positive impact on their operation and the desire of the regular faculty to schedule the planning and delivery at their convenience. It was also clear that only a small group of faculty really have the skills needed to sit down with management and labor to analyze and deliver programs that are effective, as measured by the company and not the university.

Although BIS generated a $600,000 surplus annually on revenues of $7 million, there was no regular faculty participation; and the only crossover involved a full-time, Ph.D., research, staff member without a faculty appointment, who had a research specialty in analyzing the development and effectiveness of training programs. I know that the University of Helsinki established a venture similar to BIS several years ago, like ours, directly out of the rector's office. I wonder if this venture has had any success in involving regular faculty. Or has it perhaps remained a separate activity with essentially a different staff?

Reinforcing the just-in-time delivery approach to adult education is a third factor. Adults, as consumers and investors, have begun to expect products and services when they want or need them They are increasingly on the Internet from their homes or offices in search of products and services. They shop, bank and invest on line. Electronic transactions are growing exponentially.

As adults experience the convenience of on-line activities, they will increasingly expect the same kind of services to be available on the Internet for their job-related information and education needs. This expectation will reinforce the use of electronically delivered programs, and their experience as adult users of just-in-time educational programs will influence what their children will expect from their college experience. Children growing up in this environment will have the computer skills to be significant users of electronically delivered education. They could, therefore, be a potential market at the college level for the successful providers of just-in-time education, whether those providers are colleges and universities or the new entrants into the adult market.

The learning experience likely will be more "vocational" in orientation, but this approach might appeal to many parents and prospective students who look at college primarily as preparation for employment.

When you analyze these trends and their potential impact, the stakes for colleges and universities are extremely high. Certainly, the changes required to be made by colleges and universities are enormous. To the extent that colleges and universities are not able to develop the new adult market, new providers with their concentration on skills training and "just-in-time" education will make it ever more difficult to convince governors, legislators, and the public of the need for a

traditional "non-vocational" education. Parents and their children completing a secondary education may develop the attitude, "just start working and wait for your employer to provide the updating on an as-needed basis." The new providers, with their bottom-line focus, are also likely to appear to be more efficient and cheaper. Budgets for colleges and universities, in which major funding goes to the support of large physical plants, research, and student services could, by comparison, look very fat.

Concurrently, if the new providers are successful in the adult market, they are likely to move into some of the traditional college markets, using the technology and methods employed in the adult market. They could offer students self-paced learning and significantly reduce the cost of a college education. This saving would appeal to many prospective college students. Contrary to the typical image of a college experience involving four or more years of residential living, the majority of U.S. students are part-time and non-residential. Of course, the learning experience likely will be more "vocational" in orientation, but this approach might appeal to many parents and prospective students who look at college primarily as preparation for employment. This attitude could force colleges and universities to return to the pre-World War II model of higher education in which general education was only for the "elite." Regardless of how successful colleges and universities are in participating in the adult market, there will be a significant carryover to the traditional college market. Today's children will grow up in a world in which electronic access to all aspects of life will be a normal and daily routine.

Operated like other retirement communities, university-linked communities permit full access to many learning, as well as cultural, activities of the university.

Will the traditional college age students of the future demand full access to academic programs in the residence and venture out on campus only for extracurricular activities, athletic events, and dates, or into town to the beer hall? Or can the new technology be blended with new approaches to teaching and learning so that general education is still an appealing and valuable experience.

In closing, I return to the questions raised at the beginning of my presentation. Perhaps, it would be appropriate to rephrase them in light of the analysis presented. Should colleges and universities move heavily into the emerging, job-oriented, education market with its enormous investments and associated high risks, or should they make only the changes necessary to concentrate on improving their traditional markets? The former would require revolutionary changes in the university. The later approach would focus faculty and staff resources on improving the quality and attractiveness of general education with a blend of electronic and traditional means of program delivery. Although the changes required to move faculty and the university in this direction would be fewer, they would still require a university setting quite different from the one we have known over the past 50 years, especially if it were to be successful in limiting the entry of the new providers from the adult market.

Whatever the course of events in post-secondary education, the new century will demand inspired and imaginative leadership from faculty and educational leaders. If the choice is to move aggressively into the adult education market, adult educators will have to step up and be significantly involved in changing the role of faculty in the teaching and learning processes, making them part of business decision making to guarantee quality and to control costs. They will have to convince faculty to take an ownership interest in sharing the risks, as well as the benefits, in the development of the electronic programs. This demand may even require adult educators to advocate major changes in tenure, or certainly changes in the standards by which faculty performance is judged. Adult educators would have to stand with courageous administrators underwriting large investments that many not pan out. The next decade or two could be an exciting time for adult educators, but the risk of failure could be very high. If the choice is to invest in the traditional college model, there is still much to be done in adult education at the college level. There will still be niches, based on particular faculty or institutional expertise, to be exploited in the continuing education area. Academic programs at the graduate level can be dis-aggregated so that each course can be offered at the cutting edge in the discipline or field, allowing students to take one or

more courses or the entire program depending on their needs. The extension of life expectancy and the growth of an active, elderly population will encourage the expansion of elder hostel activities and associated enrollments. Working adults, engaged in on-line training may take a page from their parents' experience and find a week-or-two stay at a college campus an inspiring experience. Building living communities on or near campuses for highly educated working or retired adults has occurred at some of our southern universities. In fact, a former president of the University of Arizona has promoted the development of a new community in Tucson, where the university is located, designed to attract retired college administrators. Operated like other retirement communities, university-linked communities permit full access to many learning, as well as cultural, activities of the university. Smart administrators should see this as an excellent way of spreading the overhead costs of the physical plant, student services, and faculty research to assist their efforts in building a new university which preserves and strengthens the traditional college experience.

My basic question was, "Is a new university required for the Third Millennium?" My answer is obviously, "Yes, regardless of what course colleges and universities follow in the next decade."