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THE STUDY OF ANDRAGOGY AND EDUCATION OF ANDRAGOGUES

ABSTRACT

There were a number of reason for a shortage of educated people in the post-war time. The state planned and dictated accelerated development of industry. There was a lack of skilled workers. The war had interrupted education of many individuals and there the casualties among intellectuals were greater than in the rest of population. The demand for qualified workers, recorded by employment agencies, exceeded the supply. As a result, education of adults in practice expanded rapidly. Practitioners required professional support and suitable literature.

In 1956 the first lectures in andragogy were delivered within the framework of pedadgogy studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. In the years to follow, Prof Mihajlo Ogrizović, founder of the study subject, published the first works on andragogy Metode obrazovanja odraslih (Adult Education Methodology) and Problemi andragogije (Problems of Andragogy). In 1960 the Chair of Andragogy was set up at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade (Prof Dušan Savićević, Borivoj Samolovčev). My decision to get engaged in research into adult education was made while I was working at the Institute of Sociology (1967) and joined the first international comparative research study in this country, Education of Adults, Social Mobility and Social Participation. Lectures in General Andragogy and Andragogical Didactics began in Ljubljana in the Pedagogy Department of the Faculty of Philosophy in 1972. In 1976 the study of andragogy became o special course of study within the Department. In 1993/94 andragogy was introduced as an independent study. The Ministry of Education and Sport confirmed the new study programme within the framework of the European TEMPUS project.

The new study programmes were devised under the influence of the best-known world institutes for adult education (The Andragogy Department of Montreal University, the European Bureau for Adult Education in London, Wellington College in Oxford, Institute for Andragology in Amsterdam, Andragogy Department of Charles University in Prague, etc.). This guaranteed international quality of the programme. My one-year post-doctoral specialization at the Institute in Toronto (1971) gave a final turn to the preparations of andragogy teaching. Professional and scientific literature augmented. Andragogy gained a place in the national research programme. Simultaneously, a number of research studies were conducted within transnational research programmes, run by UNESCO, ICAE (International Council for Adult Education) and EU. In recent years, the study of andragogy underwent a new reform to meet higher education objectives as formulated by the Bologna Declaration.

Keywords: needs for adult education, demand for experts higher than supply, study of andragogy, international influences on study programme, relationship between andragogical theory and practice, research in andragogy and international cooperation

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In the period following the Second World War Yugoslav society experienced a planned transition from agrarian to industrial economy. While the industrial worker behind a machine became the ideological icon of the time, agriculture and peasant population had a rather a low social status. The policy of progress was based on industry and industrialization of the country, the development of which was geared by five-year plans. The influx of people into industry and

the country-to- town migration (urbanisation) were so fast that they entailed forced recruitment of factory workers. Individuals were sent home decrees, issued by their communities' interior affairs offices, about where and when they must report for factory work. The collective will was well above that of the individual. In practice, adult education of various types (evening classes, Svoboda cultural societies, on-the-job training in factories) spread fast and

the need for some kind of educational theory became more and more pronounced. The educators of adults (foremen, middle management, instructors) needed to receive training to be able to perform appropriate educational activities. In the sixties in Slovenia it was Ivan Bertoncelj who dedicated all his efforts to this aim.

The number of industrial workers was increasing rapidly and alongside with it the number people of peasant origin who had to be trained for this new type of job. The demand for adult education was great and augmenting from day to day. The socio-economic and technological situation of the country was similar to that of North America and Western Europe and the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th (before the First World War). The American, Edward Lindeman, founder of the adult education theory and the discipline of andragogy, drew inspiration from the rapidly growing mass education of adults of his time. In Yugoslavia after the first two five-year-plan periods the political ambitions to provide a systemic provision of adult education became stronger. From cultural societies titled Svoboda, which emerged after the war, people's and workers' universities were developing. On the basis of a Bill that was passed in all republics people's and workers' universities got incorporated into the Workers' Universities Association between 1957–1959. Pedagogy Faculty of the Faculty of Philosophy of Zagreb University offered the first lectures in andragogy already in 1956 (Prof Mihajlo Ogrizović). The quickly expanding adult education in practice gave birth to a new discipline: andragogy (Krajnc, 1978/1, pp. 169–171).

HOW IT BEGAN IN SLOVENIA -THE SIXTIES: A SURPLUS OF JOBS

In the time of industrial expansion and mass employment in Yugoslavia in the early 1960's, the needs for job-oriented training were growing. Job opportunities were abundant, especially for industrial workers - skilled workers were in great demand. One's job determined one's position in the pyramidal company structure. Since there was a shortage of workers

in Slovenia, manufacturing and construction companies went recruiting to other republics, bringing busloads of workers to Slovenia. The neighbouring countries had a similar situation: they were glad to receive

A job was synonymous to existence

workers from other countries (Southern Europe, Turkey) to meet domestic labour demand, which was exceeding the supply of labour. This was a special time for employment agencies. Their central task was career counselling, which started being practiced already in primary schools to help children choose a proper career. A job was synonymous to existence, it meant money, social status, safety.

The 1961 statistics show that 40% of the year's generation failed to complete the eight-year primary school, a similar percentage failed to proceed with education, and only a small proportion received vocational or secondary education. As a psychologist working for an Employment Agency, I experienced the pressures of the demand for qualified workers on the one hand and job expectations of great numbers of young people without a career and vocation on the other. After doing their military service young men immediately came and registered with the Employment Agency. Psychological tests showed their capabilities, but their formal education was very low. It was considered common sense that "there is no point in learning and struggling through school, if you can start earning money as soon as you have done your compulsory school education (at the age of 15) or military service (at the age of 19)". In many areas outside bigger towns, which had some cultural tradition, the abundance of job opportunities tended to have a negative effect on continuation of education. The clothing company Mura, used to take on

young job-seekers even if they had not completed primary education (after the 6th or 7th grades); proceeding with learning, therefore, seemed rather irrelevant. In the following decades the average number of schools in this

Education of adults started to burgeon

area began to lag behind the rest of Slovenia. A similar situation emerged at a later period in the Gorica area, where the casino was recruiting primary- school leavers. As it was

easy to get a job without a university degree in recent years, many undergraduates from this area became drop-outs, and, consequently, the proportion of graduates started to decline.

My immediate experience comes from the Ajdovščina Branch of Employment Agency. The job suppliers in this area were successful companies, e.g. the fruit-juice producer Fructal, the furniture maker Lipa; the agricultural machinery producer Batuje, the construction company Primorje, Metalworking Ajdovščina, and others in the Gorica area. The demand for skilled workers was growing and could not be satisfied although we had long lists with names of capable, healthy, young, but unskilled, job-seekers. As a counsellor I began to wonder what these people could learn, how they could get some qualifications, a vocation. How will they do in life without it? I became increasingly preoccupied with the idea of education for adults. It appeared to be the only possible remedy, the only option for the vocationless unemployed.

A fresh pedagogy graduate, I had not done adult education or andragogy during my studies. But although our curriculum had focused on school pedagogy, I had studied pedagogical research methodology with Prof Vlaldo Schmidt and so gained the necessary knowledge to explore new domains and research new phenomena. Prof Stanko Gogala had inspired us with optimism, which was a good companion on the new courses we had taken. In spite of the fact that before the war the region in which I was living had a strong tradition

of educational and cultural societies, the idea of adults continuing with education seemed preposterous, which I soon learnt in the interviews with the president of the municipality and meetings with local authorities. I decided to proceed with my search alone.

Similarly pressing as in Primorska was the demand for workers in other parts of the country where industry was expanding. In Ljubljana Ivan Bertoncelj gave lectures on vocational training. Workers' and people's universities were emerging. Manufacturing organizations introduced on-the-job training to develop specific skills and introduced the so-called "in-company qualifications" as an emergency solution. In Ljubljana a workers' university had been set up, here and there regular schools provided evening classes. In this period the Workers' Universities Association was established in Ljubljana, headed first by Tinka Blaha and then by Marjan Lah. A special section, in charge of education of adults, was operating within the School State Agency of Slovenia, run by Jože Valentinčič. Soon thereafter Slovenia got its Adult Education Society, upon the model of other Yugoslav republics. The University of Ljubljana organized part-time studies for people with jobs, giving them a chance to make up for the years lost during the war. There were insufficient numbers of experts in all fields. The Higher Political School of the Central Committee of Slovenia provided part-time studies for selected individuals in key positions. Education of adults started to burgeon in all segments of the population.

OBSERVATION OF ADULT EDUCATION PRACTICE AND COOPERATION WITH ADULT EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Since the time I opted for adult education, it has been my primary interest and the focal point of all my activities. Already while working with the Employment Agency, I closely cooperated with Mira Novak, the well-known director of the Ajdovščina Workers' University (one of the three best in Slovenia). There I learnt what this and other workers' universities offered and how they operated. Evening classes were held for adult learners also by the Ajdovščona secondary school. and in Gorica I had contacts with Rajko Slokar, director of their workers' university.

After starting my new job as a researcher at the Institute of Sociology in Ljubljana, I established contacts with many national institutions: the Workers' Universities Association, headed by Marjan Lah, the Institute for Work Productivity, the Adult Education Society of Slovenia and its President Tilka Blaha, the Adult Education Department of the Slovenian School Institute (Jože Valentinčič), the Employment Agency of the Republic of Slovenia (Jan Makarovič), the Employment Agency of Ljubljana (Ciril Virant, Milan Pavliha), and the Education Section of the Slovenian Committee of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia, the Industrial Training Centres Association. With time, by participating in meetings and conferences on adult education and listening attentively to what the speakers and participants had to say, I acquired a rounded-up picture of the trends and of the prevailing practice. At the same time I studied a multitude of texts on the topic. Ivan Bertonceli, working at the Institute for Vocational Training of Slovenia dedicated all his efforts selflessly to adult education. Unfortunately, he left for Africa as a UNES-CO expert soon after we had met.

I studied the concepts of functional education and of industrial pedagogy which were included in the studies at the Faculty for Organizational Studies in Kranj (Kejžar, Lorenčič). In Rijeka, I met Martin Petanćić, "the father" of industrial pedagogy, read his articles and his extensive work *Industrial Pedagogy* (Petanćić, Martin, 1968). I searched for and found source materials for the study of kadrology in Zagreb. Without accumulating all this knowledge, I could not have decided what to include in the andragogy study curriculum, which I was pre-

paring, and what not at he University of Ljubljana (Miklič, Bertoncelj, Kejžar, 1969).

I met people working in adult education organizations in many smaller places in Slovenia. Invitations for lectures and cooperation started pouring in from various addresses. I always welcomed and accepted them unless my other responsibilities forbade it. This was the period of gaining precious professional experience. My annual report data show that I gave, on average, around 40 public lectures a year. Besides preparing conference papers and giving lectures, I occasionally appeared on Radio Ljubljana. All this gave me a solid background for my later pedagogical work at the Department of Pedagogy of the Faculty of Philosophy in Ljubljana. Observing adult education in practice would later enable me to adapt the study of andragogy to the Slovenian circumstances, to select from the discipline and its theory those study subjects that were relevant to our situation, thus making the discipline best serve the needs of the adult education practitioners. Involvement in adult education practice was, however, not appreciated in academic circles - it lacked prestige; therefore, I did not emphasise it much in my work at the university.

A part of my insight into the practice of adult education came from adult education study programmes of other universities, those in Boston (Knowles), Sao Paolo (Freire), Prague (Kamil Škoda), Zagreb (Ogrizović), Belgrade (Savićeveć), Rome (Filipo de Sanctis), Toronto (Robin Kidd), Tűbingen (Günther Dohmen), Florence (Paolo Frederighi), Utrecht, etc. The study founders, great humanists whose ideas are still vivid in my mind, influenced greatly my views and values. What I was looking for, was not merely the contents of study courses. Study subjects differed greatly from university to university, reflecting differences in the environments; study aims, however, were almost identical – providing high-quality experts for education of adults, giving adult educators appropriate education.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDY: ADULT EDUCATION, SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

The new burgeoning adult education practice derived from research of real-life circumstances; it then needed to be systematized and organized into a theory. Without generalizations and discovery of the basic principles and characteristics of the phenomena, the practice would gradually be doomed to decline. My search, therefore, took me further; I kept looking for connections with similarly thinking people in adult education practice and in social sciences. After leaving the Employment Agency, I started working for the Institute of Sociology in Ljubljana (1964). Three years later (1967) I joined, as a researcher and coordinator for Slovenia, the international research study Adult Education, Social Mobility and Social Participation. Involved in this research were three additional members of the Ljubljana Institute

As researchers we gained a great deal of knowledge. of Sociology: Zdravko Mlinar, and Mišo Jezernik. Our research team met in another country every year: in 1968 (Dubček's year) we met at Charles University in Prague, a

year later in Utrecht, etc. This gave us a chance to gain direct experience of how research and teaching in the area of adult education were done at the great world universities. As researchers we gained a great deal of knowledge. The research programme was coordinated by Hamilton University, Canada; the participants included the universities from the USA (University of Oregon), Poland (University of Warsaw), the Netherlands (University of Utrecht) and Charles University from Prague. Within the framework of this research programme I collected empirical data for my PhD thesis by means of a specially designed questionnaire. Invited by Prof Vlado Schmidt, Head of the Pedagogy Department, I joined the Faculty of Philosophy as an assistant professor. Prof Schmidt believed that in view of the contemporary trends, the science of education should expand to incorporate what he termed "adult pedagogy". A constructive relationship of trust, mutual support and a spirit of cooperation and respect, made my work at the Faculty a great pleasure. I was given the freedom to create and search. The new discipline was named *andragogy*, as the term was used by the universities of Zagreb (Prof Mihajlo Ogrizović, 1956) and Belgrade (Prof Dušan Savićević and Prof Bora Samolovčev, 1961). I had contacts with numerous prominent scholars at home and, through the international research programme, also abroad. New horizons were opening up for our work.

My PhD committee was made up of three active members: Dr Jože Goričar, professor of sociology at the Law Faculty, Dr Milica Bergant, professor of pedagogical sociology at the Department of Pedagogy, Faculty of Philosophy, and Dr Vlado Schmidt, professor of methodology and school history and pedagogy. They showed great interest in the international research programme and gave my thesis a thorough critical examination. My oral doctoral defence was first done with each of them individually and then conjointly, before the whole committee (1971). A part of my thesis was published under the title Adult Education and Social Participation by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) in 1973, and in 1978 in the book form under the title Education – Our Social Value by Delavska enotnost in Ljubljana.

WHAT INFLUENCED THE DESIGN OF THE ANDRAGOGY STUDY PROGRAMME AT THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY IN LJUBLJANA

Theoretical trends and contacts with scholars at foreign universities and institutes

An intensive, compact (two-month) specialization course in adult education, organized by UNESCO in Geneva in 1970, opened up new

aspects of teaching and learning, taking into consideration the needs of local and national development. Adult education could no longer be seen in the narrow perspective of work and work functions, but as a response to all requirements of a social community and the individual. Cultural tradition and development plans have a direct connection with adult education. One of the principal lecturers on the specialization course was Leo Förnig, director of the International Institute of Pedagogy in Geneva. His characteristic statement was: "There are no bad students. There can only be bad teachers." He maintained that it was very important for each student to have an appropriate teacher – a thought expressed again ten years later by the ICAE delegation in China.

The Canadian post-doctoral Grand fellowship I was awarded after the dissertation enabled me an 18 month- specialisation at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) of the Toronto University, gave me the opportunity to establish direct contacts with prominent researchers and theoreticians in the field. My post-graduate mentor was Prof Robin Kidd, Head of the Institute's Adult Education studies. An additional scholarship enabled me to visit other major Canadian universities. At the Montreal University I was greatly impressed by Pier Blondel and his huge adult education department, where the French cultural influence, in which pedagogy is regarded as an independent science and discipline, dominated. The English-speaking universities with Anglo-Saxon tradition, such as the University of Calgary, Windsor University and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, did not regard pedagogy as a special science and used pragmatically the term adult education for the entire scholarly discipline. I cooperated with Allen Tough, the main researcher of adults learning projects and author of new methodological approaches, with Alan Thomas and Malcolm Knowles. This was the year when Pedagogy of the Oppressed, a famous work by Paulo Freire, was published. Personal contacts with him greatly affected my ideas and the theoretical concepts in the preparation of the andragogy study programme for the Faculty of Philosophy in Ljubljana.

In the time of my post- doctoral studies in Toronto, Robin Kidd organized a world conference in Ottawa (1972), which was attended by researchers, practitioners and theoreticians from all parts of the world. At the conference the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) was established, with the seat in Toronto, and was soon awarded a special counselling status by UNESCO. As I served as a member of the executive committee during several terms, my professional connections spread throughout the world. Every five years there was a world conference, always on another continent. It had regional offices in all parts of the world. Today the ICAE is headed by Paul Belange, an international expert for adult education. In 2009, at the 6th CONFITEA UNE-SCO world conference on adult education in Belem, Brazil, Paul Belanger gave a projection of adult education development and stressed the importance of the dialogue between government organizations and the NGOs - the civil society. Through participation in the ICAE I acquired a clear picture of adult education study and practice in Latin America, Australia, Asia and Africa. Starting with the first research study, I continued international collaboration by engagement in various international researches, which helped establish a basis for the study of andragogy in Slovenia.

Between 1976 and 1988 our research work was connected with the international team working on the UNESCO project *The Systems of Adult Education in Europe*. In each country the researchers examined the system and published the findings in a special UNESCO publication. When Slovenia became independent, the Chair of Andragogy within the Department of Pedagogy became the coordinator of one of the first TEMPUS projects of the EU, *Renovation*

of the Andragogy Studies at the University of Ljubljana. The project partners were Surrey University, England (Peter Jarvis), University of Utrecht, the Netherlands (Peter Hage), St. Patrick College, Ireland (Liam Carey). This project introduced through cooperation with other universities new contents into the andragogy study programme, it also brought visiting professors to the Faculty in Ljubljana for one study year. Their lectures were attended not only by full-time students, but also by other experts in adult education practice. The lectures, discussions and professional publications by the authors from other universities, whom the students had a chance to meet face-to-face, inspired modifications and complementation of the andragogy study programme.

SLOVENE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND ANDRAGOGY AS A STUDY COURSE

Pedagogy graduates of my generation were well-qualified for empirical research and scientific work. As already mentioned, We had studied Pedagogical Research Methodology during all eight semesters and done a course of Statistics with Prof Vogelnik in the first four semesters of our studies. These subjects were the foundation for the establishment of the Institute of Pedagogy, which, however, concentrated mainly on school pedagogy. Andragogical research had its beginnings at

Andragogical research had its beginnings at the Institute of Sociology with the international project *Adult Education and Social Par-* ticipation (1967–1972). Once andragogy was introduced as a study subject, the focus of andragogical research got firmly established. From the mid-1970's on the Ministry of Science supported financially the research programme of the Chair of Andragogy. Occasionally researchers from sociology and psychology participated in the programme.

Andragogical research grew, as undergraduate and graduate students conducted research for their papers and theses. The first andragogy degrees were awarded in the mid-seventies. More extensive research was done for doctoral dissertations. The Andragogy Chair conducted a study of the adult education system in the entire country. It proceeded with research into motivation for education in adults, dyslectic adults and their learning strategies, knowledge requirements of older people, models of lifelong education, experiential learning, etc. Some analyses were carried out by the Workers' Universities Association, the Adult Education Society of Slovenia and the Training Centres Association of manufacturing organizations. In the eighties some andragogical research was carried out at the Institute of Pedagogy (Zoran Jelenc, study of informal education).

The involvement of the Chair of Andragogy with the UNESCO team for comparative andragogy within the research study *The System of Adult Education in Europe*, which lasted for ten years (1976- 1986) and was led by Premysl Maydl of Charles University in Prague, was a significant scientific research contribution and achieve-

After Slovenia gained independence in 1992, the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education (SIAE) was established, an institution for which we had fought with the State administration for several decades. The SIAE research studies focused on monitoring the newly developing adult education practice. Research of study circles was followed by research of the knowledge exchange, training programmes for the young school drop- outs (PUM), adult education in Middle-and East-European countries, learning motivation, adult education institutions network, vocational adult education and quality of education. Unfortunately, the Ministry had recently decided the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education has other functions to perform and not research, although it is difficult to imagine how long development work can be pursued and what its quality will be without continuous research monitoring the adult education practice reality.

ment, important for the whole of Europe. Our research field was widened in the late seventies to didactics of socio-political education and industrial andragogy, whereas Janko Muršak specialized in vocational adult education.

When several new associate professors of andragogy joined the Department of Pedagogy in the 1980's and in the 1990's (Nena Mijoč, Dušana Findeisen, Vida Mohorič, Nives Ličen, Sabina Jelenc, Sona Kump and Monika Govekar), research diversified into several autonomous domains, such as: comparative andragogy, andragogical didactic research, adult education history, educational counselling, socio-cultural animation, education of older adults and family andragogy. The European transnational study EURO DELPHI (1993-1996), coordinated by the University of Leuven in Belgium (with Ana Krajnc as the Slovenian coordinator), introduced a new methodology (the delphy method) and gave the research of adult education a new role in the contemporary society.

The leading experts from the network of the Slovenian Third-Age University, consisting of 45 third-age universities, which are operating in 43 locations all over Slovenia, conducted a study into education of older people (Findeisen, Šantej, Krajnc). A similar study was carried out in recent years by the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana (Kump, Jelenc), where, in 2003, Sonja Kump was elected Senior Scientific Advisor.

With so many new developments and events that occurred in the field of adult education in recent decades, the study programme of andragogy has become a living organism of continuous change and innovation.

The transnational European research study EURO DELPHI was noteworthy because it brought discussions on the importance and role of education in the society and for the individual to the foreground (the future of adult education in Europe). Its coordinator was the University of Leuven, Belgium (1993 - 1996), with researchers coming from all 12 countries of the EU of that time. Included in the project were also the Czech Republic, Estonia and Slovenia as representatives of former socialist countries. An important finding of the study was that contemporary adult education development trends are not restricted to the territories of individual countries, they run across borders and are general in their character. The empirical data configuration in the former socialist countries was similar to that in the EU member countries. The researchers investigated the aims and the significance of adult education at the level of society and individual; they also studied new development trends. Vocational and professional skills acquisition is no longer in the foreground of adult education. There is more emphasis on learning for home and family management, IT skills, participation in culture, personal growth, preservation of health and security, knowledge for active citizenship and empowering, search for the meaning of life, knowledge of interpersonal relations, and on learning how to learn. Similar results were found in some other studies, carried out outside Europe in the same period. As a result of the changes brought about by information society, the aims of adult education have undergone a significant change too.

Local studies and international cooperation practice hold a special place in the field of education of older adults. The University of Ulm (Karmen Stadelhoffer), together with the Learning in Later Life Centre (LILL) and the magazine of the same title, work in support of the development of a new area of education of older adults, the necessary background for active ageing. Several European projects are being conducted within this framework, successfully fostering international cooperation and exchange of innovation.

PROFESSIONAL LITERATURE AND THE JOURNAL ANDRA-GOGICAL PERSPECTIVES (AN-DRAGOŠKA SPOZNANJA) – THE FIRST SLOVENE PERIODICAL FOR ADULT EDUCATION

J.A. Komenski's Pampaedia, which brought the idea of continuous or lifelong learning, has become a fundamental work in adult education. "Each period of life is intended for learning; all people are given the same aims in life and learning ... The (elementary) school lasts and must last all life, since life itself is a school. Each period in our lives is suitable for learning of something different, and if we lose the right moment, we lose a great deal" (Vidmar, Tadej, 1995, p. 50).

The oldest records of educational tradition in Slovenia go back to the teachings of the popular educator Matija Vertovec (1784-1851), his educational instructions and his articles published in the journals of his time. His work shows adult education to be part of the educational trend of the first half of the 19th century (materials for the symposium on Matija Vertovec, 1984).

A theoretical basis of the national andragogy were the first Slovene works of this sort: Ozvald's Cultural Pedagogy (Kulturna pedagogika) and Franjo Žgeč's Education for the masses (Vzgoja ljudskih množic). Both men emphasized the importance of personal growth and development in adults, seeing adult education as a broad discipline in service of life, personal happiness and progress (Žgeč, F, 1923), (Ozvald, K., 1927). Both educators noticed how the rapid development of industry and quick expansion of school pedagogy resulted in the narrowing of pedagogy research subject to the study of class teaching and school systems. Broad educational and learning programmes for adults, cultural education and cultural educational societies were losing in importance and slowly vanished since, due to quick expansion of industry, pedagogy turned its focus to the development of the vocational school system. Both scholars had a broad view of educational aims and needs, stressing the importance of personal growth and development, hence the term "cultural pedagogy". In the Preface to his work, Ozvald, then professor of pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Ljubljana and Head of the Department of Pedagogy, warned the readers not to expect recipes in his work. They should proceed with reading only if they were interested in the theory and a better understanding of the development of the individual (Ozvald, 1927, p. 4).

Franjo Žgeč linked "education for the masses" with life in rural communities - quality family life, children's education, development of the local community. In too many backward rural areas vocational training and education lagged in quality considerably behind those of the town. He believed that since not enough people had a chance to obtain a proper education and develop, they deserve a new opportunity in their later lives. He believed in favourable effects of cultural and educational work on the masses.

The first world war disrupted the tradition of cultural and educational societies in villages. The first organized folk high schools in Trieste, Celje and Maribor slowly vanished. Educational societies were not welcome in the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, for fear that they might enhance national feelings and be harmful for the new state. There was mass migration to America. In Buenos Aires and Cleveland the immigrants continued to practice cultural and educational activities. Among the first things they did when arriving in their new homeland was to establish educational societies, which were named after the societies that had existed in their home country: Danica (the Morning Star), Jutro (the Morning), Zarja (the Dawn), Triglav. In the occupied region of Primorska, all cultural and educational societies were banished with a a single decree of the fascist Italian government, their assets and bank accounts were seized and the use of the Slovene language forbidden. In the time between the two wars the struggle for survival dominated in adult education, therefore, no significant theoretical or scientific work could be done in this period.

The terms prosveta (enlightenment) and ljudska prosveta (people's enlightenment) could be heard again at partisan meetings during the Second World War; they designated one of the proclaimed aims of the liberation movement, most frequently appearing in the texts of Edvard Kocbek and Josip Vidmar. The post-war optimism was full of enthusiasm for the spread of knowledge among the people. In 1945 a specialized journal, Prosvetni delavec (Enlightenment Woker) began to appear. The spirit of the time demanded that people who possessed knowledge should pass it on. The articles in Prosvetni delavec show that the authors were teachers, doctors, artists and politicians, dealing with topics of general interest and reporting on contemporary events, linked with education and culture of the masses. Mostly these were public speeches, "victory celebrations", "meetings" and parades (marches through town, slogan chanting and song singing, demonstrations of industrial production on movable stages trucks and carriages) all in very positive social climate of the end of the second world war. The word prosveta (enlightenment) could be heard again and again - until 1949 when the political shift in the country brought, among other, an end to prosveta – the endeavours to educate the people. Overnight the journal Prosvetni delavec became the mouthpiece of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, in which nothing but its name remained the same. The character of the articles was changed already in the first issue. From now on the front pages brought speeches delivered at Trade Union functionaries at congresses and reports from various meetings: the journal served political propaganda. Teachers continued to receive a compulsory free copy, but among waste-paper unread copies of Prosvetni delavec could be found in piles. The journal was even less popular with common people, it was no longer "their" paper (See the

archives of the School Museum in Ljubljana, *Prosvetni delavec* 1946–1950).

The wish to establish again educational and cultural societies was dealt with at the state level. Cultural societies Svoboda were resuscitated with a decree. They operated a couple of years and then slowly faded away together with *Prosvetni delavec*.

Once the adult education practice was regulated systemically by the state in the late 1950's, the conditions for development of research and a theory were reinstated. At the end of 1958 a network of workers' and people's universities was established with a state decree, upon the model of the Danish folk high schools. Each republic had its own Workers' and People's Universities Association. At the start they were many (in Slovenia there were above 200), their number then gradually declined so that today Slovenia has merely 15% of the original number. Even Ljubljana and Maribor have been left without them. The network was well-organized and operated also in smaller localities. Its main preoccupation was vocational training and acquisition of formal education for adults. The diversified practice allowed researchers to do systematic monitoring and to obtain generalized findings. In the sixties the first publications on adult education started appearing (Krainc, Ana, 1978/1). From the sixties on literature on adult education began to proliferate: treatises, articles, almanacs reflect the most common types and programmes of education for adults. Educational aims had changed. It became evident that with industrialization adult education's objectives narrowed down to satisfy work and job demands, focusing on training how to operate machines. In this period authors, Ivan Bertoncelj, Jože Valentinčič, Ivan Kejžar, produced articles that reflect a cross section of adult education situation and contain descriptions of individual cases of successful adult learning practice (Miklič, Bertoncelj, Kejžar, 1969), (Bertoncelj I., 1963). In the andragogy study the works of Savićeveć, Filipović and Samolovčev of Belgrade Univer-

sity and of Mihajlo Ogrizović of Zagreb Universtiy were used. In the mid-1969's Ogrizović , the pioneer of Yugoslav andragogy, published two works of fundamental importance for the theory of andragogy: Problemi andragogije (Andragogy Problems, 1966) and Metode obrazovanja (Methods of Education, 1966). In the same year a group of authors (Ogrizović, Samolovčev, et al.) published in Sarajevo Osnovi andragogije (The fundaments of andragogy). Soon after andragogy became a study subject within the pedagogy study in the early 1970's, several course-books were issued in Slovenia (Krajnc, Ana, 11976,1977, 1978, 11978/2, 1982, Valentinčič, 1972). I have listed only a few titles, those related to basic literature. Later the scope of professional andragogical literature increased with introduction of specialized professional topics, resulting from research activities. The data collected in the early publications may have convinced some among us that andragogy as a discipline is not as young as is sometimes claimed (Ogrizović, M., 1966 and 1966/1), (Ogrizović, Samolovčev, et al. 1966).

Later when comparing the works of domestic authors with those of foreign scholars, we came to the conclusion that both tended to reflect the changing reality of adult educa-

tion practice. Domestic authors treated adult education with regard to the role it had in the field of industrial work and productivity. Foreign authors, deriving from Paul Lengrand's theory of lifelong education, saw it, however, in a broader perspective, highlighting a number of additional functions of adult education. While reading these authors, we discovered how narrowly the adult education was treated in the Yugoslav society. The scholars abroad were looking for a new reality, experimenting and seeking. New approaches developed when adult education established links with cultural institutions (the role of libraries, museum andragogy, sports andragogy, family andragogy, drama as a teaching method), sport societies and clubs (educational camps, summer schools, etc.), self-organized communities and occasional social events (educational tourism). The Association of Training and Education Centres, operating within major work organizations, issued a news bulletin, Novice, between 1975 and 1990. After Slovenia's independence, the Association ceased to exist, but the newly founded Slovenian Institute for Adult Education continued to publish the bulletin. In 2010 the hard copy was replaced by the newsletter in electronic form.

Scientific and professional journals tend to be a significant supplement to professional literature. Publishers in small language communities have problems due to low circulation of professional literature. To have research findings published in the book form thus requires a great deal of time and effort. The role of the professional journal – timely releasing of articles on new findings and spreading knowledge among the professionals in a particular field — is therefore very important. Within a EU project for development of adult education national journals in the Central and Eastern Europe (coordinated by the Finnish Adult Education Association from Helsinki, headed by Tim Toivinianen (1994-1996), the first Slovenian periodical for adult education, Andragoška spoznanja (Andragogical Perspectives) saw the light of day, and has been published by the Faculty of Philosophy of Ljubljana since 1995. Annually there are 4 issues, totalling approximately 400 pages of scientific and professional papers. By bringing news from the field of andragogy and presenting accounts of good practice, by reporting about important events and anniversaries, the journal has given a new impetus to the spread of professional knowledge. Besides being used, in part, as required reading in andragogy studies at the universities of Ljubljana, Maribor and Koper, it also caters for adult education practitioners. The subscribers tend to be individual professionals and the institutions involved in education of adults. Due to the wide circle of authors and readers the publication plays a vital role in the development of adult education in Slovenia. The journal is abstracted and indexed in the international bases EBSCO and in COBISS.

CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY OF ANDRAGOGY IN SLOVENIA

Soon after my return from the post-doctoral studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) of the University of Toronto, I was expected to start lectures at the Faculty of Pedagogy in Ljubljana in the academic year 1972/73. This meant that I had to finalize the study programmes for two newly introduced andragogy subjects, General Andragogy and Andragogical Didactics. While getting acquainted with the domestic and foreign practice and professional literature, I had discovered two faces of adult education: one at home, in a developing country (the former Yugoslavia), and one abroad, in highly- developed countries, where scholars had already started observing the phenomena of post-industrial information society.

We wanted the study programmes to bring fresh ideas and at the same time to enable the andragogical practice to prepare adults for their present and future needs. The programmes had to include advanced research findings and also consider domestic circumstances, grow roots in the domestic soil in order to make andragogical knowledge applicable in practice. When designing our study programme we had to take into consideration the theoretical and scholarly tradition of pedagogy teaching in the Department of Pedagogy. We also had to integrate many opposing influences. In view of the stage of andragogical practice at that time, several topics were had to be considered at a later time: individualization of adult education, personal learning programmes, qualitative research methodology, educational counselling, comparative andragogy, etc.

The first- and second-year students had a class in General Andragogy, in the third year they did Andragogical Didactics. In addition to lectures, they did project learning, had to write papers and present them in the seminar, which required a deeper insight into certain topics. Besides literature in Slovene, they used study materials in Serbo-Croatian, German and English. We had constant contacts with the universities of Zagreb and Belgrade and a close collaboration with the Department of Pedagogy for Adults of the university of Tübingen, Germany (Günther Dohmen), and the Faculty for Studies in Education in London (Colin Titmus).

The formal study of pedagogy developed and progressed. In 1976 the idea to introduce several new study subjects matured in professional circles. The decision was made that the pedagogy studies should be divided into several sub-programmes. A uniform programme of pedagogy studies would become too extensive after introduction of a number of new subjects (school counselling, residential institutions pedagogy, industrial pedagogy, socio-political education methodics, personal growth counselling). Therefore, in 1976/77 the pedagogy studies were split into three streams: School Pedagogy, Residential Institutions Pedagogy (later Social Pedagogy) and Andragogy. A fourth programme, Preschool Pedagogy, was also foreseen, but never put into practice. The degree certificate remained uniform, with the name of the sub-progammes specified in the brackets. The Andragogy course was divided among three Chairs: the Chair of General Andragogy (basic introductory courses), the newly appointed Chair of Industrial Andragogy and Methodics of Socio-Political Education (Prof Ilija Mrmak, and was assisted by Asst Prof Janko Muršak), and the chair of Comparative Andragogy, All three programmes ran at the uniform Department of Pedagogy until the mid-1980's, when Residential Institutions Pedagogy was transferred to the Faculty of Pedagogy of the University of Ljubljana to become an independent study course - Social Pedagogy, whereas Andragogy and School Pedagogy remained over the next 15 years. In the second half of the 1980's the pressures for scholariazation of education were very strong:

Industrial Andragogy became Vocational Pedagogy and Andragogy (Muršak).

In 1992, the University Development Centre of the University of Ljubljana, which I headed at that time, was awarded three European TEM-PUS projects: Computer Supported Higher Education (coordinated by S. Vilfan), Quality in Tertiary Education (coordinated by B. Marentič Požarnik) and Renovation of Andragogy Education (coordinated by A. Krajnc). At that time Slovenia was not yet an EU member, and it was a great privilege that Ljubljana headed all three projects, whereas other universities participated as partners. This facilitated planning and implementing of the project work and adapting it to our needs in order to make it directly relevant to the conditions in the independent Slovenia. In Tempus projects we were given a great deal of support from our European partners. A positive climate was prevailing in support of the newly established country.

We will focus on one of the Tempus projects: the Renovation of Andragogy Education project, in which our partners were the University of Surrey with Peter Jarvis, Bamber University with Jost Reischman, St Patrick College in Ireland (coordinator Liam Carey) and the University of Utrecht (coordinator Peter Hage). We worked together to design the programme for an independent andragogy study, which would give successful graduates a degree in andragogy and the title "diplomirani andragog" ("graduate andragogue"). After passing all the required procedures at the Ministry for Education and Sport, at the Faculty of Philosophy and in University Committees, the new independent andragogy study was confirmed in spring 1993 by the University Council and by the Ministry of Education. In autumn 1993/94 the first students enrolled in this study programme. At the same time an independent pedagogy study programme was introduced to supplement the study option allowing students to graduate combining two different study courses, which had subsisted as a response to the practical job-demand in schools. This is how the Department of Pedagogy began to run two independent study programmes, Andragogy and Pedagogy.

In order to introduce new study subjects, we had to acquire new faculty staff, several associate professors, among whom the Director of the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education, Zoran Jelenc, Dušana Findeisen, and Vida Mohorčič. Since the electoral procedures were not yet completed and in order to make the beginnings of independent andragogy studies as promising as possible, the TEMPUS project coordinators from the partner universities (Peter Jarvis, Liam Carey, Jost Reischmann and Colin Titmus), agreed to teach in our Department as visiting professors in the first academic year of 1993/94. That is how we managed to involve some of the best-known European professors and scholars – adult education theoreticians with numerous published works - in the implementation of the new curriculum. Aware of how precious these lectures were and how difficult it would be to have the famous professors come to Slovenia again, we organized lectures in the big auditorium of the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education. so that a wider audience of adult education practitioners could attend the events, too. The lectures were in English.

The Department was first joined by Assoc Prof Zoran Jelenc and then by Assoc Prof Vida Mohorčič (after having completing her PhD within the above mentioned TEMPUS project), both coming from the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education. The team in which I worked (subjects: General Andragogy, Comparative Andragogy) together with Assoc Prof Janko Muršak (occupational pedagogy and Andragogy) and Assoc Prof Nena Mijoč (Andragogical Didactics) was later joined by Assoc Prof Dušana Findeisen (Socio-cultural Animation), Assoc Prof Sabina Jelenc (Andragogical Counselling, Andragogy of Target Groups), Assoc Prof Sonja Kump (Comparative Andra-

gogy), Assoc Prof Nives Ličen (General Andragogy, Family Andragogy) and Assoc Prof Monika Govekar Okoliš (Adult Educaton Histoy, General Andragogy for students of other departments). The subject "IT in Adult Education" was conceived and delivered by Assoc Prof Denis Trček from the Institute Jožef Stefan. With the introduction of andragogy as an independent study a third Chair (Andragogical Didactics) was set up and taken by Assoc Prof Nena Mijoč (in addition to the Chair of General and Comparative Andragogy, held by Prof Ana Krajnc, and the Chair of Professional Andragogy, held by Janko Muršak),

In 1995, after the introduction of two independent study programmes, the Department of Pedagogy was officially renamed to become today's Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy.

In 1998 the Faculty of Philosophy, under Dean Prof Neva Šlibar, cancelled the title diplomirani andragogue (graduate andragogue) without giving an explanation or consulting Prof Ana Krajnc, the conceiver of the study programme, then Head of the Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy, who was informed of the change in a random, unofficial manner. As the Dean categorically refused to discuss the matter, the reason for this measure has remained unexplained. Believing that actions speak louder than words and titles, we did not waste time and energy trying to reveal the negative manipulations behind the removal of the title andragogue from the degree certificate of the independent andragogy study. For us, it was essential that andragogues become professionals, able to perform the jobs allocated to them and to keep up with progress of the science and profession in the world, regardless of what title they bear. Still, the absence of a relevant academic title resulted in a marked diminishment of job openings for andragogy graduates. However, with adult education practice growing and the resulting increase in the demand for qualified professionals to manage education of adults, the job opportunities decline passed with time.

ANDRAGOGY STUDY AT OTHER SLOVENIAN UNIVERSITIES

Recently the Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy of the Faculty of Philosophy in Ljubljana was joined by a new faculty member, Assoc Prof Marko Radovan. At the University of Primorska, andragogy is taught by Assoc Prof Maja Mezgec, Director of the Slovenian Research Institute in Trieste. Senka Hočevar Ciuha, a doctoral student, is preparing to take over andragogy classes at the University of Maribor and the Faculty Doba.

Andragogy had spread to other universities in Slovenia primarily through the Pedagogical and Andragogical Education Programme, designed for the teachers in secondary and primary schools (higher classes). This programme allows graduates from faculties without educational subjects to acquire a license to teach. According to the 1981 Law, andragogy belongs among the four basic subjects of the Pedagogical and Andragogical Education Programme (besides pedagogy, didactics and special didactics). The implementation of the Programme lasts two semesters. During 2007-2008 the Programme was amended to include several optional subjects (rhetoric, social skills) and teaching observation practice.

Thanks to the Pedagogical and Andragogical Education Programme, the knowledge of andragogy has spread to graduates of other faculties and contributed greatly to popularization of lifelong or continuous education in Slovenia, to development of a learning society and spread of education to all segments of our social and individual lives. New professional environments have given rise to new applications of andragogy, enriching the discipline.

As the Department of Pedagogy in Maribor is developing, it is expected to introduce new subjects in the future as part of the development

of educational sciences. Most likely andragogy, now a single subject, will begin to be taught separately. Mezirow, professor of the Columbia University in New York, distinguishes between genotype- or school education (as the basis for secondary socialization of children, based on the demands of the society) and phenotype education, which occurs as an immediate response to occuring situations (adult education). These two diametrically opposed approaches to education should not be mixed or unified, or else they both lose their essence.

BASIC PREMISES

Introduction of the andragogy study at the University of Ljubljana is a story of success and real achievement. It would not be realistic not to expect opposition to the new developments. In his book *Games People Play*, Eric Berne says that all people experience problems; we differ, however, in what we concentrate on. Winners focus on winning and achievement, losers deal with obstacles and losses and so get further and further away from their goals, instead of trying

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to reach them as winners (Berne, Eric, 1980).

Relying on support and cooperation, we did not pay much attention to the opposition and obstacles on our path to the goal

 development of the andragogy study. Let the facts speak for themselves to show what has been achieved and how far we have managed to get.

The economic and financial crisis is a crisis of values, a final ste into knowledge society. The latest UNESCO world conference on adult education has indicated the way out of the crisis: put people first. Once the values have been rethought, education and health care will be in the forefront. Quality teachers and doctors are already missing.

The quality of the study of andragogy depends, among other, on its links with other related disciplines; psychology, sociology and economics. Adult education is a response to the changing situations in public and private lives. In the future we can expect to see more team work with professionals from different fields. Since the problems we need to solve tend to be interdisciplinary, an interdisciplinary approach in science is more feasible, closer to reality, than division into separate disciplines. Science is expected to provide solutions. It is possible to predict that in the future the development of educational science will proceed into two seemingly opposing directions: the interdisciplinary approach and, at the same time, greater specialization, or, as Peter Drucker puts it: in the past the highest degree we were expected to acquire (a degree in higher education) is now the first that allows us to enter the labour marked. It is followed by lifelong education. Specialisation brings the fresh knowledge, updating competences of an individual. Adult education has become to a great extent an individual enterprise, implemented through adults' learning projects.

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