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**Identity Quest:
The Emergence of North American Adult Education (1945-1970)**

by

André Philip Grace

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
August 8, 1997

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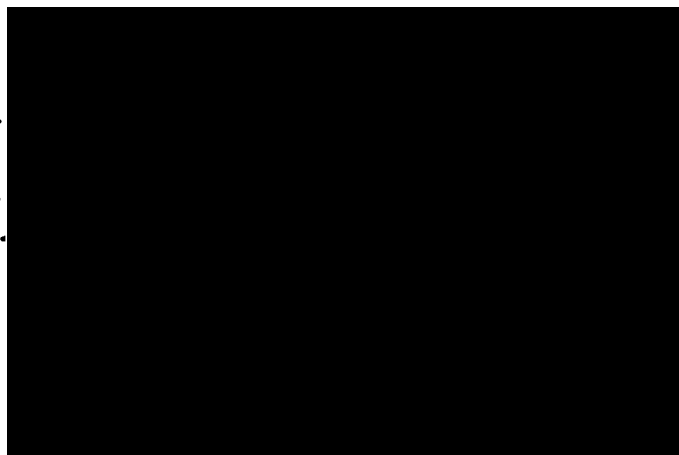
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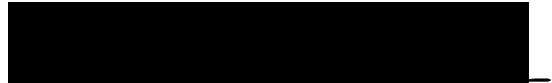
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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the memory of my mother and best friend

Joan Marie Walsh-Grace, R. N.
1931-1977

My first and most important teacher who taught me the importance of respecting and valuing myself and Others

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Abstract

In my dissertation, I examine the emergence of North American adult education (1945-70) as an identity quest to attain space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in the dominant culture and its institutions. I argue that, despite widespread social and cultural change forces permeating life, learning, and work after World War II, scientific, technological, and economic change forces were ascendant, predominantly shaping mainstream adult education as a techno-scientized enterprise. I investigate how the modern practice of adult education evolved as a noticeably middle-class form of education in this period. I explore the degree to which the mainstream enterprise operated within a learning paradigm designed to serve the needs of an emerging postindustrial culture in which the pervasive architecture was the military-industrial complex. I also examine how social and cultural forms of adult education survived as important border practices with space and place inside and outside mainstream practice. In my research I turn to critical postmodern theory which I use as a pedagogical tool to provide ideas to guide the analysis of adult education's identity quest in times when life, learning, and work were being reconfigured. I write this history as an account that addresses dispositional, contextual, and relational issues affecting adult education. My purpose is to render an account of enterprise people, politics, and ideas created in the intersection of the descriptive, analytical, and interpretive. In grappling with the question "What is adult education?" I also investigate knowledge production as the enterprise emerged in the post-World War II culture of change, crisis, and challenge. As well, I examine the effects of the Iztion Syndrome (techno-scientization, individualization, professionalization, and institutionalization) on the construction of adult education's identity. I conclude by considering the extent to which adult education was able to form a learning community in itself and build community within other cultural communities.

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Introduction

Written histories are never complete or definitive. They are located, particular accounts that variously contribute to the “big-picture” history of the object of study. They present facts that may appear in other histories, although these facts may be filtered through different interpretive lenses by social, political, and intellectual historians. It is through the collective efforts of these historians that we come to understand the object of study better. Reaching understanding is quite a challenge. Writing history to present the facts and make sense of them is hard work requiring sensitivity to what Welton (1993b) calls the problem of the object and the problem of usability (see Chapters 1 & 2). In this written history, I define historiography as the writing of an account that is a history of people, politics, and ideas made (or remade) in the intersection of the descriptive, analytical, and interpretive. Thus created, written history, as I suggest in Chapter 2, is history useful to those working to understand parameters, shake foundations, negotiate terrains, and reconfigure boundaries.

In this historical account, I investigate the emergence of North American adult education (1945-70). I argue that, despite widespread social and cultural change forces permeating life, learning, and work after World War II, scientific, technological, and economic change forces were ascendant, predominantly shaping mainstream adult education as a techno-scientized enterprise. I explore the modern practice of adult education in a period that fits neatly into the short-lived “‘American century’ (1945-73)” (Jameson, 1991, p. xx). Change was perceived to be a constant of great magnitude during these times. Culture and society were deeply affected by the transformation of science and

technology in the 1950s and by the social and psychological transformations of the 1960s. These changes broke with the past to the point that some individuals used new labels like “postindustrial” and “postmodern” to describe what appeared to be not only a new but also a unique condition. According to the eminent sociologist Daniel Bell (1967), for example, the years 1945-50 were the symbolic birth years of the “postindustrial” society. Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) has coined the phrase “postmodern condition” to describe the change in the status of knowledge (with concomitant cultural alterations) which he suggests is evident since at least the late 1950s.

What space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) did adult education have in the North American dominant culture in the throes of adjusting to the emergence of what President Dwight D. Eisenhower called the military-industrial complex (the symbolic architecture of postindustrial society)? To what degree did adult education have value as a way in, a way out, and a way forward for citizen workers and learners living in a culture driven by the desire for goods and services and a society altered by the move from world war to cold war? These questions are at the heart of the matter in this investigation of North American adult education (1945-70). They are difficult questions to answer because they are embodied and embedded in a more basic question: “What is adult education?” I return to this question repeatedly throughout my study. Perhaps it will always be the most perplexing among the many questions we will grapple with as adult educators. As part of coming to terms with the idea of “adult education” in this historical research, I have perused many of the accumulated definitions found in handbooks, overviews of field research, and other sources attempting to define

the term in the era of modern practice that began in 1919 (Cotton, 1968). Even in the focal period (1945-70) of my research, a time predominantly shaped by technoscientization, professionalization, and other boundary-setting tendencies, I did not encounter any significantly more precise or unifying definition of adult education.

Although adult educators like Coolie Verner (1964a) desired to streamline the unfixed borders of the field within professional parameters, the idea of adult education as an object of study remained diffuse.

One thing is clear though. Historically, adult education has not been an insulated or isolated venture. Its forms and functions have been determined in relation to the people, politics, and ideas situated in particular times and places. The modern practice of adult education has taken shape in a twentieth-century change culture of crisis and challenge. It has emerged in what Camus has called “a century of fear” (cited, Brée, 1964, p. 3). That fear seemed more pronounced after World War II as the Cold War intensified and the Iron Curtain became the image for the mystique of totalitarianism. The growth of science and technology during this period became, in part, a response to that fear. The US military-industrial complex became democracy’s panopticon and it signified the established and valued order of things in North America. Canada, with its rich resource base, was drawn into this complex. Thompson and Randall (1994) relate that the Cold War abruptly and quickly created “a new set of conflicted intimacies” (p. 157) for Canada and the United States. These nations grew closer economically in the 1950s in an era of defense-induced growth spawned by the growing military-industrial complex. By the 1960s, North American society was industrially and technically proficient and highly organized and

concentrated both economically and politically (Marcuse, 1968). It was the era of welfare-state utopia and “in the heady atmosphere of postwar prosperity, politicians and the public came to believe that both welfare and warfare could be accommodated” (Finkel, Conrad, & Strong-Boag, 1993, p. 345). There was extensive government intervention in socioeconomic affairs and science had assumed high status fulfilling economic and political functions. Yet disorder, as expressed in the social dislocation of so many citizens, was pervasive and, if order did exist on some level, then it was controlled and contrived by the dominant culture and subject to change. In this change milieu the ideology of progress faltered amid concerns about the degree of techno-scientization of culture and society and the concomitant social fallout. Fromm (1968) called for “the humanization of technology” (p. 5) in the face of pervasive social turmoil so that people could be in charge of their own destinies. In the United States, faith in progress was also thwarted by new national urgencies in the 1960s, particularly the war in Vietnam. Hope was in decline and a sense of hopelessness and helplessness in the present found expression in a preoccupation with the future. Fromm warned against the elevation of futurism: “This worship of the future, which is a different aspect of the worship of ‘progress’ in modern bourgeois thought, is precisely the alienation of hope” (p. 8). He argued that hope was needed in the here and now. To hope was to nurture choices and possibilities for planning and acting in a world where “the human order is still but a disorder” (Sartre, 1962, p. 174).

What happened to the idea of adult education in the midst of this disorder? What ways of knowing and understanding shaped the enterprise? How were adult education knowledges produced, exchanged, and distributed? What change-force factors

reconfigured the enterprise from without and within? How did adult education work to change its traditionally marginalized cultural location in its quest for space and place in education and other dominant cultural institutions? How was the enterprise addressing the issue of learner access and the needs for instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education? If, as Camus (1960) suggested, “the aim of a life can only be to increase the sum of freedom and responsibility” (p. 240), then to what degree did adult education help learners to add to or take away from this sum? These questions are taken up in the chapters that follow as I explore adult education’s quest for identity. This quest was caught up in two opposing moves shaping postwar mainstream practice: the move away from adult education’s traditional responsibility as education for forgotten people and the move toward a professionalized practice more concerned with what Verner (1961/1963) highlighted as method, device, and technique. Adult education’s identity crisis accelerated in post-World War II North American culture where changes and challenges were perceived to have the frequency of breathing. I examine this identity crisis in an increasingly professionalized enterprise torn between its historical role in social education and its desired role within a techno-scientized practice. I contend that the legacy of techno-scientization and professionalization is a mainstream practice that predominantly promotes education for the moment as it provides knowledge for now. From these perspectives, I explore the degree to which North American adult education (1945-70) engaged in a technical and precise practice that was primarily valued for its utility in contributing to the techno-scientific and economic advancement of the dominant culture. I

examine the extent to which social and cultural forms of adult education counteracted this trend.

In Chapter 1, *Parameters, Pedagogy, and Possibilities: Theorizing the Modern Practice of Adult Education*, I take up critical postmodernism as a broader theoretical framework that brings together competing formative narratives describing the sociocultural world. I turn to this emerging discourse to theorize adult education's modern-era quest for a recognized, respected, and valued identity in both the discipline of education and the dominant culture. I take up this neologistic social theory because it is an open and inclusionary theoretical terrain that refuses to choose one social theory over another. Critical postmodernism rejects the notion of some grand, unifying theory and brings diverse and divergent theories including critical theory, postmodernism/poststructuralism, feminism, and cultural studies into conversation with one another. This conversation occurs within a politics of theory interactions that reveals tensions, challenges, and yes, contradictions among competing discourses. These politics challenge us to declare our turf, take stands, debate our positions, and, through ongoing dialogue, engage in communicative learning that helps us better understand the meaning and value of the theories contributing to a critical postmodern typology. With these perspectives on neologistic theory design and value in mind, I move on to discuss the problematics of critical postmodernism whose dialogue exploring theory interactions has only just begun. I then consider how critical postmodernism might be used as a pedagogical device that expands possibilities for theorizing and interpreting meaning and action. From the historical perspective of this work, my exploration of critical

postmodernism is a search for ideas useful to assess adult education's progress in the era of modern practice. These ideas help me to gauge the enterprise's cultural space and place as I investigate the meaning, content, form, and activity of adult education in this period.

I take up the basic methodological question "How do we 'do history'?" in Chapter 2, *Doing History: Historiography and Investigating the Emergence of North American Adult Education (1945-70)*. I consider the writing of history within the wide parameters of this definition: History is exploring the past to study past-present connectedness, to understand the present as different, and to consider what might be possible in the future. This definition suggests that doing history is a complex undertaking involving theorizing processes that help shape a narrative of the object of study from different vantage points. In writing histories, theorizing is turning to ways of knowing and understanding the sociocultural world in order to make sense of historical facts in the intersection of the descriptive, analytical, and interpretive. It is a search for meaning and a way to see that different meanings are possible. In this chapter I consider "doing history" from a number of perspectives. I begin by examining the emergence of social history as part of a process of rethinking historiography to (re)make histories in adult education. Next, accentuating the value of history as a foundation of adult education informative to the field's development, I draw on critical postmodern discourse and the perspectives of enterprise historians to theorize "doing history" in adult education. I then provide a conspectus of adult education's identity quest in the era of modern practice, developing a summary answer to the question "What is adult education?" using Cotton's (1968) periodization model.

I explore how knowledge was constructed, exchanged, and distributed in Chapter 3, *Knowledges for North American People: Building an Adult Education Knowledge Base (1945-70)*. Knowledge production, a core consideration when it comes to understanding the post-World War II enterprise's identity and difference, was a central dynamic in the quest for space and place in the postindustrial society emerging in Canada and the United States. I investigate this production in light of the barrage of change forces reconfiguring life, learning, and work for North American people. I consider how the answer to the question "What is adult education?" was constructed in this period. I take up how adult education was variously enabled and constrained at a time when knowledge was for now. Certain key questions shape this analysis locating the enterprise in culture and society: To what extent did techno-scientific and economic change forces prevail in shaping the enterprise and its modus operandi? To what degree did social and cultural change forces permeate these developments? I also ask: What were academic adult educators thinking as they worked to secure their own space and place? I then explore lifelong learning as an idea designed to appeal to a volatile North American culture and society. This exploration considers these questions: Was lifelong learning a way of knowing that expressed genuine concern for adult learners living in a change culture of crisis and challenge? Or was it a notion shaped to give adult education space and place as a valued commodity in the emerging postindustrial culture? These deliberations lead to further analysis of adult education's identity crisis. I follow them with an examination of the enterprise's evolving knowledge base. Here I take up knowledge matters including the space and place of the foundation disciplines and adult education research. I consider these

basic questions around the formation of the knowledge base: To what degree was there a turn to philosophy, history, and sociology? What was the nature of adult education research and what research issues were pronounced in the third period of modern practice? I contextualize this discussion by critically reflecting on the politics of knowledge production. I ask these questions regarding whose interests were being served: To what extent was the construction, exchange, and distribution of knowledge caught up in a politics of hope and possibility aimed at serving the interests of North American people? To what degree was knowledge production entangled in a politics of placation where adult education focused on creating a canon reflecting the interests of the dominant culture?

In Chapter 4, I investigate the Ization Syndrome - techno-scientization, individualization, professionalization, and institutionalization. In this chapter, entitled *The Ization Syndrome: North American Adult Education's Search for Space and Place (1945-70)*, I consider how this syndrome shaped an ordered and orderly enterprise driven by adult education's desire to have space and place in the emerging postindustrial change culture. I focus on two components of this syndrome - professionalization and institutionalization - and I describe how they affected adult education. I explore professionalization as a dynamic driven by a politics of legitimation. I look at the rise of professionalism in adult education and explore professionalization as a desired move that raised the issue of unity in enterprise diversity. Key questions arise here: How successful were professional adult educators in organizing and defining the parameters of a techno-scientized practice? To what extent were these educators able to assume a space and place

as “experts” in North America’s dominant culture? In exploring institutionalization, I trace its history in adult education and examine the advantages and disadvantages of this enterprise dynamic. Two important questions are addressed: Could a field that has historically been diverse and uncoordinated become an institution in and of itself? Or could adult education only be a part of other institutions where it was essentially an instrument used to serve their purposes? In considering this latter question I examine the postwar involvement of Canadian and US universities and federal governments in adult education. I look at the emergence of academic adult education and the development of graduate programs during times when the role of the university was changing. I consider the degree to which adult education had space and place within the parameters of the university. I then assess the extent of federal support for adult education and what a federal presence meant to the enterprise. Here federal-government motives and modus operandi are explored and adult education’s response is gauged in these times of increasing federal legislation. I consider a key question: To what extent did North American mainstream adult education grow in complicity with and in response to postwar federal-government initiatives in Canada and the United States?

In Chapter 5, *To Reform or Perform: North American Adult Education Amid Post-World War II Social Dilemmas*, I investigate the issues and concerns raised by social educators in the emerging postindustrial society where credentialism and the service function were reconfiguring learning and work. I consider the extent to which the social context was emphasized during the emergence of a professionalized practice. I begin by examining the relationship between education and the dominant culture in postindustrial

North America. I consider the argument that education, for the most part, functions as instrument of the State by promoting dominant cultural values in order to maintain the status quo. Next I explore the sociocultural terrain in this change culture by taking up these questions: How did this rocky terrain affect adult education as a service enterprise? What life, learning, and work dilemmas did it create to challenge modern practice? I then provide a conspectus of adult education's clientele in the postwar era. Here I address aspects of participation including access and need. I conclude by reflecting on the state of affairs regarding adult learners in the enterprise twenty-five years after World War II ended.

I return to the question "What is adult education?" in Chapter 6, *Adult Education as Building Community: The Parameters and Realities of Enterprise Identity in North America (1945-70)*. I consider how the demand for instrumental forms of education, coupled with the impact of the discourse of democracy, shaped the answer to the question in the 1950s and 1960s. I reflect on adult education's efforts to build community during this time of enterprise expansion. I take up particular questions in order to explore notions of adult education (1945-70) as a community in itself and as a community within other communities. What sort of community did adult education comprise? What space and place did adult education have in the broader discipline of education from the perspectives of public and higher education? What space and place did adult education have in the larger North American culture and society? I then consider the degree to which the enterprise lived out some of the ideas important to the critical postmodern pedagogy of adult learning community presented in chapter one. I take up four issues important to the

construction of this pedagogy: 1) I consider the enterprise value placed on the roles of adult educators and learners after World War II; 2) I explore lifelong learning as an expression of the enterprise's hope for the future; 3) I examine the space and place of theory and the foundations of adult education in enterprise knowledge production; and, 4) I reflect on the space and place given to instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education during the emergence of postwar practice. I conclude by reflecting on issues and problems in postwar community development pertinent to the construction of community in adult education (1945-70).

1

Parameters, Pedagogy, and Possibilities: Theorizing the Modern Practice of Adult Education

The question "What is adult education?" has itself been the most difficult one for me to take up among the many questions arising in investigating the modern practice of adult education. Limiting this study to the emergence of North American adult education (1945-70) has done little to rein in its answer. While there was a patent move toward a techno-scientized and professionalized practice in this period, there was no common understanding of what adult education was or should be. The desire of many adult educators to share professional ground in a culture where they would be recognized, respected, and valued did not translate into the construction of a clearly defined and cohesive practice. The definitions that I have encountered in period literature have been as diverse in nature as the field whose blurry borders they were attempting to describe. This diversity of definitions is evident since the beginning of the era of modern practice which is usually traced back to 1919. In that year a report by the Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction located adult education globally as a universal and lifelong national necessity (Knowles & Klevins, 1972).

In light of this trend to define adult education broadly, I have chosen to investigate the perennial struggle to describe adult education's identity-difference in terms that would give it cultural recognition and value. This struggle is about the enterprise's efforts to achieve space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in the broader field of education as well as in the dominant culture and its

institutions. Identity-difference is understood here as the features of adult education which make it a community in itself and establish it as an enterprise able to offer something unique to the progress of culture and society. What makes it different on the educational landscape, what constitutes it as a different kind of learning community, is adult education's identity-difference. In coming to an understanding of this identity-difference, I use the term enterprise to refer to adult education as both a venture and an adventure. As a venture the enterprise bought into techno-scientization, professionalization, and other culturally valued dynamics in order to image adult education as a lifelong learning terrain important to social progress and cultural advancement. As an adventure this enterprise sought to increase the field's appeal to adults as a learning space and place for them. Since adult education was not part of the everyday of many adults after World War II, the enterprise engaged in an uphill battle to reimage itself. It tried to change the negative cultural disposition toward education for adults that often located adult education as a frivolous learning domain for the middle class and as something much less important than schooling for children. The enterprise worked to construct itself as a way out of dilemmas affecting everyday security and survival.

From a theoretical perspective, I turn to critical postmodernism as a way to think about adult education's struggle for space and place after World War II. I take up this neologistic social theory because it is an open and inclusionary theoretical terrain that refuses to choose one social theory over another. Critical postmodernism rejects the notion of some grand, unifying theory. In this discourse there is no one theory that imposes its logic on other theories in the process of making sense. This neologism brings

diverse and divergent theories including critical theory, postmodernism/poststructuralism, feminism, and cultural studies into conversation with one another. For some, this conversation creates unresolvable conflicts. They see critical postmodernism as a menagerie of theoretical positionings whose inclusion within one theoretical scaffolding is beyond philosophical justification. It would indeed be a daunting task to philosophically justify this much contested discourse. The attempt would seem tantamount to jumping into a bottomless pit. However, my purpose here is not to take that plunge. It is perhaps futile to attempt to harmonize an array of competing theories into a broader framework for knowing and understanding. Instead, my purpose is to use critical postmodernism as a pedagogical device. I subscribe to critical postmodernism because its contested dialogue among competing discourses creates a borderland for engaging contemporary theories and exploring the similarities and differences among them. What is learned from this dialogue provides ideas to enhance ways of knowing about life, learning, and work. Conflict among theoretical positionings becomes a site to add to learning as I attempt to understand one theory's viewpoints in terms of opposing viewpoints presented in other theoretical frameworks. Since this exploration reveals such points of divergence as the disjunction between critical theory's conception of the autonomous subject and postmodernism/poststructuralism's notion of the multiple, interdependent subject, the learning process moves forward by considering the problematics raised by such disjunctions. In this sense a critical postmodern stance becomes a pedagogical engagement with competing theories within a politics of theory interactions. This engagement expands possibilities for theorizing and interpreting meaning and action. It enables me to approach

theory as an open-ended learning process where I grapple with the ideas and intricacies of different theories. This learning process becomes an exploration informing the development of a pedagogy with value in adult learning communities. I choose ideas from different theories in order to inform an inclusionary practice that creates possibilities for citizen workers and learners to confront and address changes in life, learning, and work. From the historical perspective of this work, my exploration of critical postmodernism is a search for ideas useful to assess adult education's progress in the era of modern practice. These ideas help me to gauge the enterprise's cultural space and place as I investigate the meaning, content, form, and activity of adult education in this period.

Critical Postmodernism: The Design and Value of this Neologism

The Modern/Postmodern Disjunction: Before exploring critical postmodernism as a broader social theory, it is helpful to explore notions important to understanding its neologistic design: modernity, modernism, postmodernity, and postmodernism. Smart (1993) speaks to the ambiguity of these notions used to talk about culture, society, and their transformations. Beyond this ambiguity, however, he suggests that the debate around their meanings seems to have some common ground: There appears to be a shared consciousness that momentous cultural transformations have taken place in society since World War II. Ways of knowing, thinking, and acting have been significantly altered. Modernity and postmodernity represent historical conditions used to talk about these shifts. Smart (1993) relates that, in modernity, the world is viewed as a structured and systematic unity: Science has primary value and its method is considered to be a way to find out with certainty in the effort to control the "civilized" world. Borgmann (1992)

suggests that modernity is a period marked by the desire to create a culture that disdains the oppression of hierarchy and values order, the good life, and progress. He adds that the declared discourse of modernity is a scientized narrative in which prediction and control rein in the future and offer individuals security and stability in a knowable world. In this world modernism can be understood as "the fusion of the domination of nature with the primacy of method and the sovereignty of the individual" (Borgmann, 1992, p. 25). The modern project or Enlightenment has created its space and place in the domains of knowledge and conduct where it has worked to replace superstition and dogmatism with science, and oppression and authoritarianism with "the autonomy of the single self ... [as] the new authority of last appeal" (Borgmann, 1992, p. 25). Borgmann offers this reflection on the modern project:

The progress of the Enlightenment project has not been smooth or easy. ... Nor is the revolution of the Enlightenment completed. This is consistent with the nature of the modern project. Modernism began as a program and has remained one. It has continued to search out and destroy traditional structures and constrictions; it has been most confident in devising powerful procedures and machineries to fill the newly empty spaces. But with *what* [his italics] does it fill them? The answer to this question has been forestalled by the expatriate fixation of modernism on a distant time and another place, the modernist alibi.

In this view the modern project is decentered. Borgmann suggests that the modernist alibi, coupled with the acceleration of globalisation processes, pose a threat to modernity as a historical condition. The idea of postmodernity becomes ascendant as the process of

modernization simultaneously expands and fragments. Postmodernity is viewed as a break with modernity, marked by new forms of sociality and identifications. Borgmann, like Jameson (1991), contends that postmodernity is distinguished by the fact that culture is pervasive in the social realm. New symbols of status and new ways of knowing and acting bombard the social world. The condition of postmodernity is marked by the commodification of both culture and knowledge in a world no longer limited by time and space. Smart (1993) purports that postmodernity may be variously characterized as a form of historical consciousness, a mentality, or an attitude. He summarizes:

The concept of postmodernity is introduced not only to imply the existence of a distinctive configuration, a new epoch or age, but also to describe the development of a relatively novel 'condition' or 'mood' which both shapes and is increasingly expressed in conduct and experience. In short, as with the concept of postmodernism, a concept of postmodernity is employed in three distinctive senses, namely to imply differences, but through a relationship of continuity with (capitalist) modernity, to indicate a break or rupture with modern conditions, or finally as a way of relating to modern forms of life, effectively a coming to terms, a facing up to modernity, its benefits and its problematic consequences, its limits and its limitations. (p. 23)

For some, as Smart indicates, postmodernity suggests closure on the modern era and the transition to a new period. However, a central problem of postmodern discourse remains: "Very little of it gives us a helpful view of the postmodern divide or of what lies beyond it" (Borgmann, 1992, p. 4). It is not clear that a new historical condition exists.

For those who argue that it does, postmodernism can be understood not only as a reaction to the Enlightenment project, but also as a way to speak about a different time and space. It dismisses metanarratives and fosters cultural pluralism and the diversity of discourses. It exposes the problems of representation taken up in poststructural discourse as the crisis of language and meaning. For Smart (1993), postmodernism is a cultural configuration contoured within complex relations with changing technologies which are themselves shaped by new global economic patterns: It is a notion that "continues to both evade specification and attract controversy" (p. 20). Borgmann (1992) uses the term as an indicator of the emerging divide between two eras. He attests to its complex and confusing nature:

Postmodernism is most articulate in the intellectual conversation, most dramatic in architecture, and most pervasive in the economy. In the case of the economy, it is also most concealed. Its force is hidden by alternative labels like *postindustrial*, *electronic*, *service*, *information*, or *computer economy* [his italics]. (p. 60)

Jameson understands postmodernism to be a cultural configuration with marked features including "a new depthlessness and a consequent weakening of historicity; ... a fragmentation of the subject; [and] the omnipresence of pastiche" (Smart, 1993, p. 17). Lyotard (1984) roots the postmodern condition in cultural transformations, evident since at least the late 1950s, that have significantly altered social life and shaped knowledge as a commodity reconfigured in socioeconomic and techno-scientific terms. New ways of knowledge production, exchange, and distribution give growing power to science and its research domain. Scientific knowledge explodes to the point that it can no longer be

contained legitimately by a single metanarrative. Since knowledge can be designed by its producers and transmitters, it becomes located and contested. It provides different versions of the truth. A scientific narrative in the postmodern condition no longer unequivocally offers individuals the possibility of security and stability in a knowable world with a predictable future.

Critical Postmodernism as a Broader Social Theory: Camus (1960) wrote, "Unity and diversity, and never one without the other" (p. 243). These words are apropos to considering critical postmodernism as a neologism that values the identity-differences of competing theoretical discourses within an encompassing theoretical framework. Critical postmodernism takes an eclectic approach to theory and, in fact, is nurtured by the dialogue among different theories that may seem to be beyond any possibility of unity in a broader and workable social theory. Critical postmodernists strive diligently to locate similarities and reveal tensions as they build their ambitiously inclusive social theory with contributions from critical theory, postmodernism/poststructuralism, feminism, postcolonialism, Black insurgency, and this neologism's theoretical shaker and mover, cultural studies. They search for unity in theoretical identity-differences which might best be understood as a quest for common interests and values instead of common positionings. For example, both critical theory with its focus on communicative action and poststructuralism with its emphases on language and meaning offer perspectives valuing the importance of dialogue.

Like cultural studies, critical postmodernism thrives on tensions among theoretical discourses in order to present its encompassing "theory as a set of contested, localized,

conjunctural knowledges, which have to be debated in a dialogical way" (Hall, 1992, p. 286). This debate configures critical postmodernism as a border-crossing discourse where points of convergence and divergence are caught up in issues of disposition, language, meaning, contexts, relations of power and other textures including the history of theory itself. These textures are inextricably linked to the constitution of critical postmodernism. They are caught up in the politics of individual locatedness. One texture, disposition, understood here as the beliefs, attitudes, and values shaped by one's lived and learned experiences, affects the way an individual relates to particular theoretical discourses informing critical postmodernism. For example, as a gay man for whom difference is identity, I am drawn to ideas pervasive in postmodern/poststructural discourse. I live knowing that the Roman Catholic Church normalizes and legitimates identity in ways that dismiss mine and mythologize the notion of the autonomous subject. Contexts are another texture importantly considered in critical postmodern thought. The historical, political, and economic contexts are taken up in processes of making sense in the intersection of the social and the cultural. Relations of power constitute another texture pervasive in critical postmodern thought. Race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, age, and ability are explored in investigations demonstrating the linkage between culture and power. This collage of dispositional, contextual, and relational textures adds to the richness and complexity of critical postmodernism as a dialogical encounter informative to an engagement with life, learning, and work issues in education. Giroux (1992) situates such an encounter in a border pedagogy "inextricably linked to the shifting parameters of place, identity, history, and power" (p. 136). His typology, itself textured by the politics of his

own locatedness, shapes critical postmodernism as a theoretical borderland that includes 1) modernism's concerns with big pictures and ethical, historical, and political contexts, 2) postmodernism/poststructuralism's emphases on highlighting identity-differences, interrogating totalizing forms of knowledge, and creating new languages, 3) feminism's aims to ground vision in a political project and define identity-differences informing politicization processes, and 4) postcolonialism's foci on privilege and exclusion (Giroux, 1992).

Agger, in a similar development in cultural studies, also presents a critical postmodern framework for social and cultural analysis. Like Giroux, he values theoretical eclecticism, arguing that critical postmodernism mirrors cultural studies in its refusal to contribute to hegemony "by falsely separating topics and methodologies that are fundamentally complementary" (Agger, 1992, p.17). While many critical theorists and postmodernists, variously situated within the plurality of contemporary critical theories and postmodernisms, would have trouble with his argument, Agger (1991b) sees critical postmodernism as a synergistic theory development. He is drawn to this synergy of theories bringing modern *and* postmodern ideas into interaction comforted by his belief "that there is no such thing as the end-of-the-modern, postmodernity but only new iterations and variations of the same world-historical capitalism first addressed by Marx and later by feminists and opponents of racism and the domination of nature" (p. 124). He believes that the fragmentation and rupture evident in the late twentieth century world do not indicate the end of modernity. Instead, he purports that they signify its reconfiguration in the midst of a constellation of multiple change forces. His view parallels Giroux's (1990)

contention that postmodernity is a different modulation of modernity's central categories. Giroux holds that postmodernism, for the most part, is an indicator of explosive technoscientific change and a move toward new social conditions that are redrawing the world's social, cultural, and geopolitical maps. He argues that it is not in the interest of pedagogy to be developed around an either/or choice between critical theory and postmodernism. However, many other theorists locate themselves differently in the modernity versus postmodernity debate. Some support the existence of the postmodern condition. Bauman (1992b) contends that the "novelty of the present situation" (p. 43) is radical enough to warrant, indeed to necessitate, a model of postmodern society as a paradigm for social analysis. Jameson (1991), acknowledging that postmodernism is not only contested terrain but also an unbounded territory rife with internal tensions, makes a case for its existence as "the cultural logic of late capitalism" (p. 1). Others use the notion of postmodernity to rethink the idea of modernity. For example, Mongardini (1992) purports that "postmodernity is to be seen not as a negation of modernity but as its extreme expression" (p. 55). Lyon (1994) frames the question of postmodernity as an opportunity to assess modernity, its stability, and its promises and possibilities. He suggests, "One way to come at this is to explore the postmodern as an experience of crisis" (p. 72). Giddens (1990) takes a different approach, one with which Giroux and Agger would agree. He believes that "the seeds of nihilism were there in Enlightenment thought from the beginning" (p. 48). He does not recognize any disjuncture, any transition from modernity to postmodernity. For him, change forces have acted instead to provide "a fuller understanding of the reflexivity inherent in modernity itself" (p. 49). Beck (1992) also

supports the notion of reflexive modernization, suggesting that science in today's "risk society" is challenged by the problems and inadequacies of its own production. Science itself is the source of erosion of modernity. The idea that modernity is in its reflexive phase has been taken up by adult educators including Jansen and Klercq (1992) who discuss it as they characterize the present stage of modernity by distinct moves to globalisation.

In the midst of these various theory plays, Agger (1991a) remains firm in his conviction that *both* critical theory *and* postmodernism are "relevant *substantively* [his italics] in their various contributions to the study of the state, ideology, culture, discourse, social control, and social movements" (p. 119). This is a reasonable argument considering the intricacies and difficulties of understanding the complexity of the twentieth century. It would seem useful to approach problems and concerns from the richness provided by different theoretical perspectives. Giroux (1990), viewing important theoretical developments occurring beyond education's walls, concurs and seeks to develop a more encompassing theory of public life that combines "postmodern notions of culture, difference, and subjectivity ... with modernist concerns such as the language of public life, the notion of counter-memory, and the feminist notion of political identity" (p. 31). He adds:

We need more clearly to understand the changes that are taking place in various artistic, intellectual and academic spheres regarding the production, distribution and reception of various theories and discourses. We also need better to understand how a broader shift in the balance of power in the wider cultural sphere either opens up or restricts the possibilities for developing a discourse of public

life, one which can draw from both a critical modernism and a postmodernism of resistance. (p. 16)

This theorizing as the interaction of theoretical identity-differences contains both tensions and intriguing possibilities. It requires critical postmodernists to dialogue and debate these identity-differences, to question, and to question the questions. The development of a questioning stance is central to this discourse. It is also its conundrum, since the politics of theory interactions are fluid, functioning so that critical postmodern discourse is never fixed, never certain. However, this is its point. Critical postmodernism does not wish to "fix" theory. It seeks to locate points of difference and keep the debate among competing discourses open so we learn more about each theory and its possibilities and limitations. Perhaps Tierney (1993) captures it best in his conclusion: "Critical postmodernism leaves us perhaps with as many questions as answers, and it should" (p. 158).

Hall (1992) suggests that "the only theory worth having is that which you have to fight off, not that which you speak with profound fluency" (p. 280). Thus the struggle inherent in critical postmodernism might increase the value of this neologism as a theory that makes space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) for competing knowledges shaping contemporary theory production designed to provide ideas to improve culture and the lot of people. As a discourse, critical postmodernism may be a timely pursuit in enterprises like adult education where "theory is presently occupied by an array of competing discourses" (Welton, 1991a, p. 22). Since this neologism is concerned with "how to develop dialogue among often competing interests" (Tierney, 1993, p. 102), this eclectic theory's discursive nature could prove

informative to understanding the identity-difference of our discursive enterprise. Critical postmodernism works from the premise that theory is "a borderland where conversations begin, differences confront each other, hopes are initiated, and social struggles are waged" (Giroux in Tierney, 1993, p. x). This approach to theory engages us in processes of making meaning and making sense that become more than a search for presences and absences within particular theoretical discourses. It also provides us with an opportunity to investigate how each theory is constituted as a partial and located framework for knowing and understanding. As a neologism valuing different theories, dialogue, and mutual understanding, critical postmodernism can inform a pedagogy sensitive to identity-differences and the politics they shape. Adult education can use this pedagogy to build learning communities fostering practices that value the enterprise and the people who are its *raison d'être*.

Building a Critical Postmodern Framework: The Interactions of Competing Theoretical Discourses

Critical postmodernism is a border-crossing theoretical discourse in the sense that it develops from dialogues of interactions among competing theoretical discourses that reveal points of convergence and divergence in their identity-differences. This neologism views the plurality of discourses as contributory to a broader theoretical narrative. Central to critical postmodernism is the notion that critical theory and postmodernism must be more than components of a dichotomous key allowing either/or choices only between these theories. However, this predominant focus, in fact the very name of this neologism, can hide the fact that other discourses including feminism, postcolonialism, Black

insurgency, and cultural studies are significant and contributory to this eclectic theory of life, learning, and work. Like critical theory and postmodernism, these discourses provide ways of knowing and understanding people and their survival and security issues. The dialogue of interactions among these discourses helps the critical postmodern adult educator to work in the intersection of the personal, the political, and the pedagogical. While some research has been done to elucidate the contributions of poststructuralism, feminism, and postcolonialism, more work is needed to investigate how critical postmodernism is informed and shaped by these theories. Giroux (1992) and Agger (1992) both acknowledge the tremendous impact of cultural studies in building critical postmodernism. However, the exploration of its legacy as a similarly eclectic theoretical discourse is far from exhausted. Moreover, while the influence of Black insurgency as a relatively new culture-and-power discourse can be seen, especially in Giroux's work, significant investigation around its appropriation remains to be done. For example, there is a need to explore further how critical postmodernism can make space and place for Black insurgency's engagements with culture and power, the intersection of relations of power, and the politics of race and pedagogy. More theory interactions between Black insurgency and other discourses present in the critical postmodern theory constellation are required here. For example, one might explore points of convergence and divergence in the identity-differences of Black insurgency and postmodernism/poststructuralism to understand further how culture and power shape and position subjects. Or one might look at interactions between Black insurgency and postcolonialism to consider how both discourses take up the politics of locatedness as issues of privilege and exclusion shaping

centers and margins in everyday life. In all these interactions one can investigate how history shapes particular forms of sociality and identifications. Each task becomes part of the overall work in the dialogue of theory interactions of using theory to inform actions that help people.

Critical Theory as Contributory and Interactive: Critical theory is characterized by its belief in possibilities like democracy, freedom, and justice for all. It is at odds with postmodernism which is marked by an "incredulity toward metanarratives" (Lyotard, 1984, p. xxiv) and its unbelief in the political ideals of modernity. These sites of contestation are key points of interaction in critical postmodernism's theoretical constellation impacting this neologism's engagement in a politics of hope and possibility. While critical theory has indeed been a much contested discourse in recent times, this fact should not mask its valuable contributions to a broader social theory of life, learning, and work. For example, critical theory points to the importance of theory itself and to the need for theorizing. It takes issue with the tendency toward theoretical reductionism and the pervasive anti-intellectualism marking contemporary academe (Giroux, 1992; Welton, 1987). Critical theory considers theory and practice to be mutually informative. This does not mean that theory and practice dissolve into one another (Giroux, 1983). Rather, critical theory suggests that they ally in particular ways to inform reflexivity, critique, and communicative learning. Tierney (1989) adds that critical theory highlights theory's value as a filter for problem solving and an aid for understanding culture, society, institutions, individuals, and the logics driving them. He (1992) purports that a turn to critical theory reveals how theory itself is caught up in politics. Furthermore, Giroux (1983) argues that

critical theory can contribute to the development of a more encompassing theory of radical pedagogy by examining how culture and everyday life constitute new terrains of oppression and by revealing hidden or embedded social relationships of domination and subordination. In a change culture of crisis and challenge, critical theory also offers a modernist conception of permanent change (Giroux, 1990) as a point of interaction with the postmodern conception of change as rupture. This dialogue points to the difficulties of understanding what "change" is as it provides a forum to raise questions and explore contemporary change forces and processes. Critical theory also points out the value of collective action in developing a politics of identity-difference shaping resistance and seeking change. In a point of tension with postmodernism's unwillingness to define or set parameters to identity-difference, it indicates the value of closure, creating a point of interaction where one could also draw on the work of feminists who believe that at least temporary closure is necessary to inform political action.

In surveying the contributions of critical theory to critical postmodernism, it is indeed worthwhile to place value on Habermas's work. In his typology, Giroux (1991) highlights Habermas's efforts to emphasize critique, agency, and democracy as categories in modernist discourse. While, as Giroux notes, Habermas can be critiqued for his inadequate attention to the connection between discourse and relations of power including race and gender, this should not preclude a fostering of his ideas about knowledge, interests, domination, and communication. Welton (1995) argues that while Habermas's revision of critical theory as a learning theory is not unproblematic, his theory importantly pays attention to both instrumental and moral-practical knowledge. This raises key

questions for theorists and practitioners concerned with the development of a critical theory of adult learning. Habermas has been developing his theory since the mid-1960s. In it he acknowledges and elucidates the dark side of the Enlightenment project, but clearly values the hope of freedom, justice, and happiness (Lyon, 1994). Habermas challenges us to create a new imaginary recognizing that a politics built on power places risks on human survival (Aronowitz, 1992). To move the modern project forward, Habermas further develops his theory as the theory of communicative action. Honneth (1987) relates that Habermas makes this theory the reference point to diagnose the contemporary world from critical perspectives and fleshes it out to lay the foundation for a theory of society. This theory is grounded "through the embedding of reason in *language* [his italics] in general, and in *communication* in particular" (Giddens, 1987, p. 227). It informs critical postmodernism in contemporary times when "the emerging social order ... is characterized above all by new modes of communication" (Lyon, 1994, p. 85). Habermas's theory uses dialogue as an organizing construct. Pusey (1987) recounts that Habermas has worked to develop a model showing how rationality manifests itself in dialogue between speaking and acting subjects. Drawing on Habermas's understanding of communicative action, critical postmodernists can reveal "the traces of violence that deform repeated attempts at dialogue and recurrently close off the path to unconstrained communication" (Habermas, 1992, p. 264). Habermas's thesis is that "*the unity of knowledge and interest proves itself in a dialectic that takes the historical traces of suppressed dialogue and reconstructs what has been suppressed* [his italics]" (p. 264).

The road to individual and collective freedom, as Habermas indicates, is a rocky one. He contends that human learning is hampered by distorted communication with "the mediation of communication by interests ... [constituting] an obstacle to reflexive knowledge" (Aronowitz, 1992, p. 258). As Honneth (1987) explains, the problem, in Habermasian terms, is that subjects driven by the desire to succeed enable the media of money and power to coordinate social action, thus outflanking processes of reaching understanding. Honneth goes on to say that it is Habermas's contention that the system-integrated action contexts - the economic system and the action sphere of the state - are "integrated from now on without recourse to the process of communicatively reaching an understanding" (p. 375). The economic and the political blur and reframe the social in their terms. He adds:

In modern societies they stand, as systems regulated in a manner free of norms, opposite those spheres of action [- socially-integrated action contexts such as the nuclear family-] which continue to be communicatively organized and in which the symbolic reproduction of social life proceeds. (Honneth, 1987, p. 375)

Mezirow (1995) argues that adult education may be viewed as a site of resistance and a sphere of action against the hegemony of the system. He believes that adult education can act as a socially-integrated action context whose goal is to have all adult learners engage in communicative learning that is not constrained by the system. Welton (1995) concurs, arguing that Habermas, by locating learning processes at the heart of his critical project, has developed a critical social theory that is able to link the crises and potential of late capitalism to a theory of adult learning that releases this potential in particular times and

locations. This critical theory of adult learning values communicative rationality as the enabler of free and full participation in the learning process. Lyon (1994) explains Habermas's notion of communicative rationality:

Barriers to free and open communication must be dismantled, with the goal in mind of an 'ideal speech situation.' In the modern period, the social system - the bureaucracy, capitalism - has increasingly encroached on the 'lifeworld' - that sphere of acting subjects trying to understand each other. Rationalization has occurred in the system at the expense of the lifeworld, so the two require recoupling. The way forward then, is through an expansion of the 'public sphere', a process already encouraged by the growth of new social movements that resist further lifeworld colonization. (p. 79)

Habermas gives critical postmodernists ways to think about dialogue and communication within the politics and power dynamics of system-lifeworld interactions. His perspective, framed as the theory of communicative action, provides points of interaction with postmodern/poststructural understandings of language, communication, and power-knowledge.

Postmodernism/Poststructuralism as Contributory and Interactive: Critical postmodernism, in agreement with Habermas's (1994) contention that postmodernism and poststructuralism "must be mined for the purposes of oppositional politics" (p. 118), builds them into its theoretical scaffolding. While she purports that these theoretical paradigms do not substantiate oppositional struggles with an adequate political theory, Giroux (1992) argues, "The important point here is not whether postmodernism [and

poststructuralism] can be defined within the parameters of particular politics, but how ... [their] best insights might be appropriated within a progressive and emancipatory democratic politics" (p. 51). However, Giroux does not delineate a set of principles to guide what he takes or leaves behind during his excursion through postmodernism/poststructuralism or the other theoretical discourses found in his typology. Yet his appropriation has a *modus operandi*. It is influenced by the positive value that he places on notions including identity, difference, inclusivity, and cultural democracy as he builds his eclectic theory. In turning to postmodern discourse, Giroux (1991) highlights how culture is connected to both social reproduction and the configuration of social borders. He investigates how knowledge as a changing construction impacts the relationship between culture and power. He explores how this relationship is affected by changes in social formations and the cultural sphere, changes that raise important questions around the organization of canons and the construction of knowledge (Giroux, 1988). Bauman (1988) provides a similar perspective:

The idea of culture ... establishes knowledge in the role of power, and simultaneously supplies legitimation of such power. Culture connotes power of the educated elite and knowledge as power; it denotes institutionalized mechanisms of such power - science, education, arts. (p. 223)

The postmodern focus on the intimate relationship between knowledge and power and the power-knowledge connection to culture create points of interaction with modern feminism and critical theory. Usher and Edwards (1994) summarize this focus: "In postmodernity there is a rejection of universal and transcendental foundations of knowledge and thought,

and a heightened awareness of the significance of language, discourse, and socio-cultural locatedness in the making of any knowledge claim" (p. 10). Critical postmodernism views knowledge as a social construct shaped by history and politics and interwoven with culture and power. In this neologistic discourse, postmodernism's distrust of metanarratives is in tension with theories valuing big stories if not grand narratives. In a dialogue of interaction with critical theory and modern feminism, critical postmodernism concludes: What postmodernism misses in its dismissal of metanarratives is the need for formative narratives that can analyze difference within unity (Giroux, 1991; Haber, 1994). This eclectic theory cautiously values big-picture narratives, drawing further on postmodern discourse to reveal the crises in meaning and authority in science and other domains. Postmodern theory has identified these crises within "a series of reactions against the Enlightenment project ... [that] develop the spheres of science, art, and morality into separate disciplines, each operating according to autonomous methods and different standards of objectivity and truth" (Nicholson, 1989, p. 198). Usher and Edwards (1994) suggest that a postmodern perspective is a challenge to situated foundational, disciplinary, and scientific ways of knowing and a confrontation with the ways that knowledge is produced, exchanged, and distributed. This point of interaction raises key issues about knowledge as a social and historical construct. It encourages us to question and requestion knowledge production and its impact on the relationships obtaining among individuals, society, education, and culture.

In another point of interaction, the postmodern focus on identity-difference provides a challenge to a critical understanding of domination. The politics of identity-

difference encourage voice, challenge the dominant social hierarchy, explore relations of power, and make room for new forms of sociality and identifications. Giroux (1992) connects these politics to knowledge-power dynamics that make centers and margins fluid as borders change on the sociocultural landscape:

The traditional radical emphasis of the knowledge-power relationship [is reconstructed] away from the limited emphasis of mapping domination to the politically strategic issue of engaging the ways in which knowledge can be remapped, reterritorialized, and decentered in the wider interests of rewriting the borders and coordinates of an oppositional cultural politics. (p. 136)

Since these politics "locate action within a sociohistorical realm that gets acted out on a cultural terrain that is contested, redefined, and resisted" (Tierney, 1993, p. 28), the challenge becomes to consider how we might bring competing interests into dialogue to build communities of identity-difference. We also have to figure out what kind of dialogue enables this construction. It is in this light that critical postmodern theory argues "for a plurality of voices and narratives, that is, for narratives of difference that recognize their own partiality and present the unrepresentable" (Giroux, 1992, p. 120). This recognition is not a stopping point but a first step toward respecting and fostering identity-difference.

Another point of interaction, in tension with the critical notion of the unified subject, is the postmodern/poststructural focus on the complex, disunified subject. Critical postmodernism highlights poststructuralist theories of the subject. Subjectivity is political turf "now read as multiple, layered and non-unitary" so that "the self is constructed as a terrain of conflict and struggle, and subjectivity is seen as the site of both liberation and

subjugation" (Giroux, 1990, p. 25). The self is a multiple, textured self who is variously privileged and subjugated in the intersection of relations of power and variously enabled or disabled by contexts and disposition. A further point of interaction, in tension with Habermasian notions of communicative rationality and the ideal speech situation, is the postmodern/poststructural understanding of language issues. Agger (1991a) notes that poststructuralism provides new ways to read and write texts as we take up how language and meaning affect the constitution of reality. Usher and Edwards (1994) also remind us of the importance of textuality, writing, and reflexivity within a postmodern/poststructural perspective. They say that to hold this perspective is to be aware of the importance of language and the complexities of the actions and creations embodied and embedded in texts and discourses. For them, to be reflexive is to recognize how our personal dispositions and other textures shaping our locatedness affect the production of texts and discourses. It also means to realize how unaware we usually are of the actions and creations we produce through these texts and discourses. Thus reflexivity in postmodern/poststructural terms exposes an author's disposition and intent as it encourages dialogue between writer and reader. Disposition, contexts, and relations of power complicate the politics of language use and access. Critical postmodernism engages these politics and emphasizes "the need to take up the relationship between language and the issues of knowledge and power on the one hand, and to retheorize language within a broader politics of democracy, culture, and pedagogy on the other" (Giroux, 1992, p. 21). It points out the need for languages of critique and possibility that find unified expression in "a positive language of human empowerment" (Giroux, 1992, p. 10).

Critical postmodernism also addresses institutionalized pluralism, variety, contingency, and ambivalence as trademarks of the postmodern condition defined as "a site of constant mobility and change, but no clear direction of development" (Bauman, 1992b, p. 189). In postmodern discourse the tendency is to move away from norms and categories in the attempt to recognize, respect, and foster difference. In his evaluation of this discourse, Harvey (1989) suggests that postmodernism's positive values lie not only in this focus on difference, but also in its concern with the problems of communication and its engagement of the intricacies of agency, interests, and culture. In a point of interaction with critical theory, the trademarks of the postmodern condition challenge critical postmodernists to reflect on the debate whether the postmodern condition is a new situation or a list of symptoms of modern dis-ease including an increase in complexity, a search for meanings, a challenging of value neutrality, and a decentering of norms. Providing a perspective expanding possibilities for debate, Usher and Edwards (1994) suggest that to locate the postmodern is not to rigidly locate it: "Rather, it is to use a loose umbrella term under whose broad cover can be encompassed at one and the same time a condition, a set of practices, a cultural discourse, an attitude and a mode of analysis" (p. 7).

Feminism as Contributory and Interactive: Feminism's impact on critical postmodernism parallels its rupture of cultural studies where Hall (1992) says "the intervention of feminism was specific and decisive" (p. 282). Drawing on feminist theory and recognizing that there are different feminisms, just as there are different critical theories and postmodernisms, critical postmodernism works to reframe cultural practice

"by inserting the primacy of the political and the pedagogical" (Giroux, 1992, p. 5). This stance moves beyond that postmodern mindset which simply recognizes difference to acknowledge "how difference is formed, erased, and resuscitated within and despite asymmetrical relations of power" (Giroux, 1990, p. 21). For example, Nicholson (1989) relates that "feminism has always been committed not just to *understanding* but also to *changing* [her italics] the position of women" (p. 202). Feminism politicizes the personal as it takes up these difficult challenges, creating new paradigms of subject and object that demand new relational and contextual investigations. It brings gender to the foreground of social analysis as "an important theoretical stopping point" (Nicholson, 1990, p. 8). Fraser and Nicholson (1990) address a point of interaction with postmodernism when they summarize the kind of theorizing needed: It is theorizing which emphasizes the historical context as it takes into account the postmodern criticism that "feminist theory reveals disabling vestiges of essentialism" (p. 20):

The key is to identify types of theorizing which are inimical to essentialism. Thus, theorizing which is explicitly historical, that is, which situates its categories within historical frameworks, less easily invites the dangers of false generalizations than theorizing which does not. (p. 9)

Feminist theory, in dialectical relationships with modernism and postmodernism (Giroux, 1991), has other points of interaction with these discourses. For example, it is important to many feminists that *woman* has a clearly delineated identity-difference. They feel that there must be some way of understanding this concept in order to engage in politicization processes that inform and lead to action. It is at this point that some

feminists and modernists converge in their thinking. However, the notion of even partial closure would be unsettling for postmodernists, so at this point many feminists and postmodernists diverge. Usher and Edwards (1994) relate the position of those feminists who hold on to a modernist position:

In arguing for a feminist epistemology, they would not want to fully accept and apply to *themselves* [their italics] the postmodern argument that since all knowledge is contextual and historic the absolute/relative position is obsolete. In committing themselves to a political programme of changing a society which privileges the masculine they are defending one of the foundations of modernism; the rational, self-directing individual who freely seeks her rights through emancipatory political action. (p. 22)

Hall (1992) draws on a modern feminist perspective in cultural studies when he talks about "arbitrary closure" (p. 278). He believes that positionality, while it is never final or absolute, is important to a practice that desires to make a difference. It is necessary for politics to take place. For many feminists, temporary closure is necessary to substantiate identity-difference as a basis to address the relations of power immanent in difference. It is critical to a politics of locatedness that reveal marginality and difference, notions which always run "the risk of mystifying as well as enabling a radical cultural politics" (Giroux, 1991, p. 25). With a proliferation of meaning in postmodern culture that drowns identity-difference in a semantic whirlpool, arbitrary closure becomes important to politics recognizing, respecting, and fostering identity-difference.

In another point of interaction where feminism aligns with critical theory, Giroux (1991) relates that some feminisms emphasize democracy, freedom, and social justice in politicizing gender and reconstructing it historically and socially. They take up these politically modern ideals in the interest of creating an emancipatory cultural politics. Usher and Edwards (1994) summarize: 1) Feminism embodies a diversity of discourses and not all feminisms wish to radically challenge modernism; and, 2) feminism itself is driven by the Enlightenment notions of emancipation and equality. However, Giroux (1991) adds that some feminisms reject modern ideas such as the linear nature of history and the objectivity of science as they contest patriarchal configurations of subjectivity, society, and truth. One can take this particularly strong theme in contemporary feminisms to develop a point of interaction with postmodernism. This dialogue reveals a convergence of feminist and postmodernist interests embedded in each discourse's challenge of Enlightenment epistemology and claims of objectivity and value neutrality in modernist theory building (Usher and Edwards, 1994). Yet feminism takes issue with postmodernism in its refusal to reject all forms of totality and metanarratives (Giroux, 1991). Feminist discourse grounds and textures people's narratives of their lived and learned experiences as it tells big stories. In other words, feminism wants to hold on to the narrative as a vehicle to demonstrate how experience is shaped by disposition, contexts, and relations of power. In addition, modern feminism locates itself differently from postmodernism in its search for meaning in practices and struggles as well as language, and in its concern with the politicization of identity-difference in order to change the space and place of women in institutions. This

dialogue with feminism builds critical postmodern discourse by adding feminist insights to the process of making sense of modern and postmodern perspectives.

Critical Postmodernism as Cultural Studies: Critical postmodernism is a way of knowing and understanding that has developed similarly to cultural studies, an inclusionary theoretical framework marked by its openness to a variety of discourses cohabiting the contemporary theoretical terrain. Like its mentor, critical postmodernism takes "a dialogic approach to theory" (Hall, 1992, p. 278). In both discourses, the dynamics of presenting and arguing particular positions is in tension with the dynamics of keeping the terrain wide open and inclusionary. Hall (1992), in a description also appropriate to critical postmodernism, considers cultural studies to be a discursive formation without simple origins that has as its "privileged object of study: culture, ideology, language, the symbolic" (p. 279). As he relates, cultural studies grew out of the theoretical work already done by other people. Agger (1992) reiterates that theoretical eclecticism shapes cultural studies as a fluid and interdisciplinary investigative approach. Giroux (1992), whose critical postmodern typology is heavily informed by cultural studies discourse, "cast[s] cultural studies as a political and pedagogical project that provides a convergence between a species of modernism that takes up questions of agency, voice, and possibility with those aspects of a postmodern discourse that have critically deconstructed issues of subjectivity, language, and difference" (p. 164). It is this juxtaposition in theory building that leads Hall (1992) to say that theory has value when it grows out of struggle. These words are apropos to cultural studies and critical postmodern theory as contested discourses.

Critical postmodernism builds on cultural studies' concerns with creating new questions and models as it textures problem solving within concerns for disposition, contexts, and relations of power. It asks those who engage in social analysis to remember that they do so from the politics of their own locatedness. These politics remember that the researcher is not neutral and social analysis takes place in the difficult intersection occupied by the identity-differences of the analyzer and the analyzed. Moreover, social analysts should also "recognize how much of life happens in ways that one neither plans or expects" (Rosaldo, 1989, p. 91). Realities and the contexts shaping them change, leaving one to question the possibility that social analysis can reveal some sort of common world lying beyond the influence of fragmentation and difference. As Rosaldo (1989) surveys, "More often than we usually care to think, our everyday lives are crisscrossed by border zones, pockets, and eruptions of all kinds" (p. 207), so "along with 'our' supposedly transparent cultural selves, ... [the borderlands of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and ability] should be regarded not as analytically empty transitional zones but as sites of creative cultural production that require investigation" (p. 208). This highlights the importance of culture as an organizing construct in critical postmodernism and raises the definition of culture as a key point of interaction in which this eclectic theory can learn from cultural studies. Bauman (1992b) positions culture as a key concept in contemporary times viewed as postmodern times: "Culture appear[ing] as a pool of constantly moving, unconnected fragments" (p. 31) contributes to the survival of the capitalist system "through its *heterogeneity and fissiparousness* [his italics]" (p. 52). The complexity of culture from a postmodern perspective leads critical postmodernists to

believe that you must interpret culture to gain power (Tierney, 1992). Rosaldo (1989) argues that "culture and power are inextricably intertwined" (p. 169) since "culture is always already laced with the politics of conflicting ideologies" (p. 64). Bauman (1992b) captures the complexity of culture this way:

The contemporary world is ... a site where cultures (this plural form is itself a postmodern symptom!) coexist alongside each other, resisting ordering along axiological or temporal axes. Rather than appearing as a transitory stage in the as-yet-unfinished process of civilizing, their coexistence seems to be a permanent feature of the world. ... Postmodern culture seems doomed to remain disorderly, to wit plural, rhizomically growing, devoid of direction. (p. 35)

Eclectic Critical Postmodernism as a Problematic Theoretical Discourse

The issue of supporting theoretical eclecticism is problematic in a number of ways. Critical postmodernism certainly poses many questions as one engages in the task of arguing for particular identity-differences in its theoretical constellation while risking a fall into a messy politics that excludes other theoretical positionings. The key issue of the juxtaposition of critical theory and postmodernism has already been raised and, as indicated in the previous section, the problems of bringing other theories into a border zone to consider points of interaction further complicates the dialogue among competing theories. However, it must be reiterated that, pedagogically, critical postmodernism need not be about harmonizing distinct and often divergent theories. Rather, it can be concerned with searching particular theories for points of value that can contribute to the analysis of the complexities of subjectivities, communities, communication, and change in

contemporary times. This search through competing social theories focuses on ethical issues and questions of purpose and possibility in developing theory-theory interactions and making theory-practice connections. Certain questions are central to the search: Does the attempt to bring different theories under some critical postmodern umbrella in order to inform pedagogy simply fragment those social theories contributing to an eclectic view? In what ways is it possible to engage different theories so they can inform one another? How is it possible to proceed pedagogically in light of these concerns?

These questions lead to other questions in the attempt to interface theory and practice: How do we determine what is of value in particular theories? Is some determination of "best" simply a matter of theorist disposition, contexts, and other textures shaping individual locatedness? What ethical considerations must guide any placing of value as we engage critical postmodernism and work in the intersection of the personal, the political, and the pedagogical? Even if we delineate this expanded social theory in some manner respecting people and sensitive to politics, then how do we go further and develop a practice that is critical postmodernism lived out in the everyday? It is a difficult task to determine how critical postmodernism as a dialogue exploring theoretical identity-differences can inform action. The complexity of this discourse would only seem to add to what Simon (1992) calls "the fear of theory" (p. 81), for critical postmodernism asks us to confront the intricacies of competing theories head on as we listen to what, at times, appears to be a cacophony of theorist voices. This fear increases when the language that these voices use is considered. Since it is often complex and semantically challenging, this language constitutes a roadblock which can be used by anti-

intellectuals to devalue theory and distance it from everyday practice. Pedagogically, the fear of theory requires the educator to focus on issues of language and meaning as part of making theory accessible. Part of the dialogue of theory interactions must include discussion of these issues so students can make sense of difficult language that often appears to have inflated meaning.

While these problems are real and must be addressed, critical postmodernism can nevertheless be seen as a timely neologism informing possibilities for theorizing in adult education. It is emerging in a period when a turn to theory is reflected by the fact that a number of competing theories have valued analytical currency at adult educational conferences and in the literature. Encouraging a dialogical encounter among competing discourses, critical postmodernism itself places value on theory by engaging in a politics of theory interactions as a search for ideas useful to enhance practice. Here I will take up these politics as they are exemplified by Tierney's (1993) work to delineate "axes of contention" (p. 6) highlighting tensions between critical theory and postmodernism. While, as I have stated, much work remains to be done to further engage other theoretical discourses within these politics, I turn to his work to demonstrate the kind of analysis critical postmodernism requires as a contested dialogue. In contributing to the building of this neologism, Tierney explores possibilities for including critical theory and postmodernism in the critical postmodern border zone valuing theoretical identity-differences. He describes critical theory in Fay's (1987) terms as "an attempt to understand the oppressive aspects of society in order to generate societal and individual transformation" (p. 4). This aligns with Welton's (1995) valuing of critical theory in adult

education as a space and place to explore how the system reproduces itself in the subjectivities of everyday people. Tierney sees postmodernism as a challenge to "the cultural politics of modernist notions of rationality, authority, and identity" (p. 4).

Postmodernism gives us new ways to think about notions like culture and community as space and time shrink in response to changes wrought by techno-scientization.

Considering *both* critical theory *and* postmodernism to be valuable, Tierney considers the possibility of unity in theoretical identity-difference and asks a question most difficult to address philosophically: "How can a framework that works from modernist assumptions be wedded to a theory that rejects those assumptions" (p. 3)? He then describes five *axes of contention* in order to present his own interpretation of "both theories as an analytical framework for action" (p. 4). These axes are 1) boundaries/border zones, 2) individual constraints/pluralist possibility, 3) political/apolitical, 4) hope/nihilism, and 5) difference/agape.

Boundaries/Border Zones: Tierney (1993) states, "Just as critical theory has not thoroughly investigated the idea of difference and identity, postmodernism's implicit nihilism and assumption that differences are impossible to bridge seems equally facile" (p. 10). He feels the postmodern notion of difference needs to form a point of interaction with critical theory's advocacy of empowerment and fighting oppression. This interaction creates a border zone shaped by the interplay of "symbolic processes, ideologies, and sociohistorical contexts" (p. 7) that texture identity-differences and make relations of power visible. It works against the modernist tendency to define difference in relation to some norm and the postmodern tendency merely to celebrate difference. It asks us to

interrogate identity-difference not simply as a taxonomic category but as a relational construction influenced by knowledge and power (Tierney, 1993). In other words, Tierney argues that we need to explore how identity-difference is caught up in the identity-differences of others and the power and knowledges they hold. This interaction also challenges critical theory's problematic assumption that "simply through dialogue we will be able to understand one another's differences" (p. 7). It asks us to consider how dialogue might be constrained or manipulated in order to keep some differences invisible. Tierney (1993) contends that a focus on identity-difference politics is crucial to building community as a cultural democracy. He says this "involves the enactment of dialogue and action that are based on a framework of trying to understand and honor cultural difference, rather than of subjugating such difference to mere attributes of an individual's identity" (p. 11).

Individual Constraints/Pluralist Possibility: Tierney (1993) uses this axis of contention to confront the construction of identity-difference in the face of knowledge and power. He believes that a postmodern decentering of norms is important because it brings both individual and community identities into question. This decentering challenges "critical theory's desire ... to enable people to affirm their lives according to the fixed categories that already exist" (p. 16). It confronts modernist thinking that identity is cohesive and that beyond this cohesion there exist flaws one must attempt to "fix." It resists "the [modern] assumption that we can better ourselves, either through belief or reason," (p. 13) because that assumption is based on universalist notions of self and knowledge. In the dialogue of theory interactions, critical postmodernism places value on

the postmodern decentering of norms. It demands that relational categories including race, gender, and sexual orientation be theorized and brought into question. It simultaneously explores the politics of domination and appropriates critical theory's idea that collective change is possible. In doing so critical postmodernism challenges postmodernism's rejection of categories and appropriates a more critical stance locating individuals as relatively unified subjects whose identity-differences shaped by knowledge and power can be defined, at least temporarily. This understanding is a precondition for action.

Political/Apolitical: Tierney (1993) subscribes to the Foucauldian notion that power and knowledge are inextricably intertwined. The cultural sphere is a political and fluid space where different conceptions of reality vie for space and place. For Tierney, these dynamics suggest that knowledge itself is a fluid construction shaped by contexts and relations of power. Furthermore, in a critical postmodern pedagogy, content and process require coupling. This creates possibilities enabling change within what he calls a cultural politics of hope that seek to reveal where power lies. Exploring how knowledge is accessed, exchanged, and used is important to this revelation. This raises a point of interaction between critical theory and postmodernism with respect to the nature of political action. Tierney (1993) relates that "critical theorists view action as essential, and postmodernists seemingly hold political activity as either useless or co-opting" (p. 19). A critical postmodernist rejects this postmodern viewpoint, valuing action within a politics of hope and possibility. Action politicizes learning communities, putting space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) issues front and center. Critical postmodernists believe that action is necessary to take identity-difference beyond

mere recognition or celebration to a space and place where it is respected and fostered. In this sense action becomes hope lived out.

Hope/Nihilism: Tierney (1993) uses "hope as a condition that offers meaning across differences" (p. 20). He points out that the idea of hope raises difficulties for the modernist who sees it as an unscientized notion not related to theory and research. He suggests that "a critical theorist ... might point out that hope is a socially constructed category and does not enable us to understand how to overcome oppression and change society" (p. 21). The idea of hope also causes problems for the postmodernist who either treats the notion suspiciously or rejects it out of hand. Tierney (1993) is concerned that the postmodern critique of hope "logically leads to inaction and nihilism insofar as concerted efforts are either futile or regressive" (p. 22). In bringing modern and postmodern critiques of hope into a point of interaction, he reasserts our need to hope so we do not "divorce our desires from our theoretical conceptions and in so doing ... [paralyze] our ability to act" (p. 22). However, he acknowledges the danger of romanticizing hope as an analytical category that becomes limiting as soon as we start to define what it means. He concludes:

To be clear: dialogues of hope enable people to come together to define common and conflicting purposes, desires, and wants. Hope partially answers the questions about meaning, existence, and purpose, but dialogues of hope are not unifiers in a religious sense, in which a community defines its existence through specific beliefs.

(p. 22)

Tierney values dialogues of hope as a way to build community. His notion of hope is a secular construction. For some, this understanding of hope with religion left out is problematic: hope has to be connected to religion for them. However, for many of us whom religion leaves out and who still value hope as a springboard to action and the achievement of what is possible, only some secularized understanding of hope is acceptable within a politics of hope as we construct and nurture it. What matters is that dialogues of hope recognize, respect, and foster identity-difference. If hope is a unifier in some sense then it is as a precursor and focus for collective action that helps build communities of difference. These politics are in tune with Fromm's (1968) conception of the renaissance of hope as following a road where we can problem solve with the help of reason and love for life and where we can place valuable ideas in the service of everyday people instead of the status quo. For those of us who consider difference to be identity, hope is caught up in the desires and needs that drive us to achieve space and place in those quarters where our integrity has been perennially assaulted and where we have been denied the possibility of "*being, becoming, and belonging* [his italics]." (Kidd, 1973b, p. 5). Hope is what makes it possible for us to continue to act in order to create history that indicates a move toward a better world.

Difference/Agape: Tierney (1993), in another point of interaction, brings the recognition and interplay of differences into dialogue with agape, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "disinterested love" which has as its "underlying tenet ... that all life is interrelated" (1958, in Tierney, 1993, p. 23). He does this to provide a basis for building communities of difference valuing modernist notions including equality, justice, and freedom. These

concepts are central to Tierney's construction of cultural democracy. However, Tierney realizes the difficulties with a notion like agape. He points out that it can be perceived as yet another an ideal not translatable into action. Moreover, it can be construed as an unsatisfactory notion if its examples of community include the communities of women and people of color so often defined in terms of their exclusion. However, Tierney believes that the interaction of identity-difference with agape contributes to the building of communities that dissolve notions of norms and hierarchy. His own locatedness as a gay man is perhaps what leads him to place value on agape as an idea important to his understanding of cultural politics. Agape stresses the interdependence of individuals across identity-differences. With this idea in mind, Tierney brings the postmodern emphasis on multivocality into play with critical theory's valuing of collective action as he engages in building community as a political project. This keeps individual identity-differences visible while working for change across differences.

Theorizing Adult Education's Identity-Difference: Critical Postmodernism as a Search for Ideas to Inform a Pedagogy of Adult Learning Community

Adult educators, caught up in the pendulum swings of the sociocultural and the economic in the post-World War II era of modern practice, have perennially asked a key question around matters of the space and place of adult education: Does the enterprise have a recognized and useful presence (a space) and a respected and valued position (a place)? Throughout its history adult education has had to reckon with a host of internal and external change forces as it functioned to meet the life, learning, and work needs of citizens. How might we gauge its strengths and limitations as an enterprise trying to do so

much, trying to be so much? One way is to begin by conceptualizing the broader field as a learning community. Building on this notion I draw on ideas important to critical postmodern discourse to guide an investigation of the extent to which the enterprise has met citizen worker and learner needs for instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education. I explore six themes that provide ways to think about the emergence of postwar modern practice. These critical postmodern themes cast in terms that contribute to a pedagogy of adult learning community are: 1) Adult education constitutes a learning community and it builds community by fostering new relationships among adult educators and learners based on a mutual respect and valuing of one another's roles; 2) Hope is both a precondition for action recognizing, valuing, and fostering identity-difference and a social learning construct that focuses on what adult learners in community desire and need to learn; 3) Knowledge production is a political process caught up in relations of power, and knowledge informed by educator and learner experience and disposition is valuable; 4) Issues of value, language, form, meaning, and accessibility are important to developing theory and investigating how theory and practice can inform one another; 5) A philosophical rationale, a sociological perspective, and the historical context are foundational aspects important to building a reflexive and interdisciplinary practice of adult education; and, 6) Instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education all have space and place in addressing the concerns of learners living in a contemporary change culture of crisis and challenge.

Theme 1 - Adult education is a learning community and it builds community by fostering new relationships among adult educators and learners based on a mutual respect and valuing of one another's roles.

The idea of a learning community where the many and varied needs of a diversity of learners are being met is a useful construct to guide a reflection on enterprise success in building theory, promoting research, and developing modern practice. Historically, learning in community has been an important theme in adult education. For example, it was the modus operandi of J. J. Tompkins's adult education and cooperation model used in the Antigonish Movement (Grace, 1995). His model encouraged people to think, study, and act as a learning community capable of solving its own problems. In this sense a learning community is a dynamic space and place built through communicative learning processes. Tierney's (1992) critical theory of community helps us to understand the fluid and dynamic nature of a learning community:

A critical theory of community reconfigures centrality, margins, borders, and the landscapes of knowledge. The social relations of the community are never fixed and permanent, so that a continual struggle exists to comprehend how the community creates its borders to exclude some and give preference to others. (p. 143).

From these perspectives, the learning community is shaped as a political place where communicative learning requires a collective engagement with educator and learner cultures, situations, dispositions, experiences, and histories. *Both* adult educators and learners take up roles as questioners, investigators, challengers, communicators, knowledge producers, and enablers in the teaching-learning process. Teaching and

learning are recognized and fostered as dynamically interactive social and political acts that shape learning-community culture. Teacher *and* learner voices are valued, and textures including disposition and the contexts and relations of power shaping voice matters are considered. Adult educators and learners explore how these textures shape pedagogy and politics in classroom practice as people with particular dispositions and experiences question and ask questions about the questions as they learn in community.

In building the idea of a learning community, a postmodern understanding of community is used to view communities as interdependent formations shaping one another. For example, Bauman (1992b) places value on community as a construct for social analysis, highlighting that community is a distinctive notion precisely because of its plurality. He elaborates, "If the concept of society was a device to 'erase' the 'outside' and reduce it at best to the status of environment ..., the concept of community as it appears in the postmodern discourse derives its essential meaning from the co-presence of other communities" (p. 36). Habermas (1994) also talks about the community itself as a plural construction. Harvey (1989) explains that pluralism from the perspective of postmodernism is about multivocality and the acceptance of different voices as authentic and legitimate. This is a discourse of multiple agents engaged in diverse struggles (Giroux, 1991). In a Foucauldian sense, it is "elucidating how an Other is *always* [his italics] pushed aside, marginalized, forcibly homogenized, and devalued as ... [the dominant cultural] cognitive machinery does its work" (White, 1991, p. 19). Community as a social construct emphasizing the plurality of identity-differences points to the importance of building Tierney's "communities of difference" (p. 1). This building process, seeking to make

difference visible within and between communities, values the idea of radical pluralism which Giroux (1992) considers "the basis of democratic political community" (p. 104).

Haber (1994) concurs, concluding that radical pluralism, the recognition and expression of individual and community differences, undergirds oppositional politics. She expands:

[It creates] alternatives to the concepts of subjectivity, identity, resistance, and domination. Because it insists on the recognition of difference, it displaces the hierarchical opposition that characterizes capitalist patriarchal societies. This means power can (at least theoretically) belong to those located at the margins as well as those positioned in fields of dominance. (p. 119)

Fostering unity in identity-difference is an important dynamic in juxtaposing sameness and difference in the learning community. This process supports mutuality with others (Tierney, 1992). In this light, Giroux (1992) provides a guide to action:

[In order] to engage a vision of community in which ... [their] voices define themselves in term of their distinct social formations and their broader collective hopes ... [educators and learners speak] to important social, political, and cultural issues from a deep sense of the politics of their own location and the necessity to engage and often unlearn the habits of institutional (as well as forms of racial, gender, and class-specific) privilege that buttress their own power while sometimes preventing others from becoming questioning subjects. (p. 35)

The aim is to shape a learning community within a politics of representation recognizing, respecting, and fostering identity-difference. Identity-difference is viewed a complex and fragile construction shaped in the intersection where contexts and relations of power affect

possibilities for life, learning, and work. Central to this sociohistorical construction is the recognition "that who we are is inextricably bound up with the identities of others" (Tierney, 1993, p. xi). The ensuing pedagogical struggle is about confronting dominant social hierarchies and overt and subtle attempts to achieve cultural homogeneity, a most difficult struggle in light of the commodification of culture. This struggle works against a politics of invisibility by challenging us to test "the ways we produce meaning and represent ourselves, our relations to others, and our relation to our environment" (Giroux & Simon, 1989, p. 244). A politics of representation shows that difference is identity; hence the use of identity-difference as a sociocultural construct in this work.

Theme 2 - Hope is both a precondition for action recognizing, valuing, and fostering identity-difference and a social learning construct that focuses on what adult learners in community desire and need to learn.

As noted earlier, hope as a precursor of action is valued currency in critical postmodern discourse. For Giroux (1992), hope is what it takes to be an open and active participant in "the urgency of the political and pedagogical task at hand: to transform the world into a public space where individuals as active, social agents for change can engage in the project of creating history for the purpose of greater social transformation and justice" (p. 218). Giroux sees hope as crucial to the achievement of the project of modernity. Hope leads to action that makes democracy, freedom, and social justice possible. Unfortunately, hope and socially responsible and productive action seem to have been stalled within the facade of progress associated with post-World War II rapid changes and techno-scientific advances. Mindful of this, Giroux, Tierney (1993), Simon (1992), and others in the critical pedagogy community call for a resurgence of hope as a

precondition for socially transformative action. In pedagogical terms, they believe that a focus on hope in education can spark interest in desired learning outcomes that can be connected to planning and learning needs. Highlighting hope is a political project that involves an engagement with dispositional knowledge as we create possibilities for life, learning, and work. Tierney (1993) uses hope as a dialogical concept to guide the process of transformation. He draws on the analytical work that has been carried out by critical theorists and postmodernists with respect to communicative learning and action, and contends that hope "offers purpose and meaning to our project, but it does so in a processual rather than deterministic manner" (p. 28). People speak to and with one another to explore possibilities and guide action. They build a learning community by taking up issues of voice and participation and by considering the dispositional, contextual, and relational textures affecting learning outcomes.

However, to hope in a world where change and crisis perennially feed insecurity and uncertainty is not an easy task. Lyon (1994) contends that "today hope is in short supply, since the postmodern future is turned in on itself" (p. 73). Young (1990) goes further to speak of the destruction of hope. He draws on Habermas's argument that the exhaustion of the utopian energy of the Enlightenment is a consequence of the penetration of the system - the military-industrial complex shaped by Cold War fears and the drive to increase productive capacities provides a good example - into the lifeworld. Social process is understood "solely in terms of the movement of the 'media' of money and power - that is, in economic and political terms" (p. 8). Nevertheless, Tierney sees hope, in fact the

very struggle around it, as the precursor of action because hope frames possibility in the move toward the realization of desires and needs. Giroux summarizes:

For Tierney, hope becomes the redeemed discourse, a fleeting image of freedom and possibility, one that is often dismissed by many educators as that which is unverifiable and, thus, unknowable. Hope, in this sense, is both the language of uncertainty and the precondition for action. (in Tierney, 1993, p. xi)

Simon (1992) concurs that hope is a "predisposition to action" (p. 4). He believes that "hope is the acknowledgment of more openness in a situation than the situation easily reveals; openness above all to possibilities for human attachments, expressions, and assertions" (p. 3). Simon tells us that the individual with hope acts upon these possibilities in the present "by loosening and refusing the hold that taken-for-granted realities and routines have over imagination" (p. 3). This engenders ways of speaking, writing, imaging, acting, and embodying that create a world with desired alternative spaces and places. Hope creates the possibility of a better tomorrow. However, as Tierney cautions, "The concept of hope is helpful in providing meaning and a basis for action, but it neither tells us how to act, nor how to communicate across differences; it also suggests commonalties where none may be possible" (p. 22). This is the challenge of a politics of hope. It works to understand what hope means in itself and as a foundation for communicative learning processes that seek to inform and transform the learning community.

Theme 3 - Knowledge production is a political process caught up in relations of power and knowledge informed by educator and learner experience and disposition is valuable.

The construction, exchange, and distribution of knowledge constitute a politics of production shaping and shaped by institutions and enterprises. These politics are countered by an oppositional politics that build a learning community by working against totalizing discourse and "taking up issues of production, audience, address, and reception" in the social construction of knowledge (Giroux, 1992, p. 31). In this postmodern vein, a critical postmodern learning community contests the "main 'metanarrative' ... [following] the Enlightenment line that science legitimates itself as the bearer of emancipation," agreeing with the notion expressed by Lyon (1994) that science "has lost its assumed unity" (p. 12). It considers knowledge production to be a textured process affected by ideology and producer disposition and caught up in questions of voice and value as well as the culture and power determination of what constitutes useful knowledge. Tierney (1992) contends:

The creation and production of knowledge is always transitory, recreated by the participants of the organization dialectically with the socioeconomic forces that help determine the ideologies of the institution. Of consequence, knowledge can not be neutral; instead, it is power-laden and dependent upon cultural definitions.
(p. 138)

Tierney believes that knowledge is inextricably linked to power from the Foucauldian perspective that power-knowledge is "the single, inseparable configuration of ideas and practices that constitute a discourse. Power and knowledge are two sides of a single

process. Knowledge does not reflect power relations but is immanent in them" (Ball, 1990, p. 5). This implies that knowledge is particular, located, political, and questionable in terms of its truth claims. Viewing knowledge this way raises the problem of knowing "the truth" when working with any discourse. It raises a key question: Is holding one discourse up as the truth a denial of the possibility of truth in others? A critical postmodernist would not claim that the truth can be found in any one theoretical discourse. This might result in the imposition of that discourse's logic on other discourses, thus closing off possibilities for dialogue.

A pedagogy of adult learning community also focuses on the two faces of power, taking Giroux's (1992) suggestion that "we need a better understanding of how ... [power] works not simply as a force of oppression but also as a basis for resistance and self and social empowerment" (p. 139). It takes up the politics of power-knowledge production. Tierney (1989) discusses these politics with respect to postsecondary institutional cultures: "How the organizational participants construct their reality implies that different realities exist. Not only will institutions arrive at different curricular models; the institutions will also begin with differing conceptions of what is knowledge" (p. 9). From these perspectives, members of an adult learning community should turn to history and ask a variety of questions: What forms of power-knowledge have been at work in adult education and how have they impacted the development of learning communities? What textures including contexts and relations of power have shaped particular knowledge productions in adult education? How have these productions been affected by techno-scientific and other knowledges with cultural currency? Have these forms respected

learner locatedness? How have changes in knowledge production altered the space and place of adult education?

Theme 4 - Issues of value, language, form, meaning, and accessibility are important to developing theory and investigating how theory and practice can inform one another.

With attempts to increasingly professionalize adult education after World War II, the identity-difference of adult education was obscured by the ambiguity between its development as a field of study and a field of practice (Schroeder, 1970). This ambiguity, addressed in Chapter 4, has limited possibilities for theory and practice to significantly inform one another. In fact, the value of theory in adult education has often been reduced by those whose preoccupation is the practical and pragmatic. A critical postmodern pedagogy seeks to build theory-practice connections in the Freirean (1993) sense that, when it comes to theory and practice, one cannot stand apart from the other. Freire "advocate[s] neither a theoretic elitism nor a practice ungrounded in theory; but the unity between theory and practice" (p. 23). From this perspective, critical postmodern pedagogy takes theory and practice to be interdependent entities; one has to be grounded in the other. It holds the reflexive view that practice is a struggle to live theory out in the everyday (see Usher & Edwards, 1994, for example). It considers theory to come alive when it is critiqued and challenged in the intersection where theories are in tension with one another. It focuses on theorizing as an active process that informs practices aimed at meeting the needs of the learning community across the spectrum of instrumental, social, and cultural concerns. This pedagogy keeps theory front and center so that practice is more than a reductionistic engagement with ungrounded methods or techniques. It

encourages learners to explore competing theoretical discourses, create dialogues among them, and use these encounters as opportunities for learning and critique that inform their own theorizing and practice.

A critical postmodern pedagogy also considers impediments to theory engagement. The language of theory is crucial to consider here because it often stands as a key barrier to engaging theory. This pedagogy takes up language as a political construct used to declare positionality. The intricacies of language can reduce access to a particular theory, keeping its positionality and meaning vague. In some ways, approaching a theory and the complexities of its formation is like learning a foreign language. It is a process of understanding meaning and making sense. A critical postmodern pedagogy focuses on the potential and the possibilities of language, ascribing to the re-theorization of the nature of language within postmodern discourse "as a system of signs structured in the infinite play of difference" (Giroux, 1991, p. 29). This ascription "has undermined the dominant, positivist notion of language as either a genetic code structured in permanence or simply a linguistic, transparent medium for transmitting ideas and meaning" (Giroux, 1991, p. 29). A critical postmodernist presents language as "both an oppositional force and an affirmative force" (Giroux, 1992, pp. 167-168). It is a "language of possibility" (p. 167). Giroux (1992) discusses the obligations of language to build new power-knowledge relations, produce new identities, and generate new categories shaping oppositional politics. This language "allows for competing solidarities and political vocabularies that do not reduce the issues of power, justice, struggle, and inequality to a single script, a master narrative that suppresses the contingent, the historical, and the everyday as serious objects

of study" (Giroux, 1992, p. 75). It embodies hope as a precursor to alternative actions that confront the status quo in the everyday. It requires that we investigate how knowledge is produced, exchanged, distributed, and variously revealed or hidden as acts of power. Furthermore, its politics demand that we work to understand the structural causes of oppression as well as construe the meaning of collective work in the task of transforming the dominant culture (Giroux, 1992). From this perspective a language of possibility becomes a "language of obligation and power, a language that cultivates a capacity for reasoned criticism, for undoing the misuses of power and the relations of domination, and for exploring and extending the utopian dimensions of human potentiality" (Giroux, 1992, p. 92). It shapes a politics of voice that "must offer pedagogical and political strategies that affirm the primacy of the social, intersubjective, and collective" (Giroux, 1992, p. 80).

Theme 5 - A philosophical rationale, a sociological perspective, and the historical context are foundational aspects important to building a reflexive and interdisciplinary practice of adult education.

Since the 1980s, a valuing of the foundations of adult education is increasingly discernible in the field (Collins, 1991). Critical postmodern adult educators, in tune with this turn, emphasize the importance of sociology, philosophy, and history, and draw on them to inform theory building, research, and reflexive practices in adult education. They expose enterprise history that devalues the importance of the foundation disciplines. As Welton (1991b) reports, "During the heyday (in North America) of professionalization of adult education (from the early 1960s to the present), foundational studies, be they philosophy, sociology, or history, were hardly in vogue" (p. 285). Critical postmodern adult educators believe that an interdisciplinary approach to theory-research-practice helps

educators and learners to problematize the emerging enterprise as it is embedded in local and global contexts. A turn to the disciplines assists understanding of the meaning and value of adult education and its own foundations. It assists theorizing and informs pedagogical possibilities for moving classroom practice into the intersection where both information and transformation are concerns. It enhances understandings of teaching and learning as complex, interconnected processes dynamizing the learning community.

Critical postmodern adult educators draw on the foundation disciplines to help them understand adult education as a social, cultural, and historical construction. Griffin (1991) contends that a sociological perspective is useful to adult education as an enterprise impacted by social and economic changes. These often rapid changes develop new learning terrains and create new kinds of adult learners. To understand these changes, Griffin believes that "adult educators must have some sociological grasp of social change, social structures, and social relations in order to understand the significance of adult education in people's lives" (p. 260). Sociology can also help us make sense of the intricacies and nuances of change-force factors like professionalization and scientization. A philosophical rationale is also useful. It can assist adult educators to scrutinize their own knowledges and practices, an effort missing in the work of many postwar adult education kingpins. Welton (1991b) remarks:

Modern thinkers like Houle, Knowles, and Kidd are essentially purveyors of practical insights into how adults ought to learn and how we should teach them. They are post-World War II public relations missionaries for the emergent

professionalizing field. Their thought is philosophically skimpy and lacking in theoretical depth. (p. 291)

Laying a solid philosophical foundation takes adult educators beyond engagement in a follow-the-recipe practice to consider questions of meaning and value in enterprise development. The key questions have always been the same: What is adult education? What constitutes useful knowledge in the enterprise? How should adult education serve the individual and society?

The historical context is also an important consideration in efforts to answer these questions. However, as Long (1991) purports, the disposition of adult educators toward history is still questionable because history is not viewed to be utilitarian. Welton (1993b) argues that part of the problem lies with historians of adult education who "just want to get on with it" (p. 135) without enhancing historiography with philosophical or epistemological reflections. In addition to a problem of usability, he suggests that it is a problem of the object. He explains:

But, with reference to "adult education," what are we supposed to get on with? How do we draw the boundaries of adult education's 'field'? What 'objects' do we place within its meadows and contours? What relationships obtain amongst them? ... This problem is inextricably bound up in the way adult education as an academic field of study gets constructed. (p. 135)

Stubblefield (1991) makes this case for history. He sees the history of adult education as wholly relevant to contemporary practice, suggesting that historical research gives adult educators "a rudder for the present" (p. 325) that helps us to understand the structures and

functions of the enterprise, explore underlying contexts and ideologies shaping practice, and navigate change instead of merely reacting to it. Stubblefield (1991) concludes:

Only historical study shows how adult education in its many forms came to be, how its conceptions changed, the social functions it served, its relationship to class structure, and what intellectual foundations supported its practice. (p.335)

In addition, history, by the absences in the stories it tells, can help us to understand the

forces and directions shaping the field's identity-difference as we take up these questions:

What space and place has adult education given to Blacks, women, and other marginalized social groups? To what degree is adult education a dominant cultural clone replicating relations of power and maintaining the status quo? To what extent did post-World War II rapid-change forces erode social education?

Theme 6 - Instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education all have space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in addressing the concerns of learners living in a contemporary change culture of crisis and challenge.

For many adult educators, the modern practice of adult education in post-World War II North America has become increasingly sanitized, neutralized, and processual. Welton (1987) writes, "Today Canadian adult education, with notable exceptions, is professional, becalmed, and technicized" (p. 29). Mezirow (1991) relates that adult education enabling instrumental learning is predominant in our field, reflecting the North American cultural predilection toward problem solving using the scientific method. Collins (1991) adds:

Far from questioning the dominance of technical reason and its socially fragmenting effects, the conventional literature and curriculum which characterize

a modern adult education practice suggest that we *educate to alleviate* [his italics] concerns rather than to raise questions about their validity. The modern practice of adult education actually embraces an ideology of technique via its pedagogical artifacts of coping skills, learning contracts, and formalized needs assessment schemes. (p. 101)

Critical postmodern adult educators explore the limitations of this focus and promote adult education homeostasis that gives space and place to instrumental, social *and* cultural forms of education. Since they "conceive of adult education practice in a broader perspective than one of technical training" (Finger, 1991, p. 134), they infuse instrumental forms of education with questions of purpose and value. They give space and place to the instrumental, agreeing with Collins (1987) that techniques need to be set in theory. They argue that a persistent devaluing of the instrumental by some adult educators is detrimental to a marginal and beleaguered enterprise whose strength should lie in valuing and fostering its diversity. Critical postmodern adult educators believe that adult education, in its negotiation of the social and the economic, finds its space and place by addressing the complexity of learner needs and desires requiring diverse forms of education. There is precedent for this. Historically, during the era of modern practice, instrumental, social, and cultural forms of education have *all* been variously explored and valued. Knowles's (1970) development of andragogy and Verner's (1961) description of method, device, and technique have been utilized as ways to techno-scientize a precise and professionalized practice and give it space and place in the dominant culture. Lindeman's notion of adult education as social education has been taken up by adult educators

operating from critical perspectives (Lindeman 1926/1961; Brookfield 1987). Cultural forms of education lived out at Highlander and Antigonish and demonstrated by popular forms of education like the African-American Harlem Renaissance (see Hill, 1996) have also been important vehicles for learning within our field. Critical postmodern adult educators work to increase awareness of this history in the learning community. This turn to history is integral to create a learning culture that values diversity in knowledge and educational form. This learning culture is sensible about and sensitive to adult learners and what they need to survive in a world shaped by change, crisis, and challenge. This sentiment undergirds critical postmodern pedagogy.

2

Doing History: Historiography and Investigating the Emergence of North American Adult Education (1945-70)

History is exploring the past to study the connections between past and present, to understand the present as different, and to consider what might be possible in the future. How do we “do history?” Perhaps answering this question is like painting a detailed “big picture.” With historiography, the textures are dispositional, contextual, and relational considerations that are integral to deep analysis of the object of study. Historiography, as it is understood in this work, is the writing of an account of the emergence of North American adult education (1945-70) as a history of people, politics, and ideas developed in the intersection of the descriptive, analytical, and interpretive. Welton (1987), valuing the history of adult education as a foundational knowledge base that provides depth to contemporary discourse, purports that the past is usable in at least three ways: 1) It provides a vantage point on the present and its difference from the past that informs critical thinking and action; 2) It gives advice to groups shaped by relations of power and caught up in the rigors of identity-difference politics and social action; and 3) It becomes a way to theorize education and community connections, a use that should drive us to consider how explanations are constructed from evidence. In a real sense, then, the writing of the history of adult education is painting the big picture of field emergence, wary of the pitfalls of viewing history from present vantage points. Shaped as a critical postmodern way of knowing and understanding, written history becomes a vehicle to understand parameters, shake foundations, negotiate terrains, and reconfigure boundaries. However,

the historian must be cautious. From a critical postmodern perspective, historiography should be about breaking new ground without falling prey to the particularity of a subjective account that might result in an inaccurate rendering of the past. History ought to be written working with a dialectic of the universal-particular in order to reveal a real and usable past. Fulfilling this purpose, history is vital to building learning communities of identity-difference that help us locate educators and learners trying to find a way out of life, learning, and work predicaments. History is the thread connecting past and present identity-differences as we investigate the change culture of crisis and challenge marking twentieth century North America. To make this thread strong, we need to continuously ask questions around “doing history.” This contributes to theorizing and interpretive processes as we consider how disposition, contexts, and relations of power shape big pictures.

We can begin with two basic questions as we read historical accounts: Who is writing this history and for whom is it written? From a critical postmodern perspective, these are important questions suggesting that, no matter how big they may be, stories of the past are still particular histories that cannot be separated from writer and reader locatedness. Histories are never holistic or definitive. They are particular accounts that intersect with other histories to add to or reconfigure the big picture that is being put together. Thus it is important to consider how subjectivism shapes historical accounts as we explore their degree of fit with other histories contributing to the big picture. The history of North American adult education written here essentially covers what Jameson (1991) calls the brief “American century” (1945-73). It investigates the emergence of

modern practice from the turn to adult education when World War II veterans came home to the turn away, at least as indicated by federal cutbacks, after the war in Vietnam escalated. It is one among possible big stories. It is written reflecting and respecting the facts as I know and understand them. It is furthered framed by my conception of adult education and the politics shaping its space and place as a cultural enterprise. I have tried to write an account that accurately reflects adult education's post-World War II emergence, aware of the fact that how this history is written is inextricably linked to the politics of my own locatedness.

In keeping with this critical postmodern perspective on the particularity of histories and the locatedness of historians, Carr (1961) contends that historians are people with particular dispositions who write particular histories. Aware that history has to be usable in some broader sense, he suggests that good historians research themselves as well as their facts. Therefore, in questioning how histories are made, we must query the fullness of the knowledge indicated by the recorded facts. We must see texts as penetrable, alterable, and perhaps drenched with subtexts for the interpreter of the written account. Carr deeply questions notions like objective historical truth and decisive history. In researching the facts, he is insistent that historians respect and value them in order to tell the best big story possible. This disposition toward the facts is crucial to engaging in a dialectic of the universal-particular in order to write history. Carr reminds us that "the facts of history never come to us 'pure.' ... They are always refracted through the mind of the recorder" (p. 24). This raises many issues for writers of history concerned with the big picture, issues that pose further methodological questions that will be formulated here with respect

to the history of adult education. Carr's list of issues includes: 1) interpretation (How are adult education historians sifting through the facts? How do they see the past resonating in the present moment?), 2) selectivity (How does the "the processing process" (p. 16) set the parameters of adult education histories? If, for example, we view the history of adult education as a mansion with logistics and circumstance dictating historian access to only so many rooms, then how does this affect "doing history?" How is the processing process affected by what historians variously take up or resist?), 3) personal locatedness (How are adult education historians with their particular ideologies, knowledges, understandings, and dispositions personally caught up in the construction of enterprise history and the determination of the significance of the past? How do the contexts and relations of power shaping historians as multiple subjects impact how their accounts are textured?), 4) the philosophy of history (What general principles guide historiography in adult education? To what extent is history valued in the enterprise?), 5) presentism (How does the living present shape histories of adult education? How does it affect what historians see or are blind to in the past? How do historians take up the language and meaning of words and phrases used in the past?), and 6) the object of study (What is adult education? How might we know and understand it as an object of study? How complex is its identity-difference? Is it constituted in insulated and isolated multiple forms or is there some umbrella that allows a more inclusive recognition of an enterprise identified as adult education?).

Carr's ideas inform the difficult task of writing histories of adult education. In this work the challenge is to make sense of North American adult education (1945-70) as an object of study generally difficult to specify in terms of its definition and parameters.

During this time, many adult educators still struggled with the question “What is adult education?” as they negotiated the terrain of a relatively new enterprise whose modern practice only dates from 1919 (Cotton, 1968; Knowles & Klevins, 1972). Doing this history is not a neat process. Nevertheless, it is a revealing one. In this chapter I take up “doing history” from a number of perspectives. I begin by examining the emergence of social history as part of a process of rethinking historiography to make usable histories in adult education. I then theorize doing history in adult education, drawing on critical postmodern discourse and the perspectives of enterprise historians. This is couched in a valuing of history as a pedagogical tool contributing to the development of adult education. I move on to discuss adult education’s emerging identity-difference in the era of modern practice. I construct an answer to the question “What is adult education?” using Cotton’s (1968) periodization as a framework.

Rethinking Historiography: The Emergence of Social History and Informing Written Histories of Adult Education

The Difficulties of Doing History: In making sense of North American adult education’s struggle to achieve space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) as a discipline, especially in terms of professionalization moves after World War II, it is interesting to draw an analogy to history itself. This discipline has had little more than a one-hundred-year history in academe in the United States (Kammen, 1980). Kammen, in a point that speaks to adult education’s modern emergence as a scientized practice, relates that US history’s emergence as a professional academic entity was caught up in the desire to scientize and thus legitimize historical

research as graduate history programs developed at major US universities. He concludes, “The founding of the American Historical Association in 1884–85 is symptomatic of History’s coming of age as a vocation” (p. 19). What, then, is the status of history as a discipline in the twentieth century where proliferation and fragmentation are increasingly associated with knowledge production? How well have historians tread water in the growing sea of facts? How much usable written history have they produced? In his assessment, Brinkley (1984) relates that much more attention needs to be paid to the post-World War I period in US historiography. In addition to the problem of doing history in the face of accumulating resources, he provides these reasons for what he sees as the paucity of written history: 1) the lack of cumulative scholarship from which to learn and on which to build, 2) the difficulty of dealing with the immediacy of the past, particularly when it comes to upholding traditional values in historiography such as detachment, 3) the problem of framing recent periods and seeing patterns within the context of broader and long-term change processes, 4) the resistance of many social historians to writing histories speaking to the effects of the public/political on the private/everyday, and 5) the rapidity and complexity of change forces shaping life in the twentieth century. Brinkley (1984) concludes:

It is little wonder, perhaps, that historians of modern America have had difficulty seeing the era clear or seeing it whole, that they have been tempted to focus on individual lives and discrete events and have shied from large generalizations and broad themes. (p. 123)

Brinkley's remarks also help explain the relative paucity of educational histories and provide lessons in historiography for their writers. His reasons permeate Lowe and Kanter's (1989) explanation for the impoverished state of educational historiography: 1) It is difficult to be in tune with and understand the complexities and connections of historical events in education in the recent past; and 2) Social history, as it has developed as inclusion history, is not easily applied to writing histories of education because many social historians ignore power issues impacting the ability of social groups to change societal structures.

How might we rethink the writing of history? Susman (1984), connecting historiography to carrying out cultural studies research, argues that doing history is as complex as engaging in cultural studies. He suggests that it is difficult to build both historical and cultural knowledges and know how to use them: "The task is never to gather facts or develop intellectual structures alone. For history, like the culture of which it is part, is something lived, something used" (p. 288). While this view of history is contested in academe, it is a worthwhile notion for adult education historians who ought to write history as a usable account of the past. In some ways the study of history can parallel the study of culture as "special patterns of tensions and structures of conflict" (Susman, 1984, p. 288). This study is caught up in the intricacies of what shapes history and what history shapes. It shows that history is not neutral or valueless. For example, the fear of totalitarianism shaped US historiography in the 1950s and 1960s and, as a consequence, critical interpretation was virtually lost in efforts to defend the supposedly superior American way of valuing liberty and individualism (Brinkley, 1984). The notion

that history is caught up in politics and values should prompt adult education historians to question and question the questions in examining resources. For example, Brinkley (1984), noting the value placed on the nationalization of society in US historiography, suggests that we might question how the history of US society has been constructed in this century. This questioning should be part of a search for values that cuts across the particularity of individual or cultural locatedness. This leads us to question further: Is there some common US ideology? How might we understand hegemony in the US context? If US society is somehow homogenized, then how might we account for disunity in identity-difference and pervasive marginalization in its hierarchical structure? To what degree do national institutions influence US society? Is adult education included as a national institution? And, from a Canadian perspective, how have attempts to nationalize Canadian society built a nation or fueled regionalism and disunity due to social and cultural identity-differences? How does regionalism impact Canadian adult education? How might we compare the Canadian “mosaic” and the American “melting pot” as sociopolitical constructs that have supported national cultural ideologies and have implications for the development of adult education?

In problematizing historiography in the twentieth century, adult education historians can also learn from an analysis of the “crisis of history.” Fox-Genovese and Genovese (1976) place this crisis in the broader context of Western intellectual and cultural uncertainties in relation to duration, objects of study, and communication. They contend that history itself has been shaken by a contemporary loss of purpose and is deeply challenged by the angst created, for example, by the crises of Eurocentrism and

faith in progress. They connect the crisis of history to resistance to a modern understanding of change, suggesting that “the focus on change over time has lost much of its intellectual prestige because of its implicit equation in so many minds with unilinear progress” (p. 217). In a reflection pertinent to writing histories of educating the Other, Chen (1996) sees this crisis in a different light: It is as an opportunity to reconfigure historiography. He argues that the historical works of postmodernism, rather than signaling the end of history, actually take up the reconstitution of the past as a field of struggle. The result, as he sees it, is history as writing *in*. This is an “excursion into post-history in the sense that *that specific* [his italics] western monolithic thing called History is over and done with. ... What is finished is the ‘official’, universal, unified, racist, sexist, imperialist History; from this point on, *that* History is finished” (p. 311). The crisis of history thus conceived is a chance to remake history.

The History and Value of Social History: Social history is the history of ordinary people living in the everyday. It is the story of their struggles around life, learning, and work issues. Its chief merit lies in its effort to make written history more inclusive. However, as inclusion history, social history works best when it remembers politics and the big picture. An investigation of the emergence of social history as an entity that has struggled to achieve space and place for its kind of history points to this and offers lessons in historiography to adult education historians. Adult education’s marginal status in relation to education and other academic disciplines and its generally unclear parameters as an enterprise have already been mentioned as key characteristics of its identity-difference. Social history is similarly located. It is a product of a history of

marginalization in the discipline of history and difficult to delineate as a subdiscipline (Stearns, 1985). And just as we might argue that adult education is education, Hobsbawm (1971) has argued that social history is history. This history has a chronology and records actual happenings. It is caught up in time and space. It deals with structures and how they persist and change over time. Social history examines the patterns and possibilities of social transformations. It is a history of diverse groups of people, each having its own sociological description and web of dispositional, contextual, and relational textures. It is at its best when it is written as inclusion history that pays attention to politics and other dynamics positioning ordinary people. This history is informative to adult education historians concerned with human diversity and studying education as a vehicle for resistance. Like adult education, social history is a relatively recent and ongoing construction. According to Hobsbawm (1971), the subject of social history and its problematic has only developed as an academic specialty since 1950. Prior to its vogue in the 1950s and 1960s, he relates that the term had several past usages lacking precise demarcation from one another. He broadly determines these usages as three ways of understanding social history: 1) It has referred to the history of the poor and lower classes which can be more specifically denoted as the history of social movements; 2) It has been used to refer to the history of everyday life which some called a residual view of social history as “history with the politics left out” (Trevelyan in Hobsbawm, 1971, p. 21); and, most commonly, 3) It has referred to the use of “social” in combination with economic history which outranked its social counterpart in stature and development.

Hobsbawm's general classification should not belie the complexity of tracing the history of social history and delineating its diverse forms. Its genesis is ambiguous and can, at best, be roughly traced. Fox-Genovese and Genovese (1976) suggest the work Marx did with Engels as an early ancestry. While noting that this collaboration was basically labor rather than "social" history, they relate that the social emphasis in this history "from the bottom up" (p. 206) focused on class and an anticapitalist political commitment to working-class peoples. Within the context of English historiography, Engel's *The Condition of the English Working Class*, published in 1844, can be turned to as the first "social history" of everyday people. In his account, Wilson (1993) traces the origins of social history in England back to the 1860s when the "history of the people" emerged as a reaction to the professionalization of history as the history of the State. The emergence of social history grows even more complicated to investigate after social history became "new" in the early 1960s. Veysey (1979) describes the "new" social history as a history of ordinary people "with special attention to the anonymously downtrodden, those whose standard of living and prestige are the lowest" (p. 4). Stearns (1985) contends that the term "new" social history "evokes the confusions social historians have wrought" (p. 319). Fox-Genovese and Genovese (1976) trace the genesis of the "new" form back to the 1930s in France when Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch tried to rework rather than repudiate positivism by texturing it within the social and cultural web of the times. Kammen (1980), adding a US perspective, suggests another predecessor of the "new" social history: It is the "grass-roots history" (p. 24) written by social historians of immigration and ethnicity in the 1930s and 1940s. For some, the "new" social history was

a step forward over traditional political history because it took history beyond the absences in the stories of great men and great events. The turn to “new” social history was also seen as a positive revision of historiography since social historians located themselves in their writing, revealing disposition and partiality as part of the interplay of factors shaping written history. This reorientation challenged detachment as a “professional” key value in US historiography. However, others argue that social history was a step backward because it often depoliticized the past and ignored how the political pervades human action in the everyday.

With the increasing interest in social history since the 1950s, and particularly since the 1960s, written histories in the United States have become more inclusive. Kammen (1980) relates that the history of ordinary people has become prominent, even predominant, since the late 1960s. He contends that this writing reflects the complexity of history as well as changes in historiography as historians “discovered” Blacks, women, and Others. These changes, as Welton (1993b) relates, affect how we understand and write histories of adult education that rethink the problem of the object and the problem of usability. The emergence of social history reconfigures historiography in other ways. The post-World War II development of social history has been greatly shaped by the methods, techniques, and questions formulated in the social sciences (Hobsbawm, 1971). Wilson (1993) calls this approach the “social-history paradigm” (p. 9) and contends that, since it is scientized, it is more acceptable in academe. Brinkley (1984) argues that the incursion of the social sciences was good in that it broadened the parameters of historical inquiry. However, he relates the well-noted phenomenon that it also disunified history as a

discipline, fragmenting it into the disparate work of the subdisciplines of history. Stearns (1985) sees the social-science permeation of historiography as a testament to the complexity of social history. He provides this summary of the incursion that is an attempt to legitimize social history:

The early “scientific” hopes associated with the rise of social history rested primarily on linkages with sociology and to an extent economics and political science. The more recent shift to a cultural emphasis stresses contact with anthropology and social psychology. (p. 321)

Claiming that written history must be more than a narrative of events, Stearns argues that social history’s value lies in a revision that takes up the culture-power nexus in relation to effecting social change. He also believes, despite the absence of this connection in many social histories, that it can be used to connect the political to living in the everyday. Intersecting the social and the political is a valuable lesson in historiography for adult education historians who want to write substantive, textured histories. However, these histories are difficult to write. Lowe and Kanter (1989) give this synopsis: “Indeed, in the twentieth century social and political history are inextricably linked, though few historians of education (or of other historical subdisciplines for that matter) have yet successfully managed to find ways to combine the two” (p. 3). Social history is also distant from intellectual history, rejecting the holism permeating this “elite” discourse. Since social history is concerned with inclusivity and representation, it is therefore suspicious of elite sources of evidence. It focuses more on “common people” and the particular: “What is pursued is demographic history, urban history, the history of the

family, of women, blacks, Chicanos, or native Americans, the history of radical social movements, the history of social mobility.” (Veysey, 1979, p. 5). This focus leads Degler (1980) to conclude that American historians “remake the past” (p. 7). He sees this remaking as a matter of representation, not reinterpretation. For him, this means that remaking history is a matter of writing the history of the Other America, a matter of paying attention to race, gender, and Other relations of power in historiography. It is putting everyday people into the big picture. This remaking changes the boundaries of the past and redefines what passes as American history.

There is much adult education historians can learn from the move to remake history, a move that intensified in the 1970s. Foner (1981) relates that, for the most part, a transformation occurred in historiography because Blacks, followed by women, began to search for a “usable past” (p. 724) to replace the history of neglect that had denied them visibility and agency. Suggesting this move led to the fragmentation of historical scholarship, he bemoaned the loss of a vision of the American past. Big societal pictures were devalued in the move to write local histories shaped by race, gender, class, and region. Adult education historians can take a lesson from this fragmentation or specialization of written histories. While it is important and necessary that histories of Others have space and place, this should not preclude attention to big ideas, politics, and the global context. This critical postmodern notion frames historiography within a dialectic of the universal-particular. Without reference to the bigger picture, local histories are basically decontextualized stories. Fox-Genovese and Genovese (1976) argue that history must go beyond mere storytelling and write “the story of who rides whom and how” (pp.

218-219). This is a more encompassing history including political and other textures so that it does not evade or obfuscate. In a real sense, it is history as cultural studies. Foner (1981) purports that “the failure to consider politics ... often left social history bereft of the larger context which alone could have imparted a broader meaning to its findings” (p. 725). While historians can expose the elitism of intellectual and political histories, they cannot dismiss their values in writing the best histories possible. Brinkley (1984), in a comment reflective of Bauman’s (1992b) postmodern understanding of community interdependence within the global economy, contends that “no individual, no community in modern America, can live an isolated, unbroken life, insulated from the behavior of the state or national economic institutions” (p. 125). He concludes that “social history is, almost by definition, also political history” (p. 125). This notion virtually demands that social histories be written with attention to the political and other textures that shape discourses of hegemony. Stearns (1983) concurs, asking social historians to remember a key lesson from their research since the late 1960s: It is important to focus on the political in order to know and understand social change and the linkages constituting the web of society. Attention to people, ideas, and politics can help historians write usable histories, multifaceted histories “sensitive to the diversity and complexity of the past, to the untidiness of human responses to people and events” (Degler, 1980, p. 20).

Summarizing then, the history of social history as debates about historiography provides valuable lessons in the writing of history to adult education historians. It reminds us that the task of doing history is neither neutral nor value free. To “do history” is a process of remaking the past that is caught up in historian locatedness, contexts, and

relations of power. It involves looking through a lens that views the past from “ever-changing ‘present’ vantage points, [producing] ... narratives [that] rarely continue to be the ‘same’ in their cultural meanings” (Rosaldo, 1989, p. 150). It is about the difficulty of making past-present connections and the need to theorize them. Tierney (1993) provides an example:

My problem with our nostalgic view of the 1960s concerns the manner in which we have defined the past and the implications for the present. ... My quarrel is not with our memory of the sixties, but what our memory implies for the present. We remember overt campus protests and define those actions as political; we do not see such protests on college campuses today, and hence we decide that politics is absent from the campus. Such an assumption is wrongheaded if we take into account critical and postmodern notions of knowledge and power. (p. 17)

The history of social history attests to the importance of questioning and questioning the questions. Degler (1980) contends that the historian’s job is to interpret the past which “is in constant flux; history to us is a way of thinking about the present. ... The present also helps us to determine the past. We literally remake the past” (p. 22). He goes on, “The fundamental reason why we are always remaking the content and the meaning of the past is that the questions we ask of the past and the values we look for in our history alter as circumstances in the present change” (p. 23). The history of social history affirms the value of theory to historiography. A turn to theory signals a clear move to include analysis and interpretation as well as description. Kammen (1980) describes this turn that gained momentum during the 1970s:

What is surely one of the profession's most impressive efforts is that historians in the United States have sought to be both more analytical *as well as* [his italics] richly descriptive. Many have tried harder than ever before to theorize and generalize, but also to respect the particularities of place and time - in sum, *not to violate the pastness of the past* [italics added]. (p. 30)

This emphasis on analysis “transformed the subject by infusing a new tough-mindedness: history was to be informed by theory” (Wilson, 1993, p. 14). It enabled historians to look at the past through different lenses. Kammen (1980) considers the turn to theory and methodology drawn from the social sciences as an indicator of new creativity and eclecticism in the discipline. However, he provides certain cautions that adult education historians should consider in their work. He warns against the uncritical borrowing of compact explanations from the social sciences in our zealotry to explain everything. He also warns that particular social science concepts (like modernization) and metaphors (like image) are vague and imprecise. For Kammen, “not to violate the pastness of the past” means not to let our perception or the difficulty of interpretation cloud the fact that we can know the past. Foner (1981) is also concerned with the diffusion of social science theories and methods through historical studies. He speaks to history's vulnerability: “[Needing theory] and lacking a clear methodology of its own, history was perhaps more susceptible than other disciplines to the adverse impact of [social theory and] voguish methodological innovations” (p. 724). There are lessons here for adult education historians. In addition to being cautious in selecting social science theories and methods, adult education historians should also be cautious when using them. An important issue to

consider is reader access. Adult education historians should take care to include sufficient explanation of the theories and methods used in their work in order to provide usable histories to the widest possible readership. This is perhaps the most important lesson from the history of social history.

Theorizing the History of Adult Education: The Value of Critical Postmodernism to “Doing History”

In 1964 James B. Whipple presented the 1960s historian of adult education as a researcher who engaged in a conscious process of systematically revealing the past. He suggested that historical research served the emerging enterprise in three ways: 1) It provided a knowledge of the enterprise’s past that contributed to the adult learner’s understanding of adult education as a complex field; 2) It expanded the knowledge base of adult education as a “disciplined” enterprise; and 3) It provided a method of organizing the past that assisted adult educators to execute responsibly their functions in the present. His effort to present adult education historians as scientized researchers and his declaration of the value of history were responses to the low status of history in the enterprise. Whipple concluded that adult educators, for the most part, had not appeared to see the usefulness of history to the development of the field. He noted the absence of history in supposedly inclusive works such as Edmund deS. Brunner’s (1959) *Overview of Adult Education Research*. He said that this absence provided an example of a field thinking only in “present” terms and turning (when it turned at all) to disciplines other than history to answer its questions. Whipple’s reflection generally speaks to the lesser space and place that history has occupied in the enterprise since the emergence of modern

practice. Carlson (1980) relates that adult education research focuses on the present and the future. He speculates that the past appears “irrelevant or, at times, even subversive” (p. 41) because it may deeply question what is of value in contemporary practice.

Nevertheless, there have been voices calling for a turn to history throughout the modern enterprise’s development. Rockhill (1976) believes that history can “expand our vision of the possible and help us to see more clearly the limitations of the present reality” (p. 206). She captures part of its problem when she describes the history of adult education as “a history that had to wait” (p. 199) because it is secondary to the formal schooling of children in the scheme of education. She captures another part when she gives this sense of the difficult task of the adult education historian writing a history of a field with unfixed borders:

We know little about how adult education functions as a reality in the lives of people. ... Adult education is not synonymous with an institution or set of institutions, nor is it coterminous with a level or fourth tier of learning. Thus, its conceptualization and history are necessarily complex and difficult to integrate” (p. 197).

However, the diffuse and problematic nature of adult education’s identity-difference and other problems of doing adult education history should not be excuses to avoid a turn to this foundation discipline. The value in taking the past into the enterprise’s present moment lies in history’s contribution of knowledges to enable past-present connections and inform contemporary life, learning, and work. Freire (1993) bestows value on history

as a way of knowing education. He turns to history to understand education as a situated venture and frame education as possibility. He states:

I think it is essential that, in understanding history as possibility, teachers also discover education as possibility, in the sense that education is profoundly historical. When we understand education as possibility, we come to realize that education has limits. It is exactly because it is limitable and limited, ideologically, economically, socially, politically, and culturally, that education gains efficacy. (p. 85)

From this perspective, historical research reveals how education itself is shaped in the intersection of the personal, political, and pedagogical. It shows educators that what goes on inside education is inextricably linked to what goes on outside in communities in local and global contexts.

Taking up the beliefs, values, and contexts situating adult education in particular periods of its emergence means that enterprise historians write usable histories giving emphases to description *and* interpretation. Both are essential to achieving the goal of reweaving the past into the present moment so we might better understand contemporary practice and its content and process components. While the history of adult education may give us some basis to talk about the future of adult education practice, prediction in and of itself is not a goal of historical research (Merriam and Simpson, 1995). John Dewey (1916/1944) helps us to understand the key goal as a process of connecting past and present. From a radical pragmatic viewpoint, he conceptualizes history in terms of the “living present.”

The segregation which kills the vitality of history is divorce from present modes and concerns of social life. ... But knowledge of the past is the key to understanding the present. History deals with the past, but this past is the history of the present. ... Past events cannot be separated from the living present and retain meaning. The true starting point of history is always some present situation with its problems. (p. 213-214)

Making past-present connections is indeed a complex process. The researcher has to take care on two levels: in deciding what to present and in deciding how to present it. Merriam and Simpson (1995) suggest that meeting these goals while doing historical research means taking great care with the task of interpreting as a process of making meaning and making sense. It also means realizing that interpretation is dependent upon individual researchers and their skills and imaginations. Researcher disposition also becomes an integral part of creating the historical narrative: “The perspective of the interpretation is shaped by the investigator’s biases and values” (Merriam & Simpson, 1995, p. 83). Interpretation is also affected by presentism, the tendency to bring contemporary gauges, viewpoints, values, language, and meanings to bear on other people living in a past that was once a present, their present (Merriam & Simpson, 1995). Since we tend to be absorbed with and by the living present, we must always be mindful of it and how it shapes researchers and the historical narratives being written.

Whipple (1964) describes written history as “an approximation of actuality” since “it is never complete and can never be absolutely precise” (p. 202). From this perspective, critical postmodern historians realize that the stories they write are shaped by the

questions they ask and how they ask them. Furthermore, doing history is complicated by the fact that “knowledge is ... subject to constant political manipulation” (Tierney, 1993, p. 17). This raises questions around knowledge production and interpretation with respect to the resources they use. Carlson (1980) contends that the historian must be adept at combining description with interpretation in order to argue a viewpoint and write a narrative that develops the argument. Critical postmodern historians agree with this initial assessment, and they agree with his recognition of the importance of disposition in doing history. Critical postmodern historians hold with him that “the historian’s values influence his decisions on what data he incorporates and emphasizes in his writing and the interpretation he makes of those data” (p. 42). However, they reject his notion that the skills historians bring to interpretation need to be “disciplined only by reality and their own common sense” (p. 42). They declare the value of theory to the process of making meaning and making sense in interpretation.

How do these matters pertain, for example, to the work of social historians of adult education? Welton (1991b) relates that they are “searching intensely for a *usable history* [italics added]: retrieving a past that contests the professionalization of the field of study and practice and speaks to the current debates about how the study of adult education ought to be constructed” (p. 286). This suggests that social historians are disposed to critiquing instrumentalism and focusing on an expanded enterprise that emphasizes social and cultural forms of adult education usually situated outside the parameters of a professionalized practice. In effect, these historians value the textured over the technical, and seek to expose past exclusionary practices in the field. Their

arguments inform the continuing development of an enterprise that must be more than a purveyor of forms of education that are in vogue or seemingly required to give knowledge for the moment. They assist adult educators in the living present to shape an eclectic practice that involves variously located adults in a diversity of fostered learning processes. This development would contrast with Rockhill's (1976) description of how adult education has traditionally survived. She says, "We continue to provide fairly conventional learning experiences for the highly educated - not so much because we want to as because of the ready audience and the need to be self-supporting" (p. 204). From her perspective, adult education has assumed a key role as "a finishing school for entry into the middle class" (p. 204). James R. Dorland (1969) agrees with Rockhill that adult education is the domain of the middle class. Robert E. Finch (1969) believes that the idea of a middle-class enterprise created a paradox for adult education. Reflecting on the need for adult education in the social milieu of the 1960s, he relates:

Too many legislators ... think of adult education as it may exist in their affluent suburban communities - classes in bridge, gourmet cooking, and recreational classes offered on a strictly self-supporting basis. It's adult education of another world from that of the inner city. It is one of the paradoxes of our society.

Suburbanites, with the exception of senior citizens, need adult courses to learn how to relax from the stresses of employment while many youth and adults of the inner city have too much leisure. (p. 5)

To the extent that adult education has been perceived as a middle-class venture, it is a sorry statement of the purpose and value of what should be an encompassing people's enterprise.

Returning to the value of theory in writing history, critical postmodern historians draw on social theories in writing field histories. They do this within a politics of theory interactions that knows "the risk of being trapped in particularistic theories that cannot explain how the various diverse relations that constitute larger social, political, and global systems interrelate or mutually determine and constrain each other" (Giroux, 1990, p. 19). Critical postmodern historians do not hold Carlson's (1980) belief that there should be a natural development of the thesis and interpretation "avoiding strangulation among the weeds of social science methodology" (p. 43). Carlson, believing that one should rely on a philosophy of life, purports that the historian "ought not to clutch at that wet noodle called objectivity" (p. 47). Yet, in an earlier description of what historians must do, a description that reflects the power of positivism in the 1970s, he (1975a) does imply the need for theorizing in historiography:

The role of the historian is to study the changes that take place over a period of time and to develop some hypotheses or interpretations that explain these changes. He must evaluate, criticize, provide a context for and put his subject into perspective. (p. 131)

Carlson's disposition toward anti-theoreticism may be due to a humanistic fear of social-science theorizing or it may be a legitimate response to the incursion of the social sciences into history. However, while he wants history to be exploration, revelation, and not

something reduced to another problem-solving approach or technique, Carlson is not clear about how we should negotiate the intersection of evidence and disposition. If, as Rockhill (1976) argues, “enduring change requires an integration of one’s past” (p. 196), then how are we to connect it to the present in meaningful and sensible ways? While a philosophy of life may guide us in some ways, theory would seem to be a better compass. Theory gives us ways of knowing and understanding that may help us to rethink and rework the past into the living present. It spurs us to go beyond the descriptive to analyze, interpret, and give alternative explanations of events. Theory encourages deep questioning and thus fulfills its primary role. It helps us to texture descriptions in contextual, relational, and situational terms. While, as Collins (1987) suggests, the place of good description in adult education research can not be overlooked or devalued, a turn to theory can help us answer the question “What constitutes good descriptive research?” (p. 63) as well as go further in the investigative process.

Critical postmodern historians engage in contextual and relational historical analyses. They draw on postmodern discourse which “provides a series of referents for both interrogating the notion of history as tradition and for redrawing and rewriting how individual and collective experience might be struggled over, understood, felt, and shaped” (Giroux, 1992, p. 121). They turn to other disciplines including philosophy, sociology, and cultural studies, as well as to the broad discipline of education, for help in understanding the identity-difference of adult education in a change culture of competing interests. These historians contribute to the development of “a theoretical framework specifying the function of adult learning and education in the reproduction and transformation of social

systems” (Welton, 1991b, p. 287). This theorizing enables adult education historians to tease out tensions between elements of adult education that support the dominant culture and other elements that seek to make changes to it. It is this theory building that Welton (1991b) describes as a key task remaining on the “to do” list of historians of adult education.

“What is Adult Education?”: Periodizing the Era of Modern Practice to Trace Enterprise Identity-Difference

In Chapter 1 I describe adult education’s identity-difference as the features of adult education which make it a community in itself and establish it as an enterprise able to offer something unique to the progress of culture and society. I suggest that what makes adult education different on the educational landscape, what constitutes it as a different kind of learning community, is its identity-difference. I use the term enterprise to locate adult education as both a venture and an adventure in adult education’s struggle to achieve space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in the dominant culture and its institutions. This struggle has taken place on a winding, rocky road. How might we reflect on this struggle, on the “haphazard evolution of the field” (Verner, 1961, p. 229)? How might we take up its gradual development revealing the intricacies of enterprise identity-difference as we consider the complex question “What is adult education?” One way to investigate identity-difference during the emergence of modern practice is to frame it using the periodization model developed by Webster E. Cotton (1968) and modified by Malcolm S. Knowles and Chester Klevins (1972). In a review of literature (1919-1964), Cotton (1968) listed five recurring concerns shaping US

adult education as a particular educational form in the era of modern practice. Adult education's identity-difference has been caught up in significant efforts to address "1) the problem of living in a new world, 2) the challenge confronting democracy and the requirements for democratic citizenship, 3) the failure of traditional education, 4) the nature of adult needs and responsibilities, and 5) the control of man's destiny" (p. 2).

Elsewhere in his review, Cotton added to the perplexity of determining enterprise identity-difference when he listed adult education's pervasive concerns with social and economic reconstruction, rapid techno-scientific change, the creative life, and the good society.

Canadian adult education has also emerged amid these concerns, with the boundary between the US and Canadian enterprises, at least in terms of the emergence of academic adult education, blurring as modern practice advanced after World War II. Campbell (1977) noted that, in the era of modern practice, Canadian adult education has been characterized by its diversity and community focus. Like its US counterpart, it has worked against financial constraints and a marginal status and it has not been able to claim recognition as a cohesive entity. Instead, it has been an enterprise marked by organizational fragmentation and competition among providers of adult education. These characteristics help explain why practitioners lack a common bond of identity and why the field requires more research into its problems and further development as a field of study. They also help us to understand why the question "What is adult education?" is indeed difficult to answer.

The first period of the modern era is dated from 1919, the year the Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction released a report

essentializing adult education as “a permanent national necessity, [and] an inseparable aspect of citizenship” (Knowles and Klevins, 1972, p. 7). This report brought the concept and term “adult education” fully into focus for the first time (Houle, 1972). Enterprise identity-difference was grounded in the post-World War I reconstruction emphases on nation building and promoting democratic citizenship. The 1919 Report put forth the notion that adult education by nature and design should be universal and lifelong for all citizens. Pivotal in the emergence of adult education globally, this report has been credited with heralding the era of organized modern practice. This era is marked by a “vision of adult education as ‘the way out’ from sordid materialism, economic deprivation, and ineffectual democracy” (Cotton, 1968, p. 2). Knowles and Klevins (1972) described this period ending in 1929 as one “fraught with the spirit of idealism. Adult education was seen as the means of bringing about social reform, reconstruction, and progress” (p. 7). It was the kind of adult education J. Roby Kidd (1950) characterized as “variegated ..., [a form] where no one wants to see the development of any code or creed” (p. 24). In this first period the variegated nature of adult education’s identity-difference remained ascendant. This created a vision of an uncoordinated enterprise without a clear identity-difference. From a US perspective, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) indicate that the field lacked real national visibility and continued to emerge at a snail’s pace:

It was not until the 1920s that the field began to take form as a collective enterprise, the milestone event being the establishment of the American Association for Adult Education [AAAE] in 1926. ... [However,] the date 1926 is misleading if we assume that any professional field or subfield must begin with at

least a rudimentary body of knowledge and technique and a means of transmission to practitioners. The knowledge base of adult education was beginning to develop in the 1920s and 1930s, but only very slowly. (p. 229)

Underlying the development of a knowledge base was a concern for greater coordination within the field. Knowles (1962/1977) considered the role that the AAAE played in promoting this dynamic:

Because of ... [this organization] the field came to be seen as a whole, and the interrelatedness of its parts came to be better understood. In a sense, the AAAE largely created a need for the coordination of the adult education field which it itself largely resisted. (p. 245)

The AAAE had set forth an important enterprise goal. The issue of coordination was to remain central in the era of modern practice, affecting adult education's identity-difference and visibility. In a field lacking some unified purpose and begging for boundaries, possibilities for coordination were complicated by the idea that adult education seemed more like a community of communities than one distinct community. Furthermore, they were hampered by the facts that adult education has not emerged as an institution and has historically played a peripheral role only in institutions in which it was included. William S. Griffith (1970) summarized its marginal status: "Adult education is typically conducted by individuals trained in other specialties working in institutions established to serve some other primary purpose" (p. 171). Knowles (1962/1977) reported that the Adult Education Association of the USA (AEA/USA), replacing the AAAE as the more encompassing "national" adult education organization early in the third period, was the first organization

to have some success in creating a more coordinated and unified field. However, he noted that “the machinery it established was still functioning inadequately” (p. 246). Later, Robert J. Blakely and Ivan M. Lappin (1969) concluded that the various components of adult education had not achieved a cumulative impact in the era of modern practice: “The basic concept of an underlying unity in adult education is suspect. Adult education ... is not under any umbrella” (p. 60). Griffith (1969) offered the reason that North American adult education was traditionally “regarded as a corrective activity which is justified on the basis of meeting some pressing societal need” (p. 77). Reaction, not proaction, had generally resulted in localized responses to the specific needs of the moment. This contributed to disunity in enterprise identity-difference.

The second period, dated from 1930 to 1946, included the years of the Great Depression and World War II. In Canada, social education remained alive and well through initiatives like the Antigonish Movement (Lotz & Welton, 1987). However, it was a time when US adult educators sought to modify the ideals of the earlier period to ones “which could be judged more realistic.” (Knowles and Klevins, 1972, p. 7). In the United States, this period is marked by a growing professionalism and a devaluing of adult education as social education. Within the field there was actually a move away from social education accelerated by leading adult educators such as Morse A. Cartwright. He desired to reconfigure the field in apolitical terms:

In the 1920s, Morse A. Cartwright, the executive director of the AAAE, attempted to keep adult education neutral by refusing to identify AAAE efforts with any of the special interest groups promoting adult education for specific purposes. When

the depression came, Cartwright took his stand with liberal education - individual enlightenment and understanding - and opposed education for social action.

(Stubblefield & Keane, 1989, p. 32)

It is interesting that efforts to displace social education and depoliticize adult education occurred when the welfare state was taking shape in Canada and the United States.

Thompson and Randall (1994) recount, "During the war years Canada laid the foundations of the welfare state that had been created in America during the Great Depression" (p. 177). The New Deal intervention into adult education in the United States during the Great Depression set the precedent for large-scale federal government involvement that would pinnacle in the field during the 1960s (Griffith, 1969; Stubblefield & Keane, 1994). Often this infiltration put the field into a reactive modus operandi. Griffith (1969) depicts how the US government used adult education during the Great Depression to rally the people and bolster its own survival after the stock market crash of 1929:

When there was a concern for the stability of our government during the high unemployment era of the Depression, funds were made available to support adult education so that trained teachers would have jobs and so that unemployed adults would develop an understanding of the political system in the United States and so they would become committed to the practice of productive citizenship. (p. 77)

Thus the state fulfilled its role as provider by using adult education as its own agenda-serving vehicle. Since the state was very much concerned with its own survival, adult education became its means to engage in a politics of conditioning and placating ordinary citizens, a politics that consequently affected enterprise policies and programs. Field

identity-difference was altered according to the key welfare-state premise that “the state is expected to carry the burdens of social integration” (Pusey, 1987, p. 99). Ordinary people and their enterprises would have what the state allowed them to have. Pusey remarks, “This results in what Daniel Bell called ‘the revolution of entitlements’ and, in Habermas’s view, an *irreducible* [his italics] dependency upon the provisions of the welfare state” (pp. 99-100). The state was able to exercise control over adult education by increasing enterprise dependency on it. This made the enterprise increasingly vulnerable.

The third period of the modern era of adult education, which began in 1947 and, for purposes of this study, takes us to 1970, was a time of field expansion. Adult education’s identity-difference was shaped by a further decline in the focus on social education and growing tendencies toward institutionalization and professionalization. Alain Locke (1948), in his reflection contained in the foreword to the 1948 US handbook of adult education, gave this sense of change-force factors shaping field identity-difference after World War II: “We in America have tended to forget the social aim of adult education, or to subordinate it to opportunities for individual self-improvement. ... The corporate age of adult education confronts us” (Knowles & DuBois, 1970, p. xxi). His synopsis described the kind of mainstream adult education emerging in the developing North American knowledge and service economy. Lyon (1994) remarks, “Faith in Progress flickered following a Second World War only to be revived artificially by massive scientific and technological development and an unprecedented consumer boom” (p. 6). Bell (1967), reflecting on these dramatic changes and naming what he perceived to be an unprecedented period, called the years 1945 to 1950 “the birth-years, symbolically, of the

post-industrial society” (p. 159). He characterized this society by “the rise of the new elite whose status is based on skill. [Their ascendancy] derives from the simple fact that knowledge and planning ... have become the basic requisites for all organized action” (p. 165). The postindustrial society expanded in the United States during the 1950s in the face of Cold War fears. It spawned a military-industrial complex that became its pervasive architecture. Canada, a target of American imperialism because of its rich resources that could feed America’s Sovietphobic military need, was deeply affected by the society emerging in the United States. Thompson & Randall (1994) contend that “during the 1950s, Canada became ... [an] integral part of the new American Empire” (p. 184). They go on to say that “defense production was a fundamental element of economic integration: as it became truly continental in scope, parts of the Canadian economy became northern extensions of what President Eisenhower would later call ‘the military-industrial complex’” (p. 206). In this emerging society “*theoretical* [his italics] knowledge ... [became] the matrix of innovation” (Bell, 1967, p. 157). It was a knowledge caught up in “the oppressive qualities of scientifically grounded technical-bureaucratic rationality as purveyed through monolithic, corporate, state, and other forms of institutionalized power” (Harvey, 1989, p. 38). In addition to the impact of this economic union of sorts, Canada was also increasingly subjected to US social and cultural influences as rapid technological changes (including the influence of television) blurred national borders. As part of the US social and cultural invasion northward, an increasingly instrumentalized form of US adult education was taken up by many Canadian adult educators concerned with professionalizing the field. In the drive toward a scientized and technicized modern

practice, Canadian mainstream adult education seemed to forget a rich national history of social education defying the narrow utilitarianism of an instrumental approach. This history characterized Canadian adult education's identity-difference as predominantly community-based and critically-oriented. It included accounts of the Citizens' Forum, the National Farm Radio Forum, and the Antigonish Movement as visible and vibrant examples of a social learning paradigm promoting collectivism, social action, and cultural development (Selman, 1995; Selman & Dampier, 1991).

During the third period, rapid change was so ingrained as a feature of North American society that, by the 1960s, it appeared that everything was moving and time became fast-changing and cyclical (Jencks, 1986). The barrage of postindustrial change forces resulted in what seemed to be perpetual life, learning, and work alterations. Knowledge, growing increasingly fleeting and fragmented, was in constant production. Blakely and Lappin (1969) concluded that the institutional process where *knowledge was power to control power* was a fait accompli. In response, adult education often took a reactive stance to keep pace in the knowledge economy being shaped by the military-industrial complex. The techno-scientific knowledge infiltrating the enterprise became a highly valuable currency in the science-based, noetic American society. Blakely and Lappin concluded, "Action is coming to be guided by knowledge - knowledge purposively and systematically taught and learned" (p. 19). How were adult learners constrained by this supposedly productive knowledge-action connection? We can draw on Habermas's (1970) conception of the rationality of domination to help us comprehend this constraint.

His understanding is influenced by Marcuse's "thesis of the double function of scientific-technical progress (as productive force and as ideology)" (p. 90). Habermas explains:

Domination is rational in that a system can be maintained which can allow itself to make the growth of the forces of production, coupled with scientific and technical progress, the basis of its legitimation although, at the same time, the level of the productive forces constitutes a potential in relation to which "the renunciations and burdens placed on individuals seem more and more unnecessary and irrational." (p. 83)

In the techno-scientization of post-World War II adult education, a Darwinian notion of survival appeared to reconfigure adult learning. The containing of adult education within a techno-scientific paradigm shaped an enterprise with "'a measure up or get out' philosophy" (Finch, 1969, p. 2). Survival became an individualized concern. This practical reality was at odds with the collective-survival philosophy of the Montreal Declaration which resulted from the second World Conference on Adult Education in 1960: "Either we survive together, or we perish together" (Thomas, 1961, p. 411). Survival, in the face of job obsolescence, also led to increasing prominence for vocational education. This resulted in an apparent disjunction between a humanistic ethics emphasized by the philosophy of adult education and the vocationalism emphasized in practice (London, Wenkert, and Hagstrom, 1963). These examples indicate the distance, perennially locatable in identity-difference deliberations, between philosophical guides and practical actions in considerations of "What is adult education?"

Adult education's identity-difference in postwar North America was also impacted by a growing schism between those holding visions of a professionalized practice and those supporting notions of a social enterprise. "What is adult education?" was a much debated question as opposing camps of adult educators argued their positions. Adult educators asked: Is it a discipline, a profession, a field, or a movement? As the debate raged on, adult education's historical role in social education seemed increasingly at odds with its desired role within a scientized and technicized modern practice. Sadly, there seemed to be little common ground and much division in a field that was relatively small and marginalized in the first place. Selman (1984) relates, "This was a period, especially in the 1950s, in which a sense of professionalism was emerging in adult education" (p. 13). Some adult educators, fearing the enterprise was shirking its social responsibility, raised the concern that mainstream adult education was engaged in a technical and precise endeavor primarily valued for its utility in contributing to the techno-economic advancement of the dominant culture (see, for example, Blakely & Lappin, 1969; Charters, 1971; Rosen, 1970b; Rauch, 1972). They challenged status-seeking adult educators whose myopic professional gaze focused on an instrumentalized practice that would be supported by universities and other institutions giving increasing prominence to science and technology (see descriptions of this practice in Selman, 1978; Verner, 1969). They critiqued an emerging modern practice moving away from adult education's traditional social focus and pluralistic and voluntary nature. These educators investigated the *Ization Syndrome* - techno-scientization, individualization, professionalization, and institutionalization - shaping adult education's postwar development as an ordered and

orderly enterprise complicit with the dominant postindustrial culture. Wilbur C.

Hallenbeck (1960) argued that “a culture always determines the form, the content, and the scope of its organized education” (p. 29). Believing that the history of education was inextricably linked to the history of sociocultural change, he purported that change determined cultural needs which in turn determined the form and function of education and the clientele served. Thus he credited rapid change as the driving force behind the rapid expansion of adult education as a functional, techno-scientized enterprise after World War II. In rhetoric typical in postwar adult education literature, he boasted, “This changing world has brought American culture to that state where it depends upon adult education to make its civilization operate successfully” (p. 38). He outlined key roles for adult education in the postwar culture of change, crisis, and challenge. The enterprise would 1) offset the cultural lag that often follows rapid change, 2) confront the dominance of technology with its accompanying problems of automation, technological unemployment, and changing vocational patterns, 3) deal with the problems of specialization including specialist isolation within a narrow skill repertoire, 4) assess the complexity of human relationships and how they impact individual and community well-being, and 5) explain change as an opportunity to enrich living, learning, and work.

Hallenbeck’s outline of roles for adult education in postwar culture helps us to understand why the United States found itself with an ailing heart and little soul in a postindustrial world. Diggins (1988) contends that the 1950s were not the “happy days” so often described by historians. He suggests that if a mood of contentment and complacency permeated politics and society in the United States during this decade, then it

was a mood that reflected “an America dead from the neck up” (p. 220). He offers another side to the story, a side acknowledging that “in 1945, America had achieved victory but not security. What had eluded the country at the end of the war was precisely what FDR had promised at its beginning - ‘freedom from fear’” (p. 53). He concludes, “In part this uneasiness was due to the bomb and the unexpected cold war. But society and the vulgarities of popular culture also induced a sense of displacement” (p. 220). Nearly three decades earlier, Bell (1960) offered a similar interpretation in *The End of Ideology*. He related that 1950s America was in many respects a turbulent country. He believed the “turbulence [was] born ... [of] prosperity [that] brings in its wake new anxieties, new strains, new urgencies” (p. 94). Bell characterized 1950s America as “above all, the machine civilization” (p. 224) where change was a constant and disruptive fact of life. In this time of social and cultural dislocation, the need for social education to be a key part of adult education’s identity-difference was as great as it had ever been. Kempfer (1955) related that the effects already wrought by “urbanization, industrialization, increased mobility of the population, reduction of family size, fragmentization of family life, and related social and economic circumstances” (p. 10) had intensified a sense of alienation among adults. In the midst of these changes, Axford (1969) located adult education in the techno-scientific change culture: “To catch up, keep up, and to forge ahead are the goals of adult education” (p. 6) needed to assist displaced persons affected by technological unemployment and a changing demography. These changes were complicated by the fact that democracy, freedom and social justice seemed even more illusory within the jaded reality of human indignation and social abuses marking postwar life for Blacks, women,

and Others. Space and place became the objects of desire as forgotten people, contesting lives of exclusion and dispossession as citizens in their own nations, fought the difficult battle to “even get to a tributary of the mainstream of American life” (Rauch, 1972, p. 9). Canada reflected America’s social ills on a reduced scale during this period (Kidd & Selman, 1978). Canada had its own forgotten people and invisible social problems (Finkel, Conrad, & Strong-Boag, 1993). Canada’s Others could claim no more space and place than their American counterparts. In addition, Canada had its own unique struggles. It was a country of two solitudes where anglophones and francophones could not surmount social and cultural differences (Lévesque & Chaiton, 1977). It was also a land of regional disparities, and its provinces occupied a socioeconomic hierarchy with Atlantic Canadians located as lesser citizens living in “have not” provinces (Finkel, Conrad, & Strong-Boag, 1993).

The voices of key adult educators (1945-70) provide a sense of adult education’s identity-difference during these changing times. Toward the end of World War II, James Truslow Adams (1944), discussing how adult education might relate to “the mobility of life in America” (pp. 326-327), valued the “jumble” that identified the emerging enterprise. He reflected, “The multifariousness of the readjustments called for [by the war], and the diversity in types of individuals involved, have demanded ... variety in Adult Education - as regards both subject matter and modes of acquisition” (p. 327). In discussing the enterprise’s future, he questioned “whether it should continue to be a jumble or be nicely standardized in an over-all national blue-print” (P. 328) and answered that “we Americans shall need all of it we can get, in every form, no matter how much of a jumble” (p. 330).

Dorothy Hewitt (1948), supporting this diversity in enterprise identity-difference, noted these common images affecting how adult education was perceived and valued beyond the field: It was variously seen as a frill, as a repair service for underprivileged adults who had missed out on education in their youth and needed remedial education, and as “a kind of poor relation in the education family - the last to be considered when things go well, but the first to suffer in times of stress” (p. 240). On the Canadian scene, Kidd (1950) boasted that visiting US adult educators referred to a Canadian adult education movement. This implied that adult educators to the North substantially agreed on general purposes, goals, and methods. However, he acknowledged that a Gallup pole indicated that relatively few Canadians could relate what adult education was or how they might participate in it. In what was a reflection of the US status of adult education, Kidd concluded that Canadian adult education did not enjoy prominence and described it as “a very green and junior partner” (p. 12) alongside public and university education. He placed part of the blame with adult educators themselves, stating that in one breath they would claim adult education to be a social mecca and, in the next, demand little from government in terms of financial support to achieve enterprise goals. Reflecting the postwar US concern with community development, Kidd also related the growing tendency to see the community as the setting for Canadian adult education. While this was not a novel idea in the history of adult education in Canada, it became a widely accepted notion after the war. Kidd concluded, “In increasing measure, then, those working in adult education will have to have knowledge, skill, and insight about the forces affecting community life and the organization which can be most meaningful” (p. 15)

As the 1950s began, C. Hartley Grattan (1955/1971) related the general consensus in education circles that the United States was about to enter a dynamic period in the history of adult education. The Adult Education Association of the USA, formed in 1951, proposed that the “fundamental goal of adult education is to enable adults to deal intelligently, democratically and peacefully with the problems posed for individuals and communities by the pervasive fact of change” (Tweedie, 1964, p. 86). Many millions of Americans were participating in adult education and the enterprise had a certain recognition in the “big picture” of education as a tool to address social dislocation. The 1947 Truman Commission on Higher Education had given prominence to adult education, suggesting, for example, that “the constituency of any university is every adult in the community” (Kidd, 1950, p. 13). This increased visibility raised the question of enterprise leadership as many adult educators worked to foster enterprise identity-difference and solidify space and place for the field as a national necessity. Grattan (1955/1971), taking up this issue, concluded that while the American Association for Adult Education had done much before the war to give the field a sense of itself, “*it had failed to find a way deeply to root itself either in the field or in American life* [his italics]” (pp. 285-286). The AAAE had itself admitted to the sorry state of the field in a 1945 statement issued by its Committee on the Future Policy of the Association: “Adult education opportunities are everywhere inadequately provided for and unevenly distributed among their potential users” (p. 285). Grattan suggested that this failure, coupled with the growing postwar demand for adult education, contributed to the formation of the AEA/USA as an institution that would address concerns with building a national presence and coordinating

field activities. He related that many adult educators, seeking to expand the enterprise's role, were resolved to provide citizens with experiences similar to the impressive, extensive mass-scale experiments in adult education that had been carried out in the US armed services during the war. He added that the move from world war to cold war provided adult education with further opportunities to gain space and place. The enterprise could play an important role delivering citizenship education to bolster democracy in the defense against the cold war and the communist challenge. Grattan also focused on change process in discussing the expansion of adult education's frontier. The field could help adults to survive in a "society played upon by mass communications of unprecedented technical virtuosity" (p. 290). Fulfilling these diverse roles would give adult education perennial purpose instead of just-in-time functions. It would allow the enterprise to build on its earlier roles in basic education where it had responded to necessities including remedial education, Americanization, and vocational training (Powell, 1956; Carlson, 1975b). While these roles, for the most part, were fulfilled in the service of the dominant culture, they nevertheless had value because they met particular needs for education aiding individual survival. They also gave the field a certain space and place. Jack London, Robert Wenkert, and Warren O. Hagstrom (1963) purported that, historically, adult education became more visible and moved in a distance from the margins during periods of social dislocation. Adult education's identity-difference as remedial education had importance because it was seen as the last chance some adults had to learn (Morgan, Holmes, & Bundy, 1963). Its identity-difference as citizenship education or Americanization had value as a way for immigrants to survive in the "melting pot." Its

identity-difference as vocational education found merit providing displaced workers with new-skills training in the face of occupational obsolescence. However, in a postwar culture of change, crisis, and challenge, many adult educators wanted the enterprise to be more than basic education carried out in reaction to dominant cultural needs. John Walker Powell (1956) suggested replacing the three R's with the three C's involving judgment, discrimination, and decision making: curiosity (motive), creativeness (process), and comprehension (goal). The three C's would locate adult education differently, placing it in what Powell called the realm of the know-why:

In *doing* [his italics], a man [sic] is an instrument, a skilled and specialized tool, serving a purpose. As *person*, it is he who has the purpose, who chooses that this shall be done and in this way. These are, if you like, the realms of know-how and know-why. Know-how has been America's specialty, as has the schooling that produces it. Our need, now in maturity, is in the other realm, in the development of ourselves as persons rather than as instruments. And this, to me, is the realm of education. (p. 14)

Powell wanted this realm to take up "constellations of concern" (p. 19) including belongingness in a community, in a family, and in a vocation as well as the abilities to enjoy one's world and build good social relationships.

Paul L. Essert (1951) believed that postwar adult education would emerge as a field created and given meaning by the people using it. This being the case, the field would remain a jumble. Essert valued this identity-difference. Acknowledging that adult education was neither systematized nor complete in its existing form, he concluded,

“Fragmented and confused as it may be, it is ours” (p. 161). He contended that diversity in enterprise identity-difference kept adult education flexible and able to change as people’s needs changed. Despite the postwar drive to scientize adult education, the notion of a jumble did remain a predominant feature of adult education’s identity-difference. Calls for a diverse enterprise were embedded in rhetoric demanding that adult education be all things to all people. “What is adult education?” had to have many answers. Kempfer’s (1955) description of the enterprise supported this notion:

Adult education must help all people think through, plan for, and satisfy their personal and developmental needs, assisting them to gain the material necessities of food, shelter, clothing, and health, as well as the more intangible benefits, such as security, adventure, comradeship, recognition, and self-government. It must try to make all people see that they can achieve these values primarily through cooperative group endeavour rather than through competition and conflict. (p. 39)

While Kempfer valued cooperation and collective action in goal achievement, Essert (1951) cautioned adult educators to carefully explore their usage. On the one hand, Essert was concerned that community development, a pervasive focus in postwar adult education, would receive emphasis to the detriment of individual development. In part this was due to his belief that there should be a focus on individual freedom in addition to concerns with social and economic productivity in a community. He felt that people should be able to use adult education to deal with life-altering changes forces as they shaped their own futures. On the other hand, he was concerned with preserving US democracy and securing adult education’s space and place in it. He was caught up in the

Sovietphobia of the times that resisted notions like collectivism. A politics of fear was pervasive in the 1950s US sociopolitical milieu and care had to be taken by adult educators and others using notions like cooperation and community because of the meaning and value given to them in the totalitarian state. Thus Essert's textured his notion of individual freedom within a dominant cultural goal: to assist individuals in their social, cultural, and economic development so they would be able to fit into the modern capitalistic western world.

Moving into the 1960s, techno-scientific change and the resulting knowledge explosion remained key foci of concern in North American adult education. Raising change to the status of a law of life and growth, Barton Morgan, Glenn E. Holmes, and Clarence E. Bundy (1963) repeated a frequently echoed point: "There is not only a great mass of knowledge now but it is growing and changing rapidly" (p.7). Kidd and Selman (1978) characterize the 1960s as a decade marked by "the discovery of the power of change itself, [and] the need to live with change as a constant [in order] to cope intelligently with a future of dramatic change" (p. 7). "In an age beset by the explosion of knowledge, rapid change, and superorganization" (p. 12), Hallenbeck (1964) described the emerging society as one where the scientific method ruled "how." It was the predominant shaker of education and life. In this period, North American societal and institutional structures were marked by increasing organization and complexity. There was a growing need to focus on individual responsibility and integrity in a techno-scientific and impersonal world. These changes were compounded by increasing social unrest in "an age of revolt and fury characterized by confrontations, militancy, attacks on all segments of

the establishment, alienation and withdrawal” (Sheats, 1970, p. xxvi). Adult education’s identity-difference was being shaped in a “postmodern” world which Huysen (1990) describes as concerned with the future and new frontiers, rupture and discontinuity, and crisis and conflict. Despite its size and tremendous growth after World War II, the enterprise had to persevere in the face of a general disregard for an educational form that did not enjoy the legitimacy of elementary, secondary, or higher education. In relation to these forms, adult education was seen as providing remediation or duplication (as in the case of university extension). It was “a secondary educational activity, necessitated by gaps in the social arrangements of the formal institutions” (London, Wenkert, & Hagstrom, 1963, p.1). The implication was that if these other forms were doing their job, adult education would be a redundant educational entity. This challenged enterprise identity-difference as a form of education with particular, separate, and necessary functions pertaining to the education of adults. London, Wenkert, and Hagstrom (1963), typifying concerns with its history as a jumble and its secondary status as an educational form, called for a more precise definition of adult education so that it referred to “a more delimited area of human existence” (p. 140):

There is a need to be more precise in identifying what is included or excluded in the field so that adult education can be studied objectively and scientifically. Apart from the marginality, invisibility, and lack of legitimacy of adult education as part of society’s educational venture, a serious barrier to the promotion of needed research and evaluation has been the difficulty of definition. (p. 140)

Speaking further to the state of adult education research, they surveyed that it tended to be disconnected from research in formal education and other disciplines with the result that the enterprise appeared not to reflect trends in the larger society. They related perennial research difficulties including the problem of evaluating an entity whose identity-difference was difficult to describe and the problem of securing funding for a marginal and relatively invisible enterprise.

Despite the obvious need for more adult education in the tumult of the 1960s, Hallenbeck (1964) recounted that it was the focus on education for youth that intensified in post-Sputnik times. He suggested that this contributed to the maintenance of adult education's marginal status. Yet he saw some advantage to this locatedness. Hallenbeck suggested that marginality fostered enterprise flexibility. With Essert, who also valued the jumble identity-difference as a sign of flexibility, he saw flexibility as a key to enterprise survival. The problem, of course, was to juxtapose this flexibility with stability of existence in institutions and communities. In this regard London (1964) called on the enterprise to engage in image building. He concluded, "The marginality of adult education is mute testimony that there is no widespread belief in the value and importance of providing education for adults" (p. 118). Frequently, adult educators responded to this situation by devaluing public education in an effort to raise the enterprise's cultural value. In the 1960 US handbook of adult education, Blakely (1960), typifying rhetoric designed to distance the field from public education, placed importance on continuing education as "the growing and the harvest, for which formal schooling is only the planting and the cultivation" (p. 6). He gave it a lofty goal: continuing education was to advance

democracy by purposefully and systematically nurturing free individuals and responsible citizens through lifelong learning. Blakely saw a role for government and other institutions in creating this educative society. Communities would be involved too. To legitimize enterprise practice, Blakely (1960) contended that adult education had to be technoscientized; that is, it had to be about “purposeful systematic learning” that “contains elements of science” (p. 4). However, Blakely was preoccupied with more than merely legitimizing the enterprise. He couched his concern for technoscientizing adult education within an ethics of respect for the individual learner. He focused on learner worth and integrity. For Blakely, field subject matter needed to be comprehensive and a variety of media had to be used to assist communication. In addition, diverse adult learning methods had to be fostered in response to the increasing levels of participation in adult education. Elsewhere in the handbook, Hallenbeck (1960), in his focus on adult learning, listed these functions: 1) to expand communications skills integral to living in a changing culture, 2) to develop flexibility including vocational flexibility, 3) to improve group dynamics and human relations in communities and among social groups, 4) to facilitate participation by fostering the principles of democratic behavior, and 5) to enable personal growth to fulfill curiosities and interests. With his listing, Hallenbeck located adult learning in the intersection of the individual and the social. Reflecting Powell’s concerns with the person and the realm of the know-why, he wanted to provide educational opportunities enabling individuals to chart their own courses to better living and learning. However, Cyril O. Houle (1963) cautioned that individual and cultural disposition toward adult education could get in the way here. His own research showed that despite a common belief that

American society fosters education, many adult learners had found this to be untrue. They shied away from the know-why and turned to vocational courses because they wanted to improve their economic status or because such courses were easier to justify to family, friends, and others in their community. Hallenbeck (1964), exploring the social context of learning, believed that it affected the desire to learn and generated constraints to learning. He felt that the social context had to be emphasized because a community's history of education and its disposition toward learning had much to do with adult learning outcomes. However, like Essert, his social focus remained supportive of the dominant culture. He believed that adult education should function to maintain adults at a level of competence in terms of the knowledge and skill acquisition necessary to meet a democratic society's needs and maintain its social, political, and economic character. Participatory problem-solving strategies and techniques would help adults identify and understand problems impacting societal dynamics and progress.

In its 1964 White Paper on the education of adults, the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) also described the Canadian enterprise as a jumble. However, the jumble to the North was its own sort of loose construction. The CAAE (1960) described the Canadian enterprise as widespread and diverse, lacking continuity and coordination. The association used geography, a decentralizing force, and the regional variation in problems, resources, traditions, social structures, and institutions to largely account for this jumble. In addition, and paralleling events in the jumble to the South, rapid techno-scientific change and large-scale postwar immigration were changing the face of Canadian adult education. Despite these characteristics, the CAAE still regarded

Canadian adult education as a movement finding unity in identity-difference. This movement assumed: 1) Individuals have the capacity within themselves and their communities to solve their own problems; 2) Adult education can serve a primary role in training for citizenship and leadership; 3) The movement can build communities by developing informed and inclusionary community problem-solving strategies and fostering communication among social, cultural, and occupational groups; and 4) Adult education is a lifelong activity dealing “with the actual and living concerns of actual and living people” (CAAE, 1960, p. 5). The CAAE (1964) related that the growth of continuing education had been most rapid in the private sector following World War II, with most of the education being vocational and professional in nature. They expressed concern with this tendency toward the technical in continuing education and argued that all Canadian citizens should have access to a diversity of educational opportunities, including technical and liberal education. Individuals had to be in charge of their own learning, choosing goals and methods. The association gave this summary of the decidedly unsatisfactory state of 1960s adult education in its call for a coherent policy to guide continuing education:

The total picture of Adult Education in Canada today is far from satisfactory. In spite of improvements it remains a patchwork of courses, schools, programs, and systems; a confusing jumble of opportunities upon which too many adults have to stumble if they discover it at all; an opportunistic, short-term, sporadic enterprise exploited by the nation in times of crisis and left to private and desperate chance when the emergency is past. (p. 1).

In its White Paper, the CAAE suggested that emphasis needed to be placed on continuing education in a reworking of the entire Canadian educational enterprise. The focus had to switch from age to need and ability. Adult learning opportunities had to be seen as an individual right. The CAAE contended that “learning should be the fifth freedom” (p. 2) to ensure individual integrity in the face of postwar change forces.

Wayne L. Schroeder (1970), looking back in the 1970 US handbook of adult education, surveyed, “Since 1930 there has been an erratic though discernible trend toward greater precision in defining adult education” (p. 27). In large part, he attributed this to the fact that there was no encompassing image of the field. Without such an image, he concluded that it was impossible to arrive at a single, universal definition of adult education. Adult educators and students alike defined the term within the limits of their personal experiences of the enterprise. Definitions of adult education, some generic and lofty, others specific and limited, abounded. For some, adult education was what you did to catch up; for others, it was what you did to keep up (Blakely and Lappin, 1969). It was learning for instrumental purposes; it was also learning for social and cultural purposes. Coolie Verner (1969), in reference to the diverse nature of adult education, described it as factual, descriptive, normative, eclectic, and practical. As the 1960s faded there was still no clear understanding “of the vast area included in the idea called adult education” (Bergevin, 1967, p. 52). The field remained flexible. Its parameters shifted in response to social, economic, political, and other forces from without. They also moved in reaction to forces from within, forces predominantly shaped by aspects of the Iization Syndrome and the growing commodification of modern practice. These forces from without and within

positioned adult education as reactive, episodic, and fragmented in nature. Knowles (1960) generalized reasons why adult education has been so difficult to define: 1) Adult education emerges in response to specific needs rather than as part of some overall plan for lifelong education; 2) Its development has been episodic rather than continuous; 3) Its survival in institutional forms has tended to depend on its attachment to those institutions whose primary purpose is not adult education; 4) Adult education has emerged with and maintained secondary status in the institutional hierarchy; and, 5) Adult education develops in institutions without any understanding or reality of a national or general movement. To counter this reactive, episodic, and fragmented identity-difference, Gale Jensen, A. A. Liveright, and Wilbur C. Hallenbeck (1964) suggested this agenda promoting enterprise cohesion and the coordination of activities: 1) Adult education had to be affirmed as a national necessity not an optional activity; 2) Learning had to be conceived as a lifelong process connecting education for children, youth, and adults; 3) Adult education agencies needed to delineate their roles and network with one another to make the best match of resources in meeting individual, institutional, and community needs; 4) Substantial effort had to go into the planning and development of an organized and coherent curriculum that would help adults learn to live in changing times; 5) An effort had to go into the recruitment, training, and development of adult educators; 6) Universities had to accept responsibility for an expanded role in adult education research and advanced professional training; 7) Community agencies of adult education had to raise standards of professional competence required by their personnel; and, 8) The public had to be educated about the value and necessity of lifelong learning so they would support

and participate in it. Nearly half a century into the era of modern practice, Jensen, Liveright, and Hallenbeck's lengthy wish list to clarify and value adult education's identity-difference indicated the long way the enterprise still had to go to answer the question "What is adult education?"

3

Knowledges for North American People: Building an Adult Education Knowledge Base (1945-70)

The construction, exchange, and distribution of knowledge in North American adult education (1945-70) is at the heart of the matter when it comes to understanding the identity-difference of the postwar enterprise. Knowledge production was a central dynamic in the quest for space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in the postindustrial society emerging in Canada and the United States after World War II. In this chapter, I investigate knowledge production in light of the collision of change forces that resulted in alterations in life, learning, and work for North American people. I begin my assessment by locating adult education in the midst of these diverse change forces. I consider how adult education was variously enabled and constrained at a time when knowledge seemed fleeting, momentary, and fragmented. Several key questions shape this analysis: To what extent did techno-scientific and economic change forces increasing the might of the military-industrial complex prevail in shaping the enterprise and its modus operandi? To what degree did social and cultural change forces permeate these developments? What were academic adult educators thinking as they strove for space and place amid these change forces?

I then explore lifelong learning as an idea designed to appeal to a rapid-change North American culture and society in the throes of massive techno-scientization and pervasive social unrest. I consider these questions: Was lifelong learning a way of knowing that expressed genuine concern for adult learners living in a change culture of crisis and

challenge? Or was this learning paradigm a notion shaped to give adult education space and place as a valued commodity in the emerging postindustrial culture? These deliberations lead to further analysis of the enterprise's identity crisis. I follow them with an exploration of the knowledge base evolving amid post-World War II professionalization moves, institutional permeations, and other parameters defining the content and process that delineated the enterprise's identity-difference. Here I take up knowledge matters including the space and place of the foundations disciplines and adult education research. I consider these basic questions around the formation of the knowledge base: To what degree was there a turn to philosophy, history, and sociology? What was the nature of adult education research and what research issues were pronounced in the third period of modern practice? I texture this discussion by critically reflecting on the politics of this knowledge production. I consider two key questions regarding whose interests were being served: To what extent was the construction, exchange, and distribution of knowledge caught up in a politics of hope and possibility aimed at serving the interests of North American people? To what degree was knowledge production entangled in a politics of placation where adult education focused on creating a canon reflecting the interests of the dominant culture?

Post-World War II Change Forces: North American Adult Education in the Face of the "Living Constant"

Adult education and, in particular, its mainstream practice were reconfigured in the midst of the techno-scientific, political, economic, social and cultural change forces permeating life, learning, and work after World War II. What were academic adult

educators thinking during their quest for space and place for this changing, yet historically marginalized enterprise? Perhaps Homer Kempfer's (1955) either/or choice statement best captured their position as they proclaimed the enterprise to be a necessity and ran to catch the change-crisis-challenge bandwagon: "[Adults] must learn or perish" (p. 10). The notions of survival and change provided dominant themes in the writings of academic adult educators in the postwar period. Some of these educators, awed by the possibilities of science and technology, wrote idealistic accounts of techno-scientism as a driving and limitless force enabling a "wannabe" discipline. Others, viewing survival and change as sociocultural constructs, expressed concerns that technical and vocational education were being emphasized to the detriment of social and cultural education in the "big picture" of the emerging enterprise. Twenty-five years after the war, Paul H. Sheats (1970) continued to echo the more critical perspectives of the period. He challenged adult educators to be proactive problem solvers, building human dignity and worth as they dealt with the impacts of change and contributed to social progress. He worried about the shape of adult education and what the enterprise could do for learners in times when change was normalized as the "living constant." Perhaps Eduard C. Lindeman's ghost was present when Sheats wrote:

To learn to live with change, to influence change so that it becomes social progress, to humanize our institutions and our environment would appear to be high on the list of future priorities. As our society becomes increasingly (and frighteningly) more specialized, fragmented, depersonalized and alienated, this

priority must be equated with survival needs as well as ... self-actualization needs.

(p. xxx)

Sheats was part of a collective of postwar adult educators who accented the point that human beings had a range of needs: Adult learners had to acquire the skills required to survive in changing job markets; they had to develop personally in order to cope in a changing world; they had to learn to live and function in community. These needs reflected commonly stated concerns articulated throughout the era of modern practice and accented in what was perceived to be a period of unprecedented change after World War II. For example, Sheats's needs assessment aligned with the purposes of education in American democracy set forth by the National Education Association in 1938: "The objectives of self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility are good for the education of all persons of all ages in a democratic culture" (cited, Kempfer, 1955, p. 42). In post-World War II times when a growing preoccupation with the individual competed with a pervasive yet vague community development focus, these purposes shaping enterprise identity-difference required reflection so that no one aim gained ground to the detriment of other important aims. Indeed, if adult education was to provide a way out, then modern practice needed to be focused broadly to cope with the diversity of change forces pushing and pulling learners. It had to consider the power of culture and the relevance of the social as well as the place of the instrumental. No one emphasis should have dominated in the enterprise's identity quest: "What is adult education?" had to be answered in the intersection of instrumental, social, and cultural education. However, this was not proving to be the case as adult education sought space and place in the emerging

postindustrial culture. Alan M. Thomas (1961), the director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) from 1961 to 1970 (Selman, 1995), warned about the growing tendency toward techno-scientism in an evolving modern practice responding to the desires and needs of the postwar change culture of crisis and challenge:

There is a danger ... that the education of adults may get out of balance by emphasizing too much vocational needs and technical skills. Man is a many-sided being, with many needs. They must not be met piecemeal and in adult education programs they must all be reflected. (p. 411)

The adult learner appeared “in increasing numbers quietly but relentlessly” (Thomas, 1969, p. 326) in the emerging change culture. Thomas (1969) believed that this influx of learners resulted in adult learning becoming a primary enterprise focus. The Canadian Association for Adult Education (1966) concluded in *Learning is the Fifth Freedom*:

Only through learning can an individual maintain his [sic] integrity in the face of massive and haphazard change. Without access to the means of learning what he needs to know, he remains only a victim; with such access he has an opportunity to participate intelligently in change. (p. 72)

J. Roby Kidd (in Gayfer, 1969) declared that, because of its centrality, much theory building and research focusing on adult learning needed to be done. Also supporting the need for adult learning, Monros C. Neff (1969) reiterated the key idea that learning should be lifelong in the face of the living constant: “The lack of ability to work with others and make adjustments to change indicates that education should be available throughout the

life span” (p. 316). Paul Bergevin (1967) contended that adult educators adhering to a philosophy of change should struggle to give the learner more than knowledge for the moment. Content and process had to be placed in dynamic tension in order to contribute to “the development of the capacity in each individual to learn, to change, to create a new culture” (Knowles, 1962/1977, p. 274). However, despite this valuing of adult learning, the adult learner seemed a threatened species in the midst of the enterprise’s struggles for status, on the one hand, and survival, on the other. Thomas (1969) gave this account that vividly described the lowly social status of the Canadian adult learner, a status reflecting the marginalization of this learner’s US counterpart (see Rauch, 1972, for example):

In pioneer, immigrant societies, like Canada was, adults engaged in learning simply to survive. In modern, industrial, technological societies, like Canada is, learning as an adult is ... a necessity both for individuals and for the society. ... [Yet] having depended upon it repeatedly in times of national emergency, at other times we seem in our official institutional capacity depressingly ready to relegate the adult learner to the status of irritating necessity. (p. 318)

This “irritating necessity” struggled for footing in a field where adult learning lacked an encompassing, cohesive plan (Knowles, 1962/1977). Knowledge for now was gained through adult education for the moment. Adult learning was as transitory and fragmented as the postwar culture in which it was situated. It satisfied immediate needs (usually translated as skills training) rather than the spectrum of life, learning, and work needs of citizen learners. Moreover, adult learners were limited in their abilities to set priorities as socioeconomic conditions changed. Kempfer (1955) described their situation:

Adults demand education with intrinsic merit, education that serves their recognized needs. When an activity helps them solve their problems and make the behavior changes they want and need to make, they will participate. ... Only when adults are forced by social and economic pressure [from mainstream culture] to acquire ... [applied knowledge and skills] will they pursue ... [adult education] activities unrelated to their real concerns. (p. 31)

The latter condition seemed to prevail. Adult learners were caught in a social predicament that required them to fit niches created by a dominant culture usually working to serve its own interests and ensure its own survival. Just when they felt secure in particular niches, new economic demands and sociopolitical circumstances would make those niches obsolete. This raised survival and security issues for adult learners forced to learn to perform in new ways that generally were not chosen ways. In this scenario, mainstream adult education practice engaged in a politics placating the dominant culture in order to gain space and place in its domain. Lyon (1994) relates that postindustrial society has been marked by changing social conditions based on the knowledge economy and the triumph of technique. The consequence is that learners have had to acquire knowledge that has become an increasingly commodified product. This product is not connected to self-development for its own sake: The legitimation of such knowledge is tied to the performativity of the workers in advancing the dominant culture (Lyon, 1994).

Adding to difficulties in this change milieu was the fact that knowledge of the nature of the adult learner grew slowly, with andragogy only emerging as a theoretical framework of sorts in the late 1960s. Malcolm S. Knowles (1970) first presented

andragogy as an idea suggesting that adults learned differently from children. Perhaps in an opportunistic move to ride the tide of the 1960s focus on individualism, Knowles preached his sermon on self-directed adult learning and found a receptive audience at a time when a weak version of progressive educational thought was accepted. He did not turn significantly to the foundations of adult education to texture his “theory;” his notion of andragogy fitted the predominantly pragmatic approach to adult learning that dominated in the period (Grace, 1996). Self-directed learning became a tool used by mainstream practitioners to shape adult learners rather than a tool used by learners to shape themselves. Roger W. Axford (1969) related that the “practical” had become the focus of adult learning; theoretical considerations were downplayed. In this milieu, andragogy found a ready niche:

The 1960s was a period of rapid change; action-oriented curricula that valued individual experience were advocated. The individual had to keep up and self-improvement was in vogue. The andragogical model in the face of pedagogy was welcomed by many adult educators as revolutionary. (Grace, 1996, p. 383)

Knowles might have produced a better sermon had he turned to Paul Bergevin for inspiration. In his *A Philosophy for Adult Education*, Bergevin followed in the tradition of Lindeman and kept “the social” alive in adult educational thought.

The idea that adults learned differently from children was a commonly expressed theme in post-World War II North American adult education (Neff, 1969). Andragogy was timely and symptomatic of adult education’s desire to distance itself from the schooling of children. The roles of the educator and learner changed as andragogy

ascended as an adult learning paradigm. Since Knowles was deeply influenced by the work of Carl Rogers, his andragogical model took a psychologistic turn valuing individualism and self-direction. This focus gave primacy to the learner experience and reduced the educator role. Rogers (1969), in the presentist and pragmatic spirit of the times, suggested that the purpose of education must be to help learners accept and deal with technological, social, and cultural change. He believed that “the most socially useful learning in the modern world is the learning of the *process of learning* [italics added], a continuous openness to experience and incorporation into oneself of the process of change” (p. 163). For Rogers (1972), teaching needed to be reconceptualized as the facilitation of change and learning. He seemed to place little value on the educator’s lived and learned experience in the learning process. In Rogers’s paradigm the teacher’s new role was to transform participants into a community of learners: This meant creating opportunities “to free curiosity; to permit individuals to go charging off in new directions dictated by their own interests; to unleash the sense of inquiry; to recognize that everything is in process of change” (p. 85). Knowles appropriated this understanding of facilitation as well as Rogers’s belief that teaching as the dissemination of knowledge was antiquated in a world where change was continuous. Rogers (1972) was right on key points with respect to the facilitation of learning in the changing knowledge economy: The teacher should operate in the intersection of the personal and the professional, and the teacher should respect and relate to the learner. He was also right to question the power and politics of the educator. However, Rogers’s notion of facilitation deserved critical analysis, a point Knowles appeared to miss. He failed to question whether Rogers’s almost exclusive emphasis on

the self-directed learner undermined the role of the educator by attempting to neutralize it within a limited facilitation stance. With Knowles's appropriation of Rogers's ideas, the legacy to adult education has been a reduced role for the adult educator as a depoliticized participant in the learning process. However, there is also a positive legacy. Rogers's (1969) ideas about learning have influenced those theorizing adult learning to consider issues including what knowledge is important, the desire and motivation to learn, learning as self-responsibility, and the importance of learner disposition and location.

While maintaining that teaching and the conservation and transmission of knowledge remained integral to the university, William Pearson Tolley, giving the fourth Mansbridge Memorial Lecture as chancellor of Syracuse University in 1967, echoed Rogers's notion about the importance of learning to learn:

The rapid obsolescence of much that we learn ... gives greater importance to the tools of learning. The capacity to learn, motivation, desire, and adjustment to change must have special emphasis. The new knowledge and the new world give fresh meaning to our understanding of education as a lifelong process. (pp. 1-2)

As the idea that learning should be lifelong gained acceptance, problem solving in the face of change became a central component in education methodology. This is in keeping with change theory: Change involves conflict and conflict resolution requires problem solving (Fullan, 1993). Gale Jensen (1964) described the pragmatic nature of the postindustrial adult educator who focused on problem solving: Rather than addressing concerns with empirical validity, this educator considered the utility of knowledge for problem solving in practice. Jerold W. Apps (1973) reiterated this progressivist stance: The "acquisition of

knowledge is secondary; its importance lies in its use in contributing to the solution of problems. Both the means and the actual problem solution are seen as equally important ends” (p. 37). Robert J. Blakely and Ivan M. Lappin (1969) suggested the importance of this dynamic to adult education: “A new spirit of problem-solving and innovation is more significant than new ... institutional arrangements and organizational patterns” (p. 76). They believed this spirit was crucial to control the forces of continuing democratic revolution and laissez-faire technology that were changing people’s lives. However, since the study of educational change only began in earnest in the 1960s (Fullan, 1993), the enterprise could only draw on a limited base of change-process research literature. In the 1960 US handbook of adult education, Coolie Verner (1960) had called on adult educators to focus more on change process in their writing. Cyril O. Houle (1972), in a post-1960s reflection on the state of change theory in adult education, concluded that “change theory is a loose and amorphous topic with no single structural work to give it coherence” (p. 259). The enterprise was caught up in a change process it was still trying to figure out.

Lifelong Learning or Education Permanente: An Idea for Postindustrial Times

For techno-science the goal is performativity, the best possible output, in the name of augmenting power (Lyotard, 1984). In this light, Lyotard purports, the goal of education is to contribute to performativity - the best possible performance being the technological criterion - by creating skills that support the social system and maintain the status quo. Lyotard understands performativity as a matter of use, efficiency, and

salability; it is not a matter of truth or some other ideal falling outside the realm of productivity.

The transmission of knowledge is no longer designed to train an elite capable of guiding the nation toward its emancipation, but to supply the system with players capable of acceptably fulfilling their roles at the pragmatic posts required by its institutions. (p. 48)

What was the goal of adult education in the face of science and technology, the dynamic duo reconfiguring life, learning, and work after World War II? Kempfer (1955) attributed responsibility to this duo for the competing ideologies and rapid changes that were influencing the development of adult education in this period. Placing the enterprise on a social pedestal, he believed the growing complexity of life had to be placed in a direct linear relationship with the need for adult learning. Sheats (1970) concurred, adding that “the communication explosion and the boom in educational technology ... [had] placed new demands upon adult education” (p. xxix). Such thinking engrained lifelong learning or “education permanente” as a core idea in adult education discourse. But what enterprise politics supported the notion of lifelong learning? Was it a politics of hope and possibility focusing on the desires and needs of individual learners and the learning community? Or was it a politics of placation designed by an enterprise seeking space and place as a valued commodity in the emerging techno-scientific culture? These questions flow into other questions: To what extent did adult education synchronize the learner to the time and tides of a postindustrial society? To what degree did the enterprise foster responsible, independent individuals? What ideologies guided adult learning? Which kingpin academic

adult educators were shaping them? Verner (1964b) was a leader in the quest to professionalize the enterprise. He emphasized change and learning processes as necessary foci in the emerging culture of specialization. He believed that technological advances required changes in vocational education. Adult learning needed to highlight the process of adjusting to changing technology instead of focusing on mere skill acquisition. Verner leaned toward formal, organized adult education and appeared to have little faith in adult learners to make the right choices. He felt that self-education was uncertain and inefficient, with most adults lacking the capacity to determine what was significant and timely in the knowledge economy. Thus he concluded that people would have to turn to adult education as a corrective. Axford (1970) believed that technological advances signaled a new complexity: They contributed to a dialectic between tribalization and individualization. Drawing on Marshall McLuhan's concept of the "global village," he suggested that technology had, on the one hand, made it possible for adult learners to be exposed to a common curriculum, leading to growing membership in "a few great 'tribes' or 'villages'" (p. 404). On the other hand, he said that technology had made the individualization of learning possible.

The merits of lifelong learning were highlighted in the 1950s as the pace of change was perceived to accelerate as never before. Kidd (1950) argued that adult education must not only cover the lifespan, but it must also be a movement where "*every* [his italics] adult is claimed as the constituency" (p. 25). Kempfer's (1955) idealization of the notion typified rhetoric around the concept:

Lifelong learning is the most significant educational idea of this generation - indeed, of the twentieth century. No educational movement in the United States since the beginning of free public schools has offered more promise for the future than does adult education. As an influence on the future development of our culture, it may prove equal to public education itself. Its possibilities are almost beyond comprehension. (p. 3)

This description of lifelong learning indicates the general distance between adult education and public education and the desire of adult education to be something unique in its own identity-difference. Kempfer was urging educators to leave behind the preparation-for-life assumption of schooling for children and replace it with a new one: "Education can, does, and should go on throughout life" (p. 34). The Canadian Association for Adult Education (1966) in *Learning is the Fifth Freedom* similarly related: "*Individuals learn throughout their lives, not merely at the beginning* [its emphasis]. This principle is violated by the philosophy implicit in our present system which concentrates the education process during the individual's early years only" (p. 70). Thomas (1961) captured what many adult educators construed as a misplaced emphasis on public education: "The industrial world has learned that the pre-occupation with the education of children is eventually self-defeating" (p. 409). These believers in the value of adult education wanted to place hope for the future in the hands of proactive, responsible citizen learners where they felt it belonged. They were concerned about education that devalued the space and place of adult learning. Gale Jensen, A. A. Liveright, and Wilbur C. Hallenbeck (1964) echoed this sentiment: To invest educationally mainly in the education of youth was to risk the

survival of society and invite obsolescence. However, they wondered if adult education was ready to assume a higher profile in postindustrial society. While the enterprise had built up a constituency of adult learners, their participation in available forms of adult education was sporadic and their learning was disorganized rather than continuous. Lifelong-learning plans were not the *modus operandi* of the adult-learning culture of the times. This state of affairs suggested that adult education and the institutions involved in it were in need of structural changes that would reimagine the enterprise as a social venture capable of continuously meeting the changing needs of adult learners in the face of life, learning, and work alterations in postindustrial society. Unfortunately, too many institutions were preoccupied with meeting their own needs as they too attempted to survive in a change culture of crisis and challenge.

Kidd (1966b) recognized the precarious position of adult education within the broader educational discipline. While he valued the idea of shared responsibility within an educational family, he knew the reality:

Even in Canada we are far, unfortunately, from having the harmonious relationships that are possible and that should be achieved in the common interest. Not only are there gaps and barriers between the divisions of education; too often there has been estrangement, even suspicion, among the individuals who are responsible for education. (p. 33)

Kidd, noting that adult educators were traditionally supported by business, industry, and agriculture, related that their main opposition lay within education itself. This was due, in part, to adult educators' perceived lack of concern with educational standards. However,

he suggested that a deeper reason lay with the public educators' mindset that education is preparation for life. This mindset inhibited an understanding of the idea of lifelong learning:

The more tenaciously [notions around education as preparation for life] were held, the more the notion of adult education was seen as a threat. Somehow, it was felt that if a man [sic] must go back to school, if he must continue to learn, his teachers have failed him. Adult education, therefore, was perceived, not rationally but subconsciously, both as a challenge and a rebuke. (p. 35)

Kidd (in Gayfer, 1969) pointed out that the problem ran both ways:

We [adult educators] were rather priggish about our isolation from other aspects of education [in the 1950s and 1960s]; we didn't take much interest in the problems of elementary or secondary schooling. ... We were working with a new idea and we had to battle to get acceptance for adult education, and because resources were thin, people tended to focus on some things and not on others. It's always ridiculous to have forgotten other areas or tried to remove ourselves from them. (p. 59)

Kidd (1966b) wanted to raise the value of the teacher to holder of the most significant occupation in the 1960s change culture giving space and place to education as the key to social and economic progress. Therefore he fostered cooperation among teachers in different sectors of education. He promoted continuous learning within a politics of hope and possibility desiring "that the dismembered body of teachers may be made whole, and that its members may begin to work for common objectives, for the improvement and

advancement of education, as well as for their own particular and special goals” (p. 38). As part of these politics, he saw the merits of promoting an idea like lifelong learning. He felt it could enhance the space and place of adult education. For him, it was “perhaps the most comprehensive and most radical of all educational ideas” (Kidd, 1966 in Kidd & Selman, 1978, p. 78). Concurring, Blakely and Lappin (1969) argued that “the first prerequisite [to solve social problems] is neither youth nor age but the continuing desire to learn [and work together]” (p. 11). Thus lifelong learning or education permanente became “the more spacious concept” (Royce, 1969, p. 49) chosen to encompass the purposes of adult education as it located itself in the new knowledge economy. The adult educators who met at Wingspread in Racine, Wisconsin before the 1969 Galaxy Conference felt that lifelong learning was valuable because it could provide the reaction mechanism for a kind of social progress where adults could meet “continuous challenge with continuous response” (Charters, 1971, p. 49). By the time of this conference of US adult education organizations, the term was commonplace in adult education’s vocabulary.

However, the enterprise had not traveled far down the road that would make this idea a reality. During the 1960s, the decade in which he and Selman (1978) said adult education was “coming of age” (p. 4), Kidd (1966a) questioned the breadth and depth of the concept of lifelong learning. He said, “Its full meaning has not penetrated very far and its implications have not been grasped” (p. 78). He asked, “Has it substance or only shadow?” (p. 78). Thomas (1961), supporting the idea of lifelong learning and advancing the notion of “learning society,” maintained that learning, the traditional emphasis of Canadian adult education, should remain the central focus of an emerging field. He was

concerned that postwar modern practice had not been “a natural extension into a full coverage of the kaleidoscope of education” (Thomas, 1958, p. 338). Like Thomas, Kidd wanted to define lifelong learning as a notion encompassing all education. He (1966a) emphasized, “It is not a synonym for adult education, it is consonant with all education and is the concern of all” (p. 79). Resisting any subdivision of education based on age or the attempt to generate disciplines, he (1966b) viewed education as a “seamless robe” (p. 23) concerned with three R’s: relevance, relatedness, and renewal. Yet he realized that this was not a generally construed understanding of education. Kidd felt that one risked falling into a “slough of semantics” or drowning in a “gumbo of garbled terms” (p. 21) in the process of naming and conceptualizing the idea of lifelong learning as a concept, an attitude, and a totality representing all education. Nevertheless, he argued that lifelong learning could be “both a compass and a gyroscope, both a guide and a stabilizer” (p. 25) enabling effective change process and sharing the power of education. It could address issues of equity for individuals by expanding opportunities for education over the lifespan.

Kidd (1966a) contended that if responsibility for education was shared, then education’s position as a key to power could be enhanced. Prior to his early andragogy stance isolating education for adults from education for children, Knowles (1962/1977) had also supported shared responsibility for education. He wanted educators of children and youth to promote the idea of lifelong learning. He urged these educators to flood “the adult student body with graduates who perceive learning as a lifelong process and who have learned how to learn” (p. 280). Knowles went on to define a role for adult education in this promotion process:

It must educate adults about the new meaning of education, and especially it must help the educators of youth to re-examine the effects of what they do in the schools on the quality of the learning their children engage in when they become adults. The highest priority subject matter for adult education in the immediate future is education about education. If that succeeds, then all education would become unified into a “lifelong education movement.” (p. 280)

Viewed this way, possibilities existed for adult and public education to inform one another. Kidd and Knowles were right to present adult education as a component of the educational spectrum. Lifelong learning had potential as an educational force. It was a timely idea that might have further legitimated the modern practice of adult education. It had possibilities as adult education’s ticket, allowing the enterprise to travel from the margins to a space and place in the broader discipline of education and the dominant culture. However, lifelong learning’s potential was not realized. To the degree that the enterprise engaged in a politics of placation to strengthen its cultural presence, these politics only affirmed its reactive stance and fleeting value. To the extent that mainstream practice was a follower and not a leader in the civil rights movement, the War on Poverty, and other efforts to address social upheaval in the 1950s and 1960s, the enterprise had not successfully engaged in a politics of hope and possibility to improve the lot of disenfranchised North American people. When these politics found a certain strength, they were a “pocket politics” usually limited to particular spaces like Highlander located outside mainstream practice. Stubblefield and Keane (1989) describe Highlander’s importance to the civil rights movement in the 1960s: “Highlander brought together black

leadership, created an integrated institution so that blacks and whites attending Highlander had a vision of a new society, and developed through its experiences resources for social change” (p. 35). Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) argue that Highlander remained a unique institution in the United States. They gave this explanation:

Adult education for social action continues to be unorganized and sporadic, developing in one place or another in response to an immediate need or threat and then disappearing without a trace. Perhaps education for social change, because it is inescapably political and a threat to established interests, will never gain any measure of institutional stability. (p. 244)

At the end of the 1960s, adult education was still seeking status as an integral part of the educational system, still working to change the negative and limited image of the field in the minds of citizens (Thompson, 1971). The question “What is adult education?” remained difficult to answer. Kidd (in Gayfer, 1969), discussing the difficulty of trying to set parameters to the term “continuing education” (a vogueish term for adult education at the time), captured the perennial fact of the matter: “There’s no such thing as a brief look at continuing education because you are immediately sabotaged by a topic that interconnects with almost anything you care to mention” (p. 58).

A Response to Adult Education’s Post-World War II Identity Crisis: The Quest to be a Discipline

Adult education found a growing space in the postindustrial world, with Kempfer (1955) calling it “the most rapidly growing segment of [North] American education” (p. 4). However, Verner (1964b) countered that the complex and diffuse nature of the field

meant that “no complete measure of the real extent of adult education ... [was] possible” (p. 2). In any event, the space that the enterprise found was not a space of its own creation. Adult education gained new recognition in “response to basic stimuli in [North American] culture which ... [arose] directly from the impact of science and technology on its ... institutions” (Kempfer, 1955, p. 8). Thus the enterprise was more reactive than proactive as adjustment to technical and social change became the dominant mid-century theme of adult education (Verner, 1964b). Its Pavlovian response seemed distant from Lindeman’s (1926/1961) notion of social education that had permeated adult educational thought during the early days of modern practice. Coupled with its locatedness as education in reaction to change was adult education’s identity-difference as an isolated entity on the educational landscape. In part, this was a consequence of intensified professionalization moves following World War II. It was also due, as mentioned earlier, to the enterprise’s desire to shape its identity-difference as something particular and separate from public education. It is interesting that adult education assumed this separatist stance despite “the paucity of data concerning both the field as a whole and its various components” (Smith, Aker, & Kidd, 1970, p. ix). The sorry state of adult education’s knowledge base suggested that the enterprise could only benefit from a turn to the broader field of education. As a traditionally marginalized entity, it might have found strength in community with other forms of education as it struggled to establish itself. Indeed, as Burton R. Clark (1968) conceded, adult education had “no physical roots with which to protect itself against retrenchment” (p. 59). The enterprise was subject to the vagaries of a changing socioeconomic context and the influence of institutions and

community groups with particular agendas. Clark noted that the pressure of economy-minded interest groups left adult education fragmented and fragile. Enterprise programs were subject to disappearing as agendas changed. He related that this occurred because too many adult education programs were judged peripheral; they “typically have low status and little power and, in consequence, are insecure. ... They have low priority in the budget and frequently must pay their own way” (pp. 148-149). This state of affairs left adult education with a certain inferiority complex.

Perhaps in reaction to this lowly status, some academic adult educators sought to find a way out by shaping the enterprise as a “discipline” in order to give adult education social and cultural space and place. This quest for status concomitantly became an effort to shrink the parameters of the enterprise in order to create something structured and professional. Verner (1961), truly wanting adult education to be a discipline, related the need to confront “the vague and imprecise way in which adult education has been identified” (p. 229). He (1969) stated, “The courses constructed for professional education in adult education should be based on the nature and content of the discipline rather than on the characteristics of the field” (p. 139). He searched other disciplines for “appropriate knowledge” (p. 137) to techno-scientize adult education and concentrated on solving practical problems, translating operational principles, and developing skills. He frequently turned to behavioral psychology in his quest for the “right knowledge” to shape adult education as a discipline. It may have been this very turn, without pervasive turns to theory and the foundation disciplines, that resulted in the enterprise’s stillbirth as a discipline. Yet Verner continued to equate psychologizing with professionalizing. A turn

to behavioral taxonomy and ways of thinking would, from his perspective, provide a framework for problem solving in the enterprise:

Since adult education is an applied discipline some subsidiary divisions may be required within the structure of the basic core. ... Such partitioning of the discipline stems from the complex and diffuse nature of the field rather than from the structure of knowledge in adult education. Thus, instead of adding a course in Adult Vocational Education because of presumed differences in learning or instruction on the basis of content, we would be better advised to think in terms of the real learning problems encountered in adult education. These learning problems fall into the psycho-motor domain. ... There are real differences between the cognitive, affective, or psycho-motor domains of learning and instruction. A division of knowledge on this basis is logical and pragmatic because it has a more rational and extensive application to the kinds of educational problems encountered in the field. (Verner, 1969, pp. 138-139)

Unfortunately, for the most part, disposition, contexts, and other textures affecting adult learning were left out of Verner's sanitizing of an enterprise that appear dirtied by its diversity. Wanting to take adult education beyond its image as an amorphous field, he attempted to elevate it to the status of discipline with this disciplines-beget-disciplines logic:

The basic knowledge that makes up the core content of the [adult education] discipline is derived from a number of sources. Some is appropriated without change from another discipline, some may be borrowed from elsewhere and

reformulated to suit adult education, and some is generated within the discipline itself. In the early development of the discipline most of the content originated in other disciplines but in later years the amount generated within adult education has increased markedly. (p. 137)

Verner felt this connectedness to various disciplines positively affected adult education. On many levels a turn to the disciplines did. As Jensen, Liveright, and Hallenbeck (1964) related, adult education, itself constituting only the outline of a discipline, advanced by borrowing from and adapting the knowledge bases of other disciplines. However, they cautioned that a turn to the disciplines could result in adult education becoming dependent on other disciplines to determine its own role and purpose. The degree to which borrowing and adapting positively affects the enterprise has depended indeed on what is appropriated from particular disciplines as well as how it is incorporated into adult education as a field of study and a field of practice. The turn to behavioral psychology provides a case in point. This turn, boxing learners in the controlled realm of behavioral objectives, shaped adult learning in ways that were frequently insensitive to the locatedness of learners. Since disciplines as discourses are shaped in the intersection of culture and power, they can be used to mold an enterprise like adult education and its constituency. Usher and Edwards (1994) contend:

Disciplines, because they are discourses that combine power and knowledge, cannot be separated from educational practices. Indeed they are always present in such practices. ... Disciplines are already *implicated* [their italics] in education. (p. 49)

Verner seemed obsessed with the creation of a precise and professionalized modern practice. He (1964b) defined adult education in a way that the subtext was a professionalization mantra locating the enterprise in particular, structured contexts:

In specific terms, *adult education is a relationship between an educational agent and a learner in which the agent selects, arranges, and continuously directs a sequence of progressive tasks that provide systematic experiences to achieve learning for those whose participation in such activities is subsidiary and supplemental to a primary productive role in society* [his italics]. (p. 32)

He contended that it was necessary for the emerging discipline of adult education to clarify the meaning of its concepts in order to scientize adult learning and refine the systematic development of theory and research. His cornerstones were hybridized notions of method, device, and technique (Verner, 1961). For Verner (1964a), this triumvirate made up the processes of adult education, “the *instrumentalities* [his italics] through which learning is facilitated” (p. 36). His demarcations of these terms were part of his effort to dispel the vagueness that worked against efforts “to conduct proper and constructive research” (p. 37). While they overlap, he generally associated methods such as discussion groups with organization, techniques such as role playing with facilitation, and devices such as audio-visual aids with augmentation. Verner (1964b) excluded learning in the “*natural societal setting* [his italics]” as adult learning, arguing that such learning in the everyday “is casual and undirected as well as inefficient and uncertain” (p. 1). He defined adult learning as learning that occurred in the “*formal instructional setting* [his italics]” (p. 1). He argued that such learning minimized chance by integrally including an educational agent as the

designer of systematic, planned, and sequential instruction involving learning objectives and procedures. However, learning was not so processual or neutral for Jensen, Liveright, and Hallenbeck (1964). They suggested that learner experiences and goals affected the appropriateness of methods and techniques. Sheats (1970) later captured some of the problems of a Vernerian design:

The new methodologies of the educational technologists are in many respects antithetical to the theories of adult learning espoused in the 1960 Handbook. The new emphasis on programmed learning, the specification of behavioral objectives, and the development of instructional sequences require the learner to follow docilely along the behavior-shaping track. (p. xxix)

For Verner, however, the presence of the educational agent as the driving force of the discipline was crucial. Feeling that the traditional understanding of teacher was too restrictive, he used the term to suggest an expanded role for the adult educator. Whatever the role he envisioned (and he is not really clear about this), the role he delineated seemed directed at maintaining a level of instruction that controlled both information dissemination and learner behavior (seemingly the traditional role of the teacher). In days when individualism was ascendant and andragogy was on the horizon as a new way to theorize adult learning, one can see that a facilitator - in the sense that Carl Rogers intended a teacher to be - would appear decidedly attractive as an alternative to Verner's more controlling educational agent. Interestingly, Verner's view of adult learning valuing the agent's role and favoring the systematization and organization of learning concomitantly devalued self-education. Verner (1964a), locating self-education outside the locus of

responsibility of mainstream practice, noted that self-education required the learner to insightfully define learning objectives, skillfully select and sequence tasks appropriate to achieving these objectives, and objectively monitor and evaluate personal progress. Once again describing adult learners, for the most part, as incapable of directing their own learning, he contended:

Such sophistication is not ordinarily characteristic of individuals in need of learning; consequently the educational setting constructed by an external agent to make systematic achievement possible is still required in most cases in order for an individual to accomplish the needed learning. (p. 31)

Despite his tendency toward psychologizing practice, a turn that did not locate his ideas of method, device, and technique in theory, Verner's emphasis on these notions remains important to an enterprise where adult learning is a primary focus. Kidd (1950) had been calling on adult educators to ground their work in theory for some time. He indicated the need to turn to the foundation disciplines to develop methods and other aspects of practice when he said that modern practice required theorizing, experimentation, and research, with efforts assisted by a turn to history and the social sciences. He also believed that the professional adult educator had much to learn from the amateur who brought knowledge and experience from other fields to adult education. He concluded:

We have been slow to appraise carefully, to distinguish the desirable practice from the fortunate circumstance, to identify the principle which may be imbedded in the successful experience. Worse than that, we have often failed to learn from our mistakes. We have buried our failures before performing an autopsy that might

have saved subsequent errors. Many a promising programme has started up, nourished by enthusiasm and a promising idea, only to wither and disintegrate without our learning anything from what went on there. Although we know better, we have often operated as if a pure heart and good intentions were enough. (p. 17)

Bergevin (1967), in the spirit of social educators from the first period of the era of modern practice, took a stance different from Verner's. He opposed reining adult education into an enterprise more specifically defined and prescriptive in nature. He supported a broader role for the enterprise. He imagined adult education as an inclusionary practice, addressing instrumental, social, and cultural concerns. He argued:

A significant task for adult education is to teach us how to live a full productive life in which the ability to make a living and stay well is important, but equally important is the knowledge of what to do culturally and spiritually with our lives and talents. (p. 11)

Blakely and Lappin (1969) also believed that a more encompassing kind of adult education was necessary. They would shape it "in the new view of man's [sic] role and in the new concepts of wholes, relationships, processes, ends, alternatives, balances and time" (p. 7). This adult education had to be broadly conceived: "Such education must be for all aspects of life, for each person appropriate to his [sic] personality, responsibilities and stages of life, and as long as life" (p. 7). Kidd (1973b) also shared Bergevin's dream of a modern practice hanging on to the ideals of the social reformist tradition:

I wish that adult education was better than it is, built on sounder intellectual foundations, served by wiser practitioners and devotees, reaching to millions more

of the under-educated and learners in need, surer of its goals and methods, always an advocate of *éducation permanente* [his italics] and the continuing search for excellence and renewal. (p. 3)

While Kidd considered adult education to be a “remarkable field,” he felt that it was “still so little shaped, so incomplete” (p. 3). In a Tolley lecture at Syracuse University on October 8, 1973, Kidd spoke to the theme “learning to be, learning to become, learning to belong” (p. 4). He highlighted the importance of self and other growth and development in a learning community where instructional and dispositional factors both have space and place. Being-becoming-belonging was his expression of concern with the big picture of the adult learner who is not only self-directed but who also functions in a community committed to the learner. Kidd’s idea celebrated and affirmed the lifelong learner as a member of a learning community. However, what constituted adult education as a learning community was still unclear.

Despite the rhetoric of Kempfer and other adult educators in the 1950s and 1960s extolling the promise and possibilities of adult education, David B. Rauch (1972) concluded near the end of the brief American century (1945-73) (Jameson, 1991), “Adult education, despite its importance, has never been the major cultural factor in the United States that it is in England, the Scandinavian countries, and Russia” (p. 2). Selman and Dampier (1991) have suggested that adult education had a similar cultural location in Canada in this period. Thus what had Verner and other academic adult educators really accomplished in their quest to identify adult education as a discipline? Were theory, research, and practice really informing one another? In his look at the big picture of the

enterprise, Blakely (1972) warned academic adult educators that adult education as a field of academic study was vital only to the extent that it advanced adult education as a field of practice. He questioned at what cost academic respectability would be achieved. He wondered what space and place social education would have. Blakely raised the issue of educator voice and proclaimed the need for academic adult educators to be in touch with the realities in which their students practice. He pondered how they might speak to and with those in elementary, secondary, and higher education circles around problems they shared in common. Blakely was concerned with how the university and other learning sites related to the community. How could academic adult educators connect learning to living in the everyday? How could they educate to foster self-directed learning? How could they replace constantly extended schooling with a framework for continuous learning? Harry L. Miller (1965) added other concerns with respect to the training of adult educators. He saw the following barriers to the training process: 1) the belief held by college and university adult educators that research is more important than teaching; 2) the insecurity of adult educators and their resistance to changing their methods and having their classroom performance evaluated; 3) the lack of educator knowledge of the adult learning process and the lack of educator skills appropriate to the teaching of adults; and, 4) the fact that most teachers of adults are part-time workers who do not function collaboratively or cohesively as a group of educators. Beyond these diverse considerations, Blakely also challenged adult education to transcend the atomism resulting from institutionalization to develop a learning community where adult education efforts were coordinated (a daunting task considering the entrenched institutionalization and diversity marking the field). This

challenge required academics to think deeply about the education and training of adult educators, the roles of theory and research, and the constitution of a discipline. These and other issues pointed to a growing concern: the state of university adult education practice.

Building an Enterprise Knowledge Base (1945-70): What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?

A knowledge base is a power tool built in the intersection of culture, ideology, politics, and history. It is a textured construction affected by producer disposition, contexts, and relations of power as well as by the cultural currency given to the production. Friedenberg (1983) suggests that the answer to the question “What knowledge is of most worth?” is inherently shaped by culture; therefore, it is concomitantly caught up in ideology. He believes that this question should only be taken up after its ideological implications have been carefully examined. Tierney (1992) contends that knowledge is a political construction, tentative in nature, shaped by individual disposition and the social and historical contexts. From a critical postmodern perspective, knowledge production is provisional, discursive, and located in particular ways. Its construction, exchange, and distribution demand interrogation. Since the dynamics of knowledge production shape education in its forms and functions, education is also open to challenge and rethinking (Usher & Edwards, 1994). This texturing of knowledge production and education frames how we might think about adult education as a complex enterprise seeking space and place after World War II. Adult education’s knowledge base must be questioned to reveal how it is shaped by producer disposition,

contexts, and relations of power so we may better understand how it affects those who use it.

In their analysis of institutional arrangements and organizational patterns in adult education, Blakely and Lappin (1969) maintained that knowledge was power to control power. The dynamics of this relationship take on special meaning in the postwar era when governments, universities, and other groups with interests in adult education claimed pieces of the enterprise. With “the urge to power ... a many-faceted motivation for ... [their] behavior” there was need to question “the assimilation of [enterprise] knowledge which is synonymous with power” (Lindeman, 1926/1961, p. 25). To what extent was the enterprise able to control its own knowledge production? To what degree could adult educators and learners be called Moses Coady’s (1939) masters of their own destiny, producing truly useful knowledge? In a culture where knowledge had become a valued commodity and the source of power (Blakely, 1970), such questions were crucial to consider. Blakely (1970) argued that knowledge had given rise to a noetic society where the fundamental problem was sharing knowledge which is power when it has cultural currency. Knowledge-power issues were at the heart of the matter in the enterprise’s postwar identity quest. To balance the interests of those with power with the interests of ordinary people was a primary challenge for adult education as it moved into postindustrial times.

The State of the Enterprise Knowledge Base (1945-70): The post-World War II era of modern practice was rocked by a knowledge explosion that advanced the rise of a techno-scientized and professionalized practice. Knowledge was transitory and people

were unsteadied by the fleeting nature of what they could know. Knowledge had become unglued; in any moment it could be reconfigured. Thurman J. White (1970) captured the tenor of the period:

It may be there are eternal and unchanging truths to be learned by adults. Or it may be that knowledge is so chimerical that nothing is learned forever for certain. Or it may be that Thoreau had the matter well in hand when he remarked that he stood precisely where the two eternities met - the eternity of the past and the eternity of the future. His stance at any moment was an absolute truth, but as he bit into the eternity of the future it changed. So did the eternity of the past as days and experiences were added to it. (p. 125)

The postwar days were days of process, days when “knowing how” seemed to be the only way out, the only way to experience some degree of control. However, as Jensen, Liveright, and Hallenbeck (1964) argued, this resulted in an adult education curriculum that was “need-meeting but not goal-fulfilling” (p. vii). It was developed without a plan to organize it in a way that enabled continuity and integration of learning across the lifespan. Maurice Seay (1958) reflected on the new knowledge-for-now culture swinging the pendulum from content to process in adult education: “The startling realization that much content of today is outmoded for tomorrow is taking the ‘punch’ out of the current argument for a return in ... education to content emphasis” (p.24). The enterprise required an action orientation in the move to a process approach. Blakely and Lappin (1969) offered this understanding of the dynamic relationship that had developed between knowledge and action:

In our society the relationship between knowledge and action is altering, with consequent changes in the nature of both. Knowledge is becoming organized around application. Action is coming to be guided by knowledge - knowledge purposively and systematically taught and learned. (p. 19)

The changing nature of knowledge in postindustrial society raised a key question: "Was knowledge an end or the means to an end?" Debate around this question proceeded with vigor in adult education, despite the sorry status of the field's own knowledge base. Steven S. Udvari (1972) related, "The body of knowledge surrounding adult education between 1928 and 1960 is small and unimpressive when contrasted with [public education]. ... Grossly lacking were philosophy, theory, and goals for adult education" (p. 235). Verner (1960) gave this assessment of the state of adult education literature in the 1960 handbook:

Like the field itself, the literature about adult education ranges widely over a vast array of topics in a highly disorganized manner. ... Very little of this material can be classified as great or even highly significant to the field, but all of it has been timely. (p. 162)

Verner concluded that the general literature defied orderly classification and was repetitive and defensive in its attempt to justify adult education. Raising the issue of access to the knowledge base, he complained about the difficulty in locating the "vast unsystematized mass" (p. 163) of adult education literature. He noted that the bulk of materials in libraries were not catalogued under adult education or some recognizable heading. Verner mentioned the increase in the rate of production of adult education materials and felt this,

coupled with more frequent use of the literature by professional adult educators, would necessitate and result in improvements in library practices. He envisioned: "Perhaps the constructive use of the literature of adult education will increase as the field itself becomes unified and acquires a sense of common identity through which the dispersed parts gain a perception of their relationship to the whole" (p. 164). Since the readership for adult education literature (when it was read at all) was generally limited to adult educators themselves, Verner (1960) argued that they should stop preaching the lifelong-learning sermon to the converted and move away from the "impressionistic propaganda" (p. 166) dominating the literature. He challenged them to focus instead on building a consistent knowledge base so they would know more about "the basic elements of their craft" (p. 166). Bergevin (1967) offered a similar challenge. He urged adult educators to expand the knowledge base by drawing on the foundation disciplines and empirical research among sources of useful knowledge. However, as the 1960s passed, Udvari (1972) contended that adult education could still be described as an infant enterprise. He supported his contention by recalling Liveright's "four problems which characterize adult education in the United States: (1) lack of sound philosophy; (2) irrelevance of content or subject matter; (3) under-utilization of resources; and (4) absence of a sound and accessible theory base" (p. 236).

The matter of absences had to be addressed in building an enterprise knowledge base. To do this the politics arising from particular individual and group positionings had to give way to a spirit of cooperation. Thomas (1958) argued:

The very organization of knowledge needs re-examination [in adult education].

The accepted divisions between liberal and technical, between content and method, between teacher and administrator, are no longer supportable if we are to realize the educational opportunities of the present and future. (p. 343)

Thomas intimated that adult education could grow stronger by identifying itself as a learning community where the identity-differences of contributing members were recognized, respected, and fostered. In this community, instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education would be necessary not only to promote basic survival, but also to enhance possibilities for a full and fulfilling life (Bergevin, 1967). Bergevin had expressed concern with the downplay of the social and cultural in the rush to psychologize postwar modern practice. While he saw certain advantages to drawing on psychology to inform adult education, he cautioned that adult education had to be aware of its potential capacity to “manipulate other people to ... [its] advantage by using some of the very psychological insights that might be used to release [them]” (p. 163). The psychologistic turn certainly did raise issues around the control of the learning environment and learner freedom; nevertheless, ideas appropriated from psychology made important contributions to ways of knowing in adult education. For example, the late 1950s turn in psychology emphasizing personal choice, individual responsibility, and a world of possibility challenged fixed ideologies, eroding ideals like professional neutrality and scientific objectivity (Purcell, 1983). Social thinkers made many aspects of science visible, interrogating what had previously been considered irrelevant and hence unquestioned in the ideology of science. Science’s presumed objectivity and its unquestioned authority

were problematized as constructs shaped by the values, beliefs, and culture of professional practitioners who were, for the most part, White, male, middle-class North Americans. In this light, Purcell purports, “The most characteristic and significant intellectual endeavor of the sixties, in fact, was its attempt to reevaluate the nature of science: to analyze its sociological bases, to illuminate its political functions, and, above all, to deny its pretensions to exclusive and total access to truth” (p. 84). This endeavor unfolded in the midst of adult education’s turn to science and technology as a way to legitimize and enhance its cultural space and place. Adult education would ride the wave of techno-scientism. It would not critically explore this wave’s trough for some time to come (Collins, 1991).

As Thomas indicated, postwar adult education was a house divided. “What knowledge is of most worth?” remained a much debated question. This is exemplified by the struggle of liberal education for space and place in US culture in the face of the techno-scientific turn. In a report focusing on the emergence of liberal, nonvocational adult education in the era of modern practice, Edmund deS. Brunner, David S. Wilder, Corinne Kirchner, and John S. Newberry, Jr. (1959) noted that the genesis of adult education in the United States had involved predominantly liberal forms of adult education with some attention given to vocational education. However, the historical emphasis on liberal education declined. By the 1950s it was vocational education that was prominent in the field. Taylor, Rockhill, & Fieldhouse (1985), describing what was perhaps the last hurrah for liberal education, relate that the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (1951-1968) was a poignant undertaking in the history of liberal adult education.

However, its form of liberal education favored the status quo. Funded by the Ford Foundation until 1954, the CSLEA, Podeschi (1994) recounts, was complicitous with the dominant culture, emphasizing liberal arts education supporting the values of American democracy and its institutions. The Cold War and Sovietphobia had provided incentive for such education. Podeschi adds that liberal education was also given impetus in the 1950s as part of a reaction against progressive education which emphasized vocational over democratic values. However, he points out that the Cold War also worked against liberal education. Coupled with the demands of postindustrial society, it helped to shape instrumental education as the education of necessity. Thus the value placed on liberal education was eroded by default. This erosion continued in 1960s adult education as turns to scientization and professionalization became more pronounced. It was intensified by federal involvement in education and by the fire of a new progressivism emphasizing individual freedom (Podeschi, 1994). Accompanying this erosion was a de-emphasis on values and interdisciplinary knowledge, both foci of liberal education. Taylor, Rockhill, and Fieldhouse (1985) frame the demise of liberalism in the face of academic adult education's turn to techno-scientism:

The key to democracy becomes conformity and unity, not freedom; equality becomes advancement of those able to benefit from contact with the elite; service is to vested interests, not to the cries for change; and excellence means the survival of academe - control through the scientific, rational method as the only legitimate form of knowledge - not the capacity for critical reflection or social transformation. (p. 170).

Curriculum Matters and the Space and Place of the Foundation Disciplines:

Jensen (1964) noted two ways in which adult education had built up its knowledge base: firstly, by constructing principles or generalizations informed by experience with problems in everyday practice; and, secondly, by borrowing and reformulating knowledge drawn from other disciplines to answer similar questions of concern in adult education practice. In this knowledge building, however, there was only a slight turn to the foundation disciplines. For example, Rockhill (1976) recounts that histories of adult education had been few and far between in the third period of the era of modern practice. In the 1960 US handbook of adult education, Verner (1960) spoke to the need for histories overviewing the entire field. He related that the literature on the history of adult education was fragmentary and generally limited to local histories of institutions and particular geographical areas. He added, "Far too many of these historical studies have been issued in pamphlet form, with the result that they quickly become fugitive and all but lost to the field" (p. 167). Verner also called on adult educators to expand the field's horizons by drawing on the social sciences to write analytical and interpretive accounts of adult education and its problems. A turn to social psychology, exemplified by Jack London's work, became discernible in the field. London (1964) studied social change, its sources, and its enabling and inhibiting factors. He also investigated the social (structural organizational patterns) and cultural (behavioral patterns) contexts shaping adult education institutional behavior and affecting participation.

Also noticeable, certainly by the late 1960s, was a turn to philosophy. While philosophical inquiry had been sidelined early in the third period (Innis, 1947), the need to

develop and nurture philosophy in the field was recognized by Bergevin and a contingent of adult educators addressing the social and cultural rupture of the 1960s. Axford (1969) said philosophy was essential “to develop a clear image of adult education. ... It is the responsibility of the educator of adults to philosophize” (p. 96). London (1966 in Axford, 1969) concurred, “The adult educator, in his [sic] search for his personal and occupational identity, must philosophize and engage in philosophical inquiry if we are to succeed in our search for meaning and relevance in our work and in our lives” (p. 96). White (1970) concluded that adult education should have an affinity for philosophy because they both want the same things. He stated the basis for a mutual attraction: “Philosophy is concerned with such basic problems as freedom and social justice, equal opportunity - in civil rights and power - and the participation of citizens in great decisions. So is adult education” (p. 121). While many adult educators valued philosophy, there remained a clear need for increased philosophical inquiry and debates as adult educators came to terms with the question “What is adult education?” John Walker Powell (1960) contended that the lack of debate, not the fact of debate, around philosophies of adult education should be of more concern to the field. Of the development of philosophies of adult education, Powell (1960) wrote:

The truth is that people in this field of endeavor have done much more educating than philosophizing about it. This is probably as it should be in a growing enterprise, and it is certainly characteristic of the American way of getting things done. (p. 41)

Yet Powell felt that adult educators needed to philosophize in order to advance the field. For him, the process of “continuous philosophizing” (p. 42) was more important than the determination of any particular philosophy of adult education. He concluded that “there is only one basic philosophy about adult education: that it is a good thing, and more of it would be better” (p. 43). However, Powell seemed to miss the point of philosophy here. His “basic philosophy” ignored the deeper need to turn to philosophy in order to come to some understanding of what the “good thing” was.

The view that more adult education would be better undergirded Powell’s (1960) discussion of the prevailing postwar philosophies of adult education in the United States. He said two major philosophies obtained within the “blooming, buzzing confusion” (p. 44) marking the still amorphous field in the 1960s: 1) the developmental and 2) the rationalist. These philosophies were polarized in terms of emphasis and method. Developmental philosophy guided those concerned with fundamental education (focus: community development) and human relations (focus: group dynamics). This school, viewing education as the means to an end, seemed more in tune with postwar culture (Knowles and Klevins, 1972). The older rationalist philosophy dealt with long-standing aspects of liberal education. This viewpoint was being challenged because it seemed out of touch supporting the great books, the humanities, and the liberal arts in techno-scientific times (Knowles and Klevins, 1972). By 1960, rationalist philosophy responded by moving beyond its preoccupation with content and knowledge acquisition to deal with ideas, values, and judgments in relation to individual and social goals for living and learning.

While two camps existed, Powell (1956) provided this commonality of concerns guiding enterprise philosophizing:

All expressions of the “philosophy of adult education” come to focus on three key concepts: *the Individual* [his italics], who is the subject of concern and the agent of growth; *the Community*, which is the focal environment of his [sic] efforts; and *the Democratic Process*, which is the guarantor of his freedom and of his value as a man. (p. 231)

However, these concepts were differently understood and valued in a divided field where adult educators appeared polarized into groups that gave primacy to either individual or social impetuses. Thus the philosophy of adult education was a contested terrain. Adult educators provided a spectrum of competing purposes for an enterprise still in genesis:

The range covered the gamut from individual security and self-actualization to community development. Apps (1973) tried to weaken the polarity between an individual and a social focus, claiming it was a false issue. He drew on Paulo Freire who suggested that individual growth and development occurred within a larger process of transforming society.

Individual freedom was a subset of social responsibility. Bergevin (1967) agreed, promoting self-actualization of the individual within the context of becoming a responsible and responsive citizen. He argued, “Each of us has an important part to play in the social drama. ... We can’t very well learn our part in isolation. It is learned in relationship with others” (p. 34). Bergevin believed the goals of adult education should help the individual “grow and develop as a contributing member of the social order that will in turn present

him [sic] with continuing opportunities to fulfill his particular purpose in life” (p. 30). He provided five major goals of adult education:

- a. To help the learner achieve a degree of happiness and meaning in life;
- b. To help the learner understand himself [sic], his talents and limitations, and his relationships with other persons;
- c. To help adults recognize and understand the need for life-long learning;
- d. To provide conditions and opportunities to help the adult advance in the maturation process spiritually, culturally, physically, politically, and vocationally;
- e. To provide, where needed, education for survival, in literacy, vocational skills, and health measures. (pp. 30-31)

He knew these goals were difficult to achieve in a society that gave only “a perfunctory nod to adult education” (p. 36) and where “someone will always come to the fore ... to take from us the burden of thinking and responsibility, only to replace it with one of submission” (p. 36). He wanted adults to see the complexity of problems, to be leery of adult education that presented “one side, the ‘right’ side” (p. 37). Bergevin warned that this kind of adult education made adults complacent and ready to accept fast and neat answers to difficult problems.

The debates around the philosophy of adult education in the postwar period exposed the lack of unity around the purposes of the enterprise. Axford (1969) reported that while some adult educators worried about disunity of purpose, others saw this lack of cohesiveness as a strength and a reflection of the pluralism characterizing 1960s society. For them, adult education “programs represent[ed] ... [the field’s] objectified philosophy” (p. 96). Thus the important thing was to develop and nurture philosophy in general since

program development would only be as good as the philosophy guiding it. Despite such calls and growing philosophical inquiry and debate from 1945 to 1970, a sad state of affairs remained: “75 per cent of all adult learning in the United States proceed[ed] along its old familiar lines ... without much concern or knowledge about the newer outreach of either philosophy or practice” (Knowles and Klevins, 1972, p. 13).

Research and Other Knowledge Matters: After World War II, adult educators were continuously challenged to emphasize research and theory building as key activities defining their role and function in an emerging field (Kreitlow, 1970). In the 1960 US handbook of adult education, Verner (1960) spoke of the rapid growth in research literature and its potential for helping the field advance. This handbook reified the “scientific” as the body and soul of adult educational theory, research, and practice (Wilson, 1995): It enforced the notion that professional adult educators engaged the methods of science to problem solve in practice, moving adult education from its traditional location as a field of practice to its desired location as a field of study. Burton W. Kreitlow (1960) put this field of study into perspective: He reported that while, overall, adult education research was “not of a high level, either in amount or quality” (p. 111), the volume had greatly increased in the years immediately preceding the handbook’s publication. He said, “There is perhaps no two-year period in which more adult education research has been reported than between 1958 and 1960” (p. 107-108). He related that beyond the colleges and universities, the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, the private foundations (notably Ford and Kellogg in this period), and the Adult Education Association of the USA were all contributing to the research effort. In their

overview of adult education research, published the year before the handbook, Brunner, Wilder, Kirchner, and Newberry (1959) described the burgeoning enterprise research output as chaotic. Brunner and his associates summarized that adult educators focused on methods when they engaged in research. This seemed a natural structural focus for an organization in genesis. Beyond this consideration of methods, they related that the significant research available had typically been carried out by social scientists who brought theories and methodologies from other disciplines to bear on adult education. Adult educators themselves still had not become a force on the front lines of field research. Reviewing the status and development of nonvocational adult education research since the mid-1920s, Brunner, Wilder, Kirchner, and Newberry listed a number of factors to explain this situation. First of all, there was the pressure of large and growing enrollments after World War II and the concomitant tendency to focus on practice rather than research in face of this pressure. Secondly, there was the newness of adult education as a profession. Speaking specifically to the issue of academic adult education, Brunner and his associates remarked how it had not yet produced the contingent of graduates needed to expand the research knowledge base. While Kreitlow (1960) felt that the expansion of graduate adult education would ultimately assist research efforts, Brunner's group noted specific concerns. Graduate students in adult education tended to be older and established in careers. If these students focused on research at all, they wanted it to be applicable to their own work situations. Of doctoral candidates in adult education, Brunner and his associates related that most wanted the practitioner's degree (doctor of education). They concluded, "It is hard to drive an adult education major to see any part

of the forest except his own pet tree” (p. 4). Thirdly, there was the profusion of agencies involved in adult education, with the enterprise generally having only marginal status in them. Moreover, while these agencies generally took up a wide range of subject matter, many of them conducted no research or peripheral research to meet administrative or service ends. Brunner’s group concluded:

There is a great diffusion of responsibility, for adult education has never developed, and probably in our type of culture never can develop, a single institutional pattern comparable to the pre-adult, university, or cooperative extension pattern of education. There is, therefore, a diffusion of professional effort. (p. 4)

Fourthly, there was the lack of financial support for adult education research, with available funding generally going to operations rather than research. Speaking to the fact that adult education programs in colleges and universities had not been prolific in research, Kreitlow (1960) believed that a traditional argument could be used as an explanation: Like other institutions involved in adult education, colleges and universities had had to address everyday operations and financial constraints to the point that they had neither the time nor the money to devote to research. Fifthly, there was the enterprise research focus on descriptive studies and narrative accounts with limited applicability. There was a lack of empirical research and “an exceedingly liberal definition of what constitutes research” (p. 6). Of the merits of descriptive research, Brunner and his associates related: “Description is the first step in the development of research in any discipline. It lays the foundation for

later effective and definitive research by suggesting hypotheses and lines of inquiry” (p. 6).

Kreitlow (1960) added in summary:

The last two decades of adult education research might be identified as “the age of description.” One should not be too pessimistic about what the age of description has done for the future outlook in adult education research. It has provided an important basis for further study. (p. 112)

In their overview, Brunner, Wilder, Kirchner, and Newberry also identified key areas for future research. They highlighted the need to study how adults learn and the necessity to connect this research to a revision of adult education methods. They related the need for research into learner motivation, interests, and participation as well as the requirement for longitudinal studies that investigated changes in groups over time. Kreitlow (1960) also emphasized the need for longitudinal studies and called for more empirical research. This research was crucial to building a sound knowledge base in adult education. He was also concerned with the development of a body of systematic research into adult education methods. He called on adult educators to conduct more research into the teaching of adults. He noted that, while some research was being done, most of the enterprise’s understanding came from related studies in sociology and psychology. In the 1960 handbook, Kreitlow identified six areas for future adult education research: 1) the needs and desires of individuals and groups in the community; 2) adult education agency purposes and planning in relation to community goal setting; 3) the resources of adult education and the community and their interconnectedness; 4) agency operations in terms of administrative structural set up and community coordination, instructional development,

and the nature of the community; 5) methods of teaching adults and instructor characteristics; and 6) the objectives and outcomes of adult education. In taking up these research issues, Kreitlow questioned how the diversity of the field affected the enterprise's ability to produce a cohesive body of research. He wondered about the degree to which adult education was dependent on other disciplines to construct its knowledge base. He asked whether this was natural in light of the difficulty of answering the question "What is adult education?" Kreitlow was asking important questions that were on the minds of many adult educators: Is adult education a separate and cohesive entity? What danger is there that adult education might be absorbed into other disciplines? We can still ask these questions which point to perennial concerns.

James Draper (1969) contended that Kreitlow's research concerns and ideas qualified the nature of adult education. It had to be interdisciplinary. In fact, it would be strengthened by drawing on disciplines including psychology, sociology, history, and philosophy. Axford (1969) agreed with Kreitlow's notions on enterprise building. He wanted professional adult educators to be well trained in research methodology and to draw on social science research. Axford was concerned about the enterprise's weak theoretical foundation: He observed, "There ... appears a lack of structure and theory which would be the basis for new research and for integrating the research done to date" (p. 211). Nevertheless, as the 1960s faded, Axford remained optimistic about the future of adult educational research. He felt that the presence of adult education in a growing number of universities in North America would positively affect the emerging field. He believed that the field could be strengthened by engaging in research emphasizing the

interdependency of researcher and practitioner. This interaction would be useful to aid an understanding of adult education and its role and purpose, to gain insights into adult learning, and to tease out how the field functions within social, political, and economic contexts. For Axford (1969), the researcher and the practitioner had to cooperate in order to make sense of a very complex and diverse enterprise, an enterprise attached to institutions and caught up in the processes of institutional growth, adaptation, and decay. He declared that professional adult educators in “the universities have a major responsibility not only for formulating carefully structured research designs but for seeing that the pertinent information gets into the hands of those who can put the research findings to use” (p. 217). However, Kreitlow (1970) felt that the university itself had presented a barrier to the advance of adult educational research in the 1950s and 1960s. Adult education was in the precarious position of becoming part of an institution that did not wholeheartedly support the enterprise. The enterprise’s traditional forms of support were still needed to ensure adult education’s survival in academe. Kreitlow put it bluntly:

It should be clearly stated that the increase in graduate study and the advance in research was not accomplished solely by a response on the part of the universities to the social climate. Leadership from the great foundations (Ford, Kellogg, Carnegie) and the federal government was essential. The universities were concerned, but there is little evidence to show they would have made the major advances without the federal government and the foundations teasing them along.

(p. 144)

Beyond this structural barrier to enhancing the research effort, researchers and practitioners needed to engage in dialogue as members of an adult learning community working to build border zones where theory, research, and practice could inform one another. However, cooperation and dialogue did not sufficiently mark the relationship between these two groups. Udvari (1972) described their failure to communicate and its consequences:

Perhaps the most obvious problem in adult education today is the wide gulf in the dialogue process ... between the researcher and the practitioner. One reason for the gulf is that ... [practitioners] are too busy meeting practical programmatic requirements. Their knowledge and theories are generally intuitive. They create innovations by acting on hunches whose validity is untested. Consequently, innovations in adult education take many years to be identified by theorists, tested by researchers, and disseminated as valid theory, methods, and techniques among practitioners. (p. 237)

In the 1970 US handbook, Kreitlow, pointing out that an instrumental focus had dominated research efforts since World War II, surveyed, "A review of research efforts reported in the *Adult Education* journal covering the 1963 through 1966 period indicates increased emphasis on such functions of adult education as evaluation, program planning and methods and techniques" (p. 139). Kreitlow (1970) declared that it was essential that research efforts focus on the role and purpose of adult education. To solidify this work, he said basic philosophical questions needed to be addressed and the notion of community needed to be emphasized. Kreitlow listed "three major and interrelated categories of

application” (p. 142) to be investigated: “They are: 1) the adult as an individual and a learner; 2) the adult’s response to socio-cultural phenomena; [and,] 3) the adult education enterprise” (p. 142). He contended that knowledge in these three areas should form a core knowledge base for those entering the profession. The 1970 handbook cloned concerns important in the 1960 handbook. It emphasized the reporting of research as its key function and it continued to see scientization as the road to the professionalization of the field (Wilson, 1995). However, Wilson (1995) relates that the emphasis on research reflected the need for increased, higher quality research efforts. The field needed to move harder, faster. As the 1960s drew to a close, adult education’s state of affairs was reflected by this growing need for more and better adult educational research. Draper (1969) summarized a variety of factors that limited the quality of the research being conducted: 1) There were few longitudinal studies, with most research focusing on short-term and immediate problems; 2) The descriptive method of research dominated to the detriment of the historical and empirical research required to build the knowledge base of adult education; 3) There was virtually no emphasis given to theory building; 4) Most studies failed to incorporate a review of literature sufficient to indicate a full knowledge of related research from other disciplines; and, 5) Most studies narrowly concentrated on single educational programs, ignoring the broader issues of concern to a pluralistic field. Draper’s description gave an account of a field in need of more direction and substance. It overviewed the impediments adult educators have frequently listed to the development of a worthwhile knowledge base for the field (see, for example, Darkenwald & Merriam,

1982; Long, 1980 & 1991). These factors deterred adult education in its identity quest for social and cultural space and place.

Knowledge Production and Adult Education's Identity Quest: Postscript

Knowledge production (1945-70) took place in the midst of intensified drives to techno-scientize and professionalize the modern practice of adult education. Some adult educators produced knowledge to secure their own space and place within an enterprise which they hoped would have increased cultural value in the emerging military-industrial complex. In a certain sense the efforts of these adult educators can be condoned. After all, their work was an attempt to achieve space and place for a field that had traditionally been marginalized not only by the discipline of education but also by the larger culture and society. Other adult educators remained sentinels on guard against the erosion of the social in North American adult education. Even if they realized that modern practice could not ignore the instrumental in postindustrial society, they knew that social and cultural forms of adult education were also needed to enhance living and learning for ordinary people. While there may have been two camps of adult educators in this period, both contributed to the construction of adult education as an idea-rich educational terrain. Lifelong learning, as we have seen, perhaps stands out as the most prominent of ideas promoted in the postwar period. The preaching of its value was more than adult education's response in a change culture of crisis and challenge. It was also a field effort to increase its own value in a twentieth-century society where the primary educational focus remained schooling for children. The drive to create an enterprise knowledge base was also a field attempt to enhance adult education's value in a culture where professional

status and power were given to the holders of techno-scientific knowledge. However, knowledge production in adult education indicated an enterprise still in genesis. Struggles over the space and place of the foundation disciplines were caught up in adult education's need to be interdisciplinary and its desire to be a discipline in itself. The sorry state of the knowledge base pointed to an enterprise with much to learn about theory building and research. While adult education made progress in building a knowledge base (1945-70), the enterprise came out of this period with much work to do. And it was still uncertain about what knowledge was of most worth.

4

The *Ization Syndrome*: North American Adult Education's Search for Space and Place (1945-70)

Purcell (1983) relates that US social thought was guided by two key assumptions in the first half of the twentieth century: 1) Democracy would thrive by harmonizing its values to those of science where knowledge and method were shaped by the “expert” preoccupation with objectivity, detail, and the particular; and, 2) Scientific knowledge was best left to the experts whose elite methods would ensure egalitarian results. He adds that recurring crises and uncertainties patterned American culture in this period. Its growth and national mission focused on four main themes: 1) promoting industrialism and, concomitantly, urbanization; 2) quelling social unrest in the face of these change forces; 3) responding to the surge of science and professionalization; and, 4) addressing the metamorphosis of the US as a global power. These social and cultural modulations intensified in the post-World War II period when crisis and challenge were perceived to be unprecedented in number and kind. As the brief American century (1945-1973) (see Jameson, 1991, for a description) unfolded, North American education, including adult education, was thrown into catch-up mode. The crisis in education was “graphically demonstrated when Sputnik and the Edsel, the rival symbols of East and West, were launched in the same month of 1957” (Kilbourn, 1968, pp. 323-324). Politicians decried the state of educational affairs and educators were left to recreate the discipline as a way out of social and cultural turmoil. Many adult educators interpreted this time as one of opportunity for adult education. It was a chance to gain space (a recognized and useful

presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in a dominant culture uneasy in the face of persistent change. To what degree was adult education able to seize this opportunity? To what extent did the enterprise find a recognized, respected, and valued location in the emerging change culture?

In considering these questions I investigate adult education's identity quest as a search for space and place shaped by the "Ization Syndrome" - techno-scientization, individualization, professionalization, and institutionalization. I argue that this syndrome sought to reconfigure adult education as an ordered and orderly enterprise. Its four signs indicated more emphasis on education in its formal and institutional sense than on continuous learning. In his research, Webster E. Cotton (1968) related that the period 1947-1964 was marked by increasing efforts to professionalize and institutionalize adult education. I focus in detail on these two syndrome signs that are inextricably linked to drives to techno-scientize and individualize adult learning. Assuming that professionalization is a dynamic driven by a politics of legitimation, I look at the rise of professionalism in adult education and explore professionalization as a desired move that raised the issue of unity in enterprise diversity. Key questions arise with respect to professionalization: How successful were professional adult educators in organizing and defining the parameters of a scientized and precise practice? To what extent were these educators considered premier voices controlling an "expert" knowledge integral to a space and place as caretakers of the dominant culture? In exploring institutionalization, I trace its history in adult education and examine the advantages and disadvantages of this enterprise dynamic. Two important questions are addressed in relation to

institutionalization: Could a field that has historically been unable to coordinate its component groups and activities become an institution in and of itself? Or could adult education only be a part of other institutions where it was essentially directed to serve their purposes? In considering this latter question I examine the postwar involvement of Canadian and US universities and federal governments in adult education. The role of the university in changing times and the degree to which adult education had a space and place within the parameters of the university are taken up as I examine the emergence of academic adult education and the development of graduate programs. The extent of federal support for adult education and what a federal presence meant are assessed as I examine federal-government motives and modus operandi. I look at adult education's response in times of increasing federal legislation that peaked in the 1960s and consider a key question: To what extent did North American mainstream adult education grow in complicity with and in response to postwar federal-government initiatives in Canada and the United States?

Professionalization: The Right Thing to Do?

It is possible to understand the post-World War II professionalization of adult education as a dynamic driven by a politics of legitimation. These politics valued technoscience to promote economic interests and feed the military industrial-complex developing in the United States and spilling over into resource-rich Canada. They made science and technology a veritable deity in the emerging change culture infected by a Cold War and its politics of fear. John Dewey (1916/1944) called science "the agency of progress in action" (p. 223) in the twentieth century. Concluding that this progress had

essentially been technical, he qualified the deity's success: "[Techno-scientific] progress has provided more efficient means for satisfying preexistent desires, rather than modified the quality of human purposes" (p. 224). Dewey believed that it was the responsibility of education to use science in a way that expanded human potential and possibility. This would have provided a laudable purpose for adult education as it traversed the 1950s knowing what science and technology had wrought during World War II. Moreover, such a purpose would seem requisite in a decade marked by the emergence of what Daniel Bell (1967) argued was a new social system stimulated by innovation and growth. These stimuli drove the demand for theoretical knowledge and made rationality, planning, and foresight the hallmarks of the new techno-scientific change culture. Bell considered 1956 a symbolic turning point in the development of this new social system. That year, he claimed, marked the ascension of the professional to social primacy as the number of white-collar workers surpassed the number of blue-collar workers in the United States. Techno-scientization shaped the kind of professional needed: It required a self-directed individual with a particular knowledge and the desire to make it as a continuous learner in the rapid-change culture. These dynamics reconfigured life, learning, and work. Franklin (1990) provides insights about technology as practice that help explain why. She contends that technology as practice connects knowledge to practice. This raises issues of acceptable content and accepted practices. It also raises cultural concerns since culture "is a set of socially accepted practices and values" (p. 15). She concludes:

Technology, like democracy, includes ideas and practices; it includes myths and various models of reality. And like democracy, technology changes the social and

individual relationships between us. It has forced us to examine and redefine our notions of power and of accountability. (p. 12)

For adult and other forms of education, concerns should center on what Franklin calls “prescriptive technologies.” They are designs for compliance, creating a learning culture guided by forms of enterprise practice shaped to give adult education space and place in the dominant culture. These forms may be efficient and effective but, as Franklin tells us, they mortgage the social. Technology itself, as Habermas (1970) argues, becomes an agent of ordering and structuring in this culture of compliance. Life, learning, and work are altered as technology serves particular social, economic, and political interests. Technology needs to feed itself in this process, and training and development provide a substantial part of this feeding. Citizen workers learn so that technology works better for itself and the dominant culture that it enhances.

Adult education must be cognizant of these interactions and question technology’s modus operandi. How does technology shape the enterprise’s discourse philosophically and politically? To what degree is the modern practice of adult education a response to “the logic of the technological imperative” (Kroker, 1984, p. 126)? If we cannot avoid this logic, and if “it is a distinctively modern fate to *live* [his italics] technology as a kind of second biology which ... defines and limits the human condition” (Kroker, 1984, p. 128), then how do we live and learn technology? Kroker (1984) considers technology as “the deepest language of politics, economy, advertising, and desire” (p. 127). From this perspective, life, learning, and work would seem deeply and unavoidably caught up in technology. The need and desire of adult learners to learn techno-scientifically is

established, but we need to ask what this means for adult education and, in particular, for academic adult education. Apple (1995) contends that the university is required to produce technicians as cultural agents and technical knowledge as a valuable commodity in order to legitimate its role and ensure its survival in contemporary society. The need for economic and cultural capital has set structural limits on curriculum and pedagogy in the university. Knowledge is valued when it “can be used to create new techniques for production, for patent monopolies, for the stimulation of needs and markets, and for the division and control of labor” (p. 47). How should adult education respond in this culture? Is it the right thing to ensure a space and place in the dominant culture by producing the cultural agents and technical knowledge needed to ensure the growth and development of that culture? Or is it the right thing to shape instrumental education in the intersection of social and cultural education in order to enhance outcomes and possibilities for life, learning, and work?

The Rise of Professionalism: The idea of adult education as universal and lifelong education integral to citizenship had made its way into US thought by the mid-1920s. The seeds of professionalism were sown early in the emergence of the enterprise. Landmark events such as the establishment of the American Association for Adult Education in 1926 and the inauguration of the *Journal of Adult Education* in 1929 were indicators of a tendency toward professionalization. However, US adult education really became established as an organized activity during the 1930s. A growing trend toward professionalization was evident in the middle and late 1930s (Cotton, 1968). The establishment of the first American Ph.D. program in adult education at Columbia

University (the first doctorate was awarded in 1935) and the publication of the first adult education “textbook” (authored by Lyman Bryson and published in 1936) were further indicators of a field bent on professionalizing its modern practice (Cotton, 1968). Adult education worked hard to gain space and place in this period. It sought a role in social and economic reconstruction in order to help citizens recover from the Depression. That role was complicated by ongoing enterprise problems including public apathy, lack of financial support, the complexity of change, organizational inertia, and competing viewpoints around adult education’s role and purpose (Cotton, 1968).

The interruption of World War II was followed by a period of tremendous field growth in the late 1940s and the 1950s. Wilson (1995) contends that the growing tendencies to techno-scientize and professionalize adult education were reflected, to some degree, in the structure and content of the 1948 US handbook of adult education. How might these tendencies be understood? Wilson (1995) offers this understanding based on the notion that to techno-scientize is to legitimize:

[A technical rational] conception of professionalization depends fundamentally upon the putative value and utilitarianism of the natural science model of empirical inquiry and its relevance to professional practice. In other words, if an occupation is to professionalize successfully and be recognized as such, it must develop rigorous (i.e., “scientific”) knowledge and systematic practice applications (i.e., “principles of”) that only its adherents have access to. (p. 148)

The 1948 handbook attempted to systematize an amorphous field into three broad categories: 1) institutions, 2) programs, and 3) common “professional” concerns. In doing

so, Wilson argues that it laid the ground for acceptance of a techno-scientific approach to professional practice. He goes on to suggest that this trend was fully embodied and embedded in the 1960 handbook which he believes “marks the full emergence of adult education as a field of academic study and the complete adoption of empirical-analytic science as the ideology to sustain its professionalization efforts” (p. 153). Cotton (1968) described this growth period as a time when adult educators moved away from idealism and futurism to become more concerned with making adult education work in the present. Adult educators “felt they had to ‘put up or shut up’” (p. 11). This outlook intensified the move to professionalize adult education. The year 1951 alone saw the genesis of the Adult Education Association of the USA, the Fund for Adult Education (sponsored by the Ford Foundation), and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (Cotton, 1968). Schroeder (1970) adds:

[The 1950s decade] was further marked by an expansion of graduate programs of adult education, the establishment of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education, ... and a proliferation of written materials concerned with definitions and delineation of adult education as a field of research, professional study and practice. (p. 27)

Although the ideals of earlier times were not forgotten in Canada and the move to professionalize was questioned (Kidd, 1950; Welton, 1995), Selman (1984) similarly described the professionalization of Canadian adult education:

This was a period, especially in the 1950s, in which a sense of professionalism was emerging in adult education. Organizations of adult educators began to appear in

some provinces and the CAAE [Canadian Association for Adult Education] inaugurated a series of regional conferences in both the West and the Maritimes. Several universities offered individual credit courses on the subject of adult education for the first time in the fifties (many of them taught by J. R. Kidd) and in 1957, the University of British Columbia introduced the first full degree (Masters) program in Canada in this field. (p. 13)

Professionalization had become a key part of the Izzation Syndrome shaping adult education's postwar development. This generally desired field dynamic raised many questions for those concerned with the jumble that was the enterprise in the 1950s: What counted as adult education? What subject matter was to be included in the enterprise's domain? Who could be called an adult educator? Who was responsible for adult education and what were their responsibilities? What were adult education's roles in the university and the community?

Professionalization and the Struggle for Unity in Diversity: Reflecting on the lack of success of the Adult Education Association of the USA in achieving field unity, Coolie Verner (1964b) wrote:

The AEA was founded in May, 1951, in an effort to (and with the thus far unfulfilled promise of) creating a strong national organization to unite all adult educators into a single group. That these goals have not yet been achieved is not so much a deprecation of the idea as an indication of the immaturity of the profession. (p. 49)

From a Canadian perspective, J. Roby Kidd (1950) also related that most adult educators did not share a common identity or bond to a movement; they had trained for other careers and had moved to a field where salaries and status were low to moderate. Both Verner's and Kidd's assessments intimate that the evolution of adult education as a profession was a very slow process. Despite the tendency toward professionalization, it was difficult to consider adult education professionalized in any traditional sense. The members constituting its field were a diffuse menagerie of educators with varying degrees of commitment to the field. They would be hard pressed to agree on a code of ethics or other formalized elements that would define them as professionals. Moreover, the enterprise tendency toward institutionalization kept them a divergent lot. With adult education increasingly drawing its life from federal government and other institutions after World War II, the enterprise had to struggle to establish the cohesiveness characteristic of professions. Roger W. Axford (1969) related, "There is a question as to whether because of the diversity and heterogeneity of the field of adult education we can build a coordinated and cohesive body of research" (p. 216). Implicit in his words was the notion that adult education, if it were to be a profession, would need some sort of unifying knowledge legitimated by scientization. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) purport, "The effectiveness and stature of any applied professional field is directly related to its knowledge base" (p. 231). Adult education's own knowledge base was in a primal state in the 1950s and 1960s.

Despite these factors, the struggle to professionalize continued. Those who saw adult education as a movement fought against the professionalization of the field. They felt

professional adult educators ignored “the origins of adult education as a social reform movement imbued with the liberal ideals of progressive social philosophy. ... [They winced as this new breed of adult educator engaged in] the exclusionary practices and standards-setting associated with professionalism” (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982, p. 234). Sumner M. Rosen (1970c) was among those challenging adult educators who would don the garbs of a professionalized practice. She wanted them to consider how they could benefit *all* adult educators in every quarter of the field as they reflected on their purposes in the emerging “credential society.” She asked them to investigate the assumptions behind professionalization. Rosen wanted them to question their emerging practice that promoted a limited view of desirable knowledge. Was professionalization merely an effort to legitimate adult education and increase its status beyond its traditional marginality? Would it result in a loss of educator and learner freedom as an undemocratic learning world emerged?

The professional adult educator worked to define adult education and set its parameters. Driven by the tenets of techno-scientization, this expert tried to conduct a neutral practice in an enterprise where the individualization of learning and the value of experience were emphasized. This practice shaped a depoliticized language guiding instruction. The textures of disposition, contexts, and relations of power affecting the individual learning experience seemed extraneous in the realm of the facilitator enamored, like Verner (1961), with method, device, and technique. While Eduard C. Lindeman (1926/1962) had said that “experience is the adult learner’s living textbook” (p. 7), his living textbook was thick with textures. It was written with attention paid to the

instrumental, the social, and the cultural. It took up knowledge-power as a construct that could enable or inhibit the progress of the individual and society. How successful were professional adult educators in their quest to be premier voices controlling an “expert” knowledge and defining the parameters of a scientized and precise practice? How distant were these educators from Lindeman’s adult educator who fulfilled roles as

interlocutor (one who questions and interprets), prolocutor (one who brings all expressions before the group), coach (one who trains individuals for teamplay), and strategist (one who organizes parts into wholes and keeps the total action aligned with the group’s purpose)? (p. 119)

Despite the move to reconfigure adult education as a systematized area of practice and study, it remained to be seen whether a professional practice was a warranted designation for the enterprise. Some adult educators, however, were not bothered by adult education’s questionable status; in fact, they liked the porous nature of adult education’s constitution. In reflecting on this nature, A. A. Liveright (1964) stated:

On the one hand, the adolescent state of the field is responsible for certain doubts, feelings of inferiority, periods of inadequacy, and compensatory periods of aggressiveness. On the other hand, the concomitant fluidity places persons now in the field in an especially fortunate and challenging position. Patterns are still open and not rigid; future directions are being explored. (pp. 100-101)

In his exploration of possible directions, Cyril O. Houle (1969) pinpointed that professional education had to move beyond the notion of preservice training to be continuing, addressing needs, goals, objectives, and methods over the entire professional

career. In his mind, continuing professional education was given its deepest force when it focused on raising the level of practice. He concluded:

The ultimate aim of every advanced, subtle, and mature conception of continuing education is to convey a complex attitude made up of a readiness to use the best ideas and techniques of the moment but also to expect that they will be modified or replaced. (p. 69)

The professional adult educator was sanitizing modern practice at a time when adult educators were “being dared to develop approaches which will reach the educationally disinherited and which will get at some of the major social problems of our time” (Dorland, 1969, p. 131). In reaching for space and place in the dominant culture, this status-seeking adult educator seemed to put a professional practice first and everyday people second. While promoting adult education as a key to economic and social progress, the professional adult educator appeared to reduce social progress to economic progress in the search for status in techno-scientific times. This professional may also have reduced the value of adult education, especially as it was determined by those adults who wish to think, study, and act as independent learners. Ohliger (1983) argues that the real value of adult education has been abandoned as the professional shapes what education is acceptable. He believes that education is disconnected from liberty as lifelong learning is formalized. The establishment rather than social equality is the focus as the technical and the political shape adult education as an instrument of the status quo (Ohliger, 1974). In the process Thomas’s (1961) learning society, while desiring to be associated with the

ideals of social reformism, becomes what Ohliger (1975) calls the unfree “instructional society.”

To Be Apart or a Part: The Institutionalization of Adult Education in the Era of Modern Practice

The tendency toward institutionalization is another key dynamic in the Iization Syndrome shaping modern practice after World War II. Of course, this tendency was not new. Houle (1973), reviewing the history of the institutionalization of adult education in the United States, concluded that the enterprise had been perennially preoccupied with institutional practice and improvement. He elaborated that the focus of field efforts had generally been on adult education in service institutions such as churches and specific voluntary organizations. There had been little effort by these institutions to interact for purposes of studying and coordinating their approaches to adult education. In the 1960 US handbook of adult education, Malcolm S. Knowles (1960) offered a similar assessment. He contended that, historically, the tendency toward institutionalization had been an effort to integrate adult education. The intent was to give adult education a national profile. Knowles related that the post-World War I drive toward institutionalization had been marked by tremendous growth in the number of adult learners. The enterprise found space in an increasing number of institutions where it worked to gain space and place. This work had been assisted by support from private foundations and governments, although the level of support changed as socioeconomic circumstances altered. Adult education persevered, attempting to profile and stabilize itself by developing a knowledge base and methodology that would invite increased learner

participation. Knowles (1962/1977) provided this summary of the enterprise's emergence and its tendency toward institutionalization:

[Firstly,] the adult education field is highly expansive and flexible [his italics]. ...

Adult education is an open system which any institution may enter at any time and under conditions of its own choosing. As a result, the institutional sponsorship of adult education in this country has expanded continuously and rapidly, although unevenly. (p. 249)

[Secondly,] the adult education field is taking the shape of a multi-dimensional social system. The component parts have tended to become organized into patterns of goals, needs, interests, status and power relationships, values, loyalties, and channels of communication according to [the institutional among other] dimensions. (p. 250-251)

Knowles put these efforts into perspective when he concluded:

While adult education has not yet become established as a unified national social movement and has not yet been recognized as an instrument of national policy, it has demonstrated its potential in both regards. (p. 26)

Robert J. Blakely and Ivan M. Lappin (1969), trying to explain the enterprise's lack of mainstream educational presence and national space and place, purported that the field had been more successful in its infiltration of informal social processes of North American society than it had been in its struggle to locate itself in the formal structures of institutions. William S. Griffith (1970) discussed the disorder that had accompanied this struggle:

[The] propensity to form associations which subsequently become formalized and develop into institutions has characterized the efforts of those who have sought to educate adults. The history of American adult education may be written as an account of the founding, growth, development and demise of institutions which have served special interests. ... A second factor which tends to make the field disordered to the casual observer is the offering of adult education programs by institutions having some other central purpose. Accordingly, it is difficult for anyone who is not well acquainted with the field to imagine its institutional complexity. (p. 172)

As Verner (1969) saw it, this was precisely the problem. Adult education was so pervasive in the social fabric that it was difficult to define its parameters and formalize its practice. He wanted to delimit the field and move away from a loose organizational structure in an institutional multiverse. He argued, "Adult education is concerned only with continuing education not with continuous learning and while there is a clear differentiation between these two concepts, too many insist on including ... all adult learning whether or not education is involved" (p. 135). However, adult education was ubiquitous. It was everywhere if you looked and if you could name it.

Institutionalization and the Nature of Adult Education: While adult education may have wanted to be recognized as an institution in itself in its quest for a national identity, the fact remained it was not and perhaps could not be so. The purposes and parameters needed to shape this space and place were unclear. C. Hartley Grattan (1959) discussed this in reference to the attempts by the American Association for Adult

Education (AAAE) (its constitution adopted at Cleveland, Ohio, October 17, 1925) and the Adult Education Association of the United States of America (AEA/USA) (its constitution adopted at Columbus, Ohio, May 14, 1951) to give the field national coverage. He suggested that adult education must have an underlying unity in identity-difference:

Adult education, since it is concerned with the education of people deeply immersed in the exacting business of living, is inherently a widely dispersed activity, diverse in content, method, short- and long-term objectives. Nevertheless it must be presumed also to have a common element, the perception and acknowledgment of which will cue all hands to join an organization designed to embrace the complexity. (p. 136)

However, that common element was not apparent. At best, adult education drew its life from the existence of other institutions with a diversity of interests. After World War II, for example, the federal government and the university figured prominently in determining the enterprise's quarter. This contributed to adult education's reactive rather than proactive stance which complicated the issue of a common element. Alexander N. Charters (1971) alluded to this stance and, importantly, attested to the state of flux in the field:

Adult Education has been characterized by *its ability to adjust* [italics added] and to be relevant. Agencies have adjusted their programs and structure to meet real contemporary needs. Some new ones have been created and some disbanded. Other agencies have been modified to include adult education interests. Adult

Education has also been characterized by growth in scope, programs, and number of participants. (p. 11)

Change drove institutions. In response institutions were using and reshaping adult education to deliver programs that would meet their needs in the emerging postindustrial society. Institutions required people to adjust to the techno-scientized culture and adult education was to be the vehicle to accomplish this goal. Meeting the needs of adult learners invariably meant meeting the needs of the institution. Learner survival became a key ingredient in institutional survival. Survival was a preoccupation in this time of scientific and technological rupture, but it was a Darwinian notion of survival that focused on individuals, on the one hand, and institutions, on the other. It was the survival of the fittest individuals, the fittest institutions. Learning to cope with change involved “relevant” learning to meet the changing needs of the institution. Adult education seemed to have space and place only to the extent that it provided the right kind of learning. To the extent that it did, the enterprise was complicit with a dominant culture that valued instrumental education as prime currency. Social concerns were sidelined as institutions rushed to find ways to relieve the tension between the advancement of science and technology and the maintenance of the status quo. Some adult educators did see what was happening. Paul Bergevin (1967) discussed change process in the context of adult education.

Adult education must be based on a philosophy of change, of movement. It must also take into account the nature of the adult as a learner, always learning something for his [sic] edification or his destruction. (p. 26)

Alan M. Thomas (1961), calling for the creation of a “learning society,” contended that adult education gave too much control to other institutions in its struggle for space and place. He believed that adult educators were left with an either/or choice:

We, as educators, can continue to run other peoples’ errands, to jump when some other major institution or power wills and rush to do its bidding; we can remain, hat-in-hand, grateful for every small amount of support society chooses to give us. ... Or we can speak reasonably but with force and conviction to our citizens of the vision that the learning society affords, of the possibilities we all have seen arising from the determined nourishing of this capacity [for lifelong learning]. (p. 410)

While the need for adult education in the face of postindustrial change forces was agreed upon, the form and function that adult education should take was not subject to the same general consensus. Each institution was pushing its own agenda and using adult education like oxygen to breathe life into its own growth and development. Like oxygen, adult education seemed able to expand without limit. However, it also shared a less desirable characteristic: The enterprise could not determine its own shape. This concerned Verner (1964b) who argued that the institutionalization of adult education reduced the field’s flexibility and “contribute[d] to the episodic nature of adult education which, coupled with other negative influences, tends to present a dismal prognosis for consistency in the development of adult education” (p. 9). He purported that institutional diversity prevented systematic planning and coordination of adult education activities and made it difficult to determine responsibility for particular forms of adult education. John Walker Powell (1956) agreed, relating that even though institutional diversity had been a source of

pride to the enterprise it was a weakness of adult education: This diversity interfered with issues of competency standards, program accountability, and collaborative program planning. Powell, believing that adult education is being what we will, contended that the institutionalization of adult education amounted to being what others will us to be. Wilbur C. Hallenbeck (1964) agreed, purporting that highly institutionalized adult education patterns, once established, are marked by inflexibility and tend to persist. However, some adult educators cited institutional diversity as an advantage. For example, Hallenbeck (1964) also argued that adult education's tendencies to form some institutions and become part of others actually favored flexibility and located the enterprise as a social change agent. Russell J. Kleis and Donald G. Butcher (1969) contended that institutional pluralism necessarily reflected the diverse needs of American community life. Moreover, they felt that multiple associations were necessary "to identify and enlist the total reservoir of continuing education resources available in any community" (p. 48).

Wayne L. Schroeder (1970) concurred and referred to the Johnstone and Rivera Report, *Volunteers for Learning* (1965), to reveal the engrained institutional character of adult education. He described an institutional multiverse that included churches, universities, community organizations, public schools and governments. Schroeder noted that this multiverse had prompted a number of adult educators including Houle, Knowles, and Verner to develop institutional typologies. Drawing on this triumvirate, Schroeder introduced his own typology based on the functions of adult education in these institutions: Type I agencies had adult education as a central function, were few in number, and included proprietary schools and independent residential centers that met the

specific educational needs of a specific group; Type II agencies had adult education as a secondary function, served the educational needs of youth, and included public schools and universities; Type III agencies had adult education as an allied function, served the more general educational and non-educational needs of the community, and included libraries and health and welfare agencies; Type IV agencies had adult education as a subordinate function, used adult education as a vehicle to fulfill their primary agendas, and included governments and churches. This typology showed that adult education was inextricably linked to institutional life in North America. It demonstrated that institutionalization was a complex dynamic in the Iztion Syndrome affecting the enterprise. However, in some ways institutionalization was still an infant process. Gale Jensen, A. A. Liveright, and Wilbur C. Hallenbeck (1964) went so far as to say that many institutions were not aware that they were engaged in adult education. They were not tuned into the use of adult education methods and resources, and many of them did not systematically assess individual and community needs. Institutionalization was further disabled because there was no mechanism in place which fostered collaborative planning with other institutions involved in adult education. Thus efforts were variously insufficient, inefficient, or redundant. Burton R. Clark (1968) argued that institutionalization could not be understood “without conceiving of institutionalization as a matter of degree” (p. 144). He contended, “The analysis of institutional development needs to be concerned with nascent and immature forms” (p. 144). To explain his hypothesis suggesting that adult education tended to be invisible in institutions, he used the adult school to provide an example. This school was a service organization. Without the protection accorded public

schools, its security and survival were hampered by its “weak power and status and the pressures of the enrollment economy” (p. 146). He used this organization as an example of an educational entity with a tenuous space and place shifted by economic and social priorities.

When the adult school is compared to the major institutions of education and of society at large, it appears as a weakly established and peripheral institution: the groups committed to this particular educational pattern are small; they have limited authority, power, and status; and the basic norms and patterns of action are still insecurely established. (p. 144)

Clark concluded that the service orientation shaping many adult educational institutions made them weak. The service institution catered to a changing clientele and operated from open-ended goals. Its kind of adult education was fragmented and controlled by economic and other forces. It could disappear at any moment.

Thus institutionalization of adult education had its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, by giving adult education a home within organized entities, institutionalization provided a means to structure the field. On the other hand, by tending toward specialization and particular agendas, institutionalization contributed to fragmentation and a disorder detrimental to the enterprise’s growth and development. The 1965 Johnstone and Rivera study bore this out (Blakely & Lappin, 1969). This study concluded that most institutions treated adult education as marginal or peripheral. It further related that organizations seeking to unify or coordinate the field did not receive strong support on any level, from local to national. As a result adult education was

“rapidly becoming more diverse, more vast, and more amorphous” (p. 2). In his historical perspective of adult education’s development to 1961, Paul H. Sheats (1970) called the “establishment oriented” nature of adult education in the modern era its Achilles’ heel. He suggested that the enterprise was “the midwife to tradition” (p. xxvii) and related that only a small minority of adults were involved in education for social and public responsibility. He concluded, “We have a long way to go before we achieve action-oriented adult education” (p. xxvii). Nevertheless, Bergevin (1967) observed that structuring adult education through existing institutions could be worthwhile since the institutional approach draws strength from the human need to belong and thus can build community. However, for adult education itself to belong, or at least have space in an institution, it usually had to adjust to the philosophy, channels of communication, and other defining features of the institution. These features could be stressors for the enterprise if its goals and action plans did not align with those of the institution. Adult education could be reduced to a “fitting in” stance, to shelving its own agenda and mirroring that of the institution that was at once giving and taking its life. This was the catch-22 of institutionalization.

The University: Border Zone or Bounded Learning Space

“To trace the history of American institutions of higher learning since World War II is to sketch a scene full of movement and mutation” (Tolley, 1967, p. 2). The need for university involvement in community development was a common postwar theme shaping this scene. Many looked to the university in their search for a way out of social and economic dilemmas. Cohen (1970) declared, “In the growing vacuum of solutions, the

American university is being viewed as a possible instrument for change” (p. 13). During this period adult educators sought to forge partnerships with various public institutions including the university in their quest to promote community service, collective problem solving, and social action. They were heartened by the 1947 report of the President’s Commission on Higher Education (*Higher Education for Democracy*) which described colleges and universities as well equipped with the resources to play a substantial role in community-based adult education. However, the Commission also related that it was “painfully clear that colleges and universities do not recognize adult education as their potentially greatest service to democratic society. It is pushed aside as something quite extraneous to the real business of the university” (Grattan, 1955/1971, p. 291). While the university was not a border zone where adult education had space and place, the Commission stated that adult education needed to be as valued as any other university provision. Courses needed to be designed to specifically meet the informational and vocational needs of adults in the postwar change culture.

However, the question of responsibility for adult education in the United States had always been an open one. There was no indication that this would change so that responsibility for adult education fell exclusively within any particular institution (Grattan, 1959). Reflecting on the history of modern practice, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) conclude, “No type of institution is likely ... to enjoy anything approaching a monopoly in adult education” (p. 240). Moreover, the enterprise’s history as education in reaction made it clear that adult education could not afford to tie its future to the whims of any one institution. Since institutional forms of adult education come and go, adult education’s

survival seemed dependent on many associations in an institutional multiverse. James B. Whipple (1970) contended that the debate around the question of space and place revealed the ambiguous nature of the enterprise. Nevertheless, there was widespread acknowledgment that adult education was needed and universities should play a significant role in its delivery. This was not a new notion. It had been contained in the “Wisconsin Idea” developed by Charles Van Hise, pioneer adult educator in extension at the University of Wisconsin (Stubblefield & Keane, 1994). He had stated:

The broadest ideal of service demands that the University, as the best-fitted instrument, shall take up the problems of carrying out knowledge to the people. ... It is apparent that this work is one of enormous magnitude and not inferior in importance or in opportunity to the functions of the university earlier recognized - those of instruction and research. (cited, Liveright, 1960, p. 204)

Grattan (1959) envisioned every university as a “community college” guided by the Wisconsin view of extension. Van Hise’s idea lived out at the University of Wisconsin, and later borrowed by Henry Marshall Tory at the University of Alberta, set broad parameters. Grattan concluded:

The knowledge, attitudes, and activities necessary for responsible citizenship in our free society ... call for thought and action now. Higher education will not play its social role in American democracy and in international affairs successfully unless it assumes the responsibility for a program of adult education reaching far beyond the campus and the classroom. (Grattan, 1959, p.135)

Grattan listed a number of barriers to realizing this vision. Firstly, there was the limited and sometimes inflexible understanding of adult education exacerbated by the debate over vocational versus liberal education. Secondly, there was the limited notion that colleges and universities had with respect to their role in a democratic society. In the 1950s, US universities were generally criticized for being oblivious to relations of power and the social context and for ignoring the communities of which they were part (Bundy, 1970). McGeorge Bundy argued that “for the most part this complaint is little more than an attempt to charge against one part of society a myopia which was general at the time” (p. 542). He defended the universities, suggesting they were generally busy producing the ideas that dynamized the legislative revolution of 1963-1965. He suggested that the university did fulfill its key role:

Turning back to the fifties, I will assert that we were right on one absolutely vital point: we knew what the university was for: learning. The university is for learning - not for politics, not for growing up, not even for virtue, except as these things cut in and out of learning, and except also as they are necessary elements of all good human activity. (p. 555)

The role of the university in adult education was also debated north of the border. Harold Innis (1947) argued that the university had a significant role to play in Canadian adult education and community development. He purported, “If the university becomes thoroughly seized of its role in a community, ... it can contribute powerfully to a solution of the problems of adult education” (p. 348-349). However, the Canadian reality was not so different from that in the United States:

In the main, adult education has tended to fall into the hands of those who do not command the respect of scholars and are looked upon with suspicion by them.

Both scholars and the public look upon them as concerned with vested interests including parties, governments or their own positions. (Innis, 1947, p.350)

In forms like extension, which shaped academe's understanding of the field, adult education seemed unsuited to an academic niche. N. A. M. MacKenzie (1965) related, "The academic purists understandably feel that a university would do its best work and make its most important and significant contribution if it could concentrate on ... essential and basic functions ... [including] significant scholarship, high level graduate work and important research" (p. 141). For Kidd (1956), adult education had a history of making many academics uncomfortable. He recounted that university extension had been first to challenge traditional notions in academe. Academics had argued against an enterprise space and place in the university. Kidd worked through their array of arguments. Some were logistical: resources were limited and academics already had demanding workloads. One argument pointed to a loss of control to other institutions as the university accommodated adult education: "Some adult education activities ... have been thinly veiled propaganda for a business interest, or for government or labor, or some other special point of view" (p. 15). There was also the consummate elitist argument: "'Popular' education always leads to vulgarization and the abandonment of high standards which the universities have labored for so many centuries to attain" (p. 15).

Despite these arguments, adult education did have its supporters in the university. Some academics related that adult education as extension had increased the visibility of

the university in the community. The success of extension provided other arguments in favor of an enterprise presence in academe (Kidd, 1956). Adult education had expanded the university's agency by introducing a clientele that transcended the boundaries of class. Moreover, it had increased university enrollment. However, these arguments did not greatly strengthen the case for a respected niche for adult education. As academic adult education emerged, its space and place in the university was demeaned by the enterprise's history as extension, as something peripheral to the real work of universities. And yet universities as community institutions could not avoid responsibility for the education of adults in the post-World War II change culture. The mission of the university had to be revised to meet the needs of adult learners dislocated by the war and the growing technoscience reconfiguring the postwar world. Kidd concluded that the university would be less able to give its traditional elitist answer to the question "For which adults should the university be responsible?" Nevertheless, Canadian universities remained "hotbeds of quietism" in the 1950s (Kilbourn, 1968, p. 309). Canada experienced this decade as a time of prosperity and civil peace when, at least superficially, societal structures and politics seemed static. People wanted to live comfortable, ordinary lives beyond depression and war and in reach of the affluence that seemed attainable in the postwar boon years. William Kilbourn (1968) gives this assessment of the status of Canadian universities at the end of 1950s:

The universities were the very centre of an opulent urban society whose attitudes were being studied and programmed by social scientists and computers, and whose way of life was being altered beyond recognition by automation and electronics

and a new industrial alchemy which seemed capable of turning any substance into anything else. (p. 314)

The 1960s became a period of pronounced crises for educational institutions as the scope of politics and economics expanded and as changes in culture and technology forced a reweaving of the social. In terms of the university-community connection, this reweaving process involved debates over some key questions: What was the university's responsibility to society, and specifically to the variously disadvantaged and powerless? What were the community's rights with respect to the university? How should the university relate to its surrounding community? These debates usually ended in a call for increased university involvement in everyday life, learning, and work issues. Of course, this involvement was problematic because of the divide between university culture and the cultures of communities where everyday citizen workers and learners lived. Nevertheless, at the end of the decade, Granville D. Davis (1970) concluded, "Today, there can be no second-hand approach to society's ills; an epitaph can be ordered in advance for a discipline or an institution that looks upon its community as incidental or irrelevant" (p. 47). Was the university able to answer the community's call? Nathan E. Cohen (1970) reflected:

The university enters the challenge of the urban period unclear and divided as to its role and functions. It is no longer an integrated community with a single purpose and a common language. At its hub are the graduate schools with their emphasis on research and specialized graduate training. ... The hub has been attempting to pull the undergraduate programs and the professional schools into its vortex. At

the same time, the nature of the urban condition and the problems of society in general are such that they are tugging both of these groups in an opposite direction. (p. 20)

Academic adult educators worked in this milieu and persevered in the absence of any real welcome into academe where the education of adults through extension had little status. Perhaps their marginalization within university culture increased their desire to create a space and place by professionalizing and institutionalizing their practice. Many worked to build an increasingly instrumentalized practice in keeping with the university trend to give increasing prominence to science and technology (see, for example, Selman, 1978; Verner, 1969). These educators saw the university as the logical place to engage in research, professional development, community development, curriculum and materials development, and adult educational and career counseling (Haygood, 1970). However, adult education did not slide easily into academe. It was a marginal entity in both the education discipline and the university. To evolve in academe, it seemed necessary to move away from its traditional role and purpose, from its pluralistic and voluntary nature. Establishing space and place in the university would be different work from its traditional work beyond the walls of academe.

The Emergence of Graduate Adult Education: Liveright (1960) described the period from 1940 to 1960 as growth years when there were more institutions, students, experimentation, and course offerings in higher adult education. Professional degree programs grew rapidly in number in North America in this period (Selman, 1978; Verner, 1969). However, Verner (1964b) qualified this growth: While colleges and universities

had a growing history of involvement in adult education, their programs were bounded by tradition and less conducive to meeting adult educational needs. This was a barrier to the professionalization of adult education. The enterprise was still located on the periphery of higher education. The question of adult education's legitimacy in academe persisted as did its increasing financial problems as it tried to meet diverse needs in the face of change. Nevertheless, professional adult education did achieve a presence in the university. As the number of graduate programs grew, academic adult educators worked to provide leadership and direction. There was an increase in research in adult education, most of it arising from program growth (Selman, 1978). Houle (1970) recorded that, by 1968, at least twenty universities on the continent offered a doctoral program in adult education, and "by January 1, 1969, 726 Ph. D.'s and Ed. D.'s in adult education had been awarded at North American universities" (p. 116). Adult education had found a home of sorts in the university.

Verner (1964b) recounted that Teachers College, Columbia University, appeared to be the first US university to develop a curriculum for the education of adult educators; it had offered a course on the education of immigrants in 1917. The term "adult education" was first included in the title of a university course at Columbia University in 1922 (Houle, 1964; Verner, 1964b). Houle (1964) listed 1923-1926 as the birth years of the adult education movement in the United States. He related that Columbia University created the first department of adult education in 1930 and by 1931-1932 had developed curricula enabling the offering of graduate adult education degrees. Verner (1964b) added that Columbia conferred the first doctorate in adult education in 1935. Columbia's move

into graduate adult education was followed by the establishment of programs at Ohio State University in 1931 and the University of Chicago in 1935 (Houle, 1964). The University of Chicago conferred its first doctorate in 1940 (Verner, 1964b). While Syracuse University offered graduate study in adult education from 1936, a graduate degree-granting program was only initiated in 1951 under the guidance of Alexander Charters (Houle, 1964). By 1962, fifteen American universities offered full-scale graduate-degree programs in adult education (Houle, 1964). However, thirty US universities had awarded 323 doctorates by the beginning of 1962 since some universities without a specific adult education program allowed students to specialize and write dissertations in the field (Verner, 1964b).

Graduate adult education had a slower evolution in Canada; special adult education courses were periodically provided by different universities (Houle, 1964). The first undergraduate single credit course in academic adult education was given by Sir George Williams College in 1934 (Selman, 1995). In 1950 Kidd (1950) recounted that courses in adult education could be taken at Laval University, St. Francis Xavier University, Macdonald College, and Sir George Williams College. He related the need for formally trained adult educators, noting that the Canadian Association of Adult Education was developing a plan for a graduate adult education program to be given at one or more universities. He described the uneven development of adult education in Canada and the need for coordination at the community, regional, and national levels. The first graduate course was offered by the Ontario College of Education in 1951 (Selman, 1995). By 1957, seven universities were involved in academic adult education (Selman, 1995). Yet, Canada

could only boast the existence of one full-scale graduate-degree program in adult education by the late 1950s. It began under the direction of Alan Thomas at the University of British Columbia in 1957, with the first graduate degree being granted in 1960 (Houle, 1964). However, Canadian adult education strengthened its sense of vocation in the 1950s and academic adult education expanded in the 1960s in the midst of emphases on training adult educators and institutional development (Selman & Dampier, 1991). In 1968 the University of Montréal became the first French Canadian university to offer an adult education program (Selman, 1995). By 1970 seven Canadian universities offered graduate programs in adult education with the University of British Columbia (introduced in 1961), the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (introduced in 1965), and the University of Montréal (introduced in 1969) offering doctoral programs (Selman & Dampier, 1991).

As adult education emerged in the university, a key question had to be addressed: What knowledge and practices should guide the development of professional adult education? Bergevin (1967) felt that theory and practice had to inform one another in graduate adult education. He said programs “should emphasize both broad and specific training in the skills of relationship with others, in communication, and in social, philosophical, and historical concepts affecting human conduct” (p. 62). Thomas (1958) concurred in his description of the development of the graduate adult education program at the University of British Columbia. This program gave precedence to “the political, economic, and social implications of adult education, and the problems of power and responsibility that arise” (p. 341). Thomas concluded that two factors were central to program development in graduate adult education: 1) the need to address “the imposition

of the habitual format of the University on material which in its very nature must challenge the ... organization of knowledge” (p. 341); and, 2) the need to consider student clientele and community needs as elements in program development. His first point alluded to the fact that traditional university methods and techniques were not always conducive to adult education. His latter point suggested that the individual and the social were complementary factors in the education of adults. Thomas was aware that adult education had a diverse clientele who required a worldly education. Adult learners required programs where theory, research, and practice were engaged in a dynamics that addressed the needs of the individual in local and global community contexts.

Verner (1964b) summarized the generic core courses of established graduate programs in adult education: 1) a survey course serving as an introduction to the field; 2) a foundations course investigating the philosophical, social, historical, and psychological foundations of adult education; 3) a program planning course looking at connections between adult learning and program design; 4) a processes course studying connections between adult learning and method, device, and technique; 5) a community study course connecting adult education to the social needs of the community and examining how adult education functions in community institutions; and, 6) field work involving a practicum where theory and principles learned in graduate study are applied to community adult education programs. While his list intimates that the enterprise was indeed going down the road to professionalization, Verner (1969) did point out that the road was a rocky one. It remained a difficult task for adult education to define its role within the university. He

indicated that this task was compounded by a lack of understanding of adult education as a component of all education.

The growth in [graduate professional] programs [in adult education] has not been entirely logical or constructive as it has tended to occur slowly within Schools of Education where it has been viewed primarily as an extension of pedagogy rather than as a distinct subject with its own unique body of knowledge and practice.

(Verner, 1969, p. 133)

Thus adult education was left to find a space and place not only in the university but in the discipline of education as well. Houle (1964) listed other issues of concern to graduate adult education in the 1960s: 1) No clearly delineated and universally accepted outlines of study existed; 2) An inadequate research base hampered professional enterprise development; 3) No foundation in undergraduate study was in place to prepare practitioners whose first orientation to adult education was at the graduate level; 4) Insufficient funds for fellowships limited access to graduate programs; 5) Graduate adult education programs were often part of faculties of education where they were overly reliant on established courses geared to public education; and, 6) The formal organization of graduate adult education lacked a clear identity in universities with programs ranging from recognized specialties to programs that were subsets of larger concentrations like educational foundations to programs divided up among several fields.

Liveright (1964) was similarly concerned with the lack of organization in an enterprise operating in a state of flux and movement. He contended that adult education could not be definitively referred to as a discipline or a profession, although he felt that the

enterprise was moving in both directions. Thus he said that it was neither possible nor desirable to specifically set out the organization or content of graduate adult education, but it was possible to give a general depiction of graduate studies in the field. The diverse nature of adult education was a major factor inhibiting the setting of common aims and objectives that would identify competencies for graduate programs and entrance into them:

The fact that practitioners of adult education ... vary so in the organizations and institutions they represent, their tasks and responsibilities, background, prior education and training, and the fact that they hold such differing images of the field, has special implications for a graduate program. (Liveright, 1964, p. 94)

Liveright was not so concerned with determining whether or not adult education was a profession. He felt that it was more important to assess the degree to which the enterprise was moving in that direction. Academic adult educators needed to gauge their successes in training other adult educators, developing methods and techniques, building a knowledge base, and conducting research primarily focused on practice. To support this move, Liveright believed that graduate studies in adult education needed to be guided by a philosophy, a sense of values, and a code of ethics. He added, "To arrive at the desired degree of professionalization the graduate program should develop an understanding of the social needs for adult education and the social role to be performed by its practitioners" (p. 89). To further its development as a discipline, Liveright suggested that adult education had to be practically concerned with areas including the psychology of

adult learning and the historical and social roles of adult education in modern society. An accelerated research effort was to be an integral part of demonstrating this interest.

In summary, while academic adult education made strides after World War II, its struggle for space and place remained an ongoing one. This struggle further exemplified a key point concerning adult education in the era of modern practice: Generally speaking, universities in both Canada and the United States have not been very good providers of public service through continuing education. While the University of Saskatchewan, the University of Alberta, and St. Francis Xavier University have stood as outstanding examples of universities committed to the education of citizen workers and learners, many other Canadian universities have been reluctant to accept responsibility for adult education. University continuing education only began to develop appreciably in Canada after World War II (Campbell, 1984). US universities have also been slow and inconsistent in providing education for public responsibility. While the University of Wisconsin has stood as perhaps the best model of a US university committed to the education of ordinary citizens, few US universities have advanced the cause of adult education even though they acknowledged some responsibility to take part in continuing education and community development in the postwar period (Whipple, 1970). Despite this tendency of universities to be distant from adult education, Liveright (1960) related that the growth of college and university adult education was the enterprise's most pervasive characteristic. He listed two general goals of higher adult education in this period: 1) to conduct vocational training and other aspects of adult education, and 2) to promote lifelong learning and engage in continuing education for civic responsibility and individual growth and development.

However, in his view, this growth was accompanied by the following problems: 1) The marginal status of adult education made its existence vulnerable; 2) Higher adult education was expanding at a time when universities experienced burgeoning enrollments and greater demands on learning spaces and personnel; 3) There was a lack of government support for this expansion at a time when financial aid from foundations and other sources was taxed to the limit; 4) Higher adult education had not been integrated into the university complex so it was seen as dispensable in times of economic crisis; 5) Many adult education programs and courses were inappropriate for use at the university level; and, 6) Goals and objectives for higher adult education had not been clearly set. Liveright highlighted the need to image higher adult education in ways that made the public aware of its importance to personal and social progress. Adult education had to be visible and shaped as a necessity. Its programs had to nurture proactive rather than reactive education. They had to focus on more than the needs of the moment and the local context. The matter of advertising the enterprise's presence and value was very much a matter of adult education's survival. This was necessary because adult education historically had to pay its own way and be financially solvent.

Federal Government Involvement: Boost or Barrier to an Emerging Enterprise?

The Politics of Placation and Education as Reaction: Government maneuvers in the realm of the politics of earning a living and living a life. For reasons generally having to do with its own survival, this maneuvering takes shape as a politics of placation where government serves its own interests by appearing to serve the interests of ordinary people.

These politics are concerned with the survival of citizens only to the extent that such concern promotes government survival. Thus the expression of these politics is in forms designed to maintain the dominant culture where the government stands sentinel. Lyotard (1984) suggests how government performs: "The State resorts to the narrative of freedom every time it assumes direct control over the training of the 'people,' under the name of the 'nation,' in order to point them down the path of progress" (p. 32). The politics of placation raise questions with respect to the trustworthiness, effectiveness, and adequacy of government, especially when "strains threaten, if not ... [society's] survival, at least its survival in a form consistent with our humane and democratic values" (Blakely & Lappin, 1969, p. 21). Historically, adult education, by nature and purpose, has been caught up in the politics of placation. For example, in the postindustrial society emerging after World War II, adult education was seen as a vehicle to train individuals so they would have the technical competencies required to advance the emerging rapid-change, techno-scientized culture. These politics amounted to management by containment. In other words, as a societal enterprise adult education was expected to fit government's modus operandi. Drawing on Habermas, Pusey (1987) explains this government action to avoid disruption and maintain the status quo as an expression of deficits in the system-lifeworld interaction:

[In addition to increasing social demands of people and the conflicting demands of capital] the deficits accrue for the further reason that simple 'allocative policies' (of allocating specific resources to specific claimants) are, at best, only palliatives that do nothing to redress the underlying structural inequalities. More problematically still, they bring to the surface of political contestation a welter of

contradictory demands that are then met with smoothing and avoidance strategies that are impossible to coordinate successfully beyond the short term and that ultimately only add to the frustrations, suspicions and resentments of large populations. (p. 100)

In packaging learning to fit government's agenda, mainstream adult education reacted with education for the moment that celebrated technique. This educational form was the response of an enterprise meeting the needs of the dominant change culture. The needs of adult learners were aligned to its purpose and structure. This contributed to learner dissatisfaction by creating situations where adult learners experienced learning as unfreedom. Speaking to the issue of bread and freedom, Albert Camus's (1960) words read as an epitaph to these politics of placation and their consequences:

After all, if freedom had always had to rely on governments to encourage her [sic] growth, she would probably be still in her infancy or else definitively buried with the inscription "another angel in heaven." The society of money and exploitation has never been charged, so far as I know, with assuring the triumph of freedom and justice. (pp. 88-89)

James Truslow Adams (1944), envisioning the role of US adult education after World War II, saw the catch-22 situation of government involvement in the enterprise. On the one hand, he realized that adult education's work to confront postwar dislocation and climatize citizens to techno-scientization could only be carried out with substantial federal financing. On the other hand, he saw that federal involvement would be accompanied by

threats to the integrity and autonomy of adult education. He resisted the notion of adult education as reaction:

Moreover, by Adult Education I mean just what I say, simon-pure education - not something hitched on to the tail of a Relief program kite in which Relief is considered first and education is just a handy way of disguising doles. (p. 337)

Kidd (1950) also focused on this issue in Canada. He noted that Canadian adult educators expressed neither the concern nor even the resentment warranted by what could be perceived as government's encroachment upon the enterprise:

Perhaps the most significant trend in adult education is the increased activity of government: federal, provincial and local. Is this a threat or a stimulus? In many parts of the world this question would be fiercely debated. And it is of more than academic interest in Canada. There is [only] some speculation about the activities of the federal Government ... and about the autonomy of private or local groups when a provincial department engages in adult education. (p. 22)

Government involvement in adult education had become a postwar reality. In 1950 William Faulkner wrote, "Our economy is the Federal Government" (Leuchtenburg, 1986, p. 591). The melding of the economic and the educational seemed an inevitable consequence.

In the late 1950s Sputniks I and II epitomized the extent of global scientific and technological changes. The Soviet Union had won the race for space at a time when the United States was working feverishly to win the no-win Cold War. Canada had become America's ambivalent ally (Thompson & Randall, 1994). Both countries required a new

kind of highly skilled worker in the military-industrial complex that evolved in postindustrial North America. Those wielding power in US and Canadian governments saw the role that adult education could play in the commodification of knowledge for economic and political purposes. Thus education became a tool of federal government in the 1960s in its efforts to advance the techno-scientization of society. Adult education was contained and used to address social and cultural crises during “an age when the modern frontier is one of the mind, not one of geography” (Butz, 1958, p.33). Blakely and Lappin (1969) treated the institutional process where knowledge was power to control power as a *fait accompli* in the science-based, noetic American society. They related, “By necessity, government is increasingly involved in the development and management of organized knowledge for public purposes” (p. 31). Knowledge had become a highly valuable resource. Government instrumentalized new forms of knowledge to suit its own agenda so that the United States remained powerful and affluent among nations. It also used knowledge in its search for ways to settle social unrest exacerbated by relentless poverty and growing racial tensions. The politics of placation were used to address the problems of disenfranchised people in superficial ways not threatening to the status quo.

US Federal Involvement in Adult Education: There was little federal involvement in US educational policy prior to 1960 (Kantor, 1991). Knowles (1962/1977) summarized that aid to adult education had taken the form of land grants or the funding of special programs only. The late 1950s and early 1960s marked a period of dramatic change as increased federal initiatives resulted in large scale aid to education including adult education in the United States (Dorland, 1969). US federal education policy

developed with attention to the nature of poverty and the relationship of the state to the economy: The New Frontier and Great Society social agendas promoted federal involvement in education to equalize opportunities for the poor and educationally disadvantaged (Kantor, 1991). Kantor recounted that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was a milestone signaling the federal move into the public education domain. He noted that this incursion of the federal into what had traditionally been a local domain created conflict that limited possibilities for educational reform. Federal aid meant that federal interests affected educational policy-making and the setting of educational priorities. Unprecedented federal aid was also given to adult education. In the post-Sputnik era, the federal government put enterprise agencies, legislation, and funding into place (Knowles & Klevins, 1972). Malcolm S. Knowles and Chester Klevins (1972) related that the major concerns in adult education became adult basic education for the undereducated, and job training and career development for the unemployed. This rapid program expansion was an expression of the politics of placation at work. Burton W. Kreitlow (1970) concluded, "The development of government programs which recognized adult education as part of a national responsibility was more a response to a changing society than an effort at leadership" (p. 140).

Support for adult education grew under the Kennedy administration and reached new heights with President Johnson's initiatives to create the Great Society. The initial involvement of the federal government came through the provision of training to people whose unemployment was caused by geographic shifts in the demand for labor and technological change (Knowles, 1962/1977). Later, undereducation gained visibility as a

major contributor to unemployment and adult education became a direct federal concern (Cortwright and Brice, 1970). Legislation was pervasive throughout the 1960s, with Knowles and Klevins (1972) listing the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the Vocational Education Act of 1963 as key federal initiatives. James R. Dorland (1969) highlighted the importance of these acts. They gave adult basic education stature as the foundation for job training. However, “neither bill recognized adult education to the extent that it was a central part of it or was included as a separate title in the legislation” (p. 120). Nevertheless, the Manpower Development and Training Act made adult education a more specific part of federal legislation on education. “This bill also marked the legislative birth of the term which has had so much use during the 1960s - *adult basic education* [his italics]” (p. 119). While the Vocational Education Act had not been primarily passed as an adult education bill, it included adults in its design to reach people of all ages who needed to upgrade or learn skills for employment. The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was a milestone. It established the Adult Basic Education Program to enable the undereducated to gain the literacy and mathematical skills that would enhance their opportunities for employment (Knowles, 1962/1977). Dorland (1969) remarked on the importance of this act, calling it the cornerstone of President Johnson’s War on Poverty. It was the first time that adult education had been specifically mentioned in federal legislation. Knowles and Klevins (1972) recorded that the Bureau of Adult and Vocational Education was created within the United States Office of Education in 1965 as a response to this legislation. It included a division of Adult Education Programs. There were logistical problems with this setup. Dorland (1969)

noted that the adult basic education program was funded by one federal agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and operated by another, the United States Office of Education (USOE). When funding by the OEO did not match the USOE's expectations, those operating adult education programs had to cope with budgetary difficulties (Dorland, 1969). Translating federal legislation into worthwhile adult education proved a difficult matter on many fronts. For example, under Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, many universities took part in adult education and community development aimed at solving community problems, particularly in urban settings (Blakely & Lappin, 1969). Title I was "designed to support established programs of extension, to provide community services, and to assist in the establishment of such programs in institutions of higher education" (Charters, 1971, p. 53). William Pearson Tolley (1967) declared:

The commitment of the federal government, under Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, to adult or continuing education is not only the most exciting news we can report from the United States but may also prove to be news of the greatest significance for urban communities around the world. (p. 21)

With respect to this legislation, Tolley idealistically cast the university in the role of a responsive and responsible institution that considered both social problems and possibilities as it served communities in a state of flux. He believed that if the university fulfilled its leadership and service roles it could tackle urgent problems such as those associated with urban development and undereducation. Whipple (1970) gave a more realistic assessment of Title I. While it had brought continuing education and community service together by providing funding, it presumed that community members would

participate in the development of educational programs to assist community development. However, such an assumption was conditional. It depended on genuine university commitment to the community and real efforts to include community members in the development of programs to meet perceived needs. The university had a poor track record in this regard.

Bundy (1970) stated another condition hampering the success of Title I: Academics had not sufficiently strengthened their own sense of community. This included welcoming nontraditional “disciplines” like adult education and being committed to them. Blakely and Lappin (1969) concluded that Title I projects also met with mixed results due to inadequate funding and poorly defined program objectives:

Some institutions that rushed into Title I projects are now drawing back.

Universities ... remain preoccupied with their own grave internal problems.

Educational institutions cannot commit their faculties to a particular interest.

Community problems are large-system, long-term problems, and faculty interest is small-project, short-term interest. It is hard for town and gown to understand one another. (p. 37)

This distance between town and gown was exacerbated by hazy understandings of adult education and community service. Dorland (1969) gave an example of the confusion: “As for the Higher Education Act, Title I - although not designed for public school adult education programs - was called ‘Community Service and Continuing Education Programs’ and was specifically a higher adult education title” (p. 122). There were also institutional variables affecting what Title I programs could actually do:

The conduct of the program or performance of the activity or service is consistent with the institution's overall educational program and is of such a nature as is appropriate to the effective utilization of the institution's special resources and the competencies of its faculty. (Dorland, 1969, p. 123)

Title I met with limited success (Knowles, 1962/1977). Sheats (1970) concluded, "Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 ... led to the involvement of colleges and universities which, up to that point, had shown little interest in continuing education. That programming has been skewed by ... funding inducements seems undeniable" (p. xxviii). The Adult Education Act of 1966 followed on the heels of Title I. It marked the first time that adult education appeared as a separate title in federal legislation. Dorland (1969) heralded its inclusion in terms that belied adult education's space and place in society and its institutions:

It became a part of the largest federal education bill ever enacted, the ESEA, and by virtue of that inclusion would be considered for renewal in the future at the same time that the Congress would consider renewing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In effect, it moved adult education into the mainstream of education. (p. 123)

However, at best, adult education was slowly swimming upstream in the mainstream of education. Knowles (1962/1977) provided this synopsis of the negative consequences of federal involvement in the enterprise in the 1960s:

(1) With most federal funds designated for special projects rather than support for basic continuing programs, there is a tendency toward program fragmentation and

diversion from central goals. (2) Since many federal projects are of a crash nature with short lead time for planning and unrealistic deadlines, they produce a diversion of energy from long-run objectives and a constant climate of crisis. (3) Status within and among institutions is strongly influenced by a dean's success in obtaining federal grants or contracts, producing a new spirit of competitiveness among colleagues and a tendency to value grantsmanship over broader professional competencies. (p. 296)

Canadian Federal Involvement in Adult Education: By 1960 Canada's economy and position as a modern industrial nation were shaped by corporate capitalism. State intervention had become an accepted way to deal with economic downturns and provide a social safety net (Finkel, Conrad, & Strong-Boag, 1993). This was a boon to Canadian adult education which became an instrument of government in the wake of socioeconomic woes and post-Sputnik fears. The enterprise grew increasingly like its US counterpart after World War II and its move forward was also shaped by the Izzard Syndrome. It developed a similar preoccupation with a professionalized, techno-scientized practice that emphasized individual growth and development and sought to enhance national potential by developing individual potential. Ottawa developed initiatives that used adult education as a coping mechanism in socially and economically troubled times (Selman, 1984). These undertakings intensified with the economic recession of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Federally-funded programs, including manpower training, became part of a national effort to address poverty, unemployment, and undereducation. The enterprise grew with "the availability for this work of hitherto undreamed of amounts of

money and numbers of workers. In many respects, adult education ‘arrived’ in Canada during the 1960s” (Selman, 1978, p. 4).

However, since education is under provincial jurisdiction in Canada, federal initiatives had a different face from those in the United States. Speaking to the issue of jurisdiction and the education of adults in *Learning is the fifth freedom*, the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) (1964) noted that the federal government was already heavily involved in adult education through such initiatives as manpower development, basic skill training, community development, and training for citizenship. The CAAE related that the complexity of federal-provincial dynamics obscured many adult education opportunities for Canadians. While the CAAE supported local and regional initiation of adult education, they wanted to make the role of the federal government in adult education more apparent and flexible in areas including financial support, research and planning, and professional development. The CAAE noted the need to be cognizant of the national picture of adult education and the dire need for more universities to be involved in the training and development of adult educators.

In Canada the federal government focused specifically on adult education through manpower training and development. The Technical and Vocational Training and Assistance Act of 1960 was a Canadian milestone (Selman, 1978). With this legislation, a federal presence in adult education was established. Laurier L. Lapierre (1968) related that this act provided federal funds that were used to build and equip vocational training facilities, train staff, and provide training and retraining for many Canadian citizens.

Characterized as manpower vocational training, it grew and was refined throughout the 1960s. Undereducation was also addressed:

As this work [in manpower training] developed during the decade, the need for pre-vocational training and for more adequate counselling and related services for adults became evident and provision in these areas was a prominent feature of the Adult Occupational Training Act of 1967. Adult Basic Education became a prominent feature of the educational scene in Canada. (Selman, 1978, p. 3)

With the Adult Occupational Training Act of 1967, there was also increased federal involvement in selecting and supporting students (Selman, 1984).

The Meaning of the Federal Presence in Adult Education: Dorland (1969) concluded that despite its magnified involvement in adult education in the 1960s, the federal presence in education for adults generally remained one-dimensional. This was true in Canada and the United States. In both countries government had its own agenda. It worried about its own survival as a subset of the survival of the nation. It worried about the survival of ordinary people as a subset of its own survival. Government faced unprecedented social and cultural upheaval marked by undereducation, unemployment, poverty, techno-scientization, and worker obsolescence. Racial unrest and inner city strife significantly magnified American problems. Kantor (1991) has argued convincingly that the Great Society assault on poverty did not interfere in the organization of the economy. It concentrated on changing the culture of poverty (cultural deprivation being defined as lacking the culture of the dominants) and reforming educational and other public institutions. Compensatory education for adults sought to reshape citizens by giving them

the skills and abilities necessary to fit in to the socioeconomic framework of the dominant culture. Kantor contends that the Great Society initiatives largely failed because they understood change only within the political, structural, and ideological mechanisms framing American society at the time. Moreover, they were insufficiently sensitive to the local equation in federal-local interactions.

Federal government involvement in adult education became a fact of life in the 1960s. Reflecting on the American situation, Knowles (1962/1977) recounted that even when federal funds for education were reduced under the Nixon administration, “the principle of general aid to education by ... the federal government had been established. A new role for the federal government in education had been defined” (p. 291). Dorland (1969) qualified this involvement, calling the volume of federal legislation enacted during the 1960s a mixed blessing. He chronicled the short life of the domestic emphasis on education and other social endeavors during the years 1964-1968, the years of President Johnson’s Great Society. He said the War on Poverty “was overshadowed and almost eclipsed by a war in Vietnam” (p. 135). The educational agenda for a better America fell apart. He elaborated:

The peak was reached in 1965-66, and the next several years saw decreasing Congressional legislative production in educational matters. The emphasis was not so much on new legislation as it was on making laws that had already been passed work. This emphasis meant sharply revising some legislation through amendments, almost scuttling other laws by cutting down the appropriations, and in some

instances not voting initial appropriations for laws which were passed with high hopes. (p. 135)

Adult education experienced erosion in the late 1960s as federal governments channeled money elsewhere in response to changing political and economic agendas. Blakely (1970) argued that it was no time for government or adult education to turn back: "What governments really need to incorporate in their plans is popular participation, which means adult education" (p. 64). However, what does such education mean and what are its chances of survival when it is caught up in a politics of placation? Adult education can learn a key lesson from the decline of federal support as the 1960s faded. Whatever power the enterprise possesses, that power does not come from institutions. It comes from supporting the ordinary people who support adult education.

5

To Reform or Perform: North American Adult Education Amid Post-World War II Social Dilemmas

Malcolm S. Knowles declared in the 1960 US handbook of adult education:

“Perhaps the greatest awakening - that adult education is the most potent instrument for bringing about planned social change - is about to occur” (p. 26). His hopefulness typified that of a generation of adult educators in the post-World War II era. It returns us to questions that arose in the previous chapter on the Iization Syndrome. What shapes adult education as a “potent instrument?” Could the enterprise be potent only to the extent that it operated within the parameters determined by this syndrome? Was adult education’s space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in postindustrial North American culture dependent on providing service to the State (that is, abetting culturally in vogue dynamics such as techno-scientization)? What about the field’s traditional role in social education? Did adult education’s potency also reflect space and place as an enterprise concerned with service to ordinary people (that is, assisting social reform)? Furthermore, what constitutes “planned” social change and whose interests does this planning serve? To what degree is such change in tune with a politics of placation that appear to give everyday people something while order in the social hierarchy is maintained? Of course, these questions are not just specific to adult education and its functions in post-World War II change culture. Indeed they could be asked as a follow-up to the question “What is adult education?” at any time in the emergence of modern practice. The role and purpose of adult education have been ongoing concerns. The

enterprise has been affected by a perennial debate between those who give primacy to social education and those who promote the merits of an instrumentalized practice. Jack London (1970) provided this sense of the social educator's position in this debate:

Adult education may have an important role to play by providing adults with information about existing social problems so that meaningful solutions can be worked out on local, regional and national levels. However, we must overcome a serious weakness in contemporary adult education programs that have been primarily concerned with noncontroversial topics and vocational training at the expense of learning for better citizenship. (p. 13)

Unfortunately, his description of social education as information provider appears watered down compared to the forms of social education practiced at Highlander and in the Antigonish Movement, forms that encouraged people to think, study, and act as they collected the facts and took charge of their own learning and problem solving.

Social education was prominent early in the era of modern practice. It constituted the meaning of adult education for Eduard Lindeman (1926/1961). Webster E. Cotton (1968) related that the social reformist tradition remained dominant in the field through the middle 1930s. It offered critiques of the status quo, vested interests, traditional forms of education, and the culture of the times. Social reformists believed that adult education provided a forum to address pervasive social problems. Their approach was interdisciplinary by virtue of the fact that it was informed by intellectuals from a variety of disciplines (Cotton, 1968). The professional tradition molded by techno-scientization had its genesis in the 1930s. In part, this was a reaction to the social reformist tradition. The

new professionalists were more concerned with clarifying the role and purpose of adult education within a purely formal educational context. This reflects their focus on establishing their own space and place in the emerging welfare state. Professionalists sought to increase their status in both the discipline of education and the dominant culture. They resisted the notion of a fluid and flexible field and wanted adult education to be something more precise than an umbrella for all educational activities carried out by people concerned with living in the everyday. This meant limiting the definition of adult education to what could be construed as more specifically within the boundaries of a profession and more precisely within the parameters of a techno-scientized practice. Professionalists worked to discipline an enterprise that, historically, had not been (and perhaps could not be) a discipline. Some adult educators argued that this contributed to the maintenance of a culture of forgotten people as a professionalized practice appropriated dominant cultural values favoring the advancement of science and technology (see Rauch, 1972, for example).

In this chapter I investigate the issues and concerns raised by social educators in the emerging postindustrial society where credentialism and the service function were reconfiguring learning and work. I consider the extent to which the social context was emphasized during the emergence of a professionalized practice. I begin by examining the relationship between education and the dominant culture in postindustrial North America. I consider the argument that education, for the most part, functions as an instrument of the State by promoting dominant cultural values in order to maintain the status quo. Next I explore the sociocultural terrain in this change culture by taking up these questions: How

did this rocky terrain affect adult education as a service enterprise? What life, learning, and work dilemmas did it create to challenge modern practice? I then provide a conspectus of adult education's clientele in the postwar era. Here I address aspects of participation including access and need. I conclude by reflecting on the state of clientele affairs in the enterprise twenty-five years after World War II ended.

Education: Instrument of the People or Instrument of the State?

It has been argued that the formal discipline of education has primarily functioned as an instrument of the State in postindustrial society. It formalizes only those learning processes that reproduce the system. Apple (1995), arguing in contemporary times, purports that education is a tool of hegemony. The educational discipline is "a state apparatus" (Apple, 1995, p. 26) that works not only to maintain but also to strengthen dominant ideologies. While he does not believe that there is a wholesale reduction of teaching and curriculum to dominant cultural interests, Apple contends that educational production is generally designed to support state processes of accumulation and legitimation. The state, the economy, and education intersect to influence this complex production intended to generate the kinds of people and practices deemed necessary to the advancement of the dominant culture. This argument is not new.

Samuel Bowles also (1974) argued that unequal education in North America had its roots in the class structure it was serving to legitimate and reproduce: "Inequalities in education are part of the web of capitalist society" (p. 18). He viewed education as the means used by the dominant culture to maintain social control and produce the disciplined

and skilled labor force required by the economy. Bowles described educational inequality as a built-in factor contributing to the maintenance of the US capitalistic system:

Efforts to equalize education through changes in government policy will at best scratch the surface of inequality. For much of the inequality in American education has its origin outside the limited sphere of state power, in the hierarchy of work relations and the associated differences in class culture. As long as jobs are defined so that some have power over many and others have power over none - as long as the social division of labor persists - educational inequality will be built into society in the United States. (p. 43)

Bowles's seminal work with Herbert Gintis continued this class analysis. They (1977) purported that the complex relations between education and the economy are integral to understanding the construction of the history of education in the United States. This history has been "a conflict-ridden course of struggle and accommodation" (p. 193). Bowles and Gintis argued that there is a correlation between financial crisis and the process of educational rationalization. When the economy is healthy and the unemployment rate is low, educators are relatively free to develop educational policy and programs. However, restrictions are placed on educators in times of economic decline or uncertainty and high unemployment. In this scenario opportunity and demand for education have to conform to the demands of the employment market. As a result, many educators engage in a politics of placation that relegates individuals to learning and employment designed to legitimate and maintain dominant social structures and cultural forms. Lévesque and Chaiton (1977) also position education as an instrument of the status

quo and society's tool in times of change. They explain these politics shaping education as an instrument of the State:

Education as an institution is not and cannot be a prime mover of change. The educational system is always called upon (and is usually a bit late in answering) to implement, to rationalize, and eventually to help institutionalize whatever changes society at large has agreed upon. In a time of transition, the educational system reflects the confusion around it. When a new stability comes with new values and expectations, the educational system naturally becomes the teacher and the interpreter of that new consensus - it becomes a loyal tool of the status quo. (p. 177)

C. Wright Mills was an earlier proponent of this argument. His (1951) analysis of the purposes of education after World War II located the discipline in major roles as a nation builder and supporter of White middle-class American culture. He contended that US democratic ideology had entrenched the belief in universal education. Mills argued that the education desired and valued was predominantly shaped by middle-class disposition: Educators "represent[ed] and reinforce[d] middle-class attitudes and values, manners and skills" (p. 265) as they produced the education needed to advance white-collar occupations and the culture they supported. In postindustrial society this meant valuing vocational education that would provide the workers required by business, industry, and government. It also meant promoting the myth that education would light the way toward a classless society. Mills attempted to expose this myth. He suggested that it was wrong to assume the existence of only one educational ladder that any individual could freely climb

to the top. In his mind what really existed were several educational ladders. They had different lengths with each one reaching to a particular level of the occupational hierarchy. Citizen-learner access to a particular educational ladder was based on (and limited by) their locatedness in the social hierarchy. From his perspective, education operated in the intersection of the social and the economic:

In the new society, the meaning of education has shifted from status and political spheres to economic and occupational areas. In the white-collar life and its patterns of success, the educational segment of the individual's career becomes a key to his entire occupational fate. ... As the virtues and talents of the entrepreneur are replaced by the skills and prestige of the educated expert, formal education becomes central to social and economic success. (Mills, 1951, p. 266-267)

In postindustrial society knowledge and skills were capital. However, the value of that capital was controlled by sociocultural change forces. This put education in a tenuous position with Mills concluding that "education will work as a means of success only so long as the occupational needs of a society continue to demand education" (p. 271).

Fifteen years after World War II, Wilbur C. Hallenbeck (1960) boasted: "This changing world has brought American culture to a state where it depends upon adult education to make its civilization operate successfully" (p. 38). Had adult education become the cultural force in postindustrial society that he claimed it to be? If on some level the enterprise had arrived, how had it done so? Did it have space and place because it functioned as an instrument of the people (Lindeman's desire)? Or was its cultural status indicated by the degree to which it performed as a "state apparatus?" Taylor, Rockhill, and

Fieldhouse (1985) are inclined to answer yes to the latter question. They suggest that adult education had cultural space and place to the extent that it behaved as an instrument of the State. They relate that adult education received government and foundation funding expressly to conduct education for responsible citizenship and provide the trained manpower needed to direct national efforts. This growth of adult education as an instrument of national purpose was guided by an ideology of service idealistically liberal and practically concerned. Taylor, Rockhill, and Fieldhouse (1985) argue that liberal education and specialized instrumental (vocational, professional, and technical) forms of education found common purpose serving the interests of the individual and the community in order to further American democratic interests:

These [forms of education] tend[ed] to go hand in hand, as a means of promoting national cohesion, strengthening the social order, re-establishing the USA's economic and military supremacy, and redirecting manpower into new economic sectors. More progressive elements within liberalism (i.e. people working through the CSLEA [Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults]), unintentional though this may be, join[ed] more conservative elements in the call for excellence, unity and the revitalisation of democracy through the development of individual intellectual capacity. (p. 145)

Preston Wilcox (1970), in addressing the needs to "adultize" adult education and rethink the education of educators, offered a similar perspective: Much formal adult education "educates people to manipulate knowledge and people, rather than to use the education to liberate them" (p. 107). He suggested that many adult educators themselves had probably

been educated to be irrelevant to the lives of the marginalized. Mills might have said that they were only familiar with the rungs of their own educational ladders.

The Sociocultural Terrain in Postindustrial North America and the Challenge to Adult Education

The Canadian Scene: Cornell, Hamelin, Ouellet, and Trudel (1967) describe the early 1950s as a time of continuing postwar prosperity in Canada. Yet these apparent good times were marred by the sheer intensity of life, learning, and work alterations. Social dilemmas were commonplace and the demand for solutions raised calls for public action to counter the gauged inadequacy of private action. The Welfare State that had arrived in Canada during the war now had to develop quickly (Lapierre, 1968). The economy was changing in the face of mechanization and automation and Canadians were reaching for adult education and other social services to help them cope. Kilbourn (1968) called the urban revolution, which was altering culture and values, the most significant social change in the nation. Surveying the Quebec situation, Lévesque and Chaiton (1977) were inclined to agree:

In the period after World War II, the French population gradually changed from eighty per cent country-based to eighty per cent city-based. This process of urbanization was one of the fastest transformations anywhere in the western world. It was an incredible wrench because our values were tied to the small town, the parish, the priest. (p. 181)

A new urban society augmented by the postwar flow of immigrants had taken hold in Canada by the mid-1950s. In addition to realigning culture and values, urbanization

brought other changes including a declining sense of community and a reconfigured work culture. The 1961 Canadian census showed that two thirds of Canadians lived in cities; over half the urban labor force was employed in service industries (Kilbourn, 1968). The emergence of suburbia intensified these changes. Suburbanization was a product of postwar prosperity and its consequences of earlier marriages and the baby boom (Finkel, Conrad, & Strong-Boag, 1993). The suburbs meant space, privacy, and a place where one could enjoy the new consumerism. However, they were also a place where people could experience isolation and loneliness. In the face of urbanization and suburbanization adult education was needed to help citizens build community in new ways as patterns of family and community life changed.

“For Canadians the 1960’s were a time of testing” (Selman, 1978, p. 1). Finkel, Conrad, and Strong-Boag (1993) recount that more than one Canadian in four still lived in poverty in 1960. They add that poverty existed in one household in four and had a strongly non-White character. Poverty rates were increasing among First Nations peoples, African Canadians, francophones, some recent immigrants, and woman-headed households with children. Canada officially declared its War on Poverty in 1965 (Lapierre, 1968). Some adult educators responded with a battle plan that tied poverty to undereducation. Many adults, it appeared, needed basic education. Ian Morrison (1969) recorded that thirty-three percent of the Canadian labor force had eight years of formal education or less. He suggested that the functioning level of education was actually much lower, reducing individual Canadians without a complete basic education to second class citizens. The Quebec case demonstrated the severity of the problem of undereducation.

Francophones turned to education in the 1960s in the face of a startling fact: The Parent Commission reported in 1964 that two thirds of Quebec's population eighteen years of age or older had a grammar school education or less. In discussing this fact, Lévesque and Chaiton (1977) relate that the province pressed the panic button; consequently, this turn to education involved indiscriminate borrowing of the North American educational model. While this borrowing produced some positive results, success was limited because the model was not in tune with francophone cultural values. Lévesque and Chaiton argue that education has to include cultural development in its definition of progress. They contend that the achievement of cultural integrity involves the preservation of cultural identity *and* the transformation of the economic structure. Moreover, they maintain that educators need to understand change process. They conclude, "The current of history is moving too quickly for everyone, and education, among other areas, is being carried along out of control" (p. 182).

Canada experienced cultural crisis and social discontent amid rapid growth and development in the 1960s. Uneasily amid considerable disquiet, the nation celebrated its one hundredth birthday in 1967.

As Canada celebrated its Centennial and trooped to view the wonders of the new age at Expo 67 in Montreal, her [sic] urban and technological revolution was still in full play. Universities and schools had mushroomed out of recognition. (Cornell, Hamelin, Ouellet, & Trudel, 1967, p. 511)

However, Selman (1978) purports that the excitement of Expo 67 was neutralized by the somber moods generated by the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and threats to the fabric of

confederation. With J. Roby Kidd (1978), Selman contends that the “French fact” was one of the major concerns affecting adult education during the decade. They also list the education of women, the issues of communication, and the use and misuse of media as important items on the Canadian enterprise’s agenda. Selman (1978) captures Canadian concerns in this overview:

As always, economic factors and developments loomed large. The government’s fiscal policies and other measures designed to cope with the two problems of unemployment and inflation were a source of controversy throughout the decade. The facts of poverty, unemployment and under-education came into the public consciousness as never before since the thirties. The Economic Council of Canada was created during the period and by 1968 was branding the extent of poverty in the country a “national disgrace.” Housing problems were studied and brought to public attention, as were regional disparities. Government programs in the field of pensions, regional economic and social development and vocational training were among the most significant weapons adopted for the “war on poverty.” (p. 2)

The US Scene: Purcell (1983) offers this assessment of the postindustrial United States: “The two decades after World War II confirmed the nation’s linear interpretation of its history. Hegemony over the ‘free world,’ spectacular scientific advances, and the triumph of the ‘mixed’ economy demonstrated the American genius” (p. 81). He describes this period as a time of ideological homogenization of existing social groups where racism, inequality, and exploitation were masked by the ideology of American success. It was also a time when there was a tendency to fall prey to the beliefs that the law would ensure

egalitarianism and liberalism would provide the remedy for existing social ills (Bundy, 1970). While the 1950s were marked by significant technological advances, enormous economic growth, and a consumer boom, these phenomena did not produce a satisfied citizenry (Diggins, 1988). Only a decade after the war, Homer Kempfer (1955) observed that the effects already wrought by “urbanization, industrialization, increased mobility of the population, reduction of family size, fragmentization of family life, and related social and economic circumstances increase loneliness among adults” (p. 10). As the 1960s dawned, many Americans knew that something was decidedly wrong. Sputnik I stirred a nation into recognizing the sorry state of US education; however, its importance had to be contextualized. Peter L. Clancy (1969) tempered the significance of Russia’s win in the race for space, reducing its impact to the role of a catalyst for change:

The successful launching by the Soviet Union in 1957 of Sputnik did not cause the explosion of awareness of educational deficiencies ... that followed that spectacular international coup. The launching of Sputnik I was merely the trigger. The explosion was destined to occur: The foment was there, and the explosion was inevitable. Radical changes in the way of American living had been occurring for some time, though much of the ... education establishment hardly knew what was happening. (p. 31)

These “radical changes” included urbanization, suburbanization, and automation. Racial unrest, growing poverty, undereducation, and worker obsolescence topped the list of problems associated with these changes. Cotton (1968) extended this list to include

an expanding population, a more mobile population, a population which is becoming older, a revolution in communications systems, the increasingly routinized nature of work, the changing character of occupations (due to automation), the increasing amount of leisure time, and the growth of the mass media. (p. 26)

Of course, automation meant more than the reconfiguration of occupations. Hugh L. Keenleyside (1968) put the effects of automation in tangible terms:

The progress of the machine has now reached the point at which 4000 people are being superceded by automation every day in the United States. This process is accelerating at a phenomenal rate in every industrial country - including Canada. (p. 11)

In addition to these changes on the homefront, the United States was adjusting to its role as a global megapower. By the time of the second World Conference on Adult Education in Montreal in 1960, the destruction of mankind and the conquest of space had become technological possibilities (Thomas, 1961). In the face of the accelerating rate of these sociocultural changes, the US Commission of Professors of Adult Education declared in 1961 that adult education was “a new imperative for our times” (Cotton, 1968, p. 2).

They promoted lifelong learning as the United States moved into a decade in which pieces of the sky seemed to be falling. Cotton (1968), drawing on Hallenbeck’s work in the 1960 handbook, highlighted five characteristics of postindustrial American culture that had implications for adult education: rapid change process, technological advance, intense specialization, increasingly complex human relationships, and vast opportunities. He also

expressed the concern of socially reflective adult educators with the apparent erosion of democracy as science and technology increased in prominence. Preserving freedom, achieving human potential, and recognizing the dignity and worth of the individual became key enterprise issues in the face of this erosion.

The effects of urbanization and suburbanization were profound in the United States after World War II. During this time people grew interdependent without really living in community. Community became a lost social construct after World War II. Robert J. Blakely (1970) used urbanism as a concept to describe the individual dissatisfaction and dependence as well as the loss of individual and community identity that resulted from the reorganization of life in cities and suburbs. These changes were accompanied by rapid population growth. There was a surge in the US population as a baby boom became an expression of confidence in the future (Diggins, 1988). This population was quite mobile and migration trends included rural depopulation and suburbanization. Looking back, Diggins (1988) reflects, "The massive phenomenon of suburbia would rip apart and remake the texture of social life in America" (p. 181). The inner cities were left to be populated by minorities, older persons, lower working-class groups, and other disadvantaged people as the White middle and upper working classes migrated to the suburbs (London, 1970). These trends indicate that race and class were key determinants of migration patterns that resulted in the decline of rural America and the growth of the suburbs with the simultaneous destruction of the inner cities. The transition to an urban/suburban society had involved complex changes affecting the social setup of both urban and rural America (Clancy, 1969). Clancy blamed rural depopulation on

technology which had altered the rural economic base by modifying the needs for labor and product in rural areas. In her analysis of population migration patterns, Sumner N. Rosen (1970b) purported that the most urgent national needs resulted from “the social pathology in the heart of the central cities of the nation” (p. 78). James R. Dorland (1969) believed that the problems of poverty, unemployment, civil rights, and ghettoization found both focus and unleashing in the inner cities. These problems were compounded by the desertion of the central cities by industry in the 1960s which made decentralization a reality (Rosen, 1970a).

In attempting to explain the plight of inner city dwellers, Rosen (1970a) argued that the hopelessness of people confined to the inner city stemmed more from economic locks than from bias and prejudice. She contended:

People who are confined to the central city and to the worst sections of it, who are completely without the equipment to face the employment challenge and to take advantage of any meaningful employment opportunity, face a comprehensive set of barriers which keep them where they are and continue to deepen the tensions and polarize the differences. (p. 4)

Being poor was the common denominator affecting many of America’s forgotten people. However, poverty issues could not be separated from racial issues in postindustrial America. The problems of being Black were interwoven with the problems of being poor. Dorland (1969) reflected:

Because the percentage of poverty among nonwhites is much greater than among whites, poverty and hostility have taken on strong racial tones. Although two out

of three poor people are white, the picture of poverty that most of us carry is black because the visible concentrations are black. (p. 131)

As the 1960s faded it was obvious that America had not won the war on poverty. Fifteen million children still lived in poverty, a fact that “tends to transmit the culture of poverty across generations” (London, 1970, p. 17). Jack London offered this explanation of the failure of dominant cultural institutions: The dominant culture’s modus operandi had involved treating the poor as objects not subjects. Various professionals and government bureaucrats made decisions for poor people. They developed programs which did not enable the poor to be in charge of their own lives, learning, and progress. He summarized this objectification of the poor:

Dehumanized poverty programs have largely failed because the primary effect has been not to help the poor learn how to help themselves but to make them more dependent and keep them at the bottom of the industrial system. (p. 16)

In the culture of poverty, poverty had undereducation as its bedfellow. While the educational attainment of the American population rose in the post-World War II era, it essentially reflected the achievements of an increasingly better educated middle class. The undereducation of the poor remained a social sore. Knowles (1962/1977) referred to a 1971 national survey to indicate that “just about one of every five adults ‘lacked reading skills at the “survival” level, such as the ability to read the telephone book or fill out a simple job application”” and “48 percent of those 25 years and older had less than a high school education” (p. 285). This was the horrible reality in a time when employment was

shaped by the need for “more formalized and credentialized qualifications” (Rosen, 1970a, p. 3).

Purcell (1983) argues that the ideology of American success was simultaneously most influential and beginning to lose force in the 1960s. He gives this synopsis of the decade: It was a time when Americans viewed their country as a uniquely powerful economic and military force in the world; television reshaped US politics; the civil rights movement challenged the US social order and the facade of egalitarianism; mass college education brought the “bulge” generation to social maturity on campuses as sites of unrest; and, “a bungled, paradoxical, and unjustifiable war” (p. 83) challenged a nation and its integrity. Purcell (1983) describes America in the 1960s:

The political and cultural tumult spurred a distinctive mood of dissent, one that seemed to blend successfully, if briefly, a variety of fervent convictions and hopes. A passionate commitment to the ideal of social equality merged with a fascination for subjective self-expression and a faith in the unbounded possibilities of human creativity. For a short time the sixties succeeded in yoking together, at least for a young and educated middle class, the most explosive and contradictory of political values: equality with self-expression, universal brotherhood with sectarian righteousness, social activism with personal introspection, and moral dogmatism with tolerant experimentalism. It did so through the captivating rhetoric of community, liberalism, participation, and transformation. The first promised unity; the second, ecstasy; the third, equality; and the last, utopia. (p. 83)

Adult Education's Post-World War II Clientele

Who made up the increasing numbers of adult learners in the postwar change culture? Two specific examples give us a sense of this clientele: 1) A. A. Liveright (1960) described adult learners in US university extension in 1959 as a heterogeneous group that was predominantly vocationally-oriented; the majority were male, educated, and employed; and, 2) Jack London, Robert Wenkert, and Warren O. Hagstrom (1963), in their study of adult education participants (limited to working- and middle-class men) in Oakland, California from 1960-1963, noted the overrepresentation of the middle-class which demonstrated the tendency of adult education to “educat[e] the educated” (Edmund deS. Brunner, cited, London, Wenkert, and Hagstrom, 1963, p. 4). They recorded that the rate of participation by White males was three times that of Black males in university-sponsored adult education programs. They also noted these indicators of the reconfiguration of work: 1) Between 1950 and 1960 the number of professional and technical workers increased 67 per cent; and, 2) At the same time unemployment grew in the rapidly changing economy, with unskilled labor representing 15 per cent of the unemployed in 1962. These particular descriptions rang true in the 1965 national report, John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera’s *Volunteers for Learning*. For Hallenbeck (1964), their work describing adult education participation in the United States was the first substantial study of adult education participants. The study was carried out during 1962-1963 at the University of Chicago’s National Opinion Research Center. Johnstone and Rivera described the “typical” US adult learner in this work “about one of the quieter sectors of America’s educational establishment” (p. v):

In summary, one might compose a sort of profile of the “typical” adult education participant: The participant is just as often a woman as a man, is typically under forty, has completed high school or better, enjoys an above average income, works full-time and most often in a white-collar occupation, is typically white and Protestant, is married and a parent, lives in an urbanized area (more likely in the suburbs than in a large city), and is found in all parts of the country, but more frequently on the West Coast than would be expected by chance. (p. 78)

The Johnstone and Rivera report provided a description of the distinguishing personal (including sex, race, and age), socioeconomic (including labor-force status, occupation, and education), and ecological (including size and type of community and region of the country) characteristics of adult education participants. Age and race were shown to be key factors affecting participation rates. Adult education was geared toward the younger, more productive members of society. Nearly eighty percent of participants were under the age of fifty. Ninety percent of the participants were White and Blacks were underrepresented by a factor of three to four. In his analysis of the report Hallenbeck (1964) recounted that housewives, retired persons, agricultural workers, unskilled workers, and Blacks were among those searching for space and place in postindustrial US society. Those from the suburbs of large metropolitan areas were overrepresented. Nearly sixty percent of participants were white-collar workers. College-educated participants were overrepresented by a ratio of nearly two to one. Johnstone and Rivera summarized the strong influence of education on participation:

The most powerful [socioeconomic] factor by far is educational attainment. ... A person who has been to college, works in a white-collar occupation, and makes more than \$7, 000 a year is about six times more likely to have been active in adult education pursuits during the previous year than a person who has never been beyond grade school, works in a blue-collar occupation, and whose family income is less than \$4, 000 a year. (p. 103)

The Johnstone and Rivera report demonstrated that US mainstream modern practice had evolved into an exclusionary practice in line with Brunner's notion that adult education was generally education for the educated. The heartland of this practice was middle America, not the ghettos of New York and Chicago, not the hills of Kentucky and Tennessee. US adult education had coopted the dominant cultural discourse supporting techno-scientization. It had shaped a professionalized practice aligned with White, middle-class cultural values. Concerns with popular education and community development for those living outside middle America were sidelined. Like Brunner, Roger W. Axford (1969) described this practice as education for the educated, the employed, and the economically comfortable. It ignored the diverse needs of many Other US citizens. When it gave forgotten people knowledge it was instrumentalized knowledge not supported by the social and cultural education they needed to deal proactively with "the twin tragedies of undereducation and underemployment" (Dorland, 1969, p.133). This education further alienated the disenfranchised since it expected them to contribute to a status quo that denied them space and place. The point that postwar US modern practice had left forgotten people behind was made clear in the imperatives for action drawn up at

Wingspread in Racine, Wisconsin prior to the 1969 Galaxy Conference of Adult Education Organizations (Charters, 1971). This report, entitled *Education of Adults for Social Responsibility*, asked how adult education could be made “a vital instrument of national purpose” (p. 50) in a time when numerous adult education activities not deemed significant by government and other institutions were inadequately supported (if they were supported at all). It emphasized the need to move beyond self-supporting adult education programs for White, middle-class participants to provide adequate and appropriate adult education for low-income and undereducated groups. It gave this critique of existing adult education programs:

[These programs] meet only the educational needs of the more affluent. Further, most promotional materials are printed and therefore appeal essentially to a more literate clientele. Both the programs and the communications relating to them are aimed at the middle and upper economic groups. ... Educational programs must be taken into the neighborhoods where people live. ... Existing programs of adult and continuing education must be examined to determine whether they are relevant to the needs of the adult population that does not presently participate in such programs. (Charters, 1971, p. 56)

Despite dominant cultural efforts to maintain the status quo, forgotten people sought space and place as never before in the 1960s. Youth, older persons, and the poor as well as Blacks, women, and other disenfranchised citizens struggled for recognition and respect in a social milieu where crises seemed to have the frequency of breathing. The American population had grown ethnically and racially heterogeneous, urbanized, and

quite mobile (London, 1970). Ordinary people sought new prospects for life, learning, and work that they could describe as meaningful and worthwhile. Youth were quite affected. The anger incited by racial segregation, the malaise induced by suburbanization, and the horror caused by the gross expenditure of youth for the purpose of maintaining US global hegemony drove many baby boomers to rebel against a culture that simultaneously shaped and resisted them. London (1970) described the reaction of youth:

A major source of alienation has been the rapid social change of American society. The symptoms of alienation and powerlessness - distrust, anger, cynicism, a cult of the present and a need for immediate gratification - appear to be stimulated by our culture's impersonality, hypocrisy, emphasis upon efficiency and material consumption, rigidity of role definition and the vocational emphasis of formal education. Increasing numbers of youth are questioning the discrepancy between the adult generation's professed values and its conduct. ... They are searching for a sense of identity and meaningfulness that eludes them. (p. 19)

London also spoke to the disenchantment of older persons on the other side of the generation gap. In North America, to age meant to fade into invisibility. While London believed that adult education could serve as a vehicle to keep older persons in touch with people of other generations, he offered this testament to their reality as a forgotten people generally deemed incapable of learning and providing useful service to society:

While the proof is clear that one is never too old to learn, there is widespread belief to the contrary by the aged [sic], many professionals working with them, and the wider community; and this belief serves as a self-fulfilling prophecy. (p. 16)

Adult Education and The Space and Place of Women in Postindustrial North America: 6.5 million US women engaged in paid labor outside the home during World War II (Diggins, 1988). By 1944 one million women were in the Canadian workforce (Finkel, Conrad, & Strong-Boag, 1993). The demand for women's paid labor might have marked a transition to a real space and place for women in the workplace and postwar society in general; however, it did not. While many women may have felt a sense of power and freedom as they moved from homeplace to workplace during the war years, "it is doubtful that World War II witnessed among ... women what feminists would later call 'consciousness raising'" (Diggins, 1988, p. 25). Diggins recounts that many women saw their wartime involvement in paid labor as necessary and temporary; it was the right thing to do until the men returned. Those women who thought differently and sought social change ran into opposition from both sexes. It didn't seem to matter if family economies depended on their work. It didn't seem to matter if women enjoyed a sense of independence brought by paid labor. The expectation, as Diggins relates, was that women would return to their traditional roles.

To reinforce that their place was in the home, the dominant culture devalued women's paid labor in various ways when men returned to the homefront. For example, Diggins notes that the day-care centers established to enable women to work during the war disappeared as all federal funds for child care were withdrawn in the immediate postwar years. Despite this devaluing, women's wartime work experience left a sociocultural imprint. It at least raised questions about traditional attitudes toward labor, even if there were no substantial changes in the gendered division of labor (Finkel,

Conrad, & Strong-Boag, 1993). Recounting the Canadian experience, Finkel, Conrad, and Strong-Boag (1993) relate that, by 1943, the demand for all women regardless of marital status in the paid-labor force generated an awareness of women's status as second-class citizens. When women replaced men during the war they were still paid less to perform the same jobs. Paralleling the US scenario, child-care facilities also disappeared in Canada after the war. It also became the patriotic duty of Canadian women to move out of paid-labor positions to make room for the returning men. Women's paid labor was once again reduced to traditional service roles.

In sketching the US sociocultural picture and highlighting aspects of the space and place of women, at least of White middle-class women in this milieu, Betty Friedan (1963/1974) maintained that the myth of the contented suburban housewife persisted during the fifteen years following World War II: The "mystique of feminine fulfillment became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture" (p. 14). However, the feminine mystique masked women's post-World War II reality. Women were isolated, stifled. Their ambitions and energies were confined to traditionally acceptable roles and their real problems were hidden by the glossy makeup of consumerism. Women could not access many work and learning places. Diggins (1988), like Friedan, also exposes the myth that the 1950s were happy days. He constructs this decade as one marked by "the illusion of fulfillment" (p. 187). To illustrate, he recounts how drinking and prescription-drugs use greatly increased during this time as people coped with the mental anxiety that accompanied material abundance. Women in their houses on the hillsides of suburbia were deeply affected by this social and personal threat.

In Canada the privacy and peacefulness of suburbia also led to isolation and discontent as the culture of suburbia disconnected women from one another and the larger world. While some women tried to build communities in suburbia through their involvement in voluntary organizations and the adult education movement, other women turned to paid work for refuge; still others turned to drugs that left root problems unresolved (Finkel, Conrad, & Strong-Boag, 1993). As the 1950s faded into the turbulent 1960s a time of consciousness-raising for women emerged as the feminine mystique was revealed as shared dispossession. Too many women were in malaise, dislocated in the lonely world created by the suburban sprawl. By 1960 women were realizing that they shared a common “problem that has no name” (Friedan, 1963/1974, p. 15). Friedan captured the reality of the suburban housewife:

It is easy to see the concrete details that trap the suburban housewife, the continual demands on her time. But the chains that bind her in her trap are chains in her own mind and spirit. They are chains made up of mistaken ideas and misinterpreted facts, of incomplete truths and unreal choices. They are not easily seen and not easily shaken off. (p. 26)

Finkel, Conrad, and Strong-Boag (1993) relate that while the Canadian labor force surpassed six million by 1960, this included part-time employment in the market economy and those underemployed due to discrimination by gender, race, or ethnicity. For example, women whose first language was not English fared quite poorly in the job market. These historians record that, by 1961, 25 percent of married women were involved in paid labor. Some worked out of necessity in order to contribute to their family economies. Others

took employment driven by a desire to have their share in the new consumer society.

However, most of these women worked in the service or “pink ghetto.” Conditions were similar in the United States. Diggins (1988) recounts that, by 1960, the US female-worker population was growing four times faster than its male-worker counterpart. Forty percent of all women over sixteen were employed in the workforce. He purports that this change was not a consequence of feminism in the 1950s, but rather a response to inflation and consumerism. He concludes:

Even during the war women had to be cajoled into taking traditional male jobs.

Afterward, women working as secretaries, bank tellers, waitresses, and in other jobs experienced discrimination in pay and promotion policies. This syndrome persisted. If there was a women’s movement in the fifties, it led directly to the wedding chapel. (p. 212)

While increasing numbers of females entered the workforce in the 1950s and 1960s, few women were taking up professional work in postindustrial times, even in the nurturing professions like teaching, nursing, and social work (Friedan, 1963/1974; Diggins, 1988). Friedan related that the one third of American women who worked in the late 1950s were generally mature women employed as salespersons or secretaries. In general, they were not doing it for themselves. They worked to support their families and, if they could, to access the products associated with a space in America’s affluent society.

What space and place did education for women occupy in adult education during these decades? As women sought a way out of their malaise, many of them did come to see education and training as central to their own emancipation. Education was their ticket

to enter new roles in postindustrial society. Independence and opportunity could be enhanced by this education as well as by having careers and political recognition. While Johnstone and Rivera (1965) reported that women were only slightly underrepresented in adult education participation, statistics by sex and age were altered by factors such as family responsibilities. They noted, "For men, parenthood works to accelerate participation, while for women it practically extinguishes it, at least during the childbearing years" (pp. 94-95). While 33 percent of men under 35 years old participated in educational activities only 25 percent of women in the same age group did. Undereducation remained a key problem. In the late 1960s Marion V. Royce (1969) could still declare:

In the past adult education was regarded almost entirely as a means of helping people to make up for lack of educational opportunities in early life. Still, in the present, such "gap-filling" remains a primary reason for the continuing education of women, so many of whom dropped out of school at one level or another without completing the requirements of a certificate, diploma or degree. (p. 49)

Jane Berry and Rosalind K. Loring (1970), in the only article specifically devoted to the continuing education of women in the 1970 US handbook of adult education, recounted that programs primarily developed for the education of women did grow in number during the 1960s; however, they related that "controversy still centers upon questions of validity and feasibility" (p. 499). Of the thirty-one articles in the handbook, it is interesting to note that only three (including the Berry and Loring piece) were authored or co-authored by women. The other two articles covered family life and public libraries and museums. Berry and Loring saw the 1960s as a time in which the roles of women

were dramatically altered in terms of associated activities, responsibilities, relationships, and self-concepts. However, questions formulated by adult educators to address the merits of education for women generally appeared to be raised more out of fear of changes to the status quo than out of any real concern with meeting the educational desires and needs of women. Goal-setting in adult education for women remained generic, in keeping with mainstream practice's tendency to broadly state instrumental goals ignoring gender and other relations of power. The fact that women's ways of knowing and understanding are shaped differently by disposition and contexts did not sufficiently enter the goal-setting quotient. Mainstream practice was mainly shaped by the decade's knowledge explosion in the behavioral sciences and by the desire to professionalize the field. Concerns with gender and the locatedness of women received little space and place on the enterprise's agenda. Gender generally remained invisible in program planning and delivery. The need to educate men in a male-dominated enterprise about the meaning and value of feminism was a key concern. Berry and Loring included it in this account:

The wide range of goals [of education for women] includes: strengthening society's view of what women can achieve; improving the abilities and competencies of women so they can embark upon second careers, or move from the home into the community, or move from the community to business and industry; rebuilding women's self-image and self-confidence so they are not underutilized; helping women to resolve the problems of personal identity and changing life patterns; educating men and the general community about changes in

women's status, abilities and expectations and indicating ways in which these changes affect men and their enterprises. (pp. 500-501)

Adult Education and the Space and Place of Blacks in the Postindustrial

United States: Adult education for Blacks in the era of modern practice has been predominantly marked by a struggle for space and place in the enterprise. Descriptions recognizing need and underfunding are found intermittently in the field literature. In general, periods of subsidy for organized adult education programs for Blacks have tended to be short-lived and success has frequently meant that local support and initiative carried the day. Speaking to the crisis in education for Black adults during the Great Depression, Alain Locke remarked in the 1936 US handbook of adult education:

Drastic curtailment of funds available from both private and public sources for the support of regular, routine education for Negroes [sic] has not only seriously retarded the progress that was being made in this field but has practically stopped the development of extensional types of educational programs for Negroes, among them formal and informal education for adults. (p. 126)

Locke concluded that the failure of the adult education establishment to share more diligently "the progressive experience and models of modernized adult education" (p. 127) meant that community centers, churches, and other associations struggled in the absence of financial and educational resources to meet the educational needs of Blacks. At best, these organizations could only provide stop-gap education. This inaccessibility to properly supported education amounted to a denial of full citizenship. The disenfranchisement of Blacks as US citizens became increasingly apparent during World War II as Blacks

became more visible in US institutions. Diggins (1988) relates that the demand for workers significantly increased the presence of Blacks in government, industry, and the military. This presence signaled both the beginning of integration and the magnitude of the racial dilemma in the United States. However, the status quo continued to prevail. At the end of World War II Blacks were still aliens in their own nation. Carlson (1975b) contends that the aim of the US dominant culture after the war was to maintain the status quo of a White, middle-class, Judeo-Christian democracy. Thus Blacks who had served their country returned to their civilian reality: unemployment, poverty, racial oppression, and reduced citizenship. The whitening of America was a predominant theme in the 1950s. Prejudice and segregation remained trademarks of the fear and anxiety of a society determined to exclude its Black citizens. These trademarks found expression in the realm of education which was supported institutionally to the degree that it functioned to perpetuate the dominant culture and its values. Segregated schools had been part of a design to maintain the US social hierarchy and societal structures. They were symbolic of a politics of domination lived out in the everyday. Carlson (1975b) notes that, before the move to racial integration, education for Blacks focused not only on keeping Blacks isolated and separate, but also on having Blacks accept this dislocation as their reality. However, racial tensions and growing poverty in the postwar period posed threats to America's "civic religion" (Carlson, 1975b, p. 135). The nation's response included a war on poverty that was part of a politics of Whiteness that equated Blackness with inferiority and provided programs that did little to change the socioeconomic status of Blacks.

How were these politics expressed in education? Barlow (1991), looking at the space and place of Blacks in higher education, describes the strong post-World War II tendency for Black students (frequently from poor or working-class backgrounds) to live and learn in the intersection of race and class. This tendency reinforced their feelings of marginalization. Howard Y. McClusky (1948) spoke to this issue of Black space and place in the 1948 US handbook of adult education. He related that the sad state of education for young adults demonstrated that educational opportunity was a racist and classist reality impacted by social and economic status. He concluded, "It is possible to establish a crude scale of educational survival, ranging from low-income, rural, Negro [sic] youth at the bottom, to high-income, urban, old-family, white youth at the top" (pp. 134-135). He added, "The relation of social and economic status to the deficiencies of formal schooling indicates that young adults of the Negro [sic], rural, and low-income segments of the population have the greatest need for continuing education" (p. 137). The problems of education for Blacks continued to arise in the intersection of the social and the economic in the 1950s and 1960s. Bowles and Gintis (1977) have described the 1960s as a period of pronounced disjuncture between education and the economy. Calls for educational reform were exemplified by compensatory education for Blacks that was inattentive to cultural issues and the need to put Black citizens in charge of their own lives. Bowles and Gintis used such examples to demonstrate the failure of educational reform. By the late 1960s economic shifts reduced resources for education. Inequality remained very much part of the American cultural condition and the educational system designed to maintain it. Bowles and Gintis concluded that little had changed in US education despite the

sociocultural turmoil: “The system of class, race, and sex relations, shaped and reshaped by the evolving structure of production, has for the past century been reflected in the segmented, hierarchical, racist, sexist, and nativist structure of American education” (p. 203).

Rosen (1970c) considered the issue of accessibility for Black and other disenfranchised students in a mainstream practice that had been developed to conform to “the ‘opportunity structure’ of [a] society ... [that is] race and class biased in its operation” (p. 14). This practice was an expression of a politics of exclusion that helped to maintain a culture of forgotten people. It reproduced a citizenry distinguished by class, race, and gender injustices. It was founded upon a canon of knowledge that gave priority to instrumental over social and cultural considerations. Rosen contended that social and cultural conditions were intimately linked to economic conditions. With respect to racial tensions, her conclusions were similar to London’s (1970). He reported that Blacks were among minorities “subject to many disadvantages which have their roots in discriminatory practices, inferior education and the particular occupational distribution that reflects inferior status and limited opportunity” (p. 13). Rosen (1970a) understood that the goal of the good life had been intangible for many Blacks. She discussed the sense of hopelessness overwhelming those Blacks who migrated from the South to northern cities between 1950 and 1963. Of these “new immigrants” (p. 1) she said:

They are immigrants in every sense of the word, transported at their own expense from one culture to another, from one situation to another, from one set of opportunities and challenges to another, and plunked down in the central city with

virtually none of the qualifications and none of the handles on which to hang any meaningful opportunity for themselves. (p. 2)

Rosen emphasized the importance of considering the economic context as it related to power and the ability or inability of groups to act. Her thinking paralleled Leonard Nadler's (1970) who proclaimed, "By 1967 it became evident that the entry point into society rests on economic viability" (p. 331). Rosen (1970b) drew upon the revolutionary spirit of Malcolm X who wanted Blacks to claim "their rightful heritage through ... action embracing economic as well as political independence and self-determination" (pp. 69-70). She recognized that social, political, and economic forces had to work together to change people's lives. She knew that economic development alone could not deal with resistance to reducing or removing racial barriers to the good life:

If economic development is achieved because the larger society makes it possible, this fails to alter the dependency relationship between blacks and whites, and is thus hollow, as well as vulnerable to reversal (what the power structure gives, the power structure can take away). (p. 69)

Rosen offered this assessment of the American strategy concentrated on economic development:

[This strategy does not] raise, much less deal with, the question of priorities in a society which spends half of all public funds on weapons, and large segments of what remains for highways, supersonic planes, space vehicles, subsidies to well-to-do farmers and to merchant marine operators, a society which consistently neglects

and short-changes its cities, its open spaces, the very safety of its air and water (p. 74)

The Forgotten People: The Social Context of Adult Education in Post-World War II North America

Ordinary people turned to adult education as a way out in post-World War II North American change culture. Who were these people driving the enterprise to expand during this period? They were a diverse lot who needed this social service to help them survive in a postindustrial world where learning and work were guided by “‘a measure up or get out’ philosophy” (Finch, 1969, p. 2). They were the undereducated who migrated for economic purposes to major urban centers; they were the baby boomers who became young adults in the midst of scientific and technological changes; they were the millions of people needing adult education to avail of employment opportunities that could contribute to their self-worth (Finch, 1969). In the US experience, they were the ordinary people chiseling away at the facade of social justice and freedom that produced the illusion of full citizenship. They were the disenfranchised who fought the difficult battle to “even get to a tributary of the mainstream of American life” (Rauch, 1972, p. 9). David B. Rauch provided this conspectus:

It is only recently in the United States that we have come to realize that large numbers of our people are living in what has been either an invisible state or so completely segregated that we could ignore them. Black people are only one group. In the upper Midwest and the West large numbers of American Indians have found their way off their reservations where we knew they belonged and

where it was easy to segregate them. On the West Coast are Mexican-Americans, Chicanos, but also Spanish-Americans, who were there when their land became part of the United States. Puerto Ricans are a little different because they are recent immigrants to the mainland. And so are other Latin Americans. Chinese who live in Chinatowns we always felt were quaint; we did not worry about them because we were told in sociology classes that they had no crime or juvenile delinquency. ... Recently, we have Filipinos amongst us. There are also the miners in West Virginia and Kentucky and the migrant workers. *The people whom we forgot* [italics added] are emerging in all parts of the country, mostly people who have always been here but who have been left out of the mainstream of our society, in most cases people we pretended did not exist. (pp. 7-8)

The plight of forgotten people became increasingly visible on the sociocultural terrain of postindustrial North America. The Great Society reforms of the Johnson administration in the 1960s stand as the most organized and pervasive institutional response to this plight. However, these reforms had limited emancipatory effects (Stubblefield & Keane, 1989). As reported in Chapter 4, they were part of a politics of placation designed to settle social and cultural upheaval. William S. Griffith (1969) summed up how adult education as reaction fitted into these politics: "Frequently when more immediate and direct actions to deal with the causes of problems are not acceptable to ... [those in power] they turn to [adult] educational programs as the least disruptive and disturbing long-term approach" (p. 78). The inadequacy of these programs in the 1960s pointed to the inadequacy of institutions that reacted "convulsively to the problems"

(Cohen, 1970, p. 13). Nathan E. Cohen (1970) suggested a variety of reasons for the failure of institutions to achieve Great Society reforms:

Analyses of the situation vary. They run the gamut of possible causes such as inadequate financial resources, lack of knowledge, insufficient trained personnel, antiquated governmental structures and boundaries, institutions still functioning around an earlier period of needs, and a social philosophy meaningful for the industrial period but which may prove a barrier to the emerging post-industrial era. (p. 13)

Rauch (1972) saw this institutional failure as a failure to meet needs including the need to examine the knowns and unknowns pertaining to the education of adults and the need to plan with people. In his mind this failure also indicated the need for adult educators to examine their own prejudices and the prejudices of the institutions in which they had their niches. He gave this sense of the 1960s reform process and offered a general assessment of why many reforms had not worked:

Those who have been responsible for planning programs for forgotten groups of people have learned that it takes more than just good will to reach segmented sections of the "poor" community. There have been a lot of successes but many more failures. Well intentioned "liberals" like me have had to face up to the fact that my "mainstream" idea of what "these people" need often has little relevance to either the needs or the way of life of the poor who have been left out. (p. 10)

Rauch concluded that programs distant from the everyday of forgotten people did little to change things. Thus hope for a Great Society became hope against hope in the late 1960s.

Disparate opportunities continued to exist among races, generations, social classes, and geographical areas with inequalities being differences in kind, quality, and degree (Verner, 1968/1975). The forgotten people struggled on a “social scene ... disturbed by a staccato barrage of ... crises and violence” (Knowles, 1962/1977, p. 286). Issues included

such social problems as ... the improvement of the quality of education, the improvement of the status of [Blacks and] women ..., and the improvement of services to the elderly [sic]. But these remained issues, along with the reduction of poverty, the elimination of illiteracy, [and the reduction of inflation and unemployment], ... on the agenda for the era ahead. (Knowles, 1962/1977, p. 288)

The 1960s ended amid an unruly crop of crises and challenges (Purcell, 1983).

Hilton Power (1970) coupled the plight of the major cities with race relations when he listed America’s two most pressing domestic problems. He claimed that these issues “and the increasing involvement in Vietnam, with its spiraling cost in men and treasure, have become the dominant issues in the past decade” (p. 457). The Vietnam War was pivotal in sounding the death knell for President Johnson’s proposed Great Society and the continuation of large-scale changes in adult education in the United States. Social erosion increased in the aftermath of full American involvement in open warfare against the North Vietnamese in 1964 (Knowles, 1962/1977). The president had raised hopes for “the elimination of poverty, of inequality in education and work and civil rights, and of urban decay” (p. 286) as part of an expanded social agenda. “But that cheerful dream was soon displaced by the nightmare of the Vietnam War” (p. 286). Knowles elaborated on the some of the effects of this war.

In addition to its direct costs in terms of lives, materials, and money, the Vietnamese war incurred perhaps even greater indirect costs, including disillusionment with American leadership, a decade of violence and police brutality, the dislocation of our economy and the deep recession of the early seventies, the invasion of domestic privacy by our intelligence agencies, the growth of a military-industrial complex, and no doubt other costs still to be realized. (p. 286).

The disaster of Vietnam merged with growing inflation and unemployment on the homefront and intersected with global political and economic change to end the American Century (Purcell, 1983). In 1970 the United States was a nation with rising unemployment, economic stagnation, and high inflation; The 1960 “guns *and* butter” economic strategy of the Johnson administration had failed (Thompson and Randall, 1994).

In the field of adult education the Great Society reforms shaped by a “‘mainstream’ idea of what ‘these [forgotten] people’ need” (Rauch, 1972, p. 10) resulted in scientized and processual programs that drew on noncontextual, step-by-step, problem-solving approaches. These approaches forgot social education’s *modus operandi* which may be stated this way: Adult education is not done to an individual; rather, its main purpose is to get people to think, study, and act so they can solve their own problems. As noted earlier, Rauch (1972) saw the failure of programs to solve social problems as a failure to focus on ordinary people so they had input into program development and delivery. In the latter days of the 1960s, he (1969) argued that adult education’s defining feature should be that it is education for all adults. He believed that this feature could ensure its survival. He

reminded professional adult educators that it is the people themselves (not the educational power structure) who come to the aid of threatened adult education programs. Rauch (1969) had highlighted an important learning for adult educators who had succumbed to the illusion of adult education's cultural importance: People, not programs, are the heart of adult education.

This unique feature - no one wants adult education except the people themselves - is not only a 'plus' for the professional adult educator, it is also a factor he must always consider and strive to maintain, strengthen, and build on. Channels of community participation must not only be carefully maintained, but new ideas for developing community communication must be developed and tried out. For when the chips are down, as they frequently are in our field, it is basically the community that is going to put up the fight and insist on retention and further development of continuing education for adults. (p. 201)

Rauch made one thing clear: Ordinary people are adult education's lifeline. For this reason it is important to shape adult education as an instrument of the people. Shaping adult education as an instrument of the State is to set the stage for setbacks. The use of adult education to unsuccessfully fight the War on Poverty provides one example of this. In general, the history of the modern practice of adult education reveals that whenever adult educators engage in a politics of placation designed to shape adult education as an instrument of the State they do a disservice to the field. They do little to enhance the enterprise's cultural position and much to contribute to its insecurity and instability in the face of socioeconomic change. This is what Mills, Bowles and Gintis, and others social

theorists suggested in their analyses of education's space and place in postwar US culture.

In the latter days of the twentieth century there is much that adult educators can learn by

looking back at these perspectives on education's tenuous cultural locatedness during

what Jameson (1991) called the brief American century.

6

Adult Education as Building Community: The Parameters and Realities of Enterprise Identity in North America (1945-70)

Throughout this work one question has embodied all others that I have taken up while investigating adult education's identity quest (1945-70). That question is "What is adult education?" In the era of modern practice its answer has been inextricably linked to adult education's search for space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in North America's dominant culture and its institutions. After World War II the response was shaped by a multiplicity of social and cultural change forces reconfiguring everyday life in postindustrial society. This society spawned a burgeoning knowledge economy and ushered in an era of pervasive government involvement that deeply affected education as a sociocultural enterprise. These changes resulted in alterations in learning and work for many citizens as government policies appeared to meld the social and the economic. This was particularly true in the 1960s when federal governments in Canada and the United States strategized to quell the immense social unrest that threatened the very survival of the dominant culture. Moneys flowed into education as part of a makeshift government solution to address poverty, undereducation, and unemployment. During this time adult education can be identified as a federal vehicle that served the dominant culture in two key ways: 1) It promoted dominant cultural values by acting as a mainstream cultural messenger to ordinary citizens; and, 2) It delivered instrumental forms of education that prepared the citizen workers needed to advance North American cultural and economic interests. In effect, adult education

provided programs whose design and longevity were generally determined by government and other institutions with vested interests in using the enterprise to serve their own purposes. To carry out its role as a handmaiden to the dominant culture, much of mainstream adult education coopted the discourse of democracy designed to inform citizens so that they conformed in ways supporting the local and global primacy of North America's dominant culture and its values. This discourse shaped a politics that advanced White middle-class interests at home and countered a growing Soviet presence on the global stage.

How did the demand for instrumental forms of education, coupled with the impact of the discourse of democracy, shape the answer to the question "What is adult education?" in the 1950s and 1960s? I consider this question by reflecting on adult education's efforts to build community during this time of enterprise expansion. I take up particular questions as corollaries in order to explore notions of adult education (1945-70) as a community in itself and as a community within other communities. What sort of community did adult education comprise? If we imagine the broader discipline of education as a community, then what space and place did adult education have in it from the perspectives of those involved in public and higher education? If we envision postwar North American society as a community, then what space and place did adult education have in the larger scheme of things? I then consider the degree to which the enterprise lived out some of the ideas important to the critical postmodern pedagogy of adult learning community presented in chapter one. I take up four issues important to the construction of this pedagogy: 1) I consider the enterprise value placed on the roles of

adult educators and learners after World War II; 2) I explore lifelong learning as an expression of the enterprise's hope for the future; 3) I examine the space and place of theory and the foundations of adult education in enterprise knowledge production; and, 4) I reflect on the space and place given to instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education during the emergence of postwar practice. I conclude by reflecting on issues and problems in postwar community development pertinent to the construction of community in adult education (1945-70).

Adult Education and The Construction of Community (1945-70)

In the early 1960s Alan M. Thomas (1961) claimed that adult educators had taken the enterprise “from an idealistic, determined, intermittent, fringe enterprise to a central, practical, everyday - *if little understood* [italics added] - concern of many individuals and organizations” (p. 405). What were the parameters of this “little understood” entity as it emerged in postindustrial society? Can adult education (1945-70) be constructed as a community in itself? How might the enterprise be defined as a community? What would hold the community together? What would tear it apart? Can adult education be constructed as a community within other communities? Was the community culturally valued? In taking up these questions I draw on John Dewey's (1916/1944) notion that a community is a place where people live “in virtue of the things which they have in common” (p. 4): They share aims, beliefs, aspirations, and knowledge. I also draw on ideas for building community from the rich postwar literature on community development. Building community was set as one of the main tasks of the enterprise after World War II. Concerns with common goals and objectives, a common ideology, and a common

knowledge base were pervasive. They were particularly important to those enterprise members concerned with developing a professionalized practice. The issues and problems associated with this task and identified in period literature provide a way to reflect on the construction of adult education as a community in itself and as a community within other communities.

Building Community in Itself: Whether or not adult education can be constructed as a community in itself with its own ideology, knowledge base, and distinct membership, the enterprise has certainly been driven by its desire to have its own identity separate from other forms of education. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) conclude that “the general momentum [in the era of modern practice] seems to have been toward separatism, toward dissociation from the broader field of education” (p. 230). They offer two reasons to explain the desire to be apart: 1) adult education’s rejection of the formal structure of public education as too narrowly focused on the education of children and youth, and, 2) its origins as social education. This desire to be apart can be construed as a desire to create community. For example, one could argue that those adult educators antagonistic toward public education were indirectly driven together. Perhaps it was not a conscious effort to associate with other adult educators that built a community of sorts; maybe it was a conscious effort to dissociate from educators in other educational arenas. Furthermore, those adult educators valuing the enterprise’s roots as social education may also have backhandedly built community in their desire to be apart. By believing that the future of society lay solely in the hands of social education they may have created a community where the boundary was a fault line dissociating social education from other

forms of education. However, while these are plausible arguments, building community in adult education can not be reduced to the mere expression of some separatist stance. Many adult educators did strive to live in community in postindustrial North America. From a Deweyian perspective, they had common goals, beliefs, and hopes for the future of the enterprise and society. The efforts of these adult educators to build community are exemplified by the postwar growth and development of graduate adult education, the increasing professionalization of the field, the promotion of lifelong learning, and the development of a growing body of knowledge and research specific to adult education. A. A. Liveright (1968) provided tangible evidence of community development within the enterprise in his 1965-66 study of adult education in the United States. He indicated that the quantity and quality of field research was improving: The journal *Adult Education* (introduced in 1950) clearly focused on reporting adult education research and the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) (established in 1967 at Syracuse University) provided a collection site for information about adult education research and programming.

As North American adult education looked inward and reflected on the structures it needed to develop a respected and valued learning community, it also looked outward to the culture in which it was situated. The enterprise wanted to increase its presence and improve its performance in that culture. Opportunity came in the face of techno-scientific change and sociocultural upheaval in the 1950s and 1960s. These decades spawned the instrumental, social, and cultural issues that would give new design to the enterprise in its quest for space and place. The preoccupation with change provided a rallying point for

adult educators in the postwar decades. Period literature is replete with references to rapid-change culture and social change forces complicating the lives of citizen workers and learners and exacerbating the plight of Blacks, the poor, and other forgotten people. The social and the economic became interwoven concerns for adult educators who were being called upon to muster resources to assist adult learners faced with technological change, worker obsolescence, complex domestic problems, and civic and political unrest (Liveright, 1968). The need for a concerted community effort, for a focus on the social, was clear. However, the ideals of the early days of modern practice when social education was prominent seemed to get lost in the rhetoric elevating adult education's sociocultural space and place in postindustrial society. These ideals were not forgotten, though. Some adult educators worked to keep them alive in the face of a techno-scientific turn in the enterprise. For example, Paul Bergevin (1967) laid out the role and purpose of adult education in these words in keeping with the spirit of Eduard C. Lindeman who believed that "true adult education is social education" (1947 in Brookfield, 1987, p. 55). They locate social education as a primary focus of adult education:

Adult education should make a continuing attack on ignorance, disease, superstition, and enslavement of mind and spirit. Its purpose is to liberate people; to provide creative opportunities for utilizing their talents and energies; to help them learn to play their roles as dignified human beings and as citizens in a society in which they can have some control of the social forces operating on them; and to show them how to do all this with the intelligence and decorum that befit human dignity. (p. 170)

However, the ability of adult education to deliver convincingly on a social level - indeed on any level - remained a question. Descriptions by key adult educators including Liveright (1968) suggested that the task to build a learning community addressing social and other concerns was still an onerous one. In his 1965-66 study he reported that adult education was working to meet diverse needs, but it did so “on an unplanned, disorganized, and uneven basis” (p. 1). He listed a number of roadblocks to building community: 1) the lack of financial support, 2) the lack of trained personnel, 3) the lack of space and place in institutions, 4) the lack of leadership and direction in a rapidly expanding field, and, 5) the lack of societal commitment to adult education.

These roadblocks hooked in to the larger issue of enterprise fragmentation that worked against building community in adult education. While field history did show the persistence of the concept of adult education (Verner, 1964a), it also revealed adult education’s complex identity “as a series of offshoots from institutions or organizations whose major function continues to be some other activity” (Miller, 1964, p. 4). Moreover, adult education usually remained a secondary and not clearly defined activity in many institutions (Liveright, 1968). In his history of adult education in the United States, Malcolm S. Knowles (1962/1977) purported that the enterprise had never been a united movement or common endeavor. It was not a real community:

There has been a continuing lack of agreement as to whether or not there is such a thing as an adult education movement, the counter hypothesis being that adult education in this country is - and should properly be - a *patternless mosaic of unrelated activities* [italics added]. (p. viii)

In many respects this “patternless mosaic” was a product of the institutionalization of adult education. Institutionalization was a deterrent to building community in adult education. It meant that adult educators had different allegiances and responsibilities. This contributed to the enterprise’s diffuse nature, making it difficult to coordinate the field. It complicated building community in the Deweyian sense of sharing things in common. The problems of a diffuse nature were compounded by the problems of the enterprise’s episodic nature. Roger W. Axford (1969) provided this overview describing adult education as a fragmented and sporadic venture:

When we look at the diversity and disunion of adult education as observed through history, we come to the conclusion that the field lacks any master plan or design.

[In general,] adult education ... [has] responded to specific needs and, as a result, [its growth and development] have tended to be episodic. (p. 3)

Portman (1978) gave a specific example indicating adult education’s noncommunal tendency. Using the higher adult education movement in the United States (that is, university extension), he related that this movement could be characterized as cyclical in nature. Recounting that it oscillated between periods of vitality and lethargy throughout its history he concluded, “Since the Wisconsin period, ... efforts have been sporadic and essentially reactive rather than preventative” (p. 170).

The “diversity and disunion” of adult education made building community complicated on other levels. Liveright (1968) related that the diffuse and episodic nature of adult education had made it difficult to create a national umbrella organization that would represent the entire field and create a strong public image for the enterprise. This

nature also stood in the way of generating a widely accepted enterprise definition. It was often difficult to name something adult education. Naming - the clear delineation of particular institutions and programs as adult educational - was an important part of building community and countering the enterprise's peripheral educational status (Liveright, 1968). It was necessary to clarify adult education's identity and demonstrate its pervasiveness in North American culture. The matters of definition and naming were further confused by the fact that some adult educators had moved away from using the term "adult education." Liveright (1968) provided two reasons to suggest why they were dropping the term: 1) Adult education had a history and its association with remedial and citizenship education had created an undesirable image for the enterprise; and, 2) Adult education did not imply lifelong learning in the way that "continuing education" did. Both reasons were caught up in an enterprise desire to fine tune adult education's identity in professional terms. However, it is questionable what changes in the enterprise vernacular really accomplished. How did the usage of terms like continuing education affect the answer to the question "What is adult education?" Did they expand or limit community parameters and the role and purpose of adult education? Liveright (1968) wanted adult education to encompass education for occupational, vocational, and professional competence, for personal or family competence, for social and civic competence, and for self-realization. However, it would appear that continuing education could not be so inclusive? At least, it could not if it was reduced to formalized and professionalized forms of education that left out concerns with remedial and other "lesser" forms of adult education.

In addition to these problems, building community was difficult in adult education (1945-70) because the enterprise was inconsistently valued on the cultural landscape. Paul H. Sheats, Clarence D. Jayne, and Ralph B. Spence spoke to this issue in their 1953 report on the status of US adult education. They indicated that while adult education had had a cultural impact, it had not established a valued cultural presence. They suggested that the enterprise had work to do to build an image as an ongoing and consistent venture valued by all citizens:

Statistically the achievements of adult-education agencies are impressive. In spite of this fact, there are large sections of the population which are not being served and even larger percentages for whom adult-education experiences are sporadic, peripheral, and superficial. It is all very well for an adult educator to say that there are certain ways of behavior which must be learned by every person if he [sic] is to live productively in modern American society. But unless the potential learner accepts and agrees with this statement, the prophet becomes only a voice crying in the wilderness. Before a genuine adult-education movement can develop in the United States, the goals of the adult-education movement must be valued by the people who are to participate in it. (p. 483)

The prophet still appeared to be a voice crying in the wilderness years later. The public relations report for the 1969 Galaxy Conference of US Adult Education Organizations indicated that there was little change in the enterprise's cultural status. Adult education was not seen as a pervasive and proactive cultural force. It still had an image as a middle-class venture. It was still not available (relevant and affordable) to every citizen (Liveright,

1968). Adult education was viewed as a commodity least useful to those potential consumers who could benefit most from using it. Liveright (1968) called for “new institutional forms providing flexibility, visibility, relevance, and accessibility ... [to] be developed to overcome past aversions, reluctance, and opposition to continuing education” (p. 16). This call was an indicator that the enterprise remained the least developed part of the North American educational system (Rauch, 1969). Willard Thompson (1971) captured adult education’s low cultural status in this narrative from the Galaxy Conference public relations report:

It became clear as the number of contacts with representatives of the media grew, that the same apparent lack of concern and commitment to the problems of adult and continuing education evident in the general public was all too present in the minds of those who formulate public opinion: the press, leaders in government, industry, foundations, etc. Token acknowledgment was made that adult and continuing education “is a good thing,” and at best, something which should not be negatively criticized; but on the other hand, it was not an apparent movement, and from a prejudiced viewpoint, appeared *little more than a luxury* [italics added] in a country being threatened by Vietnam, poverty, protest marches, inflation and a generation gap. Sledge-hammer attempts to point out the relationship between these problems and what adult and continuing education could do to solve them were often treated like an umbrella salesman in sunny weather. The attitude was yes, adult and continuing education could probably make a valuable contribution, but we are not interested at this time. (p. 17)

Building Professional Community as the Cult of the Expert: While the trend toward professionalization is evident throughout the era of modern practice, it has been most pronounced in adult education since World War II. The drive to professionalize the enterprise can also be understood as an attempt to build community, albeit within particular purposes and parameters that would redesign the field. Since professional adult educators wanted the enterprise to have space and place in the emerging postindustrial society, they promoted techno-scientization of the field and developed programs to produce the workers needed to advance the national and global interests of the dominant culture (see, for example, Verner, 1964a). They also bought into the discourse of democracy that redefined citizenship in reaction to the mystique of totalitarianism (see, for example, Butz, 1958). Understanding the North American system of enterprise and government was grouped with technical competence, community development and adjustment, and personal growth and development when listing key concerns of adult education in the 1950s (Butz, 1958). Professional adult educators built community as the cult of the expert. They incorporated knowledge, practices, and a disposition designed to locate adult education not merely as a subset of the dominant culture but as one of its most valuable commodities. To do this adult education tied its emerging knowledge base to the techno-scientific knowledge economy that was valued and profitable in postindustrial society. Said (1994) purports that this amounts to constructing professionalism as the “right” cultural attitude. He explains:

By professionalism I mean thinking of your work ... as something you do for a living, between the hours of nine and five with one eye on the clock, and another

cocked at what is considered to be proper, professional behavior - not rocking the boat, not straying outside the accepted paradigms or limits, making yourself marketable and above all presentable, hence uncontroversial and unpolitical and “objective.” (p. 74)

In shaping adult education as a techno-scientized practice, professional adult educators sought to create a “proper, professional” enterprise within the “accepted paradigms or limits” of North America’s dominant culture. However, building this professional community was a very difficult task, for the field lacked the rudiments of a professionalized practice. Thomas (1958) surveyed, “There is only a faintly defined area of special competence and content, the emerging identification of jobs and functions is not much brighter, and there is not the slightest glimmer of control of entrance to the field” (p. 337).

Thomas’s explanation associated professionalism with the need for specialization. Specialization was a pervasive concern in postwar education. Said (1994) recounts that it found particular expression in the elevation of expertise and the cult of the expert. Specialization meant recognition by certification, control over particular knowledge, ownership of a particular language to transmit that knowledge, and claim to a specific domain in which to act. Said contends that specialization cultivated professionalism. However, it was a professionalism that succumbed to the general instrumental pressure of specialization. As professionalism permeated adult education it became about controls and conformity, principles and performativity, the elevation of the techno-scientific, and a politics of placation that allowed the enterprise to survive in particular ways in particular

institutions. Thus specialization built a certain kind of professional community. In adult education specialization also amounted to an attempt to replace another kind of community: the community of amateurs that, historically, had given the enterprise its social character and diffuse nature. Amateurism can be understood as the driving force of social education. It shapes adult education as a vocation:

Amateurism [is] the desire to be moved not by profit or reward but by love for and unquenchable interest in the larger picture, in making connections across lines and barriers, in refusing to be tied down to a specialty, in caring for ideas and values despite the restrictions of a profession. (Said, 1994, p. 76)

The opposition between professionalism and amateurism has raised a key question in adult education: Should the enterprise move forward in the dominant culture “as a professional supplicant or as its unrewarded, amateurish conscience” (Said, 1994, p. 83)? How adult educators answered this question in shaping modern practice has affected the degree to which adult education gained cultural space and place. As those adult educators who remembered and valued the enterprise’s history as social education responded in the 1945-70 period, it became apparent that there had not been a wholesale buying into professionalism in the struggle for cultural prominence. William S. Griffith provided this assessment of the status of enterprise professionalism circa 1970:

The development of institutions which regard the provision of adult education as a major objective is increasing the demand for professionally prepared adult educators, and professional preparation is gradually becoming equated with

professional study. Yet the field seems reluctant to move to a stronger emphasis on professionalism. (Griffith, 1970, p. 186)

Griffith indicated the enterprise's dilemma. While professionalism seemed necessary to adult education's advancement in postindustrial culture, many adult educators expressed reservations. Thomas (1958) was among those who remembered the field's history as social education and wondered if adult education should be professionalized at all. He reflected on the struggle to techno-scientize the enterprise and contrasted the nostalgia for adult education as a movement with the desire for a professionalized modern practice:

The early leaders have died or retired, and the new sharp-eyed careerists have begun to come to power; the old brotherhood [sic] derived from clear if unattainable goals, fiercely shared by all, has evaporated to be replaced by argument, a concern for technical proficiency, and devotion to method; and the more securely founded institutional outlines have begun to reassert themselves to divide even more sharply what was once a common endeavour. At this stage, to accept the responsibility of becoming professional, seems almost an act of treachery to the old order, designed to hasten its decline. (p. 336)

Despite these tensions, professionalism gained ground and built an adult education community of sorts in the post-World War II decades. The move to professionalize certainly had its devoted adherents. Griffith (1970) was one strong believer in the value of enterprise professionalism. He felt that professionalization of the enterprise could help break down the barriers to growth and development that the institutions themselves presented. He believed that a professionally prepared adult educator would be more

inclined to think in terms of the totality of the field. He argued that professional allegiance would extend the gaze of university graduates in adult education beyond their employing institutions. Speaking to the issue of field fragmentation in the United States, he contended that professionalism could induce a spirit of cooperation and lead to the development of a national agenda for adult education. It could coalesce groups like the Coalition of Adult Education Organizations (CAEO), a body of US national organizations “which was expressly created to work on matters of concern to the whole field” (p. 187). This coalition, first envisioned in 1964, came together at the 1969 Galaxy Conference and incorporated in 1973 (Charters, 1992). At the time the coalition was forming, Griffith (1970) concluded, “Never before in the history of adult education have so many professionally oriented leaders of such a wide variety of adult education institutions made a continuing commitment to work together” (p. 187). However, there was little precedent to suggest that the CAEO would work. A look back indicated few examples of cooperation to make adult educators hopeful that this coalition would succeed. Building community in adult education had been a perennially difficult task. While the American Association for Adult Education and the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association merged to create the Adult Education Association of the USA in 1951, interest in such mergers was not commonplace in the enterprise (Charters, 1971). In fact, Alexander N. Charters (1971) described the attempt to form the CAEO as a setup:

After consultation with the heads of several [adult education] organizations, a meeting was called by Syracuse University in November, 1964 to discuss the newly established Library of Continuing Education and its needs. This subject

provided a reason for getting the group together, as heretofore there had been some reluctance on the part of any one of the organizations to take the leadership in calling a meeting that might lead to closer cooperation. (p. 3)

The Institutionalization of Adult Education and Its Impact on Building

Community within Communities: Adult education's efforts to professionalize and build community after World War II are tied to its efforts to achieve space and place in the university community. This attempt to build community within other communities was influenced by the changing nature of the university as well as by the growing presence of federal government in education. The increasing emphasis on organized, techno-scientific research had deeply changed academe, accelerating professionalization of academics and diminishing the value of their educational role (Kerr, 1995; Touraine, 1974). Science had found a home in the university and Touraine (1974) described its prominence: "Science is ... no longer only a model of knowledge, but a cultural model, a set of social directives for the use of accumulated resources. One society builds research centers and universities as another builds cathedrals or palaces" (p. 121). The federal research grant had a significant impact on this turn of events in the United States. Clark Kerr (1995) relates that federal support had quickly pushed the university into a key role as a producer of techno-scientific knowledge during World War II. This role continued and was strengthened in light of Soviet scientific achievements in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1963 Kerr located the American university at "a hinge of history" (Kerr, 1995, p. xiii). He pointed out that the "university's invisible product, knowledge" (p. xiv) had become the key to social and economic growth. Knowledge production was at 29% of the GNP and growing twice as fast as other parts of

the US economy. With the growth of the “knowledge industry” (p. 66) as its catalyst, the university was being transformed into “a prime instrument of national purpose” (p. 66).

Kerr (1995) provides this retrospective of the federal government’s impact on the university in the 1960s:

The federal government emphasized science and research, equality of opportunity, impartiality of treatment among the races, and the innovative role of the federal agency. Much of what has happened to the campus, both good and evil, in the past decade [1962-1972] can be laid at the door of the federal government. For the first time in American history there was a growing sense and an increasing reality of the presence of the federal colossus in higher education. (pp. 99-100)

The university was in metamorphosis. In the 1960s, Kerr used the term “multiversity” to capture its pluralistic nature in postindustrial society. It had become an institution with many purposes, many centers of power, and many clienteles. “It constituted no single, unified community” (p. 103). Adult education sought space and place in this complex, fluid community that appeared more attuned to the professional than the educational. This quest to have a valued cultural place affected the enterprise’s ability to function. With the federal government and the university both concerned with their own survival, their institutional agendas affected enterprise priorities, resources, and the degree to which adult education could design its own role and purpose. This was even more pronounced after the massive incursion of the federal government into education in the 1960s. The enterprise became increasingly immersed in a politics of placating institutions in order to be recognized and valued. To have space and place, adult education

had to intensify its operations in the realm of the techno-scientific. In this realm training in techniques became training in the ideology, values, and interests of the dominant culture (Miliband, 1974). Adult education acted not only to serve but also to legitimate federal government and other institutions. With the economy as a driving force the values of these institutions became the values of conformist, mainstream forms of education.

Although adult education gained recognition in the 1950s and 1960s as an institutional tool that could be used to carry out particular agendas, the enterprise was never properly supported and valued as a cultural force by either the federal government or the university. For example, while US federal expenditures in adult education were in the 1.5 billion dollar range in 1966, there was only a staff of four professionals with responsibility for adult education in the US Office of Education and there was no single federal office that could provide complete data and statistics on adult education (Liveright, 1968). Despite an interest in the enterprise that spanned more than fifty years, federal policy in adult education lacked conscious development, commitment, consistency, and clarity (Houle, cited, Liveright, 1968). Liveright (1968) related that there was a decline in federal support for adult education after 1968. This decline was influenced in part by federal preoccupations with the war in Vietnam and the strife in inner cities. It was preceded by another decline in support for adult education in 1966 when foundations turned their interests to addressing inner city, minority, and race relations problems. In light of this erosion of support Liveright believed that the time had come for adult education to take responsibility for itself. It had to change its perennial locatedness as “an ancillary and peripheral component in the individual and social development of the

country” (p. 138). To do this it had to build community in itself. It had to work within its own borders to provide leadership and stimulate growth and development. Liveright (1968) declared:

Adult educators, in 1968, are clearly in the position where they must make a better case for the relevance of adult and continuing education to the crucial social and individual problems confronting the United States at this time. ... The future of adult and continuing education and the extent to which adult educators will play a crucial role in the life of the country are clearly dependent upon professional adult educators themselves. (p. 138)

A lack of development, commitment, consistency, and clarity also marked university involvement in postwar adult education. With knowledge needing to reach increasing segments of postindustrial society, there should have been a natural linkage between adult education and the larger university community. The university was developing as a repository and clearinghouse of knowledge and could have been a catalytic agent for community development. However, that link was never properly forged as indicated by the limited success of community development endeavors in the 1950s and 1960s. The return of the veterans after World War II should have also increased adult education’s space and place in the university. There were various reasons why. In addition to affecting regular day programs in colleges and universities, Portman (1978) relates that the veteran presence strongly impacted adult education including continuing education and extension. The veterans were mature, vocationally-oriented learners focused on catching up; they recast the higher education population as a heterogeneous and more “adult” body

(Riesman, 1981). They even changed some academics' minds about the space and place of adults in the university. The assimilation of millions of veterans was the predominant characteristic of American higher education from 1946 until the early 1950s; one out of every two college students was a veteran at the peak of the Veteran Administration higher education (GI bill) programs in the 1947-1948 academic year (Portman, 1978). Despite these changes adult education remained the "stepchild of the American university" (Riesman, 1981, p. 113). In large part this was due to its history as extension. This history had created an image of the enterprise as little more than a service activity that had to be self-supporting. Portman (1978) provides this synopsis:

While on one hand ... [adult education] is motivated by the loftiest of ideals, yet, upon sober reflection, it acknowledges, often without regret, the public relations and budgetary objectives which permeate its activities. (p. 170)

Adult education was not valued like "regular" university teaching and research. Its peripheral positioning in higher education contributed to its confusion of purpose (Portman, 1978).

The enterprise's tendency toward professionalism should also have helped to build community within the university in the postwar period when the research university was ascendant and the professional had increasing status. However, this move did not significantly alter adult education's image in academe. Attitudes within the academy, coupled with public attitudes, kept adult education relegated to a lesser position than the one desired by aspiring professional adult educators. In addition, the new professionalism driven by the research demands of the military-industrial complex seemed to work against

enhancing space and place for adult education. This kind of professionalism valued research over education. It kept adult education at the margins of the research university because the enterprise had traditionally been more about practice than research and it could not boast a significant research base. Thus adult education continued to struggle for space and place in academe. In a poll in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 11, 1968, academics ranked adult education thirty-seventh in importance in a listing of forty-seven college and university activities; in terms of future priority, they ranked the enterprise thirty-eighth (Harrington, 1977). Nearly twenty-five years after World War II adult education still lacked cultural prominence and perennial problems persisted. Underfunding remained a key problem and image problems continued to exist largely due to the reluctance of educators and others to consider adult education as important as other forms of education (Harrington, 1977).

Houle's Credos: Reflecting on Adult Education as Community Twenty-Five Years after World War II: Despite questions of role, purpose, definition, relevance, and support, some adult educators would have agreed that adult education constituted a distinct community in itself by 1970. They would also have acknowledged a degree of success in building community within other institutions. Cyril O. Houle (1972), for example, felt that the enterprise was unfolding as it should. He believed that "adult education has emerged as a distinctive field of study and application" (p. 3). He developed his own gauge of enterprise community development, identifying six credos central to the growth of systematic thought in adult education. Houle presented these credos as "a summary of widely held and used views" (p. 6) shaping a diverse field. These credos

represent a difficult and problematic determination because North American adult education has emerged as a diaspora whose members are dispersed among many institutions with different visions and versions of adult education and its constitution as a community. In fact, a reflection on Houle's credos guiding enterprise development suggests the difficulties of setting parameters to adult education as a community in itself and as a community within other communities. Houle's first credo stated that adult education is mission-oriented. Houle believed that adult education could be unified "by a common effort to achieve a single all-encompassing goal" (p. 7). However, in reality, the changing social, economic, and political agendas of dominant cultural institutions in the 1945-70 period made it difficult for adult educators to share the same mission. If there was some pervasive common mission in the postwar decades, then it was reflected in the efforts of professional adult educators seeking status and increased cultural space and place. At best, these educators created a community of sorts bounded by the strictures of professionalism. Moreover, the notion of a common mission is faulty because it is forgetful of adult education's history. It is out of touch with the enterprise's diffuse nature and its emergence as a diverse enterprise where differences in needs shaped an array of goals that have determined how adult education developed in particular locations. Houle's second credo declared that adults know what they need to learn. The job of the adult educator is to discover what this learning is and enable it. This credo summarizes the *modus operandi* undergirding the andragogical consensus framing adult learning since World War II (Welton, 1995). This consensus has created division in the enterprise. The andragogical model has worked against building community by reducing the role of the

adult educator to a facilitator of learning whose knowledge and experience are underutilized and undervalued. It has inflated the role of the adult learner to an actor who can apparently proceed uninhibited by learner locatedness and uninformed by educator ways of knowing.

Houle's third credo addressed the need to adapt the schooling of youth to meet the needs of adults who still require literacy training or some other kind of basic education. This credo suggested the need to build community with the public education community. However, Houle limited the value of what public education could offer adult education to a techno-scientized concern with "certain standards for mastery of content or skills [that] have already been established" (p. 8). Any reaching out to public education was confined to taking up aspects of standardization necessary to credentializing a modern, technicized practice. It was appropriation that worked against building community within the discipline of education by selectively valuing what public education had to offer adult education. Houle's fourth credo emphasized the importance of leadership. Houle saw leaders as integral to building community and clarifying the role and purpose of adult education. However, many who were considered field leaders in the postwar period were generally not concerned with building community in itself. Houle noted that adult educators tended to show primary allegiance to their employing institution and were guided by the expectations of that institution. Houle's fifth credo suggested that a focus on adult learning could act as a unifying factor among institutions involved in adult education. However, as he himself noted, these institutions needed to function better in terms of collaboration. Any sharing usually centered around shoptalk and training that

dealt more with administrative issues than learning issues. Institutional concerns generally superseded concerns with adult learning. This also worked against building community within other communities. Houle's sixth credo promoted the subversion of formalism. This concern grew out of the enterprise's desire to distance itself from the education of youth. It further eroded possibilities for building community within education. According to Houle, those who held the sixth credo believed that "adult educators should stress informality, improvisation and new and unconventional ways of thought" (p. 9). This belief supported the tendencies toward individualism and self-directed learning that were growing in the field. It devalued the kind of learning associated with schooling for children by suggesting that adult learning was something quite different and unique. It exemplified adult education's proclivity for being apart.

Living Out a Pedagogy of Adult Learning Community: Reflecting Themes in Action

In the period 1945-70 the search for space and place raised many questions concerning what was necessary to establish North American adult education as a recognized, respected, and valued learning community and cultural force. The ideas drawn from critical postmodern theory to inform the pedagogy of adult learning community presented in Chapter 1 provide a useful guide to assist this determination. This pedagogy engages issues of concern to adult educators and learners seeking to build the enterprise as a community in itself and as a community within other communities. It provides a way to think about notions like adult education and community. Four questions important to this pedagogy are explored here: 1) To what extent did adult education value the roles of adult

educators and learners, giving both space and place in the adult education community after World War II? 2) To what degree did postwar adult education construct lifelong learning as an expression of the enterprise's hope for the future and as a focal point for reflecting on what learners in community desired and needed to know? 3) To what extent did knowledge production pay sufficient attention to theory and the foundations of adult education in building an enterprise having common knowledge? 4) And to what degree did adult education build an encompassing community, giving space and place to instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education?

The Space and Place of Adult Educators and Learners in the Post-World

War II Enterprise: The roles of both adult educators and learners are valued within the pedagogy of adult learning community. Their contributions are recognized, respected, and fostered. Both the adult educator and the adult learner shape adult education as a community. Of these two key players, however, it was the adult learner who became ascendant in the expanding enterprise that emerged after World War II. Amid a growing andragogical consensus, adult education placed emphasis on learning, not teaching. J. Roby Kidd and Gordon Selman (1978) list concepts that were in vogue during this period of learner ascendancy: Allen Tough (1969) described "individual," "continuing," and "self-directed" learners and Alan Thomas (1961) promoted the "learning society." Malcolm Knowles (1970) introduced the notion of "andragogy" which drew favor as an emerging theory of adult learning. Knowles and Chester Klevins (1972) depicted andragogy as an "explicit and realistic term" (p. 9) that fell under the umbrella of lifelong learning. Knowles (1970) defined andragogy as the process of helping adults to learn. In his development of

andragogy, he subscribed to the Rogerian belief that learners had to be free to learn. Carl Rogers had called on educators to be concerned with the whole individual, insisting that it was only through free, individual thought that a person could learn (Apps, 1973). Like Knowles, Bergevin (1967) believed that adult educators had to focus on the nature of the adult as a learner. He also framed adult learning in Rogerian terms when he suggested that adult educators should enhance their educative role by “studying adult needs, wants, and expectations and the ways an effective interpretation and understanding of them can reduce fragmentation and bring about wholeness directed toward a productive life” (p. 61). However, while Knowles reduced the adult educator to a facilitator of learning, Bergevin suggested that the adult educator had a more complex role to play in the learning process. In fact, Bergevin (1967) called for an expanded role for the adult educator, a role that included functions as theoretician as well as technician:

A well-trained professional adult educator should know what to do with what he [sic] knows. He should be skilled in helping adults put the knowledge they have to work. He should also help learners obtain new information and better ways to use it. ... A well-trained adult educator has had a solid background of psychological, sociological, and educational theory, which he has learned to interpret. (p. 62)

Knowles’s andragogical model had left the space and place of the adult educator and, in particular, the professional adult educator in question. In its zealous support of the adult learner, his model disabled possibilities for building adult education as community by valuing learner experience to the point that educator knowledge and experiences were devalued or ignored. In promoting the adult educator’s role as facilitator, it de-emphasized

key community-building educator roles such as researcher, writer, trainer, and community builder. It missed the point that adult educators can not be neutral actors because their professional lives and work are shaped by a host of contexts and their own self-knowledge and biases; it side-stepped the issues that adult educators are also affected by group dynamics and by the knowledge and experiences of others (see this description of the adult educator in Kidd, 1973a). J. Roby Kidd (1973a) located the adult educator in the learning process:

Particularly should ... [the adult educator] not deceive himself [sic] that he can ever, in a class or in some form of community action, behave *simply as a catalyst* [his italics], unchanging. All actions, his own not excluded, have consequences. ... He needs to understand *and accept* the fact that he has considerable influence. (p. 305)

Yet this influence did not translate into an honored cultural presence in the 1945-70 period. Houle, in the 1970 Handbook, described the status of professional adult educators nearly fifty years after modern practice and its struggle for space and place began:

At present the specialist in adult education can be considered a professional only in a loose and analogical fashion, such as that which distinguishes the trained from the amateur historian or the political scientist from the politician. By study and experience he [sic] has acquired a body of knowledge, a discipline and an expertise which sets him apart from other people, but he is not yet a member of a consciously defined company of men who have achieved the socially recognized and legally protected stature of a profession. (p. 112)

From this perspective, the professional adult educator moving into the 1970s was not so different from earlier adult educators who “rarely enjoy[ed] the security of a clearly defined position in an accepted institution” (Schroeder, 1970, p. 36). The adult educator was often undervalued in the era of modern practice. (Kidd, 1966a). Moreover, professional adult educators appeared to accomplish little by seeking to replace earlier roles with a techno-scientized one. Maybe a better plan would have been to focus more on integrating roles as professional and social educators to counteract the fact that a proactive role as a social educator had been uncommon among professional adult educators. As Robert E. Finch (1969) noted, “Most [adult] educators ... viewed themselves as followers of social change” (p. 3). William S. Griffith (1969) concurred, arguing that “changes are made within adult education to accommodate the expectations and demands of political leaders, and too often adult educators follow rather than lead the legislative activity on education” (p. 79). He concluded:

Practicing adult educators face a persistent perplexing problem. Various pressure groups in society compete with one another for the favors of the adult educator. Funds are provided, according to a feast or famine philosophy, to support adult educators who agree to perform miracles. (p. 79)

Griffith’s conclusion summed up adult education as reaction. Education in this mode was a deterrent to building community. The role of the adult educator remained muddled and cultural status as a proactive professional continued to be a pipe dream.

Hope and the Post-World War II Discourse of Lifelong Learning: Hope is viewed as a precondition for action within the pedagogy of adult learning community. As

the modern practice of adult education emerged after World War II the enterprise's hope for the future found expression in the discourse of lifelong learning. Lifelong learning or "education permanente" became adult education's banner fluttering over the enterprise landscape. Its rhetoric was an expression of modern practice's politics of hope and possibility where "devotion to the concept of lifelong learning is a part of our belief that man can be improved, that we can learn, that society can be recast" (Axford, 1969, p. 98). However, the notion of lifelong learning was not a novel postwar concept. While it might not always have been named lifelong learning, this notion had been genetic in adult educational thought. Eduard C. Lindeman (1926/1962), a seminal voice in the early days of North American modern practice, had promoted the idea that adult education should be "conceived as a process coterminous with life" (p. 5). For him, this was the meaning of adult education. He declared, "Adult education is an agitating instrumentality for changing life" (p.104). "Its purpose is to put meaning into the whole of life" (p. 5). "The whole of life is learning, therefore education can have no endings. This new venture is called *adult education* [his italics] - not because it is confined to adults but because adulthood, maturity, defines its limits" (pp. 4-5).

To what degree was this "new venture" moved forward by the discourse of lifelong learning? To what extent did this learning paradigm shape adult education as community? Stubblefield and Keane (1989) contend that lifelong learning "reflected an attempt to make adult education an object of public policy" (p. 35). Adult educators wanted lifelong learning to be a cultural matter of fact and a valued commodity in the postwar rapid-change sociocultural milieu. In fact, some cast it as a *fait accompli*:

The longest period of life during which the most rapid changes in society will occur remains after a person leaves school. All the forces of society are moving, like a continental drift, toward the concept and practice of education as a process continuing from birth to death. (Blakely, 1971, p. 5)

However, this understanding of education was a hard sell. Despite the persistent use of the term in the 1950s and 1960s, lifelong learning never gained cultural stature to match enterprise rhetoric extolling its value. Why didn't lifelong learning have a major cultural impact and become adult education's lived out hope for the future? The notion certainly seemed conducive to building community within other communities. However, a number of obstacles stood in the way. The discourse of lifelong learning was too intermeshed with the discourse of democracy. Sheats, Jayne, and Spence's (1953) writing typified that of adult educators who wrote in the intersection of the two discourses. Stating a common postwar enterprise theme that the knowledge and skills needed for the times had to come from adult education, not public education, they argued, "Lifelong learning becomes essential for the survival of the American system of government. The vitality of that system depends upon the quantity and quality of participation in what we call community life" (p. 486). From this perspective, it appeared that lifelong learning was meant to promote dominant cultural values and enhance community life, at least in dominant cultural terms.

While the lifelong learning paradigm had many disciples in adult education, the fact that its discourse put productivity and politics before people became a real concern to those adult educators working to develop an inclusionary enterprise addressing

instrumental, social, and cultural concerns. Alexander N. Charters (1970) was among those sounding a discordant note in the hymn to lifelong learning. While he acknowledged that “this concept has often been stated by adult educators as a belief and with the vehemence of a fact” (p. 488), he reminded adult educators of the reality of lifelong learning beyond this internal devotion. If there was a wider interest in lifelong learning, it was an interest affected by a slow-changing cultural disposition toward adult education that shaped lifelong learning in particular ways and limited the perception of what the enterprise could accomplish:

The fact is, however, that until recently many adults did not recognize a personal need for further education. Instead, widespread interest had been shown primarily in programs to meet short-term goals, to pursue hobbies and interests and to obtain remedial education. This attitude, which regards adult education as a luxury, fringe, or remedial activity, is gradually eroding and being supplanted by feelings of necessity and immediacy toward continuing one’s education. (Charters, 1970, p. 488)

This was a gradual process indeed. The notion of lifelong learning swam upstream against a current of public attitudes that viewed adult education to be located in some lives (as a luxury for middle-class North Americans, for example) and not in others (as a remote possibility for many forgotten citizens). Adult education needed a new image if it was to make headway in its struggle for cultural space and place. Charters’s assessment was a reminder that the question ‘What is adult education?’ had to be seriously debated beyond enterprise circles. Adult education needed a publicity campaign to re-image itself as a

valued cultural enterprise. It may have been a luxury, a fringe, or remedial on some levels, but adult education was also much more. Adult educators had not successfully delivered this message to the public.

Lifelong learning suffered from being underpublicized not only in the wider culture, but also in the field of education where it still appeared homeless. In insulating and isolating itself from public education, adult education had cut itself off from those very educators who should have had first responsibility for promoting the notion of lifelong learning as a fact of life for all citizens. It should have been a common belief that children needed to learn the value of lifelong learning in their early years for adult education to be seen as natural and necessary in later years. Some adult educators were convinced of this. For example, Harlan Copeland (1971) related, "For lifelong learning to become a practice, educational philosophy must embrace the entire life-span, making an interest in continuing education a reality while children are still in school" (p. 65). Adult educators who did not believe this hurt the enterprise by not building community with public educators. Lifelong learning could have been a hook to create linkages among educators in the broader discipline. As Collins (1987) argues, "Rather than attempting to set up a division between the education of children and adult education, it is more fruitful to envisage the principle of lifelong learning as a cue for exploring the significant connections which exist between them" (p. 50). Adult education could have been enhanced by a stronger connection to public education which also experienced crises after World War II. Tyack (1974) provides this conspectus of the crises: In the 1940s funding issues, urban growth, and the high birth rate during the war affected public education. Issues of efficiency and effectiveness of the

educational system shaped educational dilemmas in the 1950s as the Cold War intensified. Sovietphobic McCarthyism with its demand of ideological conformity from teachers and students further magnified crises and entrenched “passive fear as an official way of life” (p. 275) in the “anxious fifties” (p. 276). Crises in public education in the 1960s were caught up in the social upheaval of the times and the necessity of fighting the war on poverty and racial discrimination. Adult education was not distant from any of these crises and it could have learned much by working collaboratively with public education in this period. Public education was also involved in its own identity quest and re-imagining process amid calls for system reform in a culture disappointed and dissatisfied with its performance. There were possibilities for mutual learning here as both forms of education struggled in a turbulent period marked by “a kaleidoscopic confusion of contending interests, of different assessments of need, of rhetorical panaceas and jarring hopelessness” (p. 289).

Building Common Knowledge as a Sign of Building Community: Theory, research, and the foundations of adult education are valued and advanced in the pedagogy of adult learning community. From a Deweyian perspective, the building and sharing of common knowledge is placed at the heart of creating community. In the 1970 US handbook of adult education, the extent of common knowledge in the enterprise and the degree to which it was possible to have a common knowledge base were still being debated. In part this could be explained because the modern practice of adult education had only a fifty year history of development to that point. Efforts to build collective identity and a common knowledge base had only begun to develop in earnest in the 1920s. Since the construction of a profession is a long and complex process, it would be fair to

say that, in 1970, adult education was still learning to crawl. Its growth and development constituted a slow and diffuse process. As the enterprise attempted to expand its knowledge base after World War II, the delineation of common knowledge became even more complicated in a rapid-change sociopolitical and economic milieu where a knowledge economy was reconfiguring culture. In the face of these changes, many adult educators called for intensified efforts in theory building and research to strengthen the enterprise's knowledge base. There were also calls for a stronger focus on the foundations of the field to give the enterprise professional clout. A contingent of adult educators addressed the role of other disciplines as they dealt with the nature of adult education and the perennial tension between theory and practice. Burton W. Kreitlow (1970) spoke to the modern-era reality: "As a field of professional study, adult education borrows and reformulates knowledge from other disciplines" (p. 145).

While a turn to theory and the foundation disciplines was noticeable in the 1950s and 1960s, that turn was inhibited by a pervasive psychologism that offered its own determination of useful and appropriate knowledge for a techno-scientized and professionalized practice. Adult education's growth and development were marred in this period because the enterprise failed to adequately emphasize an interdisciplinary approach, including turns to the historical and philosophical foundations that would guide the clarification of the field's form and function (Welton, 1991b). In the rush to psychologize practice, theoretical and foundational knowledges were too frequently pushed aside in the enterprise in genesis. Adult educators needed to access research findings in various disciplines in order to build a field nourishing theory and practice (Axford, 1969).

Furthermore, they needed to address the issue of research within the enterprise. Axford (1969) stated what was a familiar theme related to this issue: “There is a question as to whether because of the diversity and heterogeneity of the field of adult education we can build a coordinated and cohesive body of research” (p.216).

Building an enterprise-unifying knowledge base was also caught up in concerns with adult education’s identity and its struggle to build community in itself. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) provide a sense of this struggle in their reflection on the underdevelopment of adult education’s knowledge base in the era of modern practice. This reflection points to the need for community-building blocks including sufficient personnel, adequate funding, and a vision that directs action and moves the community forward:

Unfortunately, the store of tested knowledge about adult education itself is sorely deficient, although progress has certainly been made. The reasons for this state of affairs include the following: (1) the number of active researchers is very small; (2) funds for research in adult education have been and still are very scarce; (3) the research in the field is fragmented, with little cumulative development of knowledge on problems of central importance; (4) basic research that can add to the store of tested knowledge and contribute to the development of theory is neglected; (5) much of the research is poorly conceived and executed. (pp. 231-232)

Darkenwald and Merriam’s reflection helps explain why adult education has been slow to develop a common and substantial body of knowledge. The enterprise knowledge base

could still be depicted as scattered and diffuse twenty-five years after World War II (Axford, 1969). However, there had been some forward movement in its development. Axford (1969) noted that the Library of Continuing Education at Syracuse University provided an isolated example of the kind of data-retrieval system needed to strengthen theory and practice in adult education. Houle (1972) related that a growing volume of literature addressed “the shadowy zones between adult educational practice and such other fields of inquiry or application as anthropology, economics, history, philosophy, social work, librarianship, social psychology, sociology, human development, and physiology” (p. 238). These activities typified the kind of growth and development needed to take adult education beyond its historical location as a cloudy venture. This location required adult educators to understand the vastness of the field and make sense of its wide, open spaces. As Wayne L. Schroeder (1970) related, “The content of adult education has neither horizontal or vertical limits - that is instances of adult education can be found that touch every body of knowledge known to man” (p. 34).

Building Community in the Intersection of Instrumental, Social, and Cultural Education: Instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education are all valued in the pedagogy of adult learning community. Giving space and place to each of these educational forms is seen as critical to building an inclusionary practice. During the emergence of North American adult education after World War II, instrumental forms figured prominently in the design of adult education. The instrumentalization of modern practice was an important part of adult education’s attempt to gain space and place by shaping itself as a vehicle that could advance North American dominant cultural interests.

This dynamic deterred the building of an encompassing adult education community.

Building community was reduced to a subscription to the tenets of techno-scientization and the sterility of its methods and techniques. A technicized practice was emerging with “the growing use in government, higher education, and the workplace, of adult education for economic development” (Stubblefield and Keane, 1989, p. 33). The enterprise joined the service of the credential society and often resorted to continuing education of the “‘gimmick’ variety” (Thompson, 1971, p. 18). Some mainstream forms of social and cultural adult education also aligned with dominant cultural interests and were caught up in the discourse of democracy supporting those interests. This is evident, for example, in the publication of adult education principles by the Committee on Social Philosophy of the AEA in 1952. This committee took the position that adult education should mirror the ideology and aims of US cultural democracy and guide action promoting social change deemed important to the advancement of American society (Brookfield, 1987). Situating the local community as the central site for modern practice and problem solving, the committee argued that participation in adult education had to be translated into responsible participation in society. Wilbur C. Hallenbeck took a similar stance in the 1960 US handbook of adult education:

The responsibility for *conditioning and equipping citizens* [italics added] for democratic understanding and participation falls to adult education. It must be instrumental in creating the situations within which people may experience democratic processes in such ways that they will be impressed by its practicality, its effectiveness, and its superiority. (p. 34)

Social and cultural forms of adult education became a means to spread the discourse of democracy to citizen learners. Earl L. Butz's (1958) work exemplified the disposition of those US adult educators attempting to extol the "virtues of America:"

After Sputnik I and Sputnik II, there was loose talk about how bad America is and how far we're slipping, how low our educational system is, and how far the Russians are ahead of us. ... This is, I think, because we haven't done a sufficiently good job in adult education about the virtues of America, ... about the free enterprise system, about the things the system has produced. It has imperfections, ... but the system works in terms of housing, in terms of income levels, in terms of TV's, in terms of anything you want to mention. (p. 35)

Butz's words supported the dominant culture and its values while they belied the fact that the discourse of democracy forgot whole groups of US citizens. Many forgotten people outside the domain of White middle-class America were not included in the techno-scientific learning circle that supported the status quo. Like other adult educators buying into the discourse of democracy, Butz advanced an exclusionary practice where citizen learners were encouraged to work within the system to enhance their technical competencies and its technological advancement.

Other adult educators did see that adult education needed to be shaped as an inclusionary enterprise that addressed instrumental, social, and cultural concerns. Bergevin (1967) suggested that "education for adults can be any kind of learning that adds to their fund of knowledge, changes their attitudes or views or opinions, broadens their perspectives, or alters their behavior" (pp. 162-163). His idea of learning made space and

place for diverse forms of adult education. Lindeman (1949 in Brookfield, 1987) also continued to advance the need for an inclusionary educative practice. While he believed that democracy and education were intertwined, his concern with democracy was not reduced to a concern with the socioeconomic advancement of the dominant culture or extolling American virtues. It was expressed as a valuing of democratic community that fostered human diversity and cultural pluralism and gave Blacks, Jews, and Others space and place as citizens. When it came to adult education, Lindeman believed that citizen learners needed both a vocational and a general (liberal) education. He argued:

Both types of education are needed in modern societies. We need to learn how to make a living as well as how to live well and purposefully. The person who lacks skills is a misfit in a technological age. But the person with skills, the trained artisan or professional, needs also to know something else if he [sic] is to be an active and useful participant in a democratic setting. He needs to know how to deal with questions of value, and this facility is the product of general education.

(p. 167)

Lindeman's argument pointed to the utility yet insufficiency of instrumental forms of education that are not nestled within a concern for the social and the cultural. It suggested that instrumental, social, and cultural forms of adult education all need to be recognized, fostered, and valued. This should be the bottom line whether an adult educator sees adult education as an applied discipline of study, a field of practice, a profession in genesis, an institution in formation, or a forum for individual and social action. Adult education is about living in the everyday, so it must be about many things. This is evident in

Darkenwald and Merriam's (1982) listing of the purposes of adult education developed from their reflection on the salient issues in adult education in the era of modern practice. These purposes are: 1) to assist people to manage change in their own lives and in society, 2) to offer adults opportunities to satisfy their educational needs along the continuum from basic to higher forms of learning, 3) to promote learning for citizenship in order to enable individuals to become competent and responsible problem solvers and people of action, and, 4) to help people to self-actualize through opportunities to learn what is personally meaningful. Darkenwald and Merriam's listing indicates that as citizens live, learn, and work they are best supported by adult education that encompasses the instrumental, the social, and the cultural.

Community Development as an Enterprise Focus: Lessons in Building Community

One legacy of the focus on community development in adult education after World War II is a literature rich in ideas for those concerned with building community in the enterprise. Adult education's turn to community as a way to vitalize and focus its own efforts in postwar North America highlights issues and concerns that can help structure a reflection on the development of adult education as a community in itself and as a community within other communities. For example, in his consideration of community organization for adult education, Glen Burch (1948) provided this analysis. He alluded to the difficulties of shaping adult education as a community when he noted two key characteristics of the enterprise in the era of modern practice: 1) Adult education is not characterized by an institutional pattern like public education; and, 2) Responsibility for

adult education is diffused among diverse community organizations. Burch saw community in adult education as a loose configuration. He pointed out certain advantages to the diverse and diffuse nature of the enterprise: 1) It contributed to the vast growth of the movement; and, 2) It built a field marked by flexibility, variety, and experimentation in terms of subject areas and adult-learner interest groups. While these advantages raise questions about the degree to which adult educators should seek commonality in the enterprise, Burch also listed disadvantages that indicated a requirement for at least some sort of unifying structure and common ground: 1) The diverse and diffuse nature of adult education mitigated against cooperative planning and action; 2) It kept many adult activities marginal to the main work of community organizations; 3) It meant that the enterprise served only part of a community's adults, making participation in adult education an issue; and, 4) It made it difficult to balance adult education resources against community needs. Burch's disadvantages point to problems that the enterprise has historically encountered in building community. They help us to understand why adult education and its community have been indeterminate cultural constructions. Speaking to the lack of consensus concerning what adult education is and what its parameters are, Sheats, Jayne, and Spence (1953) listed other roadblocks to building community. These included: 1) the lack of agreed-upon ethical principles to guide the emergence of the enterprise; 2) the lack of adequately trained adult educators and the absence of professional standards of behavior; and, 3) the general failure to monitor and evaluate the extent to which goals and objectives had been accomplished in the enterprise. These problems were compounded by other perennial problems including the problem of

financial support and the problem of competition rather than cooperation among community organizations (Overstreet & Overstreet, 1941).

These diverse problems indicate particular needs which must be met to assist community construction in adult education. First of all, there is a need to clarify what the concepts adult education and community mean. They have always been vague configurations in the era of modern practice. Despite the growing importance of community as a sociocultural construct in post-World War II adult education, the answer to the question "What is community?" has remained as confused as the answer to the question "What is adult education?" Both answers need clarification. Since adult education is often called upon to serve the interests of the dominant culture, it is important for adult educators to understand adult education as a community so they can determine how to act in response to cultural politics affecting the enterprise's space and place in the larger culture. Samuel E. Hand (1969) has argued that adult educators "must have an awareness of the historical factors of community development ... [and they] must also understand the nature and concept of community" (p. 139). Adult educators should turn to history in order to explore the emergence of adult education in response to changing needs, competing ideologies, and diverse educational discourses. This exploration will inform their sense of the enterprise and their sense of community.

Building community in adult education also calls for a focus on the "big picture." Harry O. Overstreet and Bonaro W. Overstreet (1941) contended that adult educators with a sense of community surveyed the whole situation before moving to planning and action. They started where the community was and investigated its history, culture,

constituting forces, needs, and the human and material resources of the community. They could see the community as whole and different from other communities. This knowledge and understanding is necessary if adult educators are to set parameters, explore possibilities, and determine limits as they construct community. Building adult education as community further requires that adult education connect to other cultural communities in which its identity is caught up. Adult educators need to investigate how different communities affect adult education's social and institutional supports and resources as well as its priorities, participation, and performativity. The general connectedness of communities in postwar North America was recognized by Sheats, Jayne, and Spence (1953) who felt that the time had passed when local communities could function in isolation from one another. Edmund deS. Brunner, David S. Wilder, Corinne Kirchner, and John S. Newberry, Jr. (1959) suggested that "the modern metropolitan area is a constellation of specialized communities, a 'community of communities'" (p. 214). In post-World War II North America, adult education vied for space and place as a community within that constellation. To build adult education as a community within communities, adult educators had to see the enterprise as part of something larger, as a community shaped by the presence of other communities and by community interdependence. These lessons in community development are lessons that teach us about building adult education as community. They show that building community is a complex process. In the 1945-70 period, building community in adult education has been a demonstration of the difficulties of sharing things in common. It has been about the quest for identity that is recognized, fostered, and valued. It has been about "being, becoming,

and belonging” (Kidd, 1973b, p. 5) as an enterprise in the cultural scheme of things. It has been about the struggle for space and place, a struggle that has focused on making education adult friendly. This is a struggle that continues to this day.

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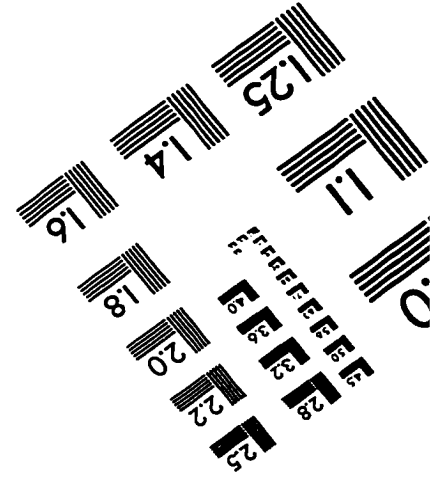
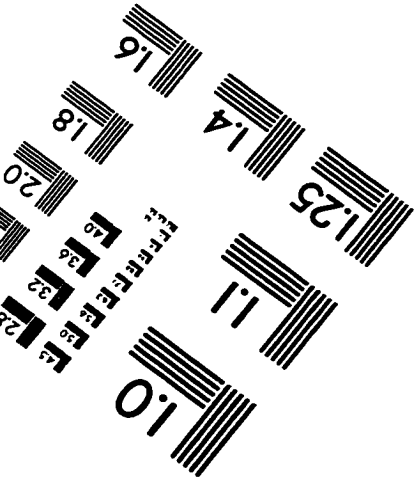
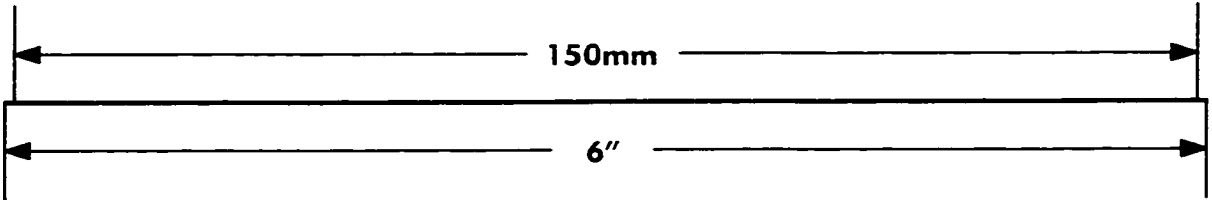
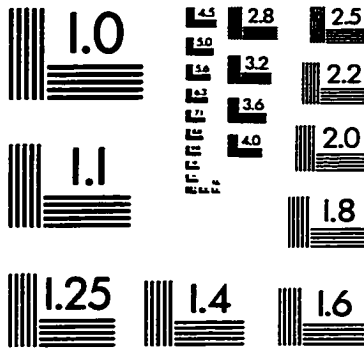
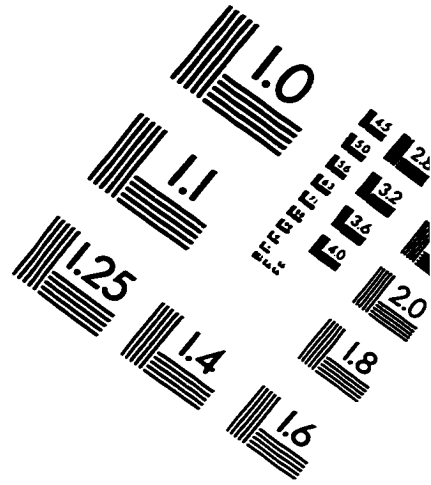
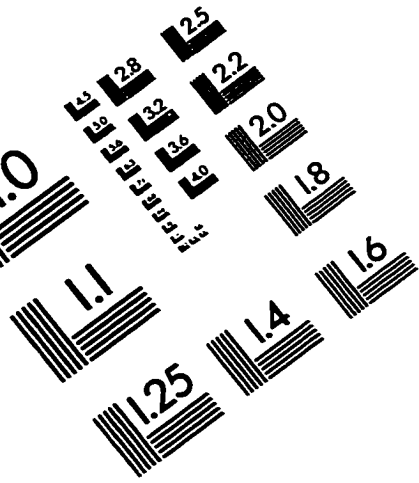
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