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Contents

Editorial: Citizenship and the crisis of democracy: What role can adult education play in matters of public concern?

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Introduction

Democracy is said to be in a bad shape. The causes of the crisis seem obvious. There is a growing distrust in our societies vis-à-vis the elites. Donald Trump triumphed in the US-elections on an anti-establishment discourse. Many common people supported a candidate for the presidency who attacked the institutions of the state with 'alternative facts'. His supporters didn't mind his aggressive speeches against women and ethnic minorities. The European project is under threat. The British will leave the European Union. Many Brexit-voters want to keep their borders closed for foreigners. Eastern European countries, mainly Poland and Hungary, have installed autocratic regimes. In Germany the phantoms of the Nazi period again manifest themselves. Southern European countries feel overpowered by the austerity claims of the Northern-European countries. Countries such as Austria, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands, known as traditional democratic states, are haunted by xenophobia. The Union threatens to fall apart. Turkey, at the border of Europe, is moving towards dictatorship. Vast majorities of the population support their autocratic leader. The US and Europe have moved into troubled waters and democratic institutions, political parties, movements and citizens are close to despair. Comparisons with the interbellum are in the air.

Various, often contradictory, reasons are given to explain the belief of many citizens that democracy is in crisis: the fear for newcomers, the threat of terrorism and the discourse on safety, the instability of the economy, neoliberal globalization, the failure of traditional political institutions, the incredibility of political personnel, the hollowing-out of social democracy, the misinformation of citizens, the failing of educational institutions to enlighten participants with democratic competencies. Many of these reasons are probably partially true. They interact and often reinforce each other. However, of all these reasons, mainly the latter one raises our interest.

Do educational institutions, particularly the adult education providers, fail to arouse democratic competencies among their participants? Have adult education institutions evolved too much in utilitarian directions, operating in the quasi-markets of educational goods and services? Have adult education institutions lost their critical voice, while trying to adapt to the continuously changing demands of their funding authorities? Or have they developed new answers to the changing social, political and economic climate of recent times? Are they supporting new forms of citizenship in a world in transformation? Or, are old values and practices of critical adult education still resistant?

Many authors find it hard to present a precise definition of citizenship and citizenship education (Fejes, Dahlstedt, Olson & Sandberg, 2018; Nicoll, Fejes, Olson, Dahlstedt & Biesta, 2013; Peterson, Hattam, Zembylas & Arthur, 2016; Tarozzi, Rapana & Ghirotto, 2013; Vandenabeele, Reyskens & Wildemeersch, 2011). They all observe that various definitions circulate in political science and educational literature. An important distinction regarding citizenship is made between 'citizenship as status' and 'citizenship as practice'. The first concept refers to the question who belongs to a particular nation state community (Yuval-Davis, 2011) and hence, is entitled to particular rights and duties of that state, whilst the latter concept refers to different kinds of civic participation in democratic practices (Biesta[1], 2011; Johnston, 2005). Other authors, with a political science background, often make a distinction between the liberal, the republican and the communitarian tradition of citizenship (Pierik, 2012), or between the liberal model, the republican model and the moral model (Tarozzi et al., 2013). All these distinctions sometimes (slightly) differ from each other and sometimes overlap. Since this is quite confusing, some authors suggest to be pragmatic and accept this diversity of definitions, since they are all located in 'particular conceptual frameworks and contextual factors' (Peterson et al., 2016, p. XI).

Also, regarding citizenship education different definitions circulate in academic literature. However, as Peterson et al., (2016) observe, they all refer to practices of formal, non-formal and informal learning in connection with issues of (in)justice and (in)equality. In line with this, they present in their 'Handbook of Citizenship Education', a broad range of educational practices focusing on a variety of themes such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, intersectionality, disability, refugees and asylum seekers, and issues such as globalization and global justice, peace, intercultural and interreligious dialogue. They furthermore distinguish between citizenship practices that are either socializing or transformative. The socializing practices concern the learning of people to take up roles in different communities, whilst the transformative practices refer to the ways people actively and democratically respond to matters of injustice. We tend to follow this broad approach to citizenship education, linked with various themes and issues, that is either socializing (citizenship-as-status) or transformative (citizenship-as-practice).

Adult education practices have traditionally enabled citizenship participation in direct and indirect ways. The direct ways are related to the connections between adult education organizations and different types of social movements, such as the workers movement, the feminist movement, the ecological movement and even some nationalist movements. These practices have a direct political or public connotation. They are places where the ideologies and strategies of these movements are studied and discussed, where militants get their schooling and where structural changes are strived for. They mainly connect to macro democratic issues. The indirect ways have to do with creating opportunities for participants to meet other people, while engaging with private worries such as the education of their children, questions of religion, culture and economics, or more practical matters of how to get daily life organized, how to acquire particular skills, etc. These indirect ways not only try to meet individual needs. They may also have social

impact in the sense that participants learn to communicate and engage with other people, other habits and other ideas, and hence, learn to reflect critically about their own self-evident assumptions. These indirect ways could be considered 'micro democratic practices' where people improve their capabilities as democratic citizens, but simultaneously 'turn their private worries into matters of public concern' (Mills, 1959).

Since democracy seems to be in crisis in our present-day societies, we think it is an important challenge to reflect on the role and responsibilities of adult education and learning vis-à-vis that crisis. But also to think about the role of research. Policy makers struggle with issues of individualization and disintegration dynamics in society. They also experience a loss of legitimacy of traditional political structures. In response to this, adult education is often invited to enhance social cohesion and engage in participatory practices, thereby stimulating more 'active citizenship'. Adult education practices often align with these normative discourses developed in policy circles, thereby adopting a deficit perspective in which '[p]olicy language of citizenship education positions people quite "naturally" as needing the knowledge, values and competencies for citizenship and further development of these' (Nicoll, et al., 2013, p. 840). Or, in Biesta's words 'It places (..) people in the position of not yet being a citizen' (2001, p. 13). Such deficit-perspective raises questions to be addressed with regard to policies, practices and research of citizenship education with and for adults.

Is it relevant for adult education organizations to align with that political agenda? Or should they try to develop their own perspective in a more autonomous way? What could, in that case, be their contribution to more 'democratic citizenship'? Is it their responsibility to transform private troubles into matters of public concern? And, if so, to what extent are they able to do so? Do they have to redirect their perspectives, practices and attitudes vis-à-vis 'big' and 'small' democratic issues? Does this also imply a different view on 'learning'? And what about the researchers? To what extent have they reinforced dominant interpretations of the 'democratic deficit'? Should they try to develop alternative interpretations? These were the questions we posed when inviting submission for this thematic issue.

The papers

We received positive responses to the call for papers, and at the end four papers came to be accepted and included in the issue. Three of the four papers are written by German researchers about German cases. This could reflect the fact that the public debate about migration issues is currently very lively in Germany. However, the four papers do, in different ways, respond to questions posed above. In her article, Tetyana Kloubert from Germany focuses on a timely issue in times of increased political polarization and "fake news": the tension between propaganda and civic education. By rooting civic education in the German tradition of *Bildung* and *Mündigkeit* she argues that civic education can be an enabler of, as well as a counter force to, propaganda. In order to shape citizens who can withstand propaganda, the focus needs to be directed towards their autonomy and capacities to question what is. By providing civic education, the focus should thus not be on reproducing a pre-determined knowledge content but rather encourage participants to critically assess and question knowledge in a process of self-realisation and in a state of 'Mündigkeit' (free-spoken).

Bernd Käpplinger from Germany addresses another key issue in relation to the theme, namely how adult education in Germany deals with the so-called refugee crisis. The research he presents focuses on the way folk high schools have engaged with refugees

since the end of the second world war till today. The nature of people seeking refuge in Germany has dramatically changed over the years, from refugees from Eastern Europe in the forties and fifties, to refugees from places of war violence in the Balkan countries, in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria. Käpplinger has investigated citizenship education programmes in 47 German folk high schools over the period under study with the methodology of programme analysis. He has found that the majority of the provision over time is a kind of 'education for the public', meaning that the participants are considered in need of knowledge and skills in order to adapt to the changing circumstances. A minority of the programmes could be interpreted as 'education of the public', whereby the participants are actively collaborating in the construction of knowledge related to the issues of migration and refugees.

In the third paper Silke Schreiber-Barsch, also from Germany, reflects on the question 'who counts' in adult education practice, meaning in what ways are particular target groups being taken seriously as emancipated participants by the providers. The 'target groups' she focuses on are groups of 'sans-papiers' (undocumented migrants) in Paris (France) and people with disabilities in Germany. Building on the theoretical notions of 'socialisation', 'subjectification' and 'dissensus' as developed by the French philosopher Jacques Rancière, the author finds out that the subjectification (emancipation) of these groups of people often results from acts of dissensus, whereby they resist against practices of segregation in contexts of adult education. It is mainly by claiming that they are not voiceless, but basically unheard, ignored or de-legitimised, literally incapacitated, as they are spoken for or acted on behalf of. In response to this, the responsibility for adult education practice and research is in the first place to listen to those people who in many cases are considered voiceless in our societies.

In the fourth thematic paper Danny Wildemeersch from Belgium and Joana Pestana Lages from Portugal present the case of Cova da Moura in the Lisbon area. The area serves as an example of the collaboration of community workers and academics in the struggle for the survival of a neighbourhood that is considered illegal by the local authorities. The paper is a theoretical reflection on an intervention by a group of architects and an anthropologist, attempting to develop a plan for an alternative space in the neighbourhood. In this paper, the question, whether the intervention was a failure or not, takes a central place. While looking for an answer, different theories are used as lenses for interpretation: the 'right to the city' discourse, the understanding of dissent and the framing of policy initiatives as learning processes

Open papers

Beside the four thematic papers, the issue also includes two open papers. In the first of these Marcella Milana from Italy and Palle Rasmussen from Denmark focus on how task forces and commissions are assembled and used in policy making on adult education in Denmark and Italy respectively. They argue that research on these kinds of task forces and their influence is sparse, not the least in relation to adult education. Based on policy texts of different sorts from the period 2000-2016 they illustrate, amongst other things, how the use of commissions was more common in Italy than Denmark. This might have to do with Italy being a federal state, and thus they need include officials from central, regional and local governments in order to coordinate and come to decisions. Denmark, on the other hand, is a small country where decisions are faster implemented due to a developed welfare public sector. Thus, policy making and process is slower in Italy as compared to Denmark.

In the second open paper Tiina Tambaum and Peeter Normak from Estonia focus on how teenage tutors teach older people digital skills. Their aim is to identify which techniques the tutors use in their teaching as well as how the tutors' previous experience of the content of what they teach (the web page), influences their interaction with students. Drawing on video recordings of 14 teaching sessions, they illustrate that the most common teaching techniques were those when tutors were commanding and explaining, rather than being interactive. Further, students who had less knowledge about the content were more interactive than tutors with more content knowledge. The authors thus suggest that teenage tutors should be introduced to interactive tutoring techniques in order to become more interactive with their older students.

Notes

[1] Biesta speaks of 'citizenship as outcome', rather than of 'citizenship as status', whereby outcome refers to the result of an educational trajectory.

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Propaganda as a (new) challenge of civic education

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Abstract

This paper argues that propaganda poses a (new) challenge to civic education. It examines the tension between education and propaganda in relation to civic education for adults considering (1) civic education as protection against propaganda attempts and (2) propaganda as a possible element of civic education. This paper explores didactical approaches and core principles of civic education that strive to both resist and deal with propaganda. The core proposal of the paper is to root civic education in the tradition of the German concepts of Bildung and Mündigkeit in order to contrast civic education with propaganda or manipulation.

Keywords: Adorno; autonomy; Bildung; indoctrination; instrumentalization of education; Mündigkeit; plasticity of human beings; propaganda

Introduction

Civic education – for people of all ages – is based on the assumption that each democracy is reliant on active, autonomous, civically educated citizens. As things stand today, one of the core challenges of civic education is the question of how to equip adult citizens with the ability to deal with the omnipresence of propaganda. This challenge seems to require an explanation, because everyday life and the political systems in liberal democracies do not appear to be connected with propaganda. Propaganda, indoctrination, or manipulation mostly played a role in historical considerations or analysis of totalitarian societies. Since the 2014 "hybrid war" of Russia in Ukraine, it has gradually become evident that propaganda and manipulation still present an important challenge for democracy today and thus for civic education. During this time, propaganda was one of the most important means of warfare, disseminated through a massive disinformation campaign in various forms of social media (known colloquially as "fake news") and so-called "troll factories" (see Gerber & Zavisca, 2016). According to the 2016 Annual

Imperva Incapsula Bot Traffic Report[1], 51.8% of Internet traffic came from bots, while 48.2% came from human users. Throughout the internet, automated scripts are buzzing: both advertising bots, which artificially increase the number of followers, and propagation robots spread "fake news".

The current situation is thus characterized by the fact that attempts to influence people's attitudes and beliefs through massive disinformation campaigns are ubiquitous. The intended deception behind such disinformation, as in the case of so-called social bots and trolls, suggests propaganda attempts. According to Ferdinand Tönnies, the essence of propaganda lies in the agitation of public opinion in a "grand style", which is intended to spread an opinion without regard for its truth and evidences (Tönnies, [1922]/1981, p. 79).

Propaganda was originally used in a neutral, rather than pejorative, sense as a means of disseminating ideals important for a special group. In 1622, Pope Gregory XV established the "Congregatio de Propaganda Fide" (Congregation for Propagating the Faith) for the purpose of promoting catholic religion in non-Catholic countries. The word "propaganda" later developed a negative connotation as a means to indoctrinate citizens. Stanley distinguishes between supporting and undermining propaganda, defining the former as a sort of discourse aiming at increasing the realization of some worthy political ideals "by either emotional or nonrational means" (Stanley, 2015, p. 53). He defines undermining propaganda as discourse that 'undermines a political ideal by using it to communicate a massage that is inconsistent with it' (ibid., p. 57). Stanley refers to the WEB Du Bois's paper "Criteria of Negro Art" (1926) as a prominent example of supporting propaganda. Here, Du Bois calls on the African-American artist to use "propaganda" along with emotional appeals to win the respect, empathy, and understanding of Whites (ibid., p. 58 f.). Following his examples of supporting propaganda, it can be argued that democratic ideals could be supported by propaganda. However, Stanley emphasizes that any form of propaganda 'is a kind of manipulation of rational beings toward an end without engaging their rational will, so it is a kind of deception' (ibid.).

This article will examine the tension between education and propaganda in relation to civic education for adults. The issue of propaganda is certainly significant for the education of different age groups. For adults, resistance to propaganda is essential if only because propaganda, which works subtly, undermines the foundations of civic action of adults, and thus their role as a citizen. The adult as a co-creator of the democratic order needs civic education, which maintains and strengthens abilities such as autonomous decision-making, critical reflection and analysis, as well as autonomous opinion formation and thus the ability to undertake deliberate and mature civic action. Civic education is considered to be the guarantor, but also a beneficiary of the liberal-democratic order. Must it thus be an urgent current task of civic education to take a position on the outlined political and social change? Can (and should) education therefore reflect on and appeal to adults' traditional values such as autonomy, responsibility, and the capacity for judgment in order to strengthen the ability of adults to identify, analyze and disprove propaganda and therefore immunize adults against propaganda attempts? How can adult education develop skills that are lacking in the adult population? These are key questions of this article.

This article consists of two core parts. In the first part, after explaining the danger that propaganda poses to democracy, I will place propaganda in the context of civic education and democracy using two perspectives: that which considers civic education as protection against propaganda attempts and that which considers propaganda as a possible element of civic education. In the second part of this article I will discuss propaganda as

challenge of civic education and explore didactical approaches, core principles and ideas of civic education that strive to both resist and deal with this challenge.

The outline of the problem

Propaganda as a threat to democracy

Democracy is based on the principle that participation in political processes and decision-making is open to everyone. For the maintenance of democracy, it is essential that not only this participation, but also the corresponding deliberation and formation of opinions, is carried out without manipulative deception from any side: 'A democratic culture is one in which citizens assume that their fellow citizens have good reasons for acting as they do' (Stanley, 2015, p. 104). Democratic processes are legitimized by the existence of certain directives that are binding for all citizens, which must be the result of public discussion and participation to serve the common good. At the same time, it is obvious that discussions and deliberations based on deception or manipulation do not lead to legitimate decisions and therefore will not ensure legitimate democratic procedures. In his book *How propaganda works* (2015), the sociologist Jason Stanley calls for a scientific discussion of ideals and values that can serve as a foundation for public debate in order to find legitimate democratic rules (Stanley, 2015, p. 87).

The concept of propaganda is understood as communication addressed to the larger groups of society that aims at influencing public opinion on controversial issues. Propaganda was described by the American historian Peter Kenez as '…an integral part of the modern world' (Kenez, 1985, p. 4). Propaganda is thus a problem for educational processes given that, according to Jacques Ellul, propaganda by its very nature perverts the significance of events and insinuates false intentions (Ellul, 1962). In keeping with Ellul, propaganda is understood not only as the antithesis to education, but also as a challenge for education, which counteracts propaganda and other attempts of "seduction".

Hans-Jochen Gamm established the term "seduction" in a pedagogical discussion (Gamm, 1964) in order to characterize the nature of with which he characterized the educational practices and approaches of the Nazi dictatorship and the effects of Nazi ideology on the broad population. The "seductions" of today are certainly different from those described by Gamm in 1964 – at least in terms of content. Current propaganda is not aimed at the awakening of racial hate, at the production of obedience to a leader, or the breeding of a destructive drive against anything opposed to a racist ideology. However, people today must still be able to withstand the fears of an unmanageable world, seductive simulations and "alternative facts" as well as ignorant anti-intellectualism. Another challenge today is handling new digital forms of information dissemination, which are an integral part of modern society. These forms, which influence 'public opinion in a grand style' (Tönnies, [1922]/1981, p. 79), can create structures in which individuals and groups are irrationally guided by emotion, as was the case with propagandist mass events in totalitarian societies. In his study, the American education scientist Sam Wineberg even speaks of a "new reality", which demands a new "digital intelligence" in order to resist the manipulation and propaganda attempts of modern society (Wineburg & McGrew 2016).[2] How education can address these challenges, what the educational implications will be for methods, content and values, to what limits education will confront these issues, and what ethical considerations may be necessary - these questions will be central to the second part of this article. Next, classic conceptions such as those presented by *Bildung* and *Mündigkeit* will be considered as an adequate answer to new problems (see below, p. 18), including those of the digital world.

Civic education as "protective umbrella" against anti-democratic threats

Today it is hardly possible to imagine a life without digital search and fast-access information. The rapid availability of information, however, makes it necessary to critically examine the relevant facts and data. Therefore, competency is required when dealing with information disseminated by the media in order to analyze and reflect about the acquired knowledge – or, using Adorno's term, it requires "education for maturity autonomy" [*"Erziehung zur Mündigkeit[3]"*] when handling this information. The latest book by Fareed Zakaria, *In defense of a liberal education*, underlines the current need to once again focus education on strengthening those skills that help us meet the challenges of the increasingly globalized world. According to Zakaria, there are three key skills that form a solid basis for acting in this fast-changing and unsafe world: (critical) thinking, (argumentative) speaking and writing, and (lifelong) learning. These are also the qualities included in the German concept of *"Bildung"* (in some cases translated as education)[4] developed by Humboldt and interpreted more broadly by Gadamer, Adorno, Holzkamp and other thinkers. This article will therefore refer to the German concept of *"Bildung"* (and to the related concept of *"Mündigkeit"*) to illustrate the distinction between (civic) education on one side and propaganda (and indoctrination) on the other.

Civic education is considered – from the perspective of many actors in the fields of science, politics and society – to provide at least partial security against anti-democratic threats. Political education is often seen as a "protective umbrella" against radicalization and group-focused enmity (Hufer, 2011). It can also provide a means to the formation of mature (*"mündig"*), active, and reflective citizens (Deichmann, 2015), a means of dealing with information in a global society (Overwien & Rathenow, 2009), and the development of a self-conscious attitude within citizens.

Likewise, civic education is considered to be an indispensable part of a democratic liberal society because it promotes its development and continuation. As Oskar Negt states: Democracy is the only social order that has to be learned – 'again and again, day after day, for a lifetime' (Negt, 2004, p. 197). A good civic education is able to provide this protection by fostering critical thinking within its citizens while pushing them to contemplate contradictions between appearance and reality in social and political life and also encouraging them resist, if necessary.

American education scientist Galston argues that: '[t]he viability of liberal society depends on its ability effectively to conduct civic education' (Galston, 1989, p. 92). The key word of his statement is "effectively" – but what does it mean to conduct civic education effectively? Questions about how effectiveness can be measured and other ethical concerns can arise in this context. Shall we accept any attempts of misusing pedagogical power by overwhelming students with pre-determined positions and beliefs, even for a good purpose? Civic education is obviously necessary, but how is it possible, given the societal diversity and plurality of world views? Stanley points out that '[i]n a managerial society, the greatest good is *efficiency*. In a democratic society, by contrast, the greatest good is *liberty*, or autonomy' (Stanley, 2015, p. 20).

To begin with the obvious: if the main goal of civic education is to enhance the autonomy and maturity of an individual and to foster the ability to think and to act for oneself, then there should be concerns that civic education might prioritize civic consensus for the sake of societal cohesion over the original objective of empowering individuals to disagree rationally with that which is simply seen as a "given", following the concept of *Mündigkeit* by Adorno (Adorno, [1971]/2013). In the concept of Amy Gutmann civic education is limited by the requirements of "nonrepression" and "nondiscrimination" (Gutmann, 1989, p. 78 f.). Are these principles robust enough to protect the civic education from misuse?

We need to ask ourselves what bothers us when we think about propaganda. I would argue that we should differentiate at this point between propaganda in principle and its consequences. Propaganda bothers us in principle, because it thwarts our autonomy and agency and is therefore an affront to our independence and rationality as learners:

> To attempt to thwart the goals someone has qua rational moral agency is to fail to respect her rational moral agency. And since a person's rational moral agency is crucial to her personhood, to fail to respect it is to degrade her; it is to treat her as less than a person. (Noggle, 1996, p. 52)

Propaganda also disturbs us if we consider the consequences of the way that an indoctrinated person acts and behaves in a community or society - without the ability to question doctrines or explore other alternatives, without developed agency and autonomy, but at the same time confronted with the complex challenges and uncertainties of a modern society. Propaganda is therefore of special concern for the field of civic education, where we connect with education our expectation of the development of autonomous, rational, competent citizens who are able and willing to make well reasonable, well-thought-out and mature decisions.

Propaganda as a part of civic education?

Civic education is never neutral, as it advocates for democracy. It is barely possible to imagine a neutral stance on such issues as human rights, human dignity, slavery, or racism. It is not unusual for civic education to be focused on different methods of teaching, learning and supporting rational inquiry rather than special content. Civic education starts with the experience of learners and provides them with the tools they need to analyze their own situation and to convert a personal situation into a political issue.

Civic education is however still in danger of being civic propaganda or even civic indoctrination. Sears and Hyslop-Margison wrote an article about "The Cult of Citizenship Education" in which they claimed that the discourse surrounding citizenship education used false crises and the language of crisis, sloganeering, committing to a cult mentality, oversimplifying, and demonizing opponents in order to achieve its goals. (Sears & Hyslop-Margison, 2006). The fact that civic education could "overact" and become coercive and simplified should not be overlooked. Civic education demands that an educated, autonomous person search for truth and make intelligent choices that further her or his interests. Propaganda is often defined as a method of influencing people that attempts to bypass their reason and critical faculties, and therefore does not appeal to *Mündigkeit,* but reinforces the opposite - *Unmündigkeit.* Most importantly, propaganda follows the pleasure principle It works by steering those who are susceptible to its ideas toward a conclusion which is to be accepted without objection For this reason, it simplifies, is one-sided, tends to illusion, conceals, embellishes, offers stereotypes, presents itself as faultless and turns as a whole, because it can here most likely to be successful, appealing to the so-called deep person, to the emotions in people, to the existing needs and impulses, to the unfulfilled wishes which they claim to satisfy, not so much to the critical and ever-recurring mind; It seeks to persuade by stubborn repetition of its slogans, or by means of flattering images and affective signals; It seeks to avoid conflicts, hide alternatives, occupy consciousness with urgent short-formulations, etc. (Kuckartz & Sprey, 1969, p. 50). Kuckartz and Sprey, however, go so far as to attest to the similar motives and techniques of education, especially to education, which by methods "suitable for children" makes every effort to "get to the child" (ibid.):

> It [Education] is developing ever more elaborated methods of childhood, youth and adulthood appropriateness. It benefits from all pedagogically relevant results of anthropological research which have to secure the conditions of its success; It is increasingly taking advantage of a roundabout route through images and other emotionally appealing methods. (ibid., p. 51)

The theory of adult education as well as its practice is equally concerned with questions how to enable and support learning in the adulthood, how to foster receptivity and susceptibility of adults towards new knowledge and experience, how to overcome "learning barriers". It seeks to develop methods of teaching suited to adult learner.

The second part of this article will argue that teaching methods considered adequate for adults should be strictly oriented towards the autonomy and independence of the adult learner, which at the same time will strengthen the capacity to resist against manipulation and propaganda. The thesis of this article is thus that civic education aimed at preparing adults to deal with propaganda should include the principles and values described by the German concepts of *Bildung* and *Mündigkeit*. After providing different perspectives on the aims and functions of civic education I will briefly clarify its connection to the principles of *Bildung* and *Mündigkeit*, discuss its didactic principles, and outline the core ethics of civic education that seek to avoid propaganda and to protect adults against it.

Principles and strategies of dealing with propaganda in civic education

The purpose of civic education and its role in a democracy

William Galston differentiated between "philosophical education" and "civic education", defining the first as aimed at seeking truth and increasing capacity for rational inquiry (Galston, 1989, p. 89) and the latter as the 'formation of individuals who can effectively conduct their lives within, and support, their political community' (Galston, 1989, p. 90). Galston claims that philosophical education is universal and not 'decisively shaped by the specific social or political circumstances' (ibid.), but it can also have 'corrosive consequences for political communities' because 'pursuit of truth […] can undermine structures of unexamined but socially central beliefs' (Galston, 1989, p. 90). Civic education is, on the contrary, 'within, and on behalf of, a particular political order' and does not 'stand in opposition to its political community' (ibid., p. 90). Galston's classification can be accused of fostering a very narrow notion of civic education, but he does raise the important issue of a potential clash between rational inquiry and civic education if civic education is understood as a confirmative, (rather than, for example, subversive) element of education. Galston specifies, however, that 'liberal democracies, in particular, are founded on principles that can survive rational inspection, and their functioning is facilitated (or at least not crucially impaired) by impeded inquiry in every domain' (Galston, 1989, p. 90). Still, he holds the notion of civic education as an affirmative commitment.

Intuitively, we may tend to equate philosophical education as defined by Galston with the concept of "*Bildung*" (as it was defined by Humboldt, see below), while at the same time shifting civic education towards the pole of manipulation and instrumentalisation. *Bildung* is concept that implies as a condition sine qua non the attempt to capture the world in all its diversity, but also the specific given circumstances and the ability to shape this world. Using Galston's definitions and placing civic education only in the realm of supporting and consenting action would mean to narrow the very notion of civic education. Civic education for its part is understood by the prominent scholars as education aimed towards opposition (Hufer), which empowers participants to

question political communities and to change them or even to resolve them (in some extreme cases). Klaus-Peter Hufer claims:

> To my mind, civic (German: political education, TK) education is always critical, otherwise it would be neither civic nor education. It would be training, indoctrination or agitation with the aim of forcing the participants to conform, it would not be education, but its opposite. (Hufer, 2013, p. 120)

He claims that formulating criticism is already part of the concept of civic education itself. Basically, the common creed in civic education (at least in the German contexts) is the conviction that it should contribute to the (political) autonomy ("*Mündigkeit*") of the citizens. Autonomy means in this case that one can form an independent judgment on political issues and become aware of ways to participate politically. Civic education is therefore not aimed at simply supporting and strengthening political communities, but also implies a necessary element of intelligent criticism - thus it is routed in the concept of *Bildung*.

The relationship between civic education and Bildung

Bildung is supposed to be an open-ended process and could not be predetermined as an act of creation. The main goal of classical *Bildung* (understood in the tradition of Humboldt) is to give a person individual form or strength while developing his or her powers – and thus does not allow a person to be the object of any extrinsic vision. A human being should strive, according to Humboldt, to 'embrace as much of the world as possible and to unite himself as closely as he can with it' (Humboldt, 1903, p. 283). Humboldt therefore describes *Bildung* as binding oneself to the world in order to achieve the most common, living and unlimited interaction – the interaction between individual [human] receptivity and self-activity. The modern concept of *Bildung* considers education as targeting an active, autonomous person and his or her interactions with the material and social environments. *Bildung* is thus an open, self-reflective, never-ending process involving self-development through encounters with the unknown. According to Horkheimer, education is a pursuit of inner freedom. 'The desire for *Bildung* contains the will to become powerful within oneself, to be free from blind powers, apparent ideas, obsolete concepts, and dismissed views and illusions' (Horkheimer, 1981, p. 160). Furthermore, the central aspect of the *Bildung* tradition is a critical attitude towards the tendency of instrumentalism in educational policy and concepts. Instrumental thinking looks at learning primarily as a means to achieve "useful goals" or "results," and these results are often associated with economic metrics. *Bildung*, in contrast to the instrumental perspective, focuses on reaching autonomy along with personal development, growth, autonomy, and refinement. There is a "utopian hope" which is described in the classical concept of *Bildung* and entails a "pathetic" element: 'Education […] goes beyond the existing society - to a society of free and equal [persons], in which the humanity of the human being can emerge on the horizon of mankind' (Peukert, 1998, p. 19).

    Education (combined with emancipatory cognitive interest), rational deliberation, and humane ways of life were considered by Habermas to comprise part of the path toward change in a society. The formation of (individual and collective) identity can be seen as a continuous learning process through critical reflection. Habermas pits his hope on "deliberative politics", that is, a process which is essentially based on the informed decisions of citizens that are made through democratic processes. These processes must

therefore be as fair as possible and must be "herrschaftsfrei" ("free of domination"), meaning that the participants of a deliberative communication are free in their thinking and judging and do not have any special privileges. The central element of the discussion is the argument obtained in pursuing the truth. Thus, this vision presupposes that citizens will maintain a constant interest, critical (self-)reflection and commitment, but also a special kind of education. The education and structures of society should be therefore shaped in a way that individuals (especially in their role as citizens) can be adequately qualified to exercise their autonomy (Habermas, 1992, p. 503). Education (in a broad term) therefore has a compensatory function: to strengthen knowledge, communicative skills, the commitment to common aims and values, and the capacity for critical reflection and assertiveness as well as self-belief and autonomy (ibid, p. 494 f.).

Within the German context, traditional theories of *Bildung* embrace the processes that involve transformation and development of the learner's personality and the transformation of one's relation to the world. Humboldt speaks of man's receptiveness and self-activity, therefore referring to both the process of understanding the world and the process of changing and designing the world. In this sense *Bildung* means dealing independently with beliefs and opinions – without indoctrinative coercion. It implies at least two dimensions: argumentative integration of something initially foreign into the horizon of the own world, and independent thinking and judging which enables one to relate to the issues at hand. The fundamental structure of every process of *Bildung* is the fact that every person should deal independently with things that are external to him or her. It is the process of world's disclosure ("*Erschließung*" as Buber puts it). *Bildung* therefore does not come from the acceptance of an external doctrine or piece of knowledge, but from the fact that something "opens" itself to a person which demands that the person expose him or herself to the world. *Bildung* is the persistent preoccupation with what is at first glance strange. *Bildung* means (open-ended) changes: through the process of receiving and producing the person changes him or herself, while also altering the world. Buber distinguishes between disclosure ("*Erschließung*") and the imposition ("*Auferlegung*") (Buber, 1973, p. 284f.). According to Buber, there is two ways of influencing the people and their attitudes: The first is imposing one's attitude and opinion on person he or she may adopt these imposed thoughts and reflect on this way of thinking as if it were his or her own. The second way is developing what a person has recognized in him or herself as good. Because it is good, it must also be alive in the microcosm of the other person as a 'possibility under possibilities' (ibid.). A person must only be opened up to this possibility through encounter, rather than instruction. The first way is for Buber close to the field of propaganda, the second corresponds to education.

For Humboldt the person and the citizen are not one as it was considered in Ancient Greece; but rather he ranks the person and personal development first: 'Humboldt argues that persons educated to free individuals will ultimately be better citizens than men educated to be citizens […]'. (Sorkin, 1983, p. 64). Sorkin underlines hence the interdependence between the inward *Bildung* and the outward societal structure and the civic activity of a person in the given society:

> In order for the individual to achieve and maintain that condition, the ideal of *Bildung* necessarily incorporated a vision of regenerated social relations. Society was to be recast to facilitate and foster self-cultivation, guaranteeing the freedom, autonomy, and harmony it required. (Sorkin, 1983, p. 66)

Sorkin argues that Humboldt's concept of *"zweckfreie Bildung"* (education for its own sake) seems to be oriented inwardly, though it also implies the "civic conception": 'Though social ties are the societal precondition for *Bildung*, the individual who has

achieved harmony in turn reacts upon society, and reshapes it according to the standard of that harmony' (Sorkin, 1983, p. 68). So, a developed (*gebildete*) person acts politically by judging and improving the conditions of the society or entity in which he or she lives. However, Humboldt was opposed to a purely political education ("*rein politische Erziehung*"), suspecting that *Bildung* would be subordinated and would lose its sovereignty to the patriotic education – the very problem which he elaborated upon in his essay *Decline and Fall of the Greek Free State*.

There are several practical examples of the prioritizing of human development over civic purposes (be they as noble and relevant as they may). One historical example is given by the famous Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, which is considered to be a hotbed for civic talents during the Civil Rights Movement in the USA. Myles Horton, the founder of this school, hoped to create a center for adult civic education which would foster the potential of adults to challenge an unjust social system affecting their lives. I want to briefly consider what the approach of Horton's school can teach us about the challenge of dealing with propaganda in an adequate way. Although Horton himself never spoke about propaganda, I will claim that his pedagogy could be considered as a useful tool to face this problem nowadays. Horton aimed to help adults become empowered, think and act for themselves, and change conditions they didn't want to accept. The people who attended Highlander included many of those who sparked the Civil Rights Movement: Septima Clark, Rosa Parks, Bernice Robinson, Martin Luther King, Jr., Esau Jenkins, and Andrew Young. There are, of course, some tensions between the two main goals of the Highlander Folk School: organizing and development. In general terms, the involvement of the community in these controversial discussions and deliberations helps the participants to go beyond the discussed issues and develop their cognitive, emotional and critical skills. At the same time, development (learning) as such can also divert attention from the active struggle for a urgent issue. Horton supports these dual components while emphasizing the principal indispensability of education as a person-oriented process. Horton believed that education was the key to social justice and the new social democratic order. Nevertheless, his vision of education was not instrumental, but aimed at fostering personal growth and development of citizens so that they were prepared to face all kind of social and political challenges:

> I'd say if you were working with an organization and there's a choice between the goal of this organization, or the particular program they're working on, and educating people, developing people, helping them grow, helping them become able to analyze – if there's a choice, we'd sacrifice the goal of organization for helping the people grow, because we think in the long run it's a bigger contribution. (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 116)

His ideal was not to inculcate knowledge and beliefs into the adults' mind, but to let them think for themselves and find their own ways of dealing with problems. Horton tells stories about having a gun pointed at him while angry strikers screamed at him to tell them what they should do. Horton instead insisted that he did not know what they needed to do - they had to find their own solutions for themselves (Horton & Freire, 1990). My argument is that Horton educated the adults so that they were prepared to examine various positions and solutions critically. He also encouraged them to lead and make significant contributions to their own discussions, and not to take any piece of knowledge for granted. Consequently, he developed an adult education institution that can be considered a prime example of inoculation against manipulation and propaganda.

The relationship between civic education and Mündigkeit

The core concept of the epoch of Enlightenment, related to *Bildung*, is the idea of or plea for *Mündigkeit* which involves freedom of thought and freedom to make own moral decisions. Kant was one of the first to try to define "*Mündigkeit*", but he does not speak about "*Mündigkeit*", but about "*Unmündigkeit*", and thus defines the term *ex negativo*. *Unmündigkeit* (often translated as tutelage) results, according to Kant's famous quotation, from a lack of the resolution, commitment and courage needed to use one's own reason without direction from another. Every single person therefore needs to have enough courage the think and act independently on the basis of his or her own decisions: 'Dare to know' is thus the famous motto of the Enlightenment (Kant, 1784).

> In Kant, however, this regulative idea of *Mündigkeit* cannot be understood as a condition or a goal of education to be attained by the development of competences, but rather as a permanent task of self-liberation from immaturity, as a courageous, uncomfortable process of emancipation, deviation and criticism from traditions and prescribed doctrines. (Eis, 2016, p. 115)

This reference to reason is interwoven with the notion of "embracing the world" (Humboldt) as a whole, or at least as much as one can by conceptualizing the experienced world. In other words, judgements and beliefs should be transformed into objective, universal validity, based on the assumption that there is a world in itself towards which all particular perspectives are directed. Stojanov explained the self-development of a person to be a social practice of world-disclosing:

> Here individuals are developing into subjects who are able to transform their opinions, notions and intuitions into concepts. The individuals are developing into undertakers and ascribers of commitments and entitlements, into scorekeepers who are able to apply the norms […].[5] (Stojanov, 2012, p. 83)

Bildung in the sense of cultivating *Mündigkeit* implies therefore a special attitude and special patterns of action: First, this is the attitude needed:

> To search for sound reasons for one's own and other's opinions and claims, second, this is the readiness and the ability to transform one's own intuitions and beliefs into justifiable conceptual contents, and finally, this is also the willingness and the ability to discriminate between good and bad reasons, that is, to distinguish reasons that have an inter-perspectival validity from those that are only expressions from private, purely subjective positions and interests. (Stojanov, 2012, p. 84)

The use of reason has, according to Kant, a private and a public dimension: He demands absolute freedom of the *public* use of reason (Kant, 1784, p. 484). Kant only meant for the public use of reason by adult persons who are the members of the relevant communities. The results of reasoning about public issues are then to be presented to the "audience for evaluation" (ibid, p. 486). In consequence: Every person, while thinking and acting explicitly from own reason, contests given assumptions and beliefs, criticizing them and adjusting them if necessary. By doing so, the person becomes responsible for his or her own reasoning and actions, and must make public his or her own reasons to follow (or not follow) the given norms of the society (Kivelä, 2012, p. 62 f.) By using reason in the realm of public space we are principally able to be co-creators of this space and to free this space of inadequate or obsolete concepts. *Mündigkeit* as a concept therefore implies an autonomous, public action.

> However, the basic direction and the essential endeavor of enlightenment philosophy is by no means exhausted by going through life only in a contemplative way and by mirroring it in a reflexive way. It does not provide merely a retrospective review, but the *power to shape the present way of life*. (Faulstich, 2016, p. 54) (emphasis supplied by TK)

The apparent link between autonomous thinking and acting is perhaps most obvious if we approach the famous demand on education made by Theodor W. Adorno and stated in his "Education for *Mündigkeit*": The first and most important goal of education is to see that Auschwitz mustn't happen again. He holds thus that the primary task of all types of education is to prevent a possible future Auschwitz, which is used as a symbol of absolute evil and barbarism. In order to eliminate existing and to prevent future barbarism, the "de-barbarization" of the society should to be carried on. The de-barbarization of society is, according to Adorno, possible only through education, but a special type which Adorno calls "Education for *Mündigkeit*". Adorno calls *Mündigkeit* (sometimes translated in this context as autonomy) the only true force against the symbol of Auschwitz. He refers to the definition of *Mündigkeit* by Kant and describes it as a power for reflection, for self-determination, and for non-participation. The path to a future Auschwitz lays, according to Adorno, with blind identification with the collective opinion as well as with manipulation by collectives. Adorno claims:

> Autonomy [*mündig*] is one who speaks for himself because he has thought for himself and does not merely parrot [...]. This, however, is proven by the force of resistance to predetermined opinions, institutions, and everything that is merely imposed and justifies itself only with its existence. (Adorno, 1971, p. 785).

The blind submission to a collective deprives one of the potential for self-determination and grades a person to a material or object, which Adorno called "the reified consciousness" (Adorno, [1971]/2013, p. 99). The prototype of "reified consciousness" is the "authoritarian character", which is characterized by the inability to make *immediate* human experiences. Without emotion, the person with authoritarian character is indifferent to other human beings (Adorno, [1971]/2013, p. 88 ff.). Adorno understands *Mündigkeit*, which depends on the critical judgment of every citizen, as a prerequisite for democracy:

> People who blindly integrate themselves into collectives are already making themselves into something like material, erasing themselves as self-determined beings. This includes the willingness to treat others as amorphous masses. […] A democracy that is not only supposed to work, but to perform according to its concept, requires autonomous people. (Adorno, [1971]/2013, p. 107)

No entity has the right to form human beings from the outside according to a given model or to forge a person to meet a given standard, according to Adorno (Adorno, [1971]/2013, p. 106). Amy Gutman put it similarly: 'Even if there were someone wiser than Socrates in our midst, she still could not claim the right to order the souls of all citizens.' (Gutmann, 1989, p. 72). It is precisely the value of *Mündigkeit* that underwrites Kant's famous dictum that we are morally obligated to treat each individual always as an end in him or herself, never as the means to an end. The autonomous person only can build and foster democracy because democracy is founded on the independent conscious decision of each individual. *Bildung* has therefore two main, though at first glance contradictory, tasks: On the one hand, it should serve the purpose of helping people adapt to the world that they live in; on the other hand, it has the task of reinforcing the individual nature and capacity to resist that which is given. *Bildung* is therefore situated between two poles: adaptation

and resistance. According to Adorno the overpowering societal structure fosters individuals more towards the adapting process, and therefore more education for resistance should be encouraged.

Over the past 50 years, interest in the question of increasing people's autonomy through educational efforts has grown. There has also been more attention paid to the development of a common framework for citizenship education emphasizing individuals' standing against any kind of oppression. Nussbaum and Sen have inspired an effort to develop an understanding of the overlapping capabilities which would enhance the ability to exercise a degree of control over one's lives, to make informed choices, to take part in the decision-making processes, and to envisage alternatives to given solutions (Boyadjieva & Ilieva-Trichkova, 2018). The questions of learners' control over the learning process and their willingness and ability to manage their own learning endeavors have been developed in the context of the theory of self-directed learning (Brookfield, 201; Candy, 1991). Several authors (of which Paulo Freire was the most prominent) drew attention to the issues of the relationship between hegemony and adult education, structures of oppression in societies, problems of dynamics of power (and how to manipulate these dynamics) and methods of emancipation from diverse situations of oppression (Mayo, 1999). Inspired by Freire's ideas, Jack Mezirow developed a transformative learning theory that was aimed at the enhancement of critical thinking and education-driven transformations on both individual and collective levels (Taylor & Cranton, 2012). The core feature of these diverse approaches (similar to the ideas of critical theory) is the belief that developing critical reasoning in learners and citizens is indispensable to the proper function of a free, democratic society. All of the aforementioned ideas fit together under the overlying concept of autonomy (Mündigkeit). Lifelong learning that address both universal and current challenges faced by society should still focus on the question of how adults learn to recognize (and resist to) ideological domination and manipulation.

How to protect civic education from misuse for political aims?

The question of the misuse of civic education for political aims has also arisen in Post-War-Germany – not least due to the historical experience of the Goebbels propaganda. After thorough discussions going on for a long-time pedagogues and political scientists convened in a sort of didactical Charta, the so-called '*Beutelsbach consensus*' (its name deriving from the small German town Beutelsbach where the conference was held). This Charta has been put down on paper in the year of 1976 and has not lost its significance until now. In the Germany of today civic (German term: political) education is still based on the principles of this *Beutelsbach consensus*. With the *Beutelsbach consensus* a stop sign has been erected, clearly expressing the message that political education is legitimate only if it is not exploited for political purposes. The following passages give a direct quotation from that document (Charta of the *Beutelsbach consensus*):

> 1. Prohibition against overwhelming the Pupil:
> It is not permissible to catch pupils unprepared or unawares - by whatever means - for the sake of imparting desirable opinions and to hinder them from `forming an independent judgement'. […].

> 2. Treating Controversial Subjects as Controversial:
> Matters, which in intellectual and political affairs are controversial, must also be taught as controversial in educational instruction […].

3. Giving Weight to the Personal Interests of Pupils:
Pupils must be put in a position to analyze a political situation and to assess how their own personal interests are affected as well as to seek means and ways to influence the political situation they have identified according to their personal interests.[6] (Wehling, 1977)

These three principles need further explanation as well as expansion in order to meet the current challenges of civic education for adults, connected with modern propaganda. The first point of the *Beutelsbach consensus* makes a clear reference to the concept of *Mündigkeit* as the principal goal of every civic educational process. This point also highlights the issue of neutrality of the (liberal) state towards the diverse conceptions of a (private) good life. The neutrality of the state, among the diverse conceptions of good, is pursued in this case for the sake of opportunity and choice. At the same time this doctrine of the democratic state has to find a legitimate and justified foundation. As such, Gutman suggests:

> A state of democratic education is minimally objectionable insofar as it leaves maximum room for citizens to deliberately shape their society, not in their own image but in an image that they can legitimately identify with their own informed, moral choices. (Gutmann, 1989, p. 77)

This premise therefore implies the obligation that civic education has to increase and cultivate the capacity for rational deliberation among people from different ways of life.

The second aspect of the *Beutelsbach consensus* is closely connected with the idea of maintaining pluralism: reasonable pluralism (Rawls) is an indispensable characteristic of a democratic society that assures its preservation and development. Reasonable citizens are ready to propose and adhere to acceptable rules when living together in society, so long that they are certain that others are also doing so. Every reasonable citizen has a "comprehensive doctrine," or world view, though he or she should not want to impose this doctrine on others. In this sense, the presence of propaganda in interactions or public debate between human beings in their roles as *homo politicus* is a particular danger. Propaganda makes it difficult for participants in the debate to be reasonable. If there are propaganda attempts, being reasonable should mean then to exclude a certain propagandist perspective from the debate. Stanley claims that propaganda, which pretends to provide a reasonable contribution to a public debate, destroys the empathy of a group (Stanley, 2015, p. 108). Furthermore, propaganda undermines basic features of "public reasonableness" such as dignity and respect for the fellow citizen (Stanley, 2015, p. 109). So, this second point of the *Beutelsbach consensus* seems to require further explanation when considering the potential for manipulation. The technique of searching for balance where there is none could be misused to shift the opinion towards a supposedly "ideal compromise". Not all controversial positions have the same claim to truth, and this claim must therefore be thoroughly examined. The concept of truth remains thus one of the central points of the discussion about education and propaganda. Here, truth is not the schematically calculated, or "golden" center between the expressed positions. The search for truth has nothing to do with a "mathematically" calculated balance, as the truth can also be "marginal". This marginal position must at least not be interpreted as that which has to be "moderated", "corrected" or "mitigated" by other positions. A contribution to a (political) debate must be justified, and be assessed solely by its impact on the truth of the issue, or what Habermas famously calls 'the unforced force of the better argument' (Habermas, 2005, p. 20). Timothy Snyder, a historian at Yale, speaks about the demolition of truth as an intentional action of propaganda machinery that aims to ruin trust in a society. If nobody knows what truth can be, the

feeling of mutual distrust spreads throughout society ending in an erosion in any belief in authority. For Snyder, to abandon facts is to abandon freedom, and abandoning the search for truth means abandoning the basis for judgment and critical reflection (Snyder, 2017). Snyder points out that 'Post-truth is pre-fascism' (Snyder, 2017, p. 71). In this context the concept of a "noble lie" could be mentioned. This idea, developed by Plato, questioned whether deception can be justified if its purpose is to protect someone or to mobilize a group for supporting a worthy idea. Michael P. Lynch points out that the problem with "noble lies" is that 'they are like potato chips: it is hard to stop with just one,' and the risk is high that, for example, 'cover-ups become noble lies' (Lynch, 2016, p. 83). Karl Popper (similar to Snyder) sees the noble lie as a part of a totalitarian society (or at least leading to one).[7]

The third point of the consensus was expounded in the 1990s against a background of discussion about civil society and communitarianism:

> The pupil (and adult) must be enabled to analyze political problems, to put him or herself in the situation of those who are affected [by these problems], and to search for ways to influence solutions in the sense of his or her own well-intentioned self-interest, while taking into account the co-responsibility for social coexistence and the community in its various manifestations. (Schneider, 1996, p. 220)

This point emphasizes the demand on education to foster the ability to defend one's own personal and political commitments (if they are defensible). The idea is that educators and educational institutions would act not only unprofessionally, but also immorally, if they did not take note of the intuitions, desires, fears and biographies of their participants. These educators or institutions would be similarly tainted if they denied participants' ability to articulate those intuitions, desires and fears, and therefore prevented the 'game of giving and asking for reasons' (Brandom, 2002, p. 350), which would mean that the ability to argue is an important but not unique precondition for *Bildung*. Stojanov speaks of the necessity to make a jump: from the only narrative expression of one's own beliefs and opinions to their conceptual articulation (Stojanov, 2012, p. 85). What is meant here is the ability to generalize particular problems and concepts, to transcend the limitations of purely subjective experiences and perspectives, and to recognize principles of the "whole world" (without oversimplification and homogenization).

Plasticity of a human being: Bildung and Bildsamkeit/education and educability

It seems obvious that propaganda and manipulation pose a threat for developing autonomy and critical reflection in a population. One of the ways to understand how manipulation threatens autonomy and *Bildung* is to think in terms of self-determination and (certain) independence from the external will. But at the same time if one considers the preconditions for propaganda and education, the possibility of influencing human beings must be considered as well. Propaganda and education, however, are limited by the individual's motivational structure. In German pedagogical theory, the topic of vulnerability to influence is discussed under the term "*Bildsamkeit*" (educability). The term "*Bildsamkeit*," which was introduced and developed by Hegel, implicitly describes the susceptibility of a person to being influenced. This is the fundamental presupposition of every pedagogical effort, because it is the only way to trigger a change in a person. This tradition reaches into in modern times when a person is seen as *homo educandus*, a lifelong learner, and a plastic and flexible "learning being". The most important representatives of German anthropology such as Scheler, Plessner, Gehlen, or Portman postulate that the openness and plasticity of human beings are distinctive features of

mankind. Educability is the precondition for education, thus the possibility of education requires the ability to be educated as a matter of principle.

The naturally given educability of a human being is not infinite, however. In his anthropology Humboldt has coined the term "powers" ("*Kräfte*") as something given to a human being by nature, making up his or her very essence. Power is energy that allows and facilitates the action of a human being. "Power" by Humboldt can also be understood as a resistance to all possible attempts at manipulation:

> How deeply one would delve and how close one would get to the truth always remains an unknown dimension of the primitive force, the original ego, and the personality, given with birth. The freedom of man rests upon it, and it is, therefore, man's proper character. (Humboldt, 1904, p. 90)

It is also the power that limits all educational efforts:

> It is precisely this power which, in education, so often misleads our expectations, or makes our efforts fruitless. […] *No living force behaves by merely suffering against foreign exposure*. However, it may be strengthened and supported externally, though all that happens is by internal energy and is its own work. When we complain about the resistance that human nature also offers against a wise *Bildung*, we must not forget that without such a power of repulsion a faculty of appropriation wouldn't be possible. (Humboldt, 1904, p. 90) (emphasis by TK)

It is therefore "power" as an inner trait which (partly) protects a human being from manipulation and propaganda.

Fridenthal-Haase differentiates between "educability" and a general ability to learn. To follow the approach of Martin Buber, Friedenthal-Haase considers that the general ability to learn is always given, throughout the whole life span. Educability implies the possibility of education in the sense of an "essential influence" (Friedenthal-Haase, 1991, p. 17). An adult person with a high degree of autonomy and maturity develops resistance against fundamental change. In this way, however, the mature person is also at risk of reinforcement, of closure, even of "encrustation", as Buber put it. The tendency toward reinforcement and closure is, however, characteristic for only the "normal" situation, but if a person passes through a period of personal or social crises, he or she is likely to re-open him or herself to a fundamental change, such as a personal growth or development. A severe crisis rousing the person out of his or her sense of security dissolves the feeling of ready-made personality and re-opens the possibility of "essential influence" (Buber, 1934).

> Crisis is always a decisive situation of the greatest seriousness, when it comes to the realization or failure of ultimate values. It includes the possibility of decay, destruction, death or salvation, healing and a new beginning. (Friedenthal-Haase, 1991, p. 21).

So, we can also pose the question: If a person in the time of crisis is open to an "essential influence", is he or she at the same time more susceptible to propaganda? In any case, the situation is characterized by a particular dependency on others. In the best case, the result of crisis management is, according to Buber, a development of the bonds between the people in the newly formed learning and teaching community where 'man helps man, instructs him, and lets himself be instructed by him' (Buber, 1963, p. 605). Thus, in the pursuit of human existence, a human being is constantly in need of guidance on norms and ethics.

Reluctance to learn and the autonomy of learners

In order to attract the learning person (especially adult learners) and to facilitate learning processes, pedagogical research develops approaches that attempt to reduce or even overcome the so-called reluctance to learn ("*Lernwiderstände*"). Since the 1980s innovative didactics have been developed to utilize the interactive method, low-threshold offers, and addressee-appropriate language. Visualization methods have proved particularly effective. According to different learning theories there are at least two ways that a person learns: implicit, unintended learning and intentional learning. Intentional learning is learning which is consciously intended by the person. Intentional learning is triggered when people encounter problem situations that are caused when their routine is no longer successful, or when they are experiencing a clash between their wishes and their abilities.[8] Here Klaus Holzkamp makes a distinction between defensive learning and the expansive learning. We learn expansively coming from own interests and gaining an "extension" of our empowerment. Learning under coercion - whatever it may be - is a defensive learning (Holzkamp, 1991). Learning opportunities (and, maybe, in a certain sense *Bildung* opportunities) cannot always be considered as a privilege, but sometimes may be seen as an annoying impertinence. The so-called "pedagogical index finger" can indicate the disesteem of a learning subject (Schäffter, 2000, p. 20). Schäffter points out that there are forms of "intelligent learning refusal": the reasonable resistance to learning (Schäffter, 2000, p. 21).

The challenge for education is therefore to arrange and define learning opportunities, without causing learners to perceive them as patronizing impositions of learning. However, the decision between learning and non-learning remains with the adult student. The (adult) learning person must necessarily be recognized as self-responsible subject and autonomous actor, who, in the context of his or her own life and future plans must deal with the constraints and possibilities of everyday praxis, thus accepting or refusing the occasion to learn and change based on his or her own ability to think, to judge and to act for him or herself. This would require a certain quality of pedagogical/social relations which, referring to Stojanov, can be considered to be a form of "educational justice": (Institutionalized) interaction structures in the education system must enable the participants to experience recognition, moral respect and social appreciation. Bildung is only possible through social appreciation and recognition which Stojanov calls "cultural-biographical recognition" (Stojanov, 2006, p. 199). This recognition implies the core assumption that every person has the potential for individual autonomy and social participation (Stojanov, 2006, p. 164 ff.). "Educational justice" is therefore a precondition for human growth and for *Bildung* which is defined by Stojanov not as a "possession" of something but as process of personal development. The phenomenon of injustice in the education system must be interpreted as a lack of recognition for every single individual. This means 'Recognizing the ability of all individuals to articulate their personal and distinctive, biographically-embedded qualities and competencies so that they can be seen as a potential contribution and / or enrichment for the whole society' (Stojanov, 2007, p. 43). The center of the competence profile of a teacher's profession is not defined by didactic and methodical skills, but the ability to achieve intersubjective recognition. *Bildung* is therefore also about the qualitative improvement of social relationships. *Bildung* is anchored in social conditions; Stojanov asks therefore what standards should be fulfilled by these conditions, 'so that they can foster education and subject' (Stojanov, 2011, p. 70). The experience of recognition is considered essential for the maintenance of positive identity and capacity for action.

According to Gertrud Wolf the experience of autonomy is the core motivating factor for learning and acting as an adult person. The feeling of being autonomous is an

important part of one's identity, because it opens up opportunities for action in which one can judge and act independently of others. Considering autonomy as a necessity, learning in adulthood can be accompanied by anxiety or at least stress-inducing feelings. The demand for autonomy can thus cause inner opposition to learning processes, or, to use the established term, provoke the "*Lernwiderstand*". This "opposition" can be, according to Wolf, a sign of a successful learning process and of stable autonomy (Wolf, 2013, p. 27). To recognize the (adult) learner as an autonomous being means to give him or her full respect, to recognize his or her life experience and motives as well as his or her resistance, and to deal with it carefully: 'This fundamental recognition of the autonomy of the learner lends the adult pedagogical claim to self-determination its actual dignity' (ibid.).[1]

Once we consider such a perspective we can argue that the ideal tool against propaganda and manipulation might not involve an educational strategy to overcome resistance to learning, encouraging the learners to gain as much knowledge as possible. Rather, a successful strategy might seek to reinforce one's own position as a reasonable stance in the world or one which respect the limits of "educability" determined by the person's powers (Humboldt) and therefore protects space for self-development within the framework of the immediate person-world-interaction.

Gutman points out that 'a good life must be one that a person recognizes as such, lived from the inside, according to one's own best lights' (Gutmann, 1989, p. 72). So, it is each person's responsibility to choose and to justify for him or herself a concept of a good life, and not that of a philosopher (king) to choose the best life and the best society for a given group, because this sense of good must justified by every citizen by accepting it as his or her own. The aim of civic education could therefore be to achieve the greatest possible balance between consent and disagreement, between transformation and integration, and between the capability to personally embrace social issues and to look critically upon them from the perspective of the "foreigner" in order to seek the truth.

Emotional competence as "protective umbrella" against propaganda

Propaganda is supposed to work through simplification and appeals to emotion (such as fear, anger, etc.). The problem here lies not in the simple fact that education appeals to emotions as well, since education cannot help but address the human being as a whole. It is problematic when education misuses emotion in a purposeful way to define and form the attitudes and beliefs of the learner, bypassing the learner's opportunity to reflect critically on these beliefs. According to the notion of *Mündigkeit*, a person acts autonomously/*mündig* when his or her actions are determined by reason, rather than by irrational impulses or emotions. For the self-governance of the person, use of reason is essential.

Besides the use of reason and power of judgment, the ability to develop *Mündigkeit* and the process of lifelong *Bildung* are important. Different thinkers use different language: mutual respect, empathy, solidarity etc. In every case it is about recognizing the other person as a subject (according to Kant, persons are ends in themselves, not as objects[9]) and as a human being equipped with reason and the ability to provide reasonable justification for one's own beliefs and actions. While emphasizing the notion of autonomy

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[1] The focus on autonomy in this section doesn't embrace the notion of collective-based identity. The reliance on the others and reciprocity is nevertheless an important dimension of human development and human growth. This reliance doesn't automatically undermine personal autonomy; in fact, the feminist and communitarians approaches advocate the opposite. The aim of this part of the article is, however, to elaborate on individual perspectives, rooted in the tradition of the Enlightenment.

as the core aspect of adult education, Eneau looks closely on the interpersonal dimension of education and advocates the idea of reciprocity as a precondition for gaining autonomy as a result of the reciprocal relationship between individuals (Eneau, 2008). Stanley argues that a democratic society must demand empathy, or the ability to take the perspective of another, of its members (Stanley, 2015, p. 101 f.). Martha Nussbaum also regards the ability to empathize as one of the most important preconditions for democracy and logical thinking outside the restrictive stencils. This includes 'the ability to imagine what the experience of another might be like' and 'the ability to see the world as a place in which one is not alone—a place in which other people have their own lives and needs, and entitlements to pursue those needs' (Nussbaum, 2010, p. 97). Nussbaum considers emotions to be a form of cognition for thinking about things that are important from the personal perspective, but often exceed personal control (Plumb, 2014). For developing empathy, according to Stanley (2015, p. 102), one needs an "imaginative capacity" - an ability to imagine oneself in the situation of another, as well as the ability to give equal weight to different perspectives of fellow citizens. This "imaginative capacity" is the distinguishing feature between benevolent paternalism and the democratic culture favoring the latter: 'A benevolently paternalistic society is one in which policymakers have empathy with those who are subject to its policies, but do not treat them with equal respect' (Stanley, 2015, p. 101). Following Darwall, Stanley speaks of cognitive empathy (ibid.). At the same time, Stanley admits that cognitive empathy is an ideal goal and provides an effective basis for another ideal - for the ideal of democracy (Stanley, 2015, p. 103). Gutman argues that citizens must be taught 'mutual respect among persons' and 'rational deliberation among ways of life' – and this is one of the most difficult challenges facing peaceful coexistence in a heterogeneous society.

Conclusions

Education during the whole life means developing one's own strategies of action in the face of the given social and political situation: by recognizing one's own situation requirements in the context of what is given and by conceiving of possibilities to improve one's own world by intervening in the given. In this sense, education does not mean the mediation of knowledge but the development of judgment - the postulate, which has its roots in the epoch of Enlightenment.

The core idea of this article is to root civic education in the tradition of the German concept of *Bildung* and *Mündigkeit* in order to contrast civic education from propaganda or manipulation. We offer several reasons to justify referring to *Bildung* as an important concept which has not lost its meaning and importance in the present day: 1) *Bildung* respects the individual and puts personal development in the center and therefore 2) *Bildung* prohibits any kind of instrumentalisation of a human being 3) *Bildung* imposes the foundation of democratic principle and civic activities 4) with these characteristics *Bildung* can be seen as an effective tool against propaganda and discrimination.

The special nature of the concept of the *Bildung* is that education is considered not as an individual acquisition of knowledge (with a special emphasis on the instrumental function) but as a path to individual and collective self-determination and liberation (emancipation). Education is a social process and depends as such on communication, exchange, and mutual understanding. Learners are not objects, but subjects in their own learning process, at the same time they determine their own study interests and acquire the necessary knowledge that they will later reflect upon and apply in practice. Education must however be an education 'for protest and for resistance', says Adorno.

In his last major work, *Anthropology from a pragmatic point of view*, Kant has defined the following maxims of good judgement: '1. Thinking *for oneself*. 2. To think oneself (in communication with human beings) into the place of every *other person*. 3. Always to think consistently with oneself' (Kant, 2006, p. 124). This seems to be a good guideline for the way in which civic education and propaganda can be separated: The first demand formulated by Kant is aimed at the promotion of autonomy/*Mündigkeit* of the individual through education; the second demand stresses the need for empathy and insights into the standpoints of the others; the third point requires a coherence of convictions and judgments. These are the very aims of a civic education which is based on the traditions of emancipation, empowerment and the development of agency.

Notes

[1] https://www.incapsula.com/blog/bot-traffic-report-2016.html (Retrieved August 24, 2017).

[2] The study has not yet been published; the first results have already been presented in numerous newspaper reports. The official summary of the results is available at the following link: https://sheg.stanford.edu/upload/V3LessonPlans/Executive%20Summary%2011.21.16.pdf (Retrieved August 24, 2017). In the study, Wineberg points out the inability of pupils to recognize "fake news". In his follow-up study, to be published 2017/2018, Wineburg said to have come to similar conclusions even with adults.

[3] *Mündigkeit* is translated into English as autonomy or maturity. For the reason of accuracy there is a need to use the German term "*Mündigkeit*" at some places of this article.

[4] The term "*Bildung*" seems to be a specifically German term difficult to translate in any other language. For the reason of accuracy, we will use here the German word *Bildung* without English translation.

[5] Stojanov refers here to the approaches of Robert Brandon and McDowell.

[6] Translation by R. L. Cope: http://www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html

[7] On the contrary, Leo Strauss defends the concept of "noble lies" as necessary myth giving meaning and purpose to a stable society (Strauss, 1952).

[8] In the Theory of transformative learning by Mezirow it calls "disorienting dilemma".

[9] Adorno also requires "turning to subject" as means to fight the barbarism in the German society after the Nazism.

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Addressing refugees and non-refugees in adult education programs: A longitudinal analysis on shifting public concerns

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Abstract

The paper analyses mainly non-vocational courses offered by a sample of 47 out of the approximately 900 public adult education centres (Volkshochschule - VHS) in Germany. The focus is on courses, events or other learning forms dealing with refugees in Germany from 1947 to 2015. Refugees can be taught in all-refugee or in mixed-groups, but it can also mean that flight and refuge is an educational issue for non-refugees. The method of program analysis is used. The results demonstrate changes over time. German adult education centres have partly turned into language schools for refugees and migrants. Civic or liberal education courses have lost importance. Refugees and migrants are addressed more than in the past when mainly non-refugees were informed about the reasons why people become refugees. Finally, ideas for courses are put forward. They are related to past practices and other studies.

Keywords: adult education centre; history; program analysis; program planning; refugee

The so-called 'Refugee Crisis' – A new Challenge for Adult Education?

The last years have propelled an interest in practices of adult education, which deal with refugees. There are national and international studies and overviews (e.g. Robak; 2015; Klingenberg & Rex, 2016; EAEA, 2016; Palmén, 2016; Subasi, 2018) in which practices are monitored and systemised since the situation is described as an 'experiment' with a 'trial-and-error-method' (Hockenos, 2018). Such mainly inductive approaches are valuable and often accompanied by comparing different national approaches to migration. This paper wants to add an historical comparative dimension to that. The experiences of flight are not unique, rather, they have been the historical normality in Europe. The history of war, and especially World War II with its Nazi atrocities, but also other more recent conflicts such as the civil war in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, forced people to leave their homes. Europe has been for

centuries the continent to where people migrated into the world in so-called 'colonies'. The last decades saw an influx of refugees, mainly from Asia and Africa, often from such former 'colonies'. Overall, dealing with refugees and flight is not a new experience despite the uniqueness of each historical situation. What were the actions and reactions of adult education to flight in the past? What was offered by adult education providers to refugees in the past? How were the communities, which had to learn to accommodate the newcomers, addressed? What can we learn from the past? Do programs touch on public concerns since refugees are often part of controversies within communities or nation-wide? Do adult education centres provide support for the refugees in order to take part and have their own voice in discourses? Are encounters between refugees and receiving communities arranged? Can past practices inspire us? Such questions will be discussed within this paper based on practices in Germany over the last few decades. It is a contribution to enhancing the collective memory of adult education research and practice beyond present-day challenges and perspectives (Käpplinger, 2017).

Theoretical approach and method of program analysis

Programs are specific to adult education. Program planning is a core activity of adult educators (Sork, 2010), although some scholars in adult education neglect this activity (Käpplinger & Sork, 2015). Programs can be sources for historical analysis, which provides additional, different or complementary insights into practices beyond the constructions and reconstructions based on interviews. Curricula are less prominent in adult education since this educational field is less regulated than school education or higher education, although the level of formalisation seems to be increasing. For example, official integration courses especially are nowadays extensively regulated in countries by public administration, which has advantages (e.g. accessibility and resources for the programs) and disadvantages (e.g. top-down administration).

Programs in adult education serve as a hinge between (potential) learners and the providers and trainers. A program as a material document can refer to a variety ranging from huge printed catalogues, leaflets, webpages, downloadable pdfs or databases in the web. It contains text but also images, pictures or icons. Programs could be misperceived solely as a temporarily relevant marketing instrument, but programs and connected program planning are more than that. They contain past experiences with courses and present proposals for the future. The texts of programs contain the perception and the claims of educational organisations within a particular 'Zeitgeist'. Images and pictures are symbols for learning, which can be studied ethnographically. The kind of learners or teachers that are displayed indicates public representations of gender or ethnicity. A program can be perceived as a public statement about education by providers. This is pictorially obvious, when looking, for example, at cover pages of programs in Canada:

Source: Cover pages of Canadian programs (Käpplinger, 2015)

The pictures and text to the left can be considered as an iconic representation of an individualised human capital approach, since the women is asked in the top line to 'invest in yourself'. On the other picture, a modern and colourfully-dressed woman wearing a headscarf is displayed. Such a cover page with its representation of Islam is rather unlikely to be found in some parts of Europe nowadays, which are much less open to diversity or even explicitly Islamophobic. It might even lead to public outrage. Of course, there are also similar diversity-sensitive practices in Europe as well as in Canada. Canada is not a society free of discrimination. Nonetheless, that Europe, or parts of European societies and political parties, have at least partly become much less tolerant than in the past, seems to me quite indisputable. Returning to the picture, the combination of the modern, Western dress with the scarf can be considered as an interesting intercultural statement for merging different orientations and cultural identities. This detour into iconographic analysis should demonstrate that the discourse of lifelong learning can be interpreted by analysing images and pictures within the programs of adult education providers. Analysis of images and pictures in adult education programs has been done (Dörner, 2012, Käpplinger, 2015). It is likely that (comparative) research could intensify since material has become easily available via the internet.

Based on the well-established method of 'program analysis' (Gieseke, 2000, Nolda, 2010, Käpplinger, 2008, Schrader, 2014) programs offered by public adult education centres in Germany will be analysed. The method of program analysis can be differently applied, but the shared approach is that a program of an adult education provider is an expression of contemporary perceptions of what education or 'Bildung' is, or is considered to be. It is also called 'data-driven content analysis' in comparative studies in Europe (Manninen, 2017, p. 329). Historical comparisons can shed light on how past ideas on provision have developed. In general, a program is a hinge between supply and demand in relation to education (Gieseke, 2000). A program analysis offers the chance to know more about it. People are addressed by programs as potential learners. The organisation wants to attract them. It is also more than a marketing tool since course descriptions are sometimes also written as legitimations in relation to funders or other third party agencies.

Program analysis has, like other methods, methodological pitfalls and challenges, which have to be considered (Nolda, 2010, Käpplinger, 2007, Käpplinger, 2011). For example, interviews construct parts of the 'reality' and depend on the way researchers try to make reconstructions. Questionnaires and quantitative data are bound to pre-defined concepts, indicators and factors. The course reality can differ from the envisaged scenarios as described

by written or visual course descriptions in programs. Thus, program analysis is one approach apart from others in order to know more about the realities of adult education practices. A triangulation of interviews, surveys or program analysis is often done in order to balance the advantages and disadvantages of the different methods.

For this research, we[1] used the digital and free accessible program archive of the German Institute for Adult Education. It contains a sample of programs from 47 public adult education centres (Volkshochschule - VHS) from 1947 until 2015. 'Program' in this study means printed or digital course descriptions which contain titles, information on tutors, fees, locations, teaching hours, target groups and other details. The program often contains additional information on guidance and counselling in relation to courses and other information on registration and course enrolment processes. Advertisements are sometimes placed within the program in order to finance printing and distribution. Programs, in this sense, are mainly used to attract potential participants and to inform their decisions on course choices. Whole programs as well as individual course descriptions, are documented digitally within this digital archive.

Nowadays[1], approximately 900 such adult education centres, and more than 3,000 regional offices exist in Germany, which makes them one of the biggest providers of mostly non-vocational training. They provide annually 16.8 million teaching hours with 9 million course participants, mostly in the late afternoon, evenings or at weekends. The majority of the VHS in Germany is almost one hundred years old. Most of them were closed down during the Nazi Germany period, but re-opened in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) as well as in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) after 1945. VHS can be found in urban and rural regions in Germany and they are financed by public and private means with an increasing influence of project-based financing. The VHS are a unique intercultural transfer and merger of the Danish folk high school idea developed by Grundtvig and Kold on the one hand, but they also refer to the British and Austrian university extension idea on the other hand. Nowadays, the Austrian VHS resembles the German VHS the best in Europe.

The analysed sample of 47 centres is not representative in general terms. It equals five per cent of all VHS and it offers a 'wide range' (Heuer et al. 2008, p. 46) of characteristics in relation to regional distribution (rural vs urban vs metropolitan, big vs small VHS, located in all different federal states of Germany). The VHS Leipzig is the only centre from Eastern Germany, which was completely documented even throughout the period of the GDR. Other Eastern VHS have been incorporated into the sample only after 1991. Thus, there is a bias between the VHS in the GDR and FRG, but at least in the program of the VHS Leipzig, courses for refugees or addressing refugees were not found. This is not surprising since refugees were somewhat a taboo in the GDR, for a number of ideological reasons.

We used a quantitative approach, which started from the search for the term 'refugee' within the database. The whole text corpus of the programs has been searched with special search engines (e.g. including prefaces, course descriptions, information on registration or advertisements). We found a high number of 1,884 hits. Hits means the usage of the word 'refugee' in parts of the programs. Because of limited research resources, it was decided that only the programs of the peak years would be analysed in which 'refugee' was found most frequently as a term. This is meant in relative terms since the volumes of the programs have increased a great deal over time. These years were chosen (see graph 1 below): *1947-1950, 1957-1960, 1969-1973, 1981-1985, 1989-1997, 2001-2005, 2008-2009, 2014-2015.*

This reduced the number of search hits analysed from 1,884 to 933 hits. The sample consists of 354 programs between 1947 and 2015, with 933 search hits in relation to 'refugee'. The search hits were printed, archived and coded by a pre-defined, but also inductively adapted codebook. The findings were synchronically and diachronically analysed. The analysis involved quantitative calculations and qualitative interpretations.

Results

Flight and refugees as a long-term issue of German Adult Education

The figure displays the relative importance in dealing with flight and refugees in German public adult education centres' programs:

Figure 1. Relative frequency of the usage 'refugee' ('Flüchtling') in programs of 47 German adult education centres between 1947 and 2015 in Germany
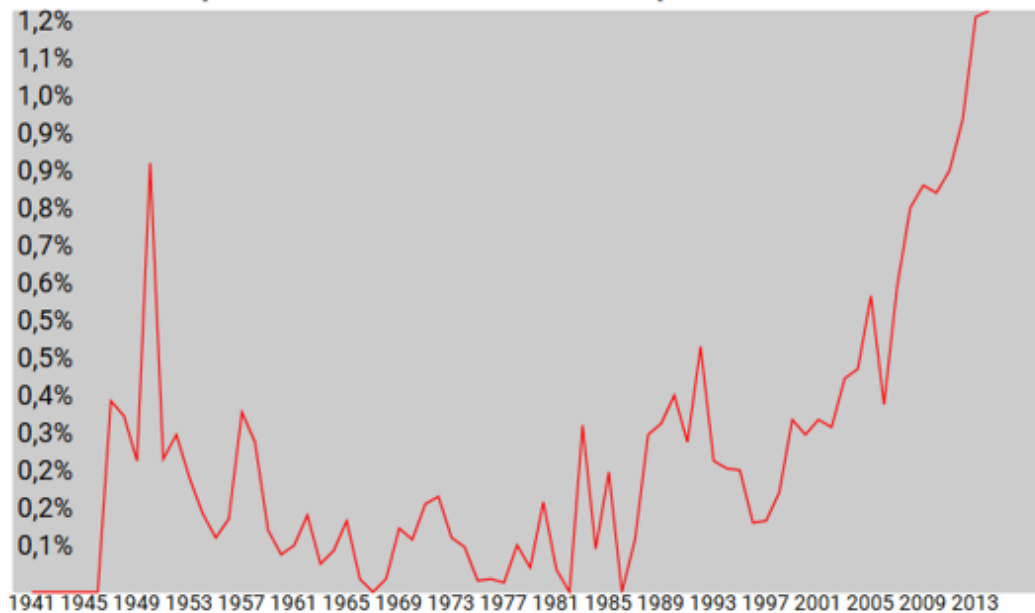
Source: Hits for 'refugee' in the digital program databank RetroPro in a percentage of all annual data https://www.die-bonn.de/weiterbildung/archive/programmplanarchive/volltextrecherche.aspx

The graph displays the hits for 'refugee' in relation to all words within the programs. It is preferable to use this relative indicator instead of absolute numbers since the programs have increased their volume over time. It might be surprising that the increase of the last years was topped by an even steeper increase at the end of the 1940s, although the ultimate climax was reached at the end. Other climax years are around 1957, 1982 to 1985, 1988 to 1993 and the years after 2007. These climax years were used as selection criteria for more in-depth analysis. Overall, the results demonstrate that dealing with flight and refugees is of increasing importance in German Adult Education. Nonetheless, it is not that new. There have been encounters in Germany and Europe with high numbers of refugees in the past, although certainly because of very different reasons. Especially during and after World War II, a time overshadowed by the atrocities of Nazi Germany, many people lost their homes, had to seek shelter or were expelled. Thus, we can say that there are existing generations of refugees in Europe and many Europeans have ancestors who once were forced to migrate and to seek refuge.

Different Periods – Synchronic Analysis

1947 to 1950: Law Courses (130 programs and 15 findings)

Programs of these years are brief with only a few pages. Refugees are often not explicitly addressed, but they are mentioned in connection with the German Reich and war-occupied territory. The most typical course titles (33%) are like these examples:

- Law-related Questions for Refugees and victims of bombing (Rechtsfragen der Flüchtlinge und Ausgebombten)
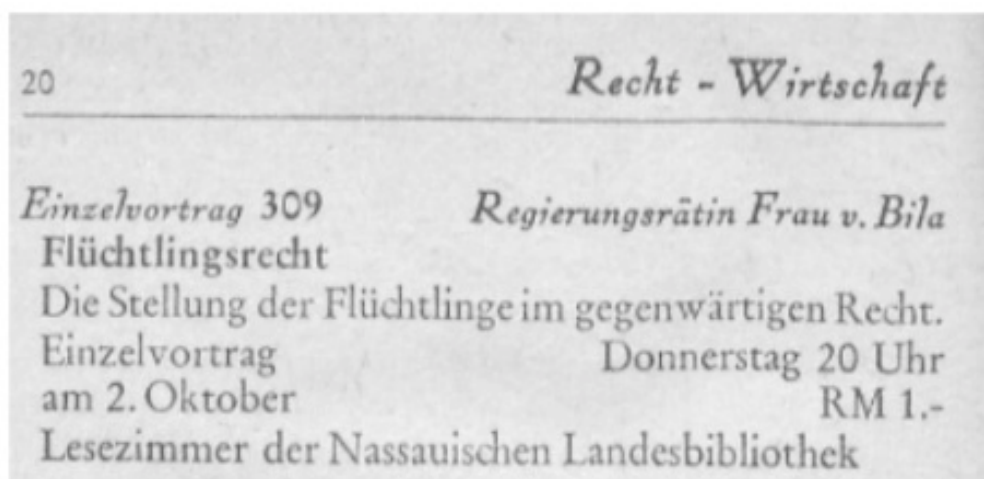
Source: Adult Education Centre Wiesbaden 1947, 3rd trimester, p. 20

Such courses dealt with questions of law or taxes in relation to refugees issues. The historical background is that administrations created laws in 1947/1948 to deal with refugees from the former German Reich. The courses seem to be meant to provide information for refugees and the general public about refugees' rights. Additionally, there were frequent comments that refugees could have free access or were to pay reduced fees. Prefaces asked for help for refugees, reported about shelters for refugees or referred to a UNESCO report on the European refugee crisis. Evening events announced 'political discussions'. 20% of all the offers are on civic education or history. Very few language courses are offered (7%), which is understandable since the courses were offered to Germans who became refugees after WWII, and not to non-German speaking people. People in other countries who became refugees because of the war and the atrocities of Nazi Germany are taboos within the programs. Jewish refugees or refugees in countries occupied during the war are also not mentioned. An open, or even critical discussion of the war and the suffering abroad inflicted mainly by Germans, does not take place at all. This only starts many years later.

1957 to 1960: Meeting Refugees from the GDR (247 programs and 20 findings)

The context of flights is changing here. Refugees from the GDR to Western Germany are becoming an issue. The overall sample of programs contains mainly programs by West-German adult education institutions until 1989, but even in the few available programs from the communist GDR, refugees are not mentioned at all. What is mentioned in programs can be interesting, but also it is what is absent from the adult education programs, despite it being a relevant issue, is also of interest. It is obvious that the leaders of the GDR had no wish that their refugees and the people leaving the GDR were mentioned. They were a taboo.

Learning circles are most popular (53%) in Western Germany. For example, in repeated meetings on Thursdays ('Donnerstagskreis'), refugees from the GDR (German Democratic Republic) meet with non-refugees in the VHS Bremen.

275 Der Donnerstagkreis
(Wir bitten jugendliche Flüchtlinge und Einheimische
zum Gespräch)

Hans Stefan Seifriz

An jedem Donnerstag ist jeder jugendliche Flüchtling aus der DDR und jeder junge Bremer in unserem Gesprächskreis herzlich willkommen. Wir haben kein starres Programm. Es ist unser Bestreben, untereinander Verständigung und Vertrauen zu finden. Gemeinsam interessierende Fragen und Probleme werden im Kreis offen besprochen.

Für junge Menschen, die aus der DDR gekommen sind und sich hier plötzlich ganz anderen Lebensverhältnissen gegenübergestellt sehen, ist es sehr schwer, sich bei uns in der rechten Weise einzugliedern. Hier geht unser Gespräch auch um die Hilfe im Einzelfall.

An jedem Donnerstag, 20—22 Uhr, Eintritt frei
Haus der Jugend (Clubraum), Kalkstraße/Geeren (Nähe Brill)

Source: Adult Education Centre 1957, 3rd Trimester, p. 97

The circles are described in the text as open meetings like an agora, although the GDR refugees are partly described as people in need. The notion of understanding each other and developing mutual trust is strongly emphasized in the text. The overall result is distorted because such circles can be solely found in the data of the VHS Bremen. These circles took place between 1956 and 1961. In other cities, evening events asked for 'political discussions'. 18% of all offers are on civic education or history. One language course is offered for Hungarian refugees after 1956. A study trip is made to a refugee camp in Germany. People are encouraged to make donations for refugees. Overall, the refugees came mainly from the GDR but also others from Central and Eastern European countries were relatively prominent in the programs. Flight is here solely a European issue, while global perspectives are missing.

1969 to 1973: First Regional Peak for Language Courses (262 programs and 28 findings)

The VHS Neuss offers a high number of language courses for adults and children directly in a refugee camp. This was 61% of all courses. Unfortunately, it is not mentioned within the programs where the refugees came from. But it is likely that they were German minorities from Central or Eastern European countries. Vietnamese refugees ('Boat people') arrived in higher numbers in Neuss only after 1979, which is indicated in later programs. The overall result is again biased because of these special developments in just one city like Neuss. This should make sensible that Adult Education is often highly regionally shaped and there is a great difference between regions or between different individual program planners.

It is the first time that other refugees, non-German refugees or subjects of flight caused by Nazi Germany in WWII, become an issue within programs. For example, there are courses dealing with Polish refugees. People emigrating from Germany during the Nazi time are mentioned for the first time. Simultaneously, other course descriptions speak of 'German land in the East' (meaning Poland), which has to be interpreted as a revanchist approach. There are

courses about different refugees in Asia as a kind of general education for the Germans. It is frequently the case that the perspectives are widened beyond Europe and concern non-European refugees. Adult Education increasingly mirrors public and historical events in Chile or Vietnam. Global awareness is increasing. The causes for flight and for people becoming refugees are becoming often an issue. Courses on civic education and history are offered frequently (29%).

1981 to 1985: Refugees Globally and Especially in Africa (188 programs and 24 findings)

Issues of flight and refugees become even more global. Especially the refugees in Africa are mentioned and famines are becoming an important issue. Refugees after WWII are less often an issue than before. Overall, most offers are about refugees from other countries, mainly from African countries, but not for refugees arriving in Germany. The daily lives seem not to have been significantly affected, but the education is rather in more general terms. Only a very few language courses are offered. Courses on politics and history dominate (71%). Typical course titles are like these examples:

- Six Billion Refugees in Africa – A Global Challenge (6 Millionen Flüchtlinge in Afrika eine Herausforderung an die Welt)
- Hunger and Armament – The Example Africa (Hunger und Rüstung - am Beispiel Afrika)

Overall, these years are concerned with a general education for non-refugees about global and local reasons for flight and reasons why there are refugees.

1989 to 1997: Political Struggles and combatting xenophobia (466 programs and 172 findings)

Many trends of the previous period are continued. Only a very few language courses are offered. Courses on civic education and history still dominate (54%). Law courses are again offered (11%), but very often these courses are connected with discussions about the asylum law, which was changed in Germany during this period. The language used in the course titles becomes more dramatic. Question marks or exclamation marks are used in course titles:

- Foreigner – Stranger in our country or on the way to a "multicultural society"? (Ausländer – Fremde in unserem Land oder: Auf dem Weg zu einer "Multikulturellen Gesellschaft"?)
- Germany and Europe – Shelter or Fortress? (Deutschland und Europa: Fluchtburg oder Festung?)
- When refugees and immigrants become an 'asylum wave' (Wenn Flüchtlinge und Einwanderer zu 'Asylantenfluten' werden)

Xenophobia is addressed in a preventive way. The civil war in former Yugoslavia and the connected refugee movements becomes a major issue in the mid 1990s. Most courses address implicitly only the non-refugees, while courses directly for refugees account for solely 10% of all courses. Refugees themselves are rarely addressed directly or personally, but the public concerns and debates related to refugees seem to have been intensively discussed within public adult education centres. There was more educational work *about* refugees, but not *with* refugees. Intercultural encounters were relatively rare, although typical events such as intercultural dancing, music-making, cooking or celebrations can be found.

2001 to 2005: Language courses begin to dominate (217 programs and 164 findings)

The early years at the turn of the century indicate major changes in the programs. Language courses for refugees and migrants become the biggest segment with 40% of all findings. 51%

of all findings address refugees or migrants directly. Courses on civic education and history are second with 30%. Vocational training for refugees becomes a small segment with 9%. Overall, typical course titles are:

- German as a foreign language (Deutsch als Fremdsprache)
- German for asylum-seekers (Deutsch für Asylsuchende)

Xenophobia is less often addressed. Some courses address German and other refugees from the past. The 60th anniversary of the end of WWII is sometimes mentioned in 2005.

2008 to 2009: Language courses dominate (217 programs and 163 findings)

Language courses for refugees and migrants can now be found in almost all programs. This is a sharp contrast to the past, where migrants were often not addressed directly, but were rather just an 'issue' to be discussed in single VHS. Language courses make up 55% of all findings. So-called integration courses or orientation courses become dominant. These courses refer explicitly to legal regulations of the new German immigration law after 2005 and constitute an own format of civic education designated explicitly for migrants and refugees. It ends with a multiple-choice-test in order to check if the migrant or refugee has acquired basic knowledge about polity and democracy in Germany and the way it functions. Here are examples:

- Integration course (Integrationskurs)
- Orientation course (Orientierungskurs)
- Naturalisation test (Einbürgerungstest)

Xenophobia is again much less often addressed, which is in sharp contrast to the 1990s, where this was often present within the programs and debated. Courses on civic education and history have a share of 19%. The titles are often in a neutral language such as:

- Muslims in Germany: Migration – Integration – Organisation. (Muslime in Deutschland: Migration - Integration – Organisation).
- Departure into the unknown – Emigration yesterday and today (Aufbruch ins Ungewisse – Auswanderung damals und heute)

This is in sharp contrast to the 1990s, where the titles pointed more to debates or concerns or were even provocative and trying to stimulate debate instead of signalling neutrality.

2014 to 2015: Language courses dominate (145 programs and 301 findings)

Language courses for refugees and migrants can be found in all programs. They make up 39% of all findings. 48% of all findings address refugees or migrants directly. So-called integration courses or orientation courses are dominant. Xenophobia is not often addressed. Courses on civic education and history are again the second most frequent and have a share of 16%. Vocational courses become a little bit more frequent with 7%. Courses for pedagogical or other welfare system professionals increase their share slightly from 3% to 4%. Arab language courses explicitly for professionals are offered. Thus, providing opportunities not only for refugees to learn a new language in order to communicate, but also for professionals to learn at least some basic Arabic for communication skills. Voluntary help and donations are frequently mentioned in forewords or in relation to course costs.

Different Periods – Diachronical Analysis

The synchronic analysis has already demonstrated some trends over time. Overall, the courses offered for refugees are fluid and change a great deal between periods:

Graph 2. Three biggest course segments in the periods (in % of all findings per period)
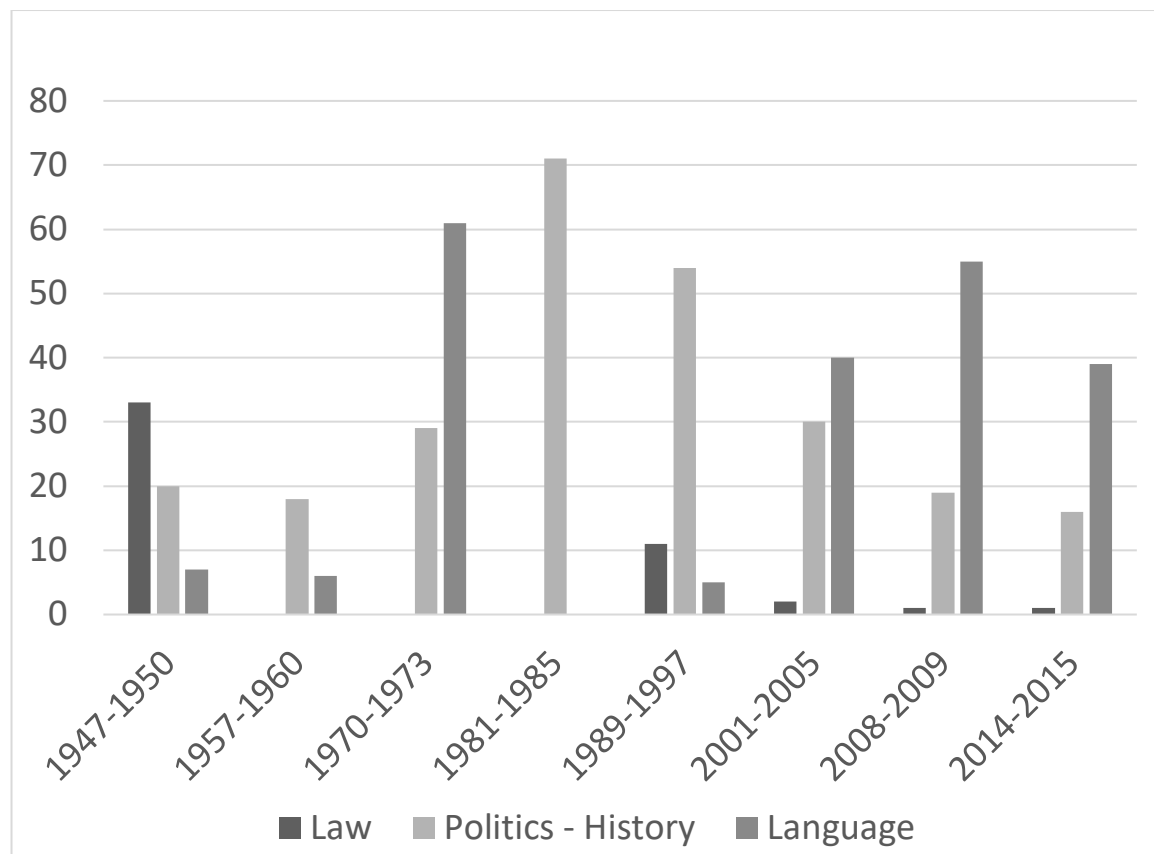
Source: Own analysis

Law courses were important in the early years, while later they were of a residual importance. But it is necessary to note that after 2005, the aspect of law ('rights and duties') has become an integral part of language integration courses and national integration policies with 60 out of a total of 660 course hours being devoted to law. Courses of general education on flight and refugees had increasing importance until the 1980s. Their share then decreased steadily until 2015. Language courses had a peak in the 1970s, which was caused by regional factors of single VHS. It might be biased because of the sample of programs within the archive. But the share of language courses has been very high since the new millennium. It is provocative, but it could be interpreted that the VHS have become huge language schools within two decades, while provision of general and civic education has moved more into the background.

Connected to this development is also a change in the target groups in relation to flight or refugees. The main trend is that courses in the past often addressed the native German citizens and were informing them about flight and refugees. General knowledge was provided about the reasons for these developments. To have informed German citizens seems to have been a major goal of the programs. Nowadays, refugees and migrants make up the majority of the explicitly mentioned target group. Intercultural courses for both groups together are rather rare. The historical special case of VHS Bremen with the 'Thursday Circles' from 1956 to 1961 is unique. It was an offer which ran for many years and was explicitly open, where both target groups were invited to meet in a seemingly self-directed way. Similar single events could be found

later, but they were neither as established nor as open for both groups. For example, sometimes study trips to refugee shelters were offered in later times. The intercultural approach seems partly to have been replaced by target group measures.

Dealing with the refugees and flight caused by Nazi Germany during WWII did not take place until the end of the 1960s. Despite the goal of re-education, it took almost two decades until German responsibility for the war and its crimes were addressed extensively within the programs.

Xenophobia was a major issue to deal with in the programs of the 1990s, but this has relatively lost a great deal of importance in the last few decades. Recent years have seen an increase in civil voluntary engagement. Overall, dealing with refugees has become a regular feature in almost every program nowadays. At the same time, the plurality and variety of offers has decreased.

Relating the descriptive results analytically to research within adult education

Wildemeersch (2017) refers to Biesta (2012), stressing that there can be:

- education *for* the public,

- education *of* the public and

- education *for the publicness* for the refugees, the so-called newcomers.

Education *for* the public 'is characterized by a deficit approach. The public, or the target groups of educational intervention, are considered to lack information, insight, capacities to function adequately as responsible citizens that fully participate in society.' (Wildemeersch, 2017, 118) The education *of* the public 'is not organised in formal or non-formal educational contexts such as schooling or adult education classes, but in close connection with democratic practices. It is often aimed at raising critical consciousness about various issues of public concern and at overcoming alienation from the world. In such practices the educators do not function as instructors, but rather as facilitators of learning processes, whereby the outcomes of these processes are not predetermined but open-ended.' (ibid) Finally, education for publicness is understood 'as a set of activities that enable people to become public actors. (…) In this approach, the educator is someone who *interrupts* the taken-for-granted assumptions of the audience or the public.' (ibid)

This typology partly resonates with the results presented here, although they also go beyond that. The 'education *for* the public' characterises in many respects the mainstream integration policies and practices of the last two decades in Germany. The migration laws were changed substantially in 2005. Language courses and so-called orientation courses with citizenship education (on polity and basic democratic principles like gender equality) are widely provided for migrants and also a large number of refugees. This can be perceived as progress since the earlier programs contained a rather low number of courses for migrants and refugees, and were rather for the wider public. The German policy-makers have accepted and acknowledged that Germany is a land of immigration. Nonetheless, it is also a deficit approach since the assumption is that migrants and refugees are lacking language and democratic skills. This is partly true, but the assumption is that they have first to learn, in order to be able to participate in Germany.

The empirical observation that 'education *for* the public' took place for many years in relation to the majority society and the Germans in relation to migration needs to be added here. There was, especially from the 1970s to the 1990s, a high number of courses in which it was tried to educate the wider public on the reasons why people had to move from their home countries, such as famines or conflicts. It can be called an intended enlightenment of the wider

public in view of informing it better about the reasons of flight. For example, here an offer from a small city, which received 50 so-called 'boat people' from Vietnam in 1980:

1009 Vietnam in Deutschland
Ein Dia-Vortrag mit anschließender Diskussion über die kulturelle und psycho-soziale Lebenswelt der Vietnamesen, die bis Ende der nächsten beiden Jahre zu ca. 20 000 in der Bundesrepublik leben werden. Darüber hinaus werden auch Informationen über die neueste politische Entwicklung in Vietnam gegeben. Ziel der Veranstaltung ist es, Verständnis für die Flüchtlinge zu wecken und dabei Chancen aufzuzeigen, wie eine gute Atmosphäre des Zusammenlebens zwischen den Vietnam-Flüchtlingen und der deutschen Bevölkerung erreicht werden kann, denn die Stadt Bocholt hat 5o Vietnam-Flüchtlinge aufgenommen.
Leitung: Vu tu Hoa und Gesprächspartner des Cariatasverbandes und der Stadtverwaltung
Donnerstag, 13. März, 20.00 Uhr
Rathaus, Berliner Platz 1
Entgelt: Erw. DM 2,– Schüler und Auszubildende DM 1,–

Source: Adult Education Centre Bocholt-Rhese-Isselburg, 1ˢᵗ Semester 1980, p. 20

Here, it is in many respects an education *for* the public and *of* the public. (Biesta, 2012, Wildemeersch, 2017), meaning that the citizens of the area receiving the refugees are to be educated about the reasons for their flight. The forum tries to promote a good atmosphere between refugees and non-refugees. The event was most probably headed by a Vietnamese migrant, since the name Vu tu Hoa is of Vietnamese origin. This can be seen as education *for publicness* since migrants or former refugees are becoming here actors and narrators of their own stories instead of being only defined in a receiving position. It is an important changing of roles. It interrupts and questions the often prejudiced assumption that migrants and refugees are solely in need, and are lacking skills. One more example, the VHS Bremen had this offer of open study circles jointly for refugees and non-refugees. It intended to stimulate exchanges on an equal basis. In the 1990s especially, there was a lively political debate on the asylum law and its development. This took also place within the VHS. The VHS cared for the concerns of the wider public.

   In contrast, the last few years have seen controversial public debates in Germany and other European countries on how to deal with refugees. Movements like PEGIDA in Dresden have become infamous. One could expect that this context intensively inspires the programs of VHS in dealing with this issue. Some courses indeed deal with that matter, e.g. 'Between ISIS and PEGIDA – About Security in Germany and the danger of a societal division' ('Zwischen ISIS und PEGIDA - Über die Sicherheitsfrage in Deutschland und die Gefahr einer gesellschaftlichen Spaltung'). However, considering the intensity of the public debate, such offers are relatively rare in the programs of the VHS. There seems to be a relative distance to these developments, since this issue is rarely being touched upon. But it also has to be borne in mind that this could be partly a misperception caused by the nature of the data. Events of public concern can nowadays not only be found within the printed programs. They are also announced by the adult education centres via the internet or social media. Such short-term announcements are not recorded by the archive RetroPro. Printed programs do not inform about all activities of the adult education centres. Nonetheless, estimates can be made and it was confirmed through some additional background interviews that the vast majority of courses and activities are still

presented in printed form. It is only a small number of relatively spontaneous offers reacting to 'hot issues' of great public concern that go unrecorded in print.

Summing up, the typology from Biesta (2012) and applied by Wildemeersch (2017) to the migration issue is suitable for analysing these historical developments of the VHS programs. Education *for the public* dominates over time. However, it is important to add the dimension that the education takes place here not only in relation to migrants, but also to the wider public and the societal majority. The intended education of the wider public was in the past much stronger in VHS than nowadays. This might be something to remember and perhaps it could be reintroduced, since xenophobia and the wrong information about the reasons for flight are widespread. The fairly informal education *of the public* takes place (e.g. in study circles, roundtables, etc.), but it could be also strengthened. Again, it looks as though the mainstream integration policies draw attention and move resources away from such alternative approaches. The claim that adult education in VHS has partly become too much formalised, is probably not far reaching. The language and orientation courses are perhaps a 'sweet poison' since they are financially attractive for the VHS as institutions, but the danger is that they rule out other more non-formal and informal approaches to learning. The program planning might become too one-sided if program planners act too much in-line with the 'Zeitgeist' promoted by politicians and the needs addressed by the public financers within administrations. It often requires personal courage, pedagogical ethos and professional knowledge to recognise that program planners are interrupting the taken-for-granted assumptions of the audience or the administration who have quickly and simply perceived that integration is the sole task of the so-called newcomers. Such an approach to migration will probably fail, since migration requires that societies and communities taking in migrants, also engage substantially in a learning process. Are program planners in the VHS aware of that and do they have the resources to plan and to practice activities that irritate mainstream approaches? An analytical question from program planning theory is: Do the providers and program planners mainly 'act-within-context' or 'act-on-context'? Scholars describe the relations between planning and context as being dynamic:

> Planners' actions, while directed toward constructing educational programs, are also always reconstructing the power relations and interests of everyone involved (or not involved) in the planning process. […] We argue that power relations and interests always both structure planner action (negotiation) and are reconstructed by these same practices. In sum, planners both act in and act on their social context when planning the program. (Cervero & Wilson, 1994, p. 257).

It might be an interesting research question to analyse the relationship or balance between 'acting-within-context' and 'acting-on-context' within program planning in the context of migration. Do program planners react mainly to needs addressed from the outside or do they act to try to change contexts? Of course, the contexts and the origin of refugees have changed a great deal over the period observed, almost 70 years. Thus, different planners had a great deal of changing and differing contexts to react to. Program planners in adult education are clearly 'seismographs' (Gieseke, 2000) of societal developments. This should make programs interesting beyond educational research, since programs contain traces of contemporary history. (Migration) Laws are influential. Wars and famines are crucial. Global developments become regionally relevant and visible. While the 1980s saw a general discussion on refugees in rather abstract terms related to countries far away, the 2000s are dealing with refugees as physically present humans living in Germany. But does this mean that program planners solely react in response to the '*Zeitgeist*' and do not act on contexts? There is some evidence emerging from this study that program planning is more than just reacting. For example, the high degree of differences between adult centres (VHS) within the different periods is striking and might indicate the importance of the staff. But it could be also only an indication of the regional heterogeneity of adult education even in one national context. Paradoxically, this might have been easier in the past since the lack of an official migration law informally left a great deal of

open space. It seems to be a paradox that the migration laws and policies simultaneously contain both advantages and disadvantages for practices in adult education.

Finally, I'm wondering if the implicit ranking of this typology by Biesta and Wildemeersch is really adequate? The education *for the public* is described as a deficit approach, while the education *of the publicness* can be easily perceived as the most valuable contribution. From my point of view, this is a too easy ranking perceived by readers and likely followers. It rather seems to me that we need a variety and plurality in the educational work. And this for the work with refugees as well as with non-refugees. Learning the language of the immigration country is often an important tool and prerequisite to take part in other activities *of the public* and *for publicness* since communication skills are needed. Nonetheless, migrants and refugees are in different stages of their immigration. An early inclusion and changing of roles is advantageous. Refugees and migrants themselves can become teachers and tutors. They are bringing language skills with them and they have had a previous life, in which they have acquired skills and competencies, which are often hidden behind the construct of a helpless person. It is important to bring people not into dependency, instead of letting them being the responsible and self-reliant actors of their own life.

Summary and Outlook: Past Futures or Lost and Found Imaginations

The historical analysis helped to raise questions and alternatives which might encourage imaginations of program planners who are often caught up by present-day logics and pressures. It was valuable to look back to past practices. It gives us refreshing insights. They remind us that different practices were possible in the past which might again be possible in the present and the future. Some progress has been achieved, such as a clear and traceable opening up of the public adult education centres to diversity. Refugees are directly addressed as subjects of their learning and not only as objects to be talked about as was often done in the past. This does not rule out that still a lot has to be done to provide an opening for diversity (Öztürk, 2012, Heinemann, 2014). Where did regressions happen in the programs and which past good ideas have been lost? Engaging with the past helps us to understand the present and to shape the future differently.

Finally, what is interesting to point out for international readers? **Firstly**, the method of program analysis is very valuable in order to study adult education practice. There are internationally similar studies and analysis, but they are rare (Manninen, 2017). Program archives are missing in most countries since they seem only to exist in Austria and Germany (Käpplinger, et al. 2017). But it is a treasure to have such archives in order to make the past programs of adult education available for historical analysis. Do adult education researchers do enough to document past practices in adult education and especially in program planning? I doubt it. There is, from my point of view, a big gap in research, where we as scholars do not care enough for our fields and the work done in practice like it is partly documented by programs. **Secondly**, this paper supports reflective and transformative activities of how to deal with refugees and non-refugees in different national contexts. How can we mutually learn to help migrants to learn, but also help non-refugees to learn how to live with migrants without xenophobia? We need a comparison of mainstream and alternative integration programs in different countries. **Thirdly**, program planning is generally an activity where adult education planners *act on* and *act in* contexts. What do we know about the dynamics between both practices in other fields? How can program planners *act on* contexts as an autonomous power in order to achieve creative and emancipatory goals? Wildemeersch (2017) used a typology by Biesta (2012). He distinguishes between pedagogy *for* the public, pedagogy *of* the public and pedagogy *for* publicness. This framework resonates with the research here since the past activities indicate that dealing with refugees and flight requires different approaches, although in practice, such clear distinctions are rather an illusion. Nonetheless, as an 'ideal type' in the

Weberian sense, it is useful as a heuristic. The analysis showed that three dimensions could be vertically added to this horizontal typology. These three dimensions are the addressees or target groups of such practices. Target groups can be refugees. Target groups can be non-refugees and target groups can be refugees and non-refugees simultaneously. The result can be a table like that the one below, which might be an useful start for differentiating the variety and diversity of approaches:

	Refugees	Non-Refugees	Non-Refugees and refugees jointly
pedagogy *for* the public			
pedagogy *of* the public			
pedagogy *for* publicness			

Source: Own table

It would be interesting to map with such a tool the variety of practices. All dimensions are useful and require perhaps different learning activities. It would be a mistake to assume that solely refugees have to learn in times of migration. Wildemeersch (2017, p. 115) says: 'The confrontation with strangeness or cultural others may threaten our ontological security, or our subjective feelings of integrity, at three different levels: the personal/psychological, the vital and the national.' Adult education has to help non-refugees to cope with new situations and with the refugees. But do the public adult education centres in Germany or elsewhere in Europe currently contribute enough in order to explain to people why others are seeking shelter and leaving their homes? Do they offer agoras, in which different opinions or even fears could be freely expressed and discussed in a civilised manner? It might be a danger to open such spaces, where even xenophobic opinions can be expressed. There is the argument and decision not to offer platforms for populists. Nonetheless, there do exist educational practices which show that a highly skilled moderator and discussion formats with clear rules can lead to a democratic discourse and exchange of people from different 'bubbles' (Maas & Richter, 2015). There could be a need for formats of personal encounters beyond the social media, which tend to bring rather similar minded people together. There exists a need for the renaissance of direct encounters in public agoras. Adult education can encourage encounters between refugees and non-refugees since xenophobia is at its highest, where a lack of encounters is the norm and the number of migrants is very low. While lacking direct encounters, imaginations stimulated by (social) media might lead to prejudices or exaggerations in relation to strangeness. Wildemeersch (2017, p. 122) sees a need for learning spaces of dialogue and perhaps an even bigger need for the articulation of dissensus. Dissensus in relation to different positions within the communities receiving migrants, but perhaps also in relation to the different positions within receiving or migrant communities, since these are also non-monolithic and the less privileged need support in becoming prepared for publicness. Women especially have often to be encouraged or freed from barriers imposed by men and by fundamentalists in order to take up public roles. Majority societies have also oppressive structures. Education also has also to support and strengthen the

individual within and beyond a community. There is no need for naivety and wrongly understood tolerance.

In conclusion, we need a richness of different educational practices in dealing with issues around refugees. And we need a richness of different target group measures and also measures going beyond traditional target groups and milieus, whilst encouraging a wide variety of people to be their own actor within the public. Adult education practices contribute to mainstream national integration policies nowadays, but it is important to go beyond national policies with alternative practices. Looking backwards can also be of some help in order to open the minds (again) and to encourage more diverse practices.

Notes

[1] https://www.dvv-vhs.de/en/the-association/adult-education-centres/

[2] I was supported by the student assistant Anastasia Falkenstern. I am grateful for her help in collecting, saving and systemising extensive data. The database is accessible free of costs: https://www.die-bonn.de/weiterbildung/archive/programmplanarchive/volltextrecherche.aspx

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Who counts? Disruptions to adult education's idyll and its topography of lifelong learning: Interlinking Rancière's political philosophy with adult education

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Abstract

The question: 'who counts?' is raised in this paper at modern democratic society's fabric, and, more specifically, at the arena of adult education and its counting procedure regarding its clientele, bringing the issue of dis/ability to the fore. For, thus, interlinking citizenship, adult education, and dis/ability, the paper explores the work on disagreement and dissensus by the French political philosopher Jacques Rancière as a theoretical framework. References to qualitative empirical research, elaborating on citoyen sans-papiers (= people without legal papers) in France and on planning and managing activities towards inclusive learning settings by adult education practitioners in Germany, serve to illuminate the theoretical underpinnings' strengths and limitations. It shall lead not only to a fruitful encounter between interdisciplinary theoretical approaches, but also to push the claim that deliberation and civic learning ultimately depends on expressing voice and being listened to, not least by adult education academia, profession and practitioners.

Keywords: citizenship; civic learning; disability; Rancière; spatiality

Introduction

The question: 'who counts?' is raised in this paper in a twofold way. It is directed towards modern democratic society's fabric (democratic society's way of counting its political subjects), and, more specifically, towards the arena of adult education and its counting procedure regarding its clientele, which will be exemplified by the issue of dis/ability. Pointing to dis/ability in the debate on citizenship and adult education brings to the fore

not only a highly contested, but also a usually neglected field of experiencing citizenship and lifelong learning. As Kabeer (2005) aptly remarks, whereas the 'idea of citizenship is nearly universal today, what it means and how it is experienced are not' (ibid., p. 1). The paper seeks to explore in what way the work on *disagreement* and *dissensus* by the French political philosopher Jacques Rancière (1999; 2010) might serve as a seminal theoretical framework in order to elicit ambivalences of the issue under scrutiny as well as interdisciplinary encounters for further discussion. For this, findings of qualitative empirical research will be presented, elaborating on *citoyen sans-papiers* (= people without legal papers) in France (Ludwig, 2008) and on planning and managing activities towards inclusive learning settings by adult education practitioners in Germany (Schreiber-Barsch & Fawcett, 2017). Both examples are seen to highlight the potentiality of the public sphere in providing political arenas for learning, performing and communicating processes of political subjectification[1] (see also e.g. Amin, 2015).

Conceptual framework

The paper's point of departure is the topic of citizenship, which is rooted in a wide range of disciplines and theoretical strands. Taking up an approach in political science helps to extract pivotal components. Isin and Nyers (2014) have introduced a rather skeleton definition of citizenship, meaning: '*an 'institution' mediating rights between the subjects of politics and the polity to which these subjects belong*' (ibid., 1; emphasis in original). By 'institution', Isin and Nyers refer to 'processes through which something is enacted, created, and rendered relatively durable and stable but still contestable, surprising, and inventive' (ibid., p. 1). This emphasises an understanding of democracy and (civic) learning as being always on the move, in a state of negotiation rather than representing a fixed, to-be-reached end product. The notion 'polity' overcomes nation-centred ideas of polities, which is connected to avoiding the terminology of 'citizen' but preferring that of 'subjects of politics' or 'political subjects' (of whom not all might have been granted the status of a citizen) as 'the agents of the mediation in hand' (ibid.). Such a subject-oriented approach, moreover, opens up membership terms to also 'official and non-official forms, legal and extra-legal belongings' (ibid.), which, finally, points to citizenship as consisting of individual relationships with a polity as well as 'collective mediations' (ibid.).

Linking this understanding to the question of learning and education, and following Dower (2008) and Biesta and Lawy (2006, p. 72), a dialectic between status and process (*being / becoming*) emerges and an imperative for negotiating (as an individual task, yet inevitably mutual relation). Firstly, the argument seems essential that *being* a political subject is a status a priori given (due to being a member of humankind and owner of human rights), meaning, it does not depend on being rewarded only a posteriori through educational endeavours targeted at eventually becoming a political subject some day. Secondly, what indeed remains in *becoming* are the responsibilities and endeavours of each subject, of adult education's profession and practitioners in fostering the awareness of this membership, the capability of claiming its existence and of enacting its potentialities, rights and duties. Waghid (2014) rightly concludes that such a 'democratic education in becoming' is one, which is not being 'tamed' by education's personnel through a priori declaring predetermined outcomes (ibid., p. 22). On the contrary, outcomes of learning are to be considered as 'momentary learning experiences' (ibid., p. 23)—keeping their unpredictable nature, their inconclusiveness and highly subject-related significance. Thirdly, this supports relying on a concept of citizenship broadened from status to practice (Biesta & Lawy, 2006) and experience. Considering civic

learningof adults as an inherent part of this, and, furthermore, asking for adult education's role and objectives within this, it helps to take into account Biesta's (2014) differentiation in civic learning as a *socialisation conception* and a *subjectification conception* (ibid., p. 6). It tackles a generic question throughout adult education's history. Should learning be directed primarily towards ensuring the political subject's adaption (and, thus, *socialisation)* to the existing societal order? Or, should it also explicitly enable awareness of membership terms, critical reflection, unpredictable outcomes and, potentially, disruptions to society's and adult education's idyll (the idyllic state of a consensus) by questioning, in the wake of *subjectification,* the dominant order? Whereas both dimensions should not be read as a dichotomy, but rather as two poles in relation to each other, pursuing the idea of *in becoming* emphasises civic learning in the subjectification mode: being *non-linear* (no linear movement from not being a citizen to being a citizen), *recursive* (learning is always fed back into action) and *cumulative* (learning as a successive layering of experiences) (Biesta, 2014, p. 7; emphasis in original).

The reference to *disruptions* leads to a vital line of argument in this paper. Disruptions are more than just discomfort or contestation—they cut right to the core of the negotiating struggle of who counts as society's part as well as adult education's part. The paper understands disruptions as outcomes in the sense of 'momentary learning experiences' (Waghid, 2014), which embody a tenacious kind of disagreement in the context of a particular societal order and which are enacted by political subjects (individuals or collectivities), manifesting processes of political subjectification in the wake of the 'ongoing experiment of democracy' (Biesta, 2014, p. 6). Thus, disruptions are neither abnormal nor per se negative, but are testimony for individual and / or collective mediations in and towards a polity, to which political subjects articulate their belonging (be that in official / non-official, legal / extra-legal forms). This is important, because discussing: *who counts?* is only reasonable *in relation to something*—to that something that decides the terms of counting. Through this lens, the notion of *the political* as the momentum of a disruptive insurgence seems to better reflect the question under debate (Swyngedouw, 2014), whereas the policy science-based notion *politics*, used e.g. by Isin and Nyers (2014), primarily focuses on the administrative architecture of polities. In the sphere of the political, disruptions always put at stake a quest for transformation, as a rather unexpected, subtle experience and spin-off, or also as the main objective, one has strived for and of substantial quality. Thus, in and by civic learning 'people's *issues* become transformed', but also, and even more important, 'the democratic experiment also transforms *people'* (Biesta, 2014, p. 7; emphasis in original).

In this sense, disruptions can be of essential pedagogical value. Supporting Reichenbach's (2000) arguments, such manifestations of disagreement 'enable us to be convinced of the seriousness of, and to be impressed by, the opinions of others with whom we disagree' (ibid., p. 805f; author's translation). Thus, 'the prerequisite for mutual respect need not necessarily be found in what one shares, but also in difference' (ibid.; author's translation). Summing up, the role of adult education's endeavours might not be seen in reaching and retaining consensus (idyll), but on the contrary, in fostering adults' capability of collaboratively engaging by respectfully disagreeing (Pastuhov & Rusk, 2018).

Turning now to Rancière's theoretical framework, allows further exploration of the nuances of the topic under scrutiny.

Rancière and disagreement: The miscount

The French political philosopher Jacques Rancière has considerably enriched the academic discourse with an exhaustive range of works; this paper focuses on *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy* (1999), originally published in 1995 (*La Mésentente: Politique et Philosophie*). The analytical benefit of Rancière's work for the topic of citizenship has indeed been discussed, for example through the lens of human geography (see e.g. Davidson & Iveson, 2014; Desforges, Jones & Woods, 2005; Purcell, 2014; Swyngedouw, 2014) or that of political science (see e.g. Feola, 2014; Schaap, 2011). Yet, the reference to Rancière's work in (adult) education academia and research still remains at the periphery (with some exceptions such as e.g. Simons & Masschelein, 2010; Bastrup-Birk & Wildemeersch, 2013; Biesta, 2014; Rieger-Ladich, 2016). Taking up Rancière's approach to theorise democracy demands, and this explains its usefulness here, abandoning the habitual paths of a deliberative understanding upon which democracy is defined as idyllic state of a consensus on the legitimacy of the dominant societal order and its way of counting its parts (Rancière 1999, p. 95).

Theoretical point of departure: The miscount

Following Rancière, a regime of power in a deliberative democracy is called *police* (or: *policing)* and consists of 'an order of the visible and the sayable that sees that a particular activity is visible and another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise' (ibid., p. 29). This is a regime of *consensus.* It agrees on 'the set of procedures whereby the aggregation and consent of collectivities is achieved, the organisation of powers, the distribution of places and roles, and the systems for legitimising this distribution' (ibid., p. 28). In and through this order, every part of society is assigned to 'his' or 'her' specific place; hence, there exists no beyond, no outside of this order. Yet, according to place, voice is given and heard (*discourse*)—or rejected (*noise*). In negating or not recognising that there exists, due to the given status of being unseen and unheard, a 'part of those who have no part' (*la part des sans-part*), the 'initial scandal' (ibid., p. 27) and the radical wrong in process and outcome of counting society's parts is established: the miscount as foundation of disagreement. In short, consensus reduces politics to a police order, it 'is the 'end of politics'' (Rancière, 2010, p. 42). (Considering the remark in section 1.1: Originally, Rancière speaks of *la politique*, which is then translated with *politics*; however, *la politique* corresponds to the understanding of *the political*. For clarity's sake regarding the quotes, the paper will employ the English translation *politics*.)

On the contrary, Rancière suggests understanding democracy as an on-going process of political subjectification, beginning at and through the momentum of disagreement: This is when the *sans-part* in the police order disrupts this very order—rejecting their positioning as a non-citizen, lesser citizen (Kabeer, 2005) or dis-citizen and, by this, re-affirming their status as political subjects. In later works, Rancière employs the term *dissensus* instead of *disagreement*, understanding disagreement rather as the method whereas dissensus expresses a more fundamental rupture. According to him, a 'dissensus is not a conflict of interests, opinions or values; it is a division inserted in 'common sense': a dispute over what is given and about the frame within which we see something as given'; it is, 'the putting of two worlds in one and the same world' (Rancière, 2010, p. 69). Therefore, he states, '*The essence of politics is the manifestation of dissensus as the presence of two worlds in one'* (ibid., p. 37; emphasis in original). Such a rupture is driven by a political subject, enacting and manifesting a dissensus in the sense of dis-identifying

with the police order, and, thus, becoming 'the operator of a particular dispositive of subjectivation and litigation through which politics comes into existence' (ibid., p. 39). Thus, politics never constitute in an abstract beyond. The parties involved 'do not exist prior to the declaration of wrong' (ibid., p. 39):

> …nothing is political in itself merely because power relationships are at work in it. For a thing to be political, it must give rise to a meeting of police logic and egalitarian logic that is never set up in advance (Rancière, 1999, p. 32).

Rancière is clear about the objective of such processes of subjectification: not a (better) inclusion in the current regimes of power, but a revision of the regime itself by those who were previously not granted the right to be seen and heard. Revising or re-counting the order constitutes politics, it 'is whatever shifts a body from the place assigned to it or changes a place's destination. It makes visible what had no business being seen, and makes heard a discourse what was once only heard as noise' (ibid., p. 30). Two aspects seem to be important here in understanding the Rancièrian approach: Firstly, politics are not limited to pure versions and exceptional moments of a dissensus; politics might show also 'in a lot of 'confused' matters and conflicts' (Rancière, 2011, p. 5); and in disruptions, as the paper would argue. Secondly, a revised order might indeed represent a more complementary order—yet, again installing a police order, being a, as Purcell (2014) remarks, 'best-we-can political community marked by frequent disruptions and a conflictual being-together (ibid., p. 172). In brief: The miscount cannot be ultimately settled; it is rather about 'the instituting of a dispute over the distribution' (Rancière, 2010, p. 37).

Furthermore, and vital for section 3 of this paper, Rancière does not narrow down modes of subjectification to linguistic utterances; it is not a pure speech situation. Even though he does not refer to spatial theories, he acknowledges space in its material and symbolic dimension (Rancière, 2011, p. 6). Manifesting a dissensus always comprises a territorial dimension, a re-negotiating of the bodily topography of the political subjects. Therefore, Rancière defines politics as modes of subjectification, meaning 'the production through a series of actions of a body and a capacity for enunciation not previously identifiable within a given field of experience, whose identification is thus part of the reconfiguration of the field of experience' (Rancière, 1999, p. 35).

Identifying oneself as *discourse* and no longer *noise* in society, is, finally, based on Rancière's idea of *equality*. The given logic of distribution is challenged in the name of equality; the assertion of equality is grounded in, and exercised through, the re-counting process of identifying oneself as part of the societal order and no longer *sans-part* (as *putting two worlds in one*; see above). In this sense, equality is the starting point, not the ultimate goal. Anyone is equal with anyone else, and this due to the fact of being human (like *being* a political subject; see section 1.1), it is the 'equality of speaking beings' (Rancière, 1999, p. 33). This, again, underlines that no one is seen beyond society's order and would then want to be included in it through *becoming* a political subject some day. In a nutshell: the *sans-part* are not voice-less, they are unheard. Modes of subjectification, thus, provoke the assertion of one's equality by an act of equality of speech 'in which the supposed incapable or perhaps less capable … exercise their voice' (Waghid 2014, p. 33); thereby, the very structure of democracy is constituted (Davis, 2010, p. 81). Political subjectification, then, reconfigures a field of experience by the assertion of equality:

> It decomposes and recomposes the relationships between the ways of *doing*, of *being*, and of *saying* that define the perceptible organization of the community, the relationships between the places where one does one thing and those where one does something else, the capacities associated with this particular *doing* and those required for another. (Rancière, 1999, p. 40; emphasis in original)

Process of political subjectification: Re-affirming equality

Before elaborating on disruptions in adult education's idyll, a more nuanced look needs to be taken to Rancière's understanding of the process of subjectification. It is seen to include three main features: (a) argumentative demonstration, (b) theatrical dramatisation and (c) heterologic dis-identification (Rancière, 1999, pp. 84-90). The thorough analysis of Rancière's work by Davis (2010) seems rewarding for this, and so is pointing to empirically based reflections on these features by means of Ludwig's (2008) empirical study.

In her work, Ludwig discusses the topic of *citoyen sans-papiers* (= people without legal papers) in France as illegalised migrants and, yet, political agents, and this inter alia by referring to some parts of Rancière's work on disagreement (who, himself, expressed ambivalence at the end of the 1990s whether *sans-papiers* are an adequate example or not; La Découverte, 2009). The example of the *sans-papiers* explains why the introductory definition of citizenship by Isin and Nyers (2014) is useful through broadening, not only the figure of political subjects beyond the restricted fabric of a citizen, but also including official and non-official forms, legal and extra-legal belongings in the idea of articulating relationships with a polity. The findings of Ludwig allow visualising Rancière's approach to the process of subjectification and his idea of equality: By 'acting *as if* they have the rights that they lack, the *sans papiers* actualize their political equality' (Schaap, 2011, p. 39; emphasis in original).

In her qualitative research, Ludwig used methods of participatory observation in five Parisian collectivities of *sans-papiers* (in a period between 2005 and 2006) and implemented problem-focused interviews with eight *sans-papiers*. Being declared as illegal or clandestine immigrants (*étrangers en situation irrégulière*) and, thus, as illegal bodily subjects of about 200,000-400,000 persons on the French nation state territory, the complex and often contradictory state-citizen-architecture becomes vivid in the collective body of the *sans-papiers*. Legally defined as being outside of the nation state, yet, a legal grey area is exercised in the practices of everyday life, such as for example granting access to precarious employment, tacitly allowing their children to attend schools or having installed a semi-legal system of medical care (*Aide Médicale d'Etat* (AME) (see e.g. gisti, 2013). Accordingly, their bodily presence on the nation's territory is sort of acknowledged, for their vital needs are taken care of. Yet, in the official nation state narrative, they remain assigned to the place of the *sans-part*. Interestingly, especially since the mid-1990s, the *sans-papiers* have managed to join in 'collective mediations' (Isin & Nyers, 2014, p. 1) and have succeeded in enforcing waves of regularisation. In provoking strikes, the *sans-papiers* dis-identified with their given (hidden) place in the police order and became literally visible in the public sphere through disrupting workflows, giving voice to protest and unmasking their identity despite the risk of arrests. This rupture achieved a punctual re-counting of the order through acknowledging citizenship rights (regularisation) for a considerable number of *sans-papiers*—however, only for those involved in strikes and usually only for members of one of the *sans-papiers* collectivities. Thus, the police order had not been thoroughly re-vised. More precisely, regularisation renders *again invisible* the former *sans-part* as they are immersed in the

regular citizen's body. Nevertheless, the broadening of the legal grey area manifests subtle transformation through political subjectification (see section 1.1; 2.1) and this is why a closer look at the empirical findings allows a comprehension of the Rancièrian approach.

(a) With the aspect of argumentative demonstration, Rancière introduces his understanding of a reasonable character of a revolt (Davis, 2010, p. 84). His main point is that declarations of equality, manifested for example in charters or nation state constitutions, represent a powerful resource in processes of subjectification—but only if they are used for logically verifying the constitution's premises, not as a normative expression of society's aspirations. Referring to France's Charter of 1830, declaring 'all the French are equal before the law', Rancière illustrates its usefulness with regard to the strike of Parisian tailors in 1833. He argues that either the regulations of the police order need to be revised (and, by this, the reason for the inequality) in order to fulfil the premise of the Charter—or the premise itself would need to be revised to 'all the French are unequal before the law'. Interestingly, exactly this rationale is used by one of the *sans-papiers* interviewed by Ludwig (2008, p. 87). With regard to his/her relationship to the French republic's constitution and its omnipresent guiding principles (*liberté, égalité, fraternité*) in the public sphere and buildings, the interviewee explains that not the constitution itself, but its non-equal application constitutes the problem:

> Wait, there are articles in the constitution that are not adhered to, you know. Like that one, that we are all human beings, but that is not the case that you experience. We, the sans-papiers, we are not treated as human beings. They need to be applied. If they are not applied, they need to be struck off. That's all. We are all human beings, if not, we are all animals. (Ludwig, 2008 p. 87; translation by the author[2])

This illustrates the two facets of the constitution. On the one hand, it manifests an existing inequality in the sense of a miscount of its addressees; on the other hand, it offers a reasonable argument for a revolt and for political subjectification.

(b) The second aspect is called theatrical (or spectacular) dramatisation (see Davis, 2010, p. 134). Rancière argues that with regard to the often severe level of discrimination within the police order, the *sans-part* might need to make use of a theatrical dramatisation or, sometimes, violence, in order to support and render visible their arguments of dis-identification with their assigned places in the public sphere. This is based on the 'initial scandal' of the police order to negate or not recognise that the part of the *sans-parts* exists. Thus, the non-recognition continues to be exercised, even in spite of visible sights of dis-identification. In consequence, a theatrical dramatisation might prove to be necessary in order to break the concealment and manifest political agency as enacting equality in counting society's parts.

Ludwig's findings demonstrate the significance of this feature. The strikes and demonstrations in the public sphere render visible the counting of the *sans-papiers* as-if-citizens (Ludwig, 2008, p. 94). Furthermore, it shows that the realisation of the bodily occupation of public territory is to be seen as a learning experience and outcome. Such learning derives from the knowledge and proficiency of how to organise the dis-identification process most effectively towards the objective of regularisation. To produce a spectacle is labelled as a 'learning process' (*un apprentissage*) (ibid., p. 92) by an interviewee. It involves, for example, the professional handling of media issues (which ones and how to address them), avoiding the summer period as a time of a general vacuum in the public perception or to consciously decide on the most spectacular public places to be bodily occupied (ibid., p. 94-95). This apparently illustrates also an intergenerational transformation, because in preceding generations, it was said that 'one is not allowed to make too much noise, ask for too much, not allowed to demonstrate' (Ludwig, 2008, p.

92; translation by the author[3]). Marin (2006) quotes a *sans-papiers* who participated in the first spectacular demonstration in 1996 when 300 *sans-papiers* occupied the church of Saint-Bernard in Paris and who sums it up: '…as long as one does not disrupt, one does not exist' (ibid., p. 126; translation by the author[4]; quoted from Ludwig, 2008, p. 94).

Finally, (c), Rancière highlights the feature of a heterologic dis-identification. Davis explains that this refers to acknowledging otherness as a fundamental principle of separating identities, and, at the same time, as a connecting element in social struggles of collective mediations. Even though one might identify with the issues and the processes of political subjectification of *sans-parts*, one is not necessarily one of them, like supporters of victims of political persecution. Rancière refers to the revolt of Algerians in Paris in October 1961; or, a recent example, the *Je suis Charlie* – movement in answer to the 7 January 2015 shooting at the offices of the French satirical weekly newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*. In consequence, one always remains in a status of being in-between identities (Davis, 2010, p. 136). This status does not disperse if one is indeed part of the *sans-part*. Because, and this is crucial, political subjectification might also (most probably) mean the process of rejecting or transforming the identity assigned to oneself by the police order. Thus, Rancière puts forward the idea that political subjectification can imply a partial transformation of given identities by the police order or also the enforcement of (provisional) new identities as an outcome of their rejection (see Davis, 2010, p. 137-141).

Again, Ludwig's findings illustrate this idea of a heterologic dis-identification. One of the interviewees (like the *sans-papiers* movement as such) explicitly links to the given identity as descendants of French colonial history in Africa—but the label as *illegal*, as *non-entitled* due to this territorial descent is reversed, it is de-connected from the police order identity: 'There are no debts. Let's do a historical calculation: in history, one needs to calculate, increase slavery, colonisation, globalisation and also the liberation of France. Let's do the bill: Who owes whom?' (Ludwig, 2008, p. 91; translation by the author[5]). Furthermore, Ludwig shows that whereas the *sans-papiers* have, in a sense, agreed on using the stigmatising label, the process of political subjectification constitutes repeating this label, but with a different meaning, a self-authorised content (ibid., p. 93). These processes will be now further elaborated with regard to disruptions in adult education's idyll of dis/ability.

Disruptions in adult education's idyll: Shifting the focus to dis/ability

Following Rancière, processes of subjectification reconfigure a certain 'field of experience' (Rancière, 1999, p. 40) (see section 2.1). Such a field of experience is not a quasi-natural entity; it is what Feola (2014) calls a 'police economy of mattering' (ibid., p. 508), distributing voice / speech and noise. Therefore, enacting dissensus by 'a meeting of police logic and egalitarian logic' (Rancière, 1999, p. 32) cannot be considered as an 'unmediated encounter between two subjects, but is rather negotiated through forms of social meaning that amplify the speech of some, and diminish the weight of others' (Feola, 2014, p. 506). As such a 'field of experience' (Rancière, 1999), the paper will take into account the arena of adult education in its relation to the issue of dis/ability.

By adult education, the paper points to the system-part of lifelong learning, meaning the (still mostly nation-state-related) systematic provision of more or less organised learning activities for adults (in the sense of beyond schooling). This could be activities of formal or also non-formal learning, and, of course, the wider context of informal

learning. However, it is not the learning processes as such which are of interest here, but their systematic provision as installing a 'field of experience' (Rancière, 1999). This allows insight, not only into adult education's order and its counting procedures (who counts as a client of adult education?), but also in processes of subjectification by the 'agents of the mediation in hand' (Isin & Nyers, 2014, p. 1). Through this, the paper shall also emphasise that space matters in claiming a (re)count of society's and adult education's parts: with regard where territorially the claim is expressed, but also to which territories access is claimed for.

Field of experience: Adult education and dis/ability

Modern society's consensus on the order of the *sayable, visible, thinkable* and *possible* (see section 2.1; also Simons & Masschelein, 2010, p. 513) with regard to dis/ability has turned into a contested terrain, strikingly described by Linton (1998) at the end of the 1990s:

> We have been hidden—whether in the institutions that have confined us, the attics and basements that sheltered our family's shame, the 'special' schools and classrooms designed to solve the problems we are thought to represent, or riding in segregated transportation, those 'invalid' coaches, that shuttle disabled people from one of these venues to another. The public has gotten so used to these screens that as we are now emerging, upping the ante on the demands for a truly inclusive society, we disrupt the social order. We further confound expectations when we have the temerity to emerge as forthright and resourceful people, nothing like the self-loathing, docile, bitter, or insentient fictional versions of ourselves the public is more used to. (Linton, 1998, p. 3)

The paper defines dis/ability not as an ontological category; on the contrary, dis/ability can be congenital, acquired (by accident, disease, age etc.) or also socially constructed, which reminds us of the wide range of possible impairments or difficulties (physical, intellectual, mental and so on). Thus, understandings of dis/ability need to be contextualised in terms of the *interrelatedness* of being in whatever sense impaired, as well as living in disabling societal conditions (Rocco & Delgado, 2011). The paper pursues a cultural model of dis/ability, proposed by the Critical Disability Studies. It argues for a multi-factorial account of dis/ability, emphasising the intersectional linkages between biological, social, cultural *and* psychological aspects, attitudes and norms and explicitly pays attention to power structures (see e.g. Bösl, Klein & Waldschmidt, 2010; Campbell, 2009; Riddell & Watson, 2014; Rocco & Delgado, 2011; Shakespeare, 2013; Snyder & Mitchell, 2006). In this paper, the notation *dis/ability* shall take into account the 'able/not-able divide' (Campbell, 2009), referring to the fundamental axe of reproducing inequality. Within this, a particular focus will be set on *adults with learning difficulties*, a notation proposed by *People First* (a self-advocacy group of people with so-called intellectual difficulties).

Regarding the systematic provision of lifelong learning opportunities, Germany is one of those countries with a traditionally highly segregated education system (Poore, 2009; Richardson & Powell, 2011). Segregation is defined along the mentioned 'able/not-able divide' (Campbell, 2009), being one of many categories that probably (re)produce social inequality highly in access to lifelong learning (such as gender, ethnic origin, age, or the like). That means, for centuries, segregation between the abled and the non-abled has been based on a deficit-oriented categorisation of learners into 'normal' and 'special' learning institutions. Historically, not even the status of a *prospective* clientele, seen both

as capable of and vitally, in need of, learning, had been granted to adults with impairments, and, in particular, with learning difficulties (see e.g. Bösl et al., 2010).

This emphasises that discussing adult education through the lens of dis/ability is never a purely pedagogical quest—but also a political quest, as the question of: *who counts as adult education's client?* cuts right to the core of democratic societies (see in more detail: Schreiber-Barsch, 2017; 2018). This is why Rancière's approach is beneficial, precisely because it strongly reminds us of recognising equality as a starting point, and, disruptive insurgences of political subjects as an enactment of embodied and lived experiences of citizenship in relation to a particular field of experience. For disability in its traditional understanding, labelled as a 'diminished state of being human' (Campbell, 2009, p. 5), rejects the idea of *being* a political subject as a status a priori given, due to equality being withheld in navigating through the system of lifelong learning beyond or transverse to a prior 'distribution of places and roles' (Rancière, 1999, p. 28). It means, as Waghid (2014) concludes, that 'those for whom the education is meant might not experience justice in the form of not knowing in advance that which they can aspire to become' (ibid., p. 44). This is reflected in the on-going status quo that, in Germany, learning opportunities for adults with impairments or learning difficulties continue to be provided almost exclusively in sheltered workshops or in care institutions without any primary adult education mandate—hence, not in public places such as public adult education centres (Heimlich & Behr, 2009; Lindmeier, 2003). It manifests a 'regime of dis-citizenship' (Devlin & Pothier, 2006), empirically confirmed by the fact of the very low participation rate of adults with impairments and in particular learning difficulties in learning opportunities meant for the abled (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2014; Koscheck, Weiland & Ditschek, 2013).

The ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (in Germany in 2009) has established, on the macro-level of the polity, a substantial claim for change. In Germany (as elsewhere), the government's commitment to ensuring 'an inclusive education system at all levels and lifelong learning' (United Nations, 2006, art. 24) is called upon to finally fully ensure the existing Right to Education (United Nations, 1948, art. 26). Approaching this through a Rancièrian lens, one might suggest that it could provoke political subjectification in the sense of an *argumentative demonstration,* thus, using the constitutional agenda for legitimising the assertion of equality (see section 2.2). Like one of the *sans-papiers*, who stated 'We are all human beings, if not, we are all animals' (Ludwig, 2008, p. 87), or Rancière's example of France's Charter of 1830, one could also derive in the present context the claim *We are all abled learners in becoming, if not, we are all non-abled learners*. Besides, a current topic serves as an example of *heterologic dis-identification*, which also shows the need of *theatrical dramatisation* in order to be heard. In Germany's social welfare system, around 7.5 million people are labelled 'seriously disabled', according to differing levels of disability (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014); they are officially registered as holder of a so-called *seriously disabled person's pass*. In autumn 2017, a 14-year-old girl, living close to Hamburg in the Northern part of Germany, was irritated by the fact of being labelled, due to Trisomy 21, as an insofar 'seriously disabled person'. She wrote an article in *easy language* in a journal of a self-advocacy group (KIDS, 2017), explaining that she had produced a new plastic cover for her *seriously disabled person's pass*—concealing this label by a new label: calling it a *seriously alright pass*. This provoked regional and supra-regional attention in the public media and, in the following, it activated other holders of *seriously disabled person's passes* to apply at public authorities a new pass with that label. Half a year later, and after having initially rejected this claim by arguing with technical impracticalities, public authorities in four federal states (Hamburg, Rhineland-Palatinate, Lower Saxony, Berlin)

now officially issue this cover concealing the regular pass—stating that these persons are seriously disabled, but, first of all: seriously alright.

Reconfiguring the topography of lifelong learning?

The example given highlights, as remarked upon in the introduction, the potential of the public sphere to provide political arenas for learning, performing and communicating processes of political subjectification—and thus, for disruptions of the dominant order. Following Rancière and also Biesta (2014) and Davidson and Iveson (2014), public places or the public sphere as such are not per se political. They *become* political by manifestations of a dissensus and a reconfiguration of the field of experience in the sense that 'words are being separated from the things that they define, … a body is withdrawn from the place it was assigned to, the language and capacities that were 'proper' to it' (Simons & Masschelein, 2010, p. 513). Accordingly, Biesta argues, what 'makes a place public … is precisely the extent to which it makes the transformation of private wants into collective needs possible' (ibid.); it is about 're-qualifying these spaces' from a tamed domestic quality in a political one as part of the territorial locus of the community (Rancière, 2010, p. 38). This turning point between the private and the political is a crucial, yet rather vague, unpredictable momentum. Davidson and Iveson (2014) pose this question with regard to the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi as the initial spark for the Tunisian uprising in 2010/2011: 'how was it that a singular and seemingly unformulated act of resistance became something that incited political change?' (ibid., p. 141).

The paper wants to suggest that a similar situation in-between, a still fuzzy, confused state of conflict (see section 2.1), can be identified in the current topography of adult education and lifelong learning in Germany with regard to dis/ability. Whereas the ratification of the UN Convention indeed seeks to claim an assertion of equality and, thus, a re-count of the initial wrong, the status quo rather seems to pause in a zone of in-between, visibly showing disruptive elements, but only very reluctantly a reconfiguration. This will be illuminated by findings of an explorative research study in the field of inclusive adult education (in detail: Schreiber-Barsch & Fawcett, 2017; data collection and analysis followed Grounded Theory; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The study asked adult education professionals (n=7), using semi-guided expert interviews, about their planning, organising and managing activities concerning how inclusion, in the sense of the UN Convention, is operationalised in their respective institutional learning setting for adults (meaning a place like, for example, a public adult education centre providing organised learning activities). Thus, what renders a learning place an inclusive learning place? For this question, the socio-spatial theory by the German sociologist Martina Löw (2001/2016) provided a seminal analytical framework, defining space as a 'relational arrangement of social goods and people (living beings) at places' (Löw, 2016, p. 188). Such an understanding allows insights into the spatial order/ings (or: arrangements) of social space with its interrelatedness of material, personal, social, *and* symbolic dimensions, being embedded in power structures. Moreover, Löw's distinction between space and place is helpful. Place refers to a concrete territorial locus, whereas on one territorial locus, many social spaces may be (re)produced by human beings. In consequence: space is more than place or territory. This explains Feola's reference to the characteristic of the Rancièrian police order that it 'is not simply that some are 'invisible' or 'marginal' within social space' (ibid. 2014, p. 507), but rather, 'they are made so through a framework of meaning' (ibid.)—a social space (re)produced by human beings.

The findings of the qualitative research study draw attention to the point that in the wake of the UN Convention, however, adult education providers explain and legitimate quite varying models of professional activities under the auspices of planning, organising and managing an inclusive place of learning—differing between traditional segregation, offering a target-group oriented model up to an inclusive model. The segregated model can be identified as reproducing the traditional counting procedure of adult education's parts. For inclusion is realised as a somewhat Potemkin village of the place, positioning learners only on a priori assigned places (such as courses explicitly labelled *for people with disabilities*), which often implies that only rarely do learners with learning difficulties show up at a public learning place. In the target-group oriented model, professionals act on a situational case-by-case decision, which sometimes ends in the territorial outsourcing (and exclusion) of inclusion. For example, an inclusive course offer is integrated in a program booklet of an adult education centre, however, the administrative proceeding (registration, information) and the implementation (place of learning, teaching staff, course material) remains allocated to the place of a disabled care provider. Finally, the inclusive model is, interestingly, grounded in the recognition of the pedagogical value of disagreement (see section 1.1). This means, realising inclusion is described as a 'normal' and daily process of trial and error, of finding also unconventional solutions or at least a compromise (in the sense of a 'best-we-can-inclusion' right now; see section 2.1), and of challenging all parties, learners and issues involved. Irritations are explicitly valued as a fruitful and necessary impulse to encourage professional and organisation learning—and to realise the assertion of equality in the sense that all parties need to contribute and play their part in negotiating lifelong learning.

Conclusion

Summing up, the paper was intended to explore the benefit of the Rancièrian approach to theorise democracy, politics and political subjectifications in the sense of a 'dissensual 'commonsense'(Rancière, 2011, p. 139), which reminds us to recognise society's and adult education's order as not quasi-natural entities, but being constituted by structures of power and dominance. As Rieger-Ladich (2016, p. 159) points out, we should not only pay attention to the spectacular moments of insurgence, but should also read this as evidence of the societal order's contingency and of its potentialities for alternative ways of the *sayable*, *visible*, *thinkable* and *possible*—emphasising again one of (adult) education's pivotal responsibilities and endeavours. The focus on dis/ability shall highlight that the *sans-part* are not voice-less, but they are unheard, ignored or de-legitimised, literally incapacitated, as they are spoken for or acted on behalf of, especially in the case of adults with learning difficulties and external decisions on someone's autonomy and maturity. Therefore, a criticism made by Feola (2014) needs to be taken into account when discussing Rancière's approach. He argues that regardless of all sympathy for Rancière's emancipatory agency, it remains often forgotten to ask 'how this contestatory activity both inaugurates and requires transformations in the *reception* of democratic noise' (ibid., p. 515; emphasis in original). By this, Feola points to the crucial aspect that also 'hearing' (ibid., p. 515) is part of negotiation and deliberation; he argues that 'such irruptions of equality demand the *cultivation* of receptivity toward de-authorized subjects and the claims they bear', enabling, thus, 'counter-hegemonic practices of listening' (ibid., p. 516; emphasis in original).

This puts the final limelight on adult education's role as a systematic provider of lifelong learning opportunities, being embodied by adult education professionals. The

findings presented of a qualitative study in the field of inclusive adult education refer to a risk brought forward by Davidson and Iveson (2014), called 'erasure': No need to use violence, such erasure works very effectively in the police order's recuperation of control. It is 'a matter of denying those who (seek) to occupy a given place the ability to act politically', insofar as their voice is downgraded to 'noisy rabble' and 'who should be ignored because they have nothing to say' (ibid., p. 149). For this objective, 'the presence of protesting bodies is acknowledged, welcomed even, as evidence of a functioning police order which does indeed take account of the interests of the whole of society' (ibid.). This strongly reminds one of the mechanisms used by adult education professionals mentioned above in the context of the target-group oriented model in realising an inclusive place of learning (e.g. territorial outsourcing of inclusion), which again excludes inclusion to the peripheries of lifelong learning and negates the pedagogical value of disagreement. Taking this into account in tackling the question: *who counts?* seriously confirms the need and relevance of 'counter-hegemonic practices of listening' (Feola, 2014, p. 516) in adult education practice as well as academia and research.

Notes

[1]Sometimes also used in the notation *subjectivisation* or *subjectivation* ; the paper will keep the notation used in Rancière 1999.

[2] C'est la population française qui a voté la constitution. Mais attend, il y a des articles dans la constitution qui ne sont pas appliqués, tu vois. Comme on est tous des humains, mais c'est pas ce qu'on voit. Nous de Sans-papiers on n'est pas traité comme des humains. Il faut les appliquer, quoi. Si ce n'est pas appliqué il faut les effacer. C'est tout. Nous sommes tous des humains, sinon on est tous des animaux' (Ludwig, 2008, p. 87).

[3] Il faut pas faire trop de bruit, pas trop revendiquer, pas manifester' (Ludwig, 2008, p. 92).

[4]…tant que vous ne gênez pas, vous n'existez pas' (Ludwig, 2008, p. 94).

[5] Il n'a pas de dette. On va faire le calcul historique: dans l'histoire on va calculer, aggraver l'esclavage, la colonisation, la mondialisation et aussi la libération de la France. On va faire calcul : qui doit à qui ?' (Ludwig, 2008, p. 91).

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The right to the city: The struggle for survival of Cova da Moura[1]

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The right to the city is far more than the individual freedom to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city.

David Harvey (2008, p. 23)

Abstract

The case discusses the ongoing debate in the Greater Lisbon Area concerning the recognition of settlements that have been established during the previous decades by immigrants, mainly from former Portuguese colonies, in Lisbon and its surroundings. The case of Cova da Moura, one of these illegal settlements has a central place in the article. In that neighbourhood, a participatory experiment was put up, aimed at re-arranging an open space for common use by the inhabitants. The result of the initiative was not as positive as expected. In this paper, the question whether the experiment was a failure or not, takes a central place. While looking for an answer, different theories are used as lenses for interpretation: the 'right to the city' discourse, the understanding of dissent and the framing of policy initiatives as learning processes.

Keywords: dissensus; learning communities; participatory planning; relational space; the right to the city

Introduction

On a nice summer's day in 2014, we[2] walked from the station of Santa Cruz-Damaia, in the Greater Lisbon area, through the neighbourhood of Cova da Moura, to the home of Lieve Meersschaert. The bairro had an African ambiance. Men and women lingering in the main street. Every other house a café or a small restaurant. Cycling children swiftly avoiding holes in the pavement. Occasional bougainvillea against colourful house fronts. Grilled windows here and there. Azulejos decorating some of the house fronts. Fishmongers praising their goods. When approaching Lieve's house a surprise impinged on us. The fronts of a dozen houses, with a view on the main road bordering the neighbourhood, were painted from top to bottom with huge smurf figures against a bright blue backdrop (picture 1). When Lieve welcomed us upon arrival, she asked us: 'Did you see our wonderful achievement, when coming here?'. We thought, 'would Lieve refer to the smurfs on the houses?'. On our way to her home we had made a fuss over it, asking ourselves who allows her entire house to be painted like that? 'What does that mean?', we asked Lieve when entering her home. 'But, did you not see our garden?', she replied. 'How, what garden?', we asked her. She accompanied us to a newly built little public garden (the Entrada Sul project – The South Entrance Project), close to the smurf houses, with a few benches to rest, a shady tree, and a swing for children (picture 2). Lieve obviously was proud of it. The garden had been designed by students and established with the helping hands of many volunteers of the local association 'Moinho da Juventude' (the Mill of the Youth). It had been realized after a lasting struggle. The municipal authorities of Amadora – Cova da Moura is located on the territory of that commune – had opposed a long time against the initiative. Changes and improvements of the neighbourhood were no longer allowed. For the policy makers the neighbourhood was sentenced to death. The commune threatened with a lawsuit against the association and a damage claim of 4500€. However, the gigantesque frescos, painted at the occasion of the launching of a new smurf movie, were not challenged by the local authorities.

Picture 1	Picture 2

Lieve Meersschaert has been working in Cova da Moura as a volunteer for many years. Some years after the Carnation Revolution of 1974 she moved from Flanders (Belgium) to Portugal. She collaborated in a trade-union and co-operative for female maidservants. There she got acquainted with Cova da Moura, adjacent to Lisbon City, where many of these young women of foreign origin lived. Lieve went to live there herself in the beginning of the eighties, together with Eduardo Pontes, originally from the Azores, who had been active in the resistance against the Portuguese dictatorship in the sixties and the beginning of the seventies. From that moment onwards, their long lasting struggle for the preservation (the qualificação) of the neighbourhood, and their joint concern for the

inhabitants began. Cova da Moura was a wasteland till the end of the sixties. From then onwards former colonists coming home from Africa began to occupy the territory. Later on, in the seventies workers coming from the Cape Verde Islands and from the Portuguese inlands, settled there too. The newly arrived workers desperately looked for affordable housing. On the hills, at the borders of the city, non-used private and public terrains were squatted. The dwellers built their own houses. In the course of the years, these settlements obtained basic infrastructure like water, electricity and asphalted streets. These neighbourhoods were tolerated by the leftist authorities shortly after the revolution of 1974. This was also the case for Cova da Moura. The "Bairro Alto da Cova da Moura", with a surface of 16,5 hectares, gradually expanded to a community of 5500 inhabitants. Half of them being youngsters.

Picture 3	Picture 4	Picture 5	Picture 6

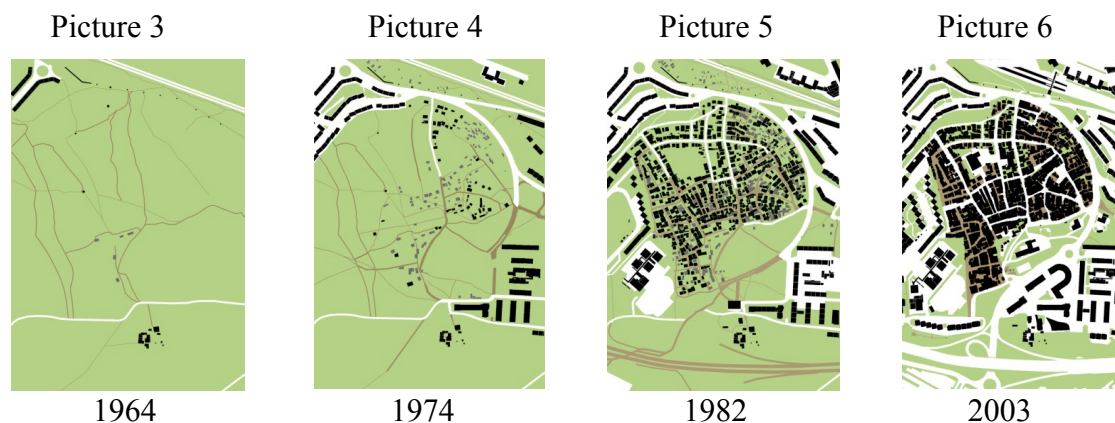| 1964	1974	1982	2003

Figure 1. Development of the neighbourhood Cova da Moura (plan by Marc Latapie) in: Raposo (2008).

The economic crisis by the end of the seventies caused high unemployment. The permanent structural and cultural marginalisation of the population created poverty, drug trade with youngsters from the neighbourhood operating as drug couriers, with related violence. The police treated them hard. Old colonial prejudices against the population, mainly originating from Cape Verde, were again fuelled. Cova da Moura obtained a dangerous reputation. Some local and national media portrayed it as a no-go zone. Lieve Meersschaert and Eduardo Pontes, together with volunteers, established the 'Moinho da Juventude' (the Windmill of the Youth) in the beginning of the eighties. The initiative, that in the first place was orientated towards the support of young children and adolescents, developed further into a successful community centre with a day nursery, a youth work initiative, a social restaurant, a library, a recording studio for video and audio, and a cultural centre. The Moinho revitalized the Kola San Jon and the Batuque traditions of the Cape Verde migrants. Adolescents experimented with hip-hop and rap music. Throughout the years, the association employed dozens of inhabitants in several projects, often financially supported by the European Union. Eventually, also these hopeful aspects of Cova da Moura came into view, giving inhabitants a positive self-image and increased the liveability of the neighbourhood (Miguel & Sardo, 2013).

Yet, also the inevitable occurred: other associations active in the bairro, reflecting similar and different values and interests, were competing for the same resources[3]. However, the tensions between these associations were mainly due to the different political conceptions on how to safeguard the neigbourhood. Ever since the bairro was established it faced local and national controversy[4]. In the beginning of the eighties, the

municipality was still in favour of improving the neighbourhood. Later on, there was increasing pressure, by private and public landowners, to demolish Cova da Moura. In the eighties and the nineties, the Greater Lisbon Area, rapidly expanded. Land at the outskirts, that originally had little market value, became attractive for speculators and urban developers. In 1995 the first PDM (a planning tool at municipal level) designated Cova da Moura as an area in need for recovery. In 2000 the municipality entrusted a private enterprise with the task of making the first 'Plan for Cova da Moura'. The team suggested to demolish circa 80% of the area. Resistance followed this proposal. The 'neighbourhood commission', assembling four local organisations, was set up in 2002. New hopes emerged, when in 2007 the 'Initiative for Critical Neighbourhoods' (Initiativa Bairros Críticos) was set-up by the former Secretary of State for Cities and Planning (2005-2009) João Ferrão (Ascensão, 2013, 2016). This initiative intended to experiment with the renewal of these critical urban quarters in a combined technological and participatory approach. Cova da Moura was selected as one of the three pilot cases. However, the 2008 financial crisis resulted into new austerity programmes, which eventually prevented the Initiative for Critical Neighbourhoods (Bairros Criticos) to be implemented. The controversy about the future of Cova da Moura continues until today, and the demolition plan keeps swinging over the bairro as the sword of Damocles.

In spite of this, supporters of the conservation and improvement of Cova da Moura within and without the bairro energetically continued to take action. Different students of the Faculty of Architecture of the Lisbon University had in previous years committed themselves to the survival of Cova da Moura, often under the supervision of professor Isabel Raposo (2008). In 2012 a new research project was initiated by Julia Carolino and Joana Pestana Lages, respectively an anthropologist and an architect, both operating in the same Faculty of Architecture. Their project-proposal was recognized and funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Scientific and Technological Research (FCT)[5]. An interdisciplinary team of researchers was established[6]. The 'research by design' project, named 'Exploring the contributions of relational space for promoting the right to the city' would be shaped around proposals for the redevelopment of a square in the Cova da Moura neighbourhood, the Largo Santa Filomena. The general objective of the research project was formulated as follows:

> (..) the research looks at and experiments with new forms of articulating academic knowledge with initiatives by other social actors in order to fill the gap between largely abstract insights regarding the right to transform ourselves while transforming our space and the concrete actions undertaken in particular territories. The project engages experimentally with the issue of legalization and urban qualification in an area of illegal genesis in Greater Lisbon (Bairro da Cova da Moura), exploring the potential of relational approaches to space and of multidisciplinary collaboration (between anthropology, architecture and urbanism) for formulating alternatives to the dominant conceptions of space, place and social process that inform neoliberal policies as a general trend, and having in mind specifically the qualification agenda of Cova da Moura. (Relational space proposal, 2012)

The ambition of this paper, is not to evaluate to what extent the objectives have been realized. The present contribution should be considered an attempt to deepen and to articulate our vision on participatory and emancipatory practices in the context of the "struggle for the city". 'Producing new knowledge also means inventing a new idiomatic form that facilitates translation between empirical stories and philosophical discourses' (Vandenabeele, Reyskens & Wildemeersch, 2011, p. 205). In line with this, we consider the present paper predominantly as a theoretical reflection on an empirical case. In this contribution we do not elaborate the methodology of the case study. This is done

elsewhere (Lages, Wildemeersch, Carolino, Braga & Veiga, 2017), where a systematic description is given of the rigorous data collection and interpretation of the research project. In the current contribution we present the reflections that emerged from the interactions between the invited external expert (first author) and the project researchers (represented here by the second author). These reflections are a further interpretation of the concrete experiences, against the background of educational, political, sociological and geographical theories on participation, democracy, collective learning and urban development. We hereby respond to the invitation by Rob Evans Kurantowitz and Lucio-Villegas (2015, p. 10) 'to reflect on the "squeezed" and "crowded" concept op community and the different roles that it can play in people's daily lives, either as a place of shelter or as a place of confrontation and debate'. In addition, such reflections can be 'doors and openings into thinking about other spaces where adult education takes place' (Evans, et al., 2015, p. 10).

The right to the city

In an impressive essay titled *The Right to the City*, the British social-geographer David Harvey (2008) describes how the development of capitalism and processes of urban development historically coincide. In doing so, he followed the footsteps of the illustrious French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre who in 1968 published *Le droit à la ville*, a work that has had an important resonance among social scientists ever since. In his historic overview, Harvey analyses how cities, from the midst of the 19th century, with Paris as a famous example, developed into spaces of systematic added-value creation.

> Capitalists have to produce a surplus product in order to produce surplus value; this in turn must be reinvested in order to generate more surplus value. The result of continued reinvestment is the expansion of surplus production (..) paralleled by the growth path of urbanization under capitalism. (Harvey, 2008, p. 24)

Such dynamics results into a permanent search for opportunities to make profit. Cities have played a crucial role in the development and renewal of capitalism. This implied the 'creative destruction' of urban infrastructure such as popular neighbourhoods, industrial and cultural heritage. That did not happen without conflict and struggle. In order to enable large scale, expensive development projects for the better-off citizens, poor people were often massively removed from their so-called unhealthy homes. Under the guise of sanitation, entire neighbourhoods were radically demolished. Such urban renewal increasingly encountered resistance, from the favelas in Brazil, to the slums in India and the popular quarters in China, the US and Europe. Today, all over the world social movements resist against these developments. They claim "the right to the city": the right to affordable homes in a habitable environment, with squares, parks and public transport accessible to all. The right to the city is a right for everyone, as an alternative for the right of the elites to direct urban renewal from their own position of privilege.

> The right to the city, as it is now constituted, is too narrowly confined, restricted in most cases to a small political and economic elite who are in a position to shape cities more and more after their own desires. (Harvey, 2010, p. 38)

In order to break the dominance of these elites a democratization of the public space is necessary. This implies: the right to re-appropriate spaces for collective purpose, that threaten to be privatized (Leontidou, 2010).

In line with Lefebvre (1968) and Harvey (2010) , critical social scientists have made diverse analyses of this struggle for the city. This was also the case for the researchers we mentioned above. Their project is a part of GESTUAL (Grupo de Estudos Socio-Territoriais, Urbanos e de Acçao Local), an interdisciplinary study centre at the Faculty of Architecture of the Lisbon University. GESTUAL has for many years been engaged in the discussion about the conservation of Cova da Moura. The issue of the "qualificaçao" (the recognition) of the neighbourhood has been, ever since its initial establishment, the subject of a dramatic political controversy going in different directions, depending on the shifts in social, economic and political developments and power balances. In the beginning period, shortly after the Portuguese revolution of 1974, the new political regime responded with silent tolerance to the emergence of such settlements. From the nineties onwards, the pressure to demolish them increased, together with the rise of neoliberal politics (Ascensão, 2013; Valente, 2015). This brought the commune of Amadora, where Cova da Moura is located, to plan the tearing down of a major part of the quarter, a consequence of the Special Rehousing Plan (Plano Especial de Realojamento) at the national level. This provoked a lot of protest, but also the development of alternative plans, that raised much media attention. The ones who prefer Cova da Moura to be demolished, consider it a "clandestine territory", of "illegal genesis", produced out of the state's regulatory framework (Relational space research proposal, 2012, p. 4). The ones who want the neighbourhood to survive, consider an official recognition (qualifição) a sign of the state's commitment to put an end to social inequality and poverty. This controversy symbolizes the continued conflicts in the commune and in Portuguese society at large about the question 'who has the right to the city: the landlords, the property owners, the occupants, the authorities, the local associations? And, to what extent and in what proportion?' (Relational space research proposal, 2012, p. 4). Over the years, GESTUAL has supported the majority of the inhabitants and their associations who have struggled for the recognition of their neighbourhood. Today, the neighbourhood still survives, mainly thanks to the continued creative commitment of community associations, of external supporters like GESTUAL, and a shifting degree of lenience on behalf of the authorities[7].

A space for reflection and action

The researchers, when starting their project on "Exploring the contributions of relational space for promoting the right to the city", knew very well that they would have to operate in a "post-Keynesian" context. Such context is, in line with Harvey (2010) and Lefebvre (1968), characterized by 'increased privatization of control over the urban deployment of capital surplus and the fact that excluded communities are increasingly unable to transform themselves through the transformation of the city' (Relational space research proposal, 2012, p. 4).

In spite of that insight, they hoped to be able to demonstrate, through small provisional experiments in the Largo Santa Filomena (picture 7), that the neighbourhood has important potential for an improved quality of life, and hence for the eventual right of the bairro to survive and further develop. The largo – an open space in a very densely built environment, used mainly as a car park - was selected as experimentation ground where, in deliberation with the local inhabitants, such improved quality could be

(temporarily) experienced (Lages, Veiga & Braga, 2014). The selection of the largo and the possible interventions were carefully prepared in collaboration with three local associations who, although with different degrees of scepticism, formally declared to be in favour of such experiments and to give support when needed.

Picture 7

The idea was that a team composed of an anthropologist, two architects, a designer and a filmmaker, would invite neighbourhood dwellers to participate in three workshops throughout the year (picture 8). The workshops could constitute a space 'for reflection about the themes of the qualification agenda and prospects of transformation' (Relational space, 2012, p. 5). In line with this, it was hoped that creative ideas would emerge on how the largo could be transformed into a space that adds quality to the lived environment. In preparation to these workshops different activities were organised such as interviews with inhabitants in the streets, a seminar with the participating associations and the publication, at regular occasions, of a wall paper. Participatory initiatives in the context of urban planning are often top-down initiatives by local authorities, meant to bring together inhabitants and other actors such as experts and public representatives, in order to achieve *consensus* on how a space, a built environment, a road infrastructure, or a housing project can be designed and developed. Hence, the non-achievement of consensus at the end of the project, could be considered a failure. The researchers intentionally wanted to avoid such pitfall, since their aim was to create a "laboratory" or a "reflection space", rather than achieving a plan or a design which every actor was expected to agree on.

Picture 8

However, throughout the process some hope emerged, mainly within the research team, that particular concrete proposals would, with the support of a majority of the inhabitants, acquire enough legitimacy to be brought to a higher level of decision-making. In spite of the relentless efforts of the researchers, such hope was not fulfilled by the end of the project. The different proposals about a possible new design of the largo did not acquire an agreement. Suggestions to integrate the divergent ideas that came to the fore (a playground for children combined with a parking lot and a green meeting place for the inhabitants of the area) encountered strong opposition from some of the inhabitants preferring to keep the space in its original state. The main argument was that attempts to transform the largo into an agreeable meeting place, could have counter-productive effects, while creating public nuisance through the presence of loitering youth, drug trafficking, vandalism and noise inconvenience. This argument impressed quite a few of the inhabitants in the surrounding area, which resulted into an atmosphere of indecisiveness at the end of the last workshop and, among the team members, some doubts on how to evaluate the relevance of the project.

If the evaluation of relevance of the research-project, including the organisation of the workshops, would be done in terms of measurable outcomes, then the conclusion could indeed be negative, since the efforts did not yet result into concrete realisations. However, when one considers not only the product, but also the process, then the conclusion can be quite different. The research proposal stated that the workshops were expected to create a space of reflection about the themes of the qualification agenda and about prospects of transformation. Considering this objective, the positive effects seem to be rather obvious. Some theoretical insights concerning the notion of *dissensus* (dissent) may help to support such conclusion. Two authors can be inspiring in this regard: the political scientist Chantal Mouffe and the philosopher Jacques Rancière. Both authors give the notion of dissensus a central place in their work.

Changing ourselves by changing the city

Chantal Mouffe (2005) considers dissensus, not consensus, an essential aspect of democratic practice. Pluralist democracy, in her view, is related to the articulation of antagonistic perspectives by "adversaries" who each strive for hegemony, in the sense that they want to 'create order in a context of contingency' (Mouffe, 2005, p. 17). Such antagonistic perspectives are discussed in public 'arenas'. In Mouffe's view, such public arenas are democratic, on condition that the "antagonism" is transformed into "agonism".

> While antagonism is a we/they relation in which the two sides are enemies who do not share any common ground, agonism is a we/they relation where the conflicting parties, although acknowledging that there is no rational solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents. (Mouffe, 2005, p. 20)

The author emphasizes these notions of adversaries, struggle, (anta)agonism and dissensus, because, in her opinion, the idea and the practice of democracy has in recent decades been directed too strongly towards consensus and dialogue. She criticizes these notions, with respect to democratic practice, because they contribute to a 'non-conflictual political approach that is unable to pose the adequate questions' (ibid., p. 51). Consensus oriented dialogical approaches deny that politics and democracy are not in the first place about the exchange of opinions, but about a contest for power. And, 'the "dialogical" approach is far from being radical, because no radical politics can exist without

challenging existing power relations and this requires defining an adversary, which is precisely what such perspective forecloses' (Mouffe, 2005, p. 51).

At this stage, the question arises whether the workshops have created a democratic space in line with Mouffe's concepts. A positive answer to this question seems plausible. Particularly during the last workshop, the agonistic views were clearly articulated in diverging attempts to (re-)imagine the future of the largo, and by extension the future of the bairro. This observation does not contradict the ambitions of the authors of the research proposal, expecting the initiative to create a space of reflection about the themes of the qualification agenda and about prospects of transformation. On the contrary, the interventions of the architects and the designers created opportunities for the articulation of agonistic perspectives. And these opportunities were grasped, in spite of the fact that there are currently no concrete, tangible realizations. Hence, they can be considered part of a chain of democratic events, contributing to the struggle for hegemony between different actors on the issue of how to create order in the neighbourhood: on the one hand, the order of the status-quo, on the other hand, a transformed order, inspired by the imageries of researchers, designers, architects and inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The struggle for hegemony was simultaneously a struggle for legitimacy, whereby the opposing adversaries were looking for allies among the individual inhabitants and the associations in the neighbourhood. The ones favouring the status-quo thereby emphasized the "alien" character of the interventions of the researchers coming "from outside", and hence not familiar with the "real" concerns of the inhabitants and the bairro. The researchers, on the contrary, hoped to obtain legitimacy through the attractiveness of their designs opening imageries of a better life, and through the open and dialogic interaction with the inhabitants. The struggle did not come to an end after the closing of the last workshop. Like many other struggles in and around the bairro, the debate on the future of the largo continues to move in different directions. The final outcome, if there is one, will be definitely influenced by the changes taking place in the socio-cultural, economic and political power dynamics on the commune level and beyond. However, the democratic process stimulated by the research project, will not remain without significance.

Also Jacques Rancière's notion of dissensus offers inspiration to further explore the process that has taken place in and around the largo in terms of democratic practice. When observing the current state of politics Rancière (2005), just like Mouffe (2005), is sceptical about the way policy makers try to achieve consensus. The consequence of this consensus-oriented tendency is that democratic practices are curtailed and that issues that should be debated in the public sphere are relegated to the private sphere and to individualized responsibilities.

> The spontaneous practices of any government tend to shrink the public sphere, making it into its own private affair and, in so doing, relegating the inventions and sites of intervention of non-State actors to the private domain. Democracy, then, far from being the form of the life of individuals dedicated to their private pleasure, is a process of struggle against this privatization, the process of enlarging this sphere. (Rancière, 2005, p. 55)

In contrast with these privatizing tendencies, Rancière conceives of the democratic process as 'the action of subjects who reconfigure the distributions of the public and the private, the universal and the particular' (ibid., p. 62). In other words, he rejects the tendency of the police function of the State that assigns citizens to definite places in the social strata, that classifies them according to particular features (the poor, the unemployed, the non-actives). In distinction to this, he identifies politics as a movement in which political subjects reject/revoke the places and names that are imposed upon

them. To him, these moments of rejection and the attempts to articulate and live alternatives are at the heart of democratic practice.

Rancière (2010) not only situates dissensus in the political realm. He is a border crosser who theorizes and interconnects developments in diverse fields such as education, arts and politics. The binding factor between these different domains is his understanding of aesthetics. He relates aesthetics not simply to the domain of arts, but situates it broadly in the 'order of the sensible'. The order of the sensible refers to the way human beings make sense of their lived reality in different domains. Hence, in his view, politics, as well as education and arts are aesthetic activities because they relate to (the questioning of) this order of the sensible. And therefore changes in aesthetic regimes often are signals or symptoms of changes in the way we understand the social, cultural and political order. In line with his broad concept of aesthetics, Rancière considers dissensus:

> not a designation of conflict as such, but it is a specific type thereof, a conflict between *sense* and *sense*. Dissensus is a conflict between a sensory presentation and a way of making sense of it, or between several sensory regimes and/or "bodies". (Rancière, 2010, p. 139)

Dissensus creates an interruption in the taken-for-granted (or natural) perception of reality. It is:

> a rupture in the relationship between sense and sense, between what is seen and what is thought, and between what is thought and what is felt. What comes to pass is a rupture in the specific configuration that allows us to stay in "our" assigned places in a given state of things. These sorts of ruptures can happen anywhere and at any time, but they can never be calculated. (Rancière, 2010, p.143).

In what way is Rancière relevant in connection with the Largo experiment? In the first place, and in different way than Mouffe, he argues that dissensus is an important aspect of a creative process, be it artistic, political or educational. Dissensus means rupture, disjunction, or interruption of the self-evident. The presence of outsiders, demonstrating alternatives for the lived environment, as was the case at the largo experiment, is in line with these ideas a legitimate act, even when it is not welcomed by some of the inhabitants. The designer and the architects presented different images of "outros largos" (other squares), or how that particular place could be turned into "another place". In doing so, they appealed to the order of the sensible, or to the imagination of the inhabitants, inviting them gently and repeatedly to consider alternative ways of living together in the public domain.

It is, however, not clear to what extent these events have really brought a rupture in the minds and hearts of the participants and the wider community. This local community is, just like many other ones, not a homogeneous community. Different visions on the future of the bairro exist. These visions are articulated by three different associations, who initially were prepared to engage in the research experiment. During the process the commitment of the associations was different. The Moinho participated regularly in the workshops and fully supported the initiative. The two other associations were restrained in their participation. One of them sent classes of pre-school children to one of the workshops to experience, with their teachers, playful ways of making sense and use of the largo. The other association showed little interest during the workshops. The participants at the workshops were mainly women, free playing children, and older men. They were committed in different ways: the children enthusiastically made use of the playful opportunities offered, some older men helped to construct the artefacts, some women expressed their expectations about the future of the largo as a meeting place for

women and children. At a certain workshop, the popular Kola San Jon folklore group gave a performance that attracted a bigger audience. Younger men, however, were mostly absent, or observed from a distance what was going on. Their interest seemed to relate mainly to the preservation of enough space for their cars being newly acquired status symbols. One of the younger, male inhabitants explicitly opposed against the transformation of the largo, arguing that it would create disturbance.

The general impression, after the workshops was one of ambivalence. Some people and associations were clearly in favour, others remained indifferent or silent, and still others expressed their disagreement. Eventually, it was hard to know whether the initiatives had really taken the participants away from their comfort zone. Following Rancière's suggestions, it is indeed hard to predict, whether such ruptures have taken place, since they can happen anywhere and at any time.

> There is no reason why the production of a shock produced by two heterogeneous forms of the sensible ought to yield an understanding of the state of the world, and none why understanding the latter ought to produce a decision to change it. There is no straight path from the viewing of a spectacle to an understanding of the state of the world, and none from intellectual awareness to political action. (Rancière , 2010, p. 143)

So, as mentioned before, it remains unsure if the attempts have triggered a desire for change among a majority of the inhabitants of the surrounding area. What the experiment shows is that there is indeed dissensus on the future of the bairro, also reflecting in various ways the divergent views in the wider community and beyond. The struggle for hegemony continues.

Spaces of hope and learning

In his book *Spaces of Hope* David Harvey (2001) researches whether experiments, like the one in the Largo Santa Filomena, can be considered as alternatives for the dominant forms of urban development that have the creation of surplus value as their primary motive. Are such experiments spaces of hope? In his search for responses Harvey presents, amongst others, some ideas of the Brazilian-American philosopher Roberto Unger (2000a & 2000b). Also this author resists the "there is no alternative" discourse that characterizes present-day neoliberal politics. Alternatives should, in his view be investigated, not in the sense of utopias, but through many concrete, experimental steps and practical arrangements. These many experiments should contribute to what Unger calls 'a high energy democracy' (Unger, 2002a, p. 7).

> Such a democracy unites a high level of popular political mobilization with the acceleration of reform experiments. It sharpens the contrast and the contest among alternative projects for society. It tends toward a combination of the attributes of representative and of direct democracy. (Unger, 2002a, p. 7)

A basic idea related to this is that we can only realize institutional change, when we also change ourselves, and vice versa, that we can only change ourselves, when changing institutions. 'Our greatest achievements in science, in art and in politics arise from our disposition to subvert ourselves: to turn, for better or for worse, against ourselves' (Unger, 2002b, p. 12). Therefore Unger considers such democratic experiments also as important reflective experiences.

This approach reminds me of the recent framing of local or regional policies as learning processes. In that particular policy context a discourse on "smart cities",

"learning cities" and "learning regions" has emerged (Longworth & Osborne, 2010). Although such discourses seem attractive, since they emphasize the mobilization of human resources as the most important contribution to the solution of present-day challenges on local, regional and even larger scales, such humanistic framing of social change fails to consider the contradictions that neoliberal society continues to produce, as exemplified in processes of urban development. Therefore, if one wants to consider "learning" or 'education", as an important factor in coping with challenges such as urban renewal, climate change, or social exclusion, more inspiration can be found in authors who do not neglect the contradictions and power struggles that go together with various attempts of creating social change. Exemplary in this sense is the contribution of Mathias Finger & José Asùn (2001) who relativize the humanistic development ideas that remain uncritical about the contradictions it produces. Humanizing development, whether through participatory practices or through enhancing collective learning, is pointless when development's value in itself is not questioned. And that is exactly what Plumb, Leverman and McGray (2007) do when they criticize the discourse on learning cities, against the backdrop of "a planet of slums". They argue that, in order 'to advance our understanding of the learning city, we must abandon individualized, essentialized and typologized notions of adult learning that lie at the crux of the learning city's most common formulations' (Plumb et al., 2007, p. 37). As an alternative to the dominant discourse, they present a view on learning cities that:

> opens the possibility for transformative action that might begin to address the disastrous urban developments of contemporary times. Understanding the complex intertwining of human learning and urban development, and, in particular, how this intertwining has resulted in the violent and divided forms of urbanity that prevail in our contemporary world, can open possibilities for positing critical, emancipatory and transformative requirements for urban development. (Plumb et al., 2007, p. 46-47)

This sounds very much like what the Moinho da Juventude, together with partners such as GESTUAL, has tried to do for decades now in "Cova da Moura: The creation of spaces of hope and learning".

Perspectives of participation and emancipation

Given the undecidedness of the outcomes of the Largo experiment, it is rather premature to formulate definite conclusions about the effects of the participatory initiative organized by GESTUAL. It is indeed possible that this participatory event, organized by outsiders, again has some counterproductive effects: rather than stimulating the commitment of the inhabitants it could add to frustration and fatigue because no progress is made in the decision-making about the qualification of the barrio. Researchers who have observed the recent revival of the discourse on participation in policy making, claim that one cannot study participation without studying the context in which it takes place. Modes, outcomes, impacts, expected and unforeseen effects of participation, strongly change in relation to various combinations of kinds and distribution of power, kind of actors, patterns of governance in the management of the relationship between norms, social processes and environmental features (Bonetti & Villa, 2014). Hence, the evaluation of the successes and failures is a complex process that needs nuance and in-depth observations.

Similarly, in a discussion about the debate whether participatory processes should be consensus oriented or conflict oriented, Silver, Scott and Kazepov (2010) take a pragmatic and nuanced stance, on the basis of empirical observations in a variety of cases

in different geographical, cultural and political contexts. In their view no decisive answer can be given as to the impact of each of these approaches. They conclude that binary oppositions between both theoretical orientations are irrelevant, and suggest to consider conflict and consensus as moments in the political process rather than as stark, polarized alternatives. However, a more principled position regarding the conflict-consensus question, is presented by Mouffe who argues that democracy requires a 'conflictual consensus: consensus on the ethico-political values of liberty and equality for all, dissent about their interpretation' (Mouffe, 2005, p. 121). And, in line with the principle of "equality for all", it is important to take into consideration Silver, Scott and Kazepov's (2010) observation that participatory practices tend to reproduce inequality, if they are not accompanied by empowerment measures aimed to avoid mechanisms of exclusion.

> In a context of inequality, every citizen must also be empowered to participate and that entails treating them differently both because their power resources are unequal and because, without adopting a misplaced essentialism, they often have different needs. The process should provide resources and opportunities to engage at every stage and to put new issues on the agenda.(..) Citizen participation is most democratic when it gives voice to everyone, includes and empowers the weak, holds representatives, professionals and government accountable, and promotes redistribution and social justice. (Silver, Scott & Kazepov, 2010, p. 472-473)

This argument in favour of empowerment of particular groups definitely also applies to the experiment at the Largo and to the debate about the future of Cova da Moura. In this respect, it is highly relevant to point to the role of one particular organisation that, for more than thirty years now, has obtained widespread recognition, but also widespread opposition, in the defence of the right to the city. The association "Moinho da Juventude" (the Mill of the Youth), originally a neighbourhood initiative organizing social, cultural and sports activities for children and youth, broadened its scope throughout the years and became intensely involved in the debate about the qualification of Cova da Moura. It did not take a neutral stance, but strongly supported, in a variety of ways, the actions for the survival of the neighbourhood, against political, financial and racist pressures, aimed at erasing the neighbourhood. The Moinho became, with the long-lived support of committed community leaders, a highly capable organisation, engaging multiple volunteers from within and outside the neighbourhood and employing several collaborators in varied projects (pictures 9 & 10).

Picture 9

These diverse and original activities put the association in the spotlights of the national and even international media, turning the case of the qualification into a prominent public issue, thereby symbolizing the struggle for the right to the city both in Portugal and abroad. In doing so, it had to continually counter negative campaigns staged by adversaries in the national press, in political parties and in the police, picturing Cova da Moura as an ultra-dangerous scene of criminality. In spite of these often extremely negative characterizations, the Moinho could count on a big variety of supporters, which guaranteed that it could not be neglected in the debate about the future of Cova da Moura, and that any decision in that respect, will have to take into consideration the well-argued points of view of the association.

The initiative of GESTUAL to present alternative plans for the organisation of the Largo Santa Filomena has been strongly supported by the Moinho da Juventude. This collaboration is a prominent example of the fruitful connection between both organisations, and their interdependence in the development on alternative views on urban development. Hence, the question of success or failure of the Largo experiment should be considered in view of the long term commitment of the Moinho in the struggle for preservation of the quarter and the emancipation of its inhabitants. In line with this, it is important to notice that small-scale initiatives such as the largo experiment can only be successful in the long run, when they are embedded in a sustained social, cultural, educative and political commitment of community organisations that give endured support to the emancipation of disenfranchised people in their struggle for social justice. Finally, some conclusions regarding sustainable community support can be drawn, both from the Largo Santa Filomena experiment and its connection with the broader actions of the association Moinho da Juventude. First, sustainable community support often is a matter of combining different strategies in connection with the changing context and power relations: advocacy actions, challenging dominant discourses, developing alternative discourses, creating sustainable partnerships, etc., in view of achieving

democracy understood as "conflictual consensus". Second, sustainable community support requires leadership that is authentic, not oriented towards personal prestige, but in the interest of the commons. This leadership is grounded in a network of synergies and coalitions, including partners with different backgrounds, interests and contributions. Third, sustainable community support takes many years and is inevitably confronted with ups and downs, moments of motivation and demotivation and shifting power relations. It is a slow process. This long-term commitment contrasts strongly with quick-fix procedures in de-contextualized projects, that are expected to bring rapid change. Fourth, this sustainable community support is an intensive educative and socio-cultural process (van der Veen, Wildemeersch, Youngblood & Marsick, 2005). It is educative, because the participants learn by doing, in a collective attempt to preserve, but also improve the conditions in which they live. It is socio-cultural, because it strengthens the social and cultural tissue of the community. Fifth, sustainable community support is an experiment of democracy, since diverse voices are taken seriously and are invited to contribute to the development of solutions in the interest of the commons, rather than for the profit of individual actors.

In conclusion

This paper began with the surprising story of the houses painted with smurf figures in the Cova da Moura quarter. Every passer-by, be it on foot, with a bicycle, or by car, is overwhelmed by this image. The film-producers gave themselves the right, in agreement with the owners, to paint the houses from top to bottom with scenes from their newest production. This intervention in the appearance of the neighbourhood was accepted without reserve by the local authorities. Close to this an unused terrain, the Entrada Sul (the South Entrance), that had been turned into a small common garden by a local association for the betterment and cleaning of the environment, was forbidden by the local authorities. The reason given was that no improvements with a permanent character could be implemented, as long as no definite plan for the neighbourhood would be approved. There was a threat with a disproportional fine for the initiators. This illustrates how diverse interest groups interpret "the right to the city" differently, and which side the local authorities choose in this concrete conflict over the future of the bairro: the side of the landowners and project developers who want to make profit on a land that was a few decades ago almost without any value. The conflict over "the right to the city" has in this neighbourhood been going on for decades and remains undecided for the time being. The pressure on the neighbourhood has provisionally decreased, thanks to the current economic climate that is not favourable for new private and public development projects in this area.

The local association "the Moinho", in complex relationships with other organisations in the neighbourhood, has played an important role in the continuous struggle for the qualification of the quarter. However, such efforts could only be sustained, when supported by partners from outside the bairro. The research group of post-doc and post-graduate students that conducted the "relational space" project has contributed to these efforts, in line with previous and repeated initiatives of the GESTUAL centre at the Lisbon University, thereby taking a clear stance in the struggle for "the right to the city". The research group obtained limited resources from the Portuguese Foundation of Scientific and Technological Research (FCT), on the basis of a research proposal that was judged outstanding. After finishing the project, the researchers again obtained an excellent evaluation from the Foundation. According to the reviewers, most of the

objectives of the research had been realized. The concept 'right to the city' has been connected to a concrete struggle in the field. A process-oriented design approach was developed in dialogue with the inhabitants. Alternatives had been created for the generally asymmetric relationship between the university and social movements.

If Cova da Moura would eventually be recognized, and the uncertainty about the future of the bairro comes to an end, this will be the result of efforts that have lasted for decades of a network of organisations from within and without the neighbourhood that have connected themselves to each other. Both the Moinho and GESTUAL have not recoiled to engage in democratic participatory and emancipatory processes, whereby dissensus has played a productive role in many respects.

Notes

[1] We are very grateful for the comments given to this article by Julia Carolino and Lieve Meerrschaert to previous versions of the paper. The research project referred to in this paper has been made possible by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT). Este trabalho contou com financiamento de Fundos Nacionais através da FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia no âmbito do projecto «EXPL/ATP-EUR/1772/2012

[2] The "we" in this case are the first author and his wife Moo Laforce.

[3] the two other associations were created before Moinho da Juventude. In 1978 'Commisão de Moradores do Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura' initiated contacts with the municipality and engaged in the first infrastructure works; and in 1980, a recreational organization – "Clube Desportivo do Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura", linked mainly to rural (Portuguese) cultural activities, was established; initially it targeted white people, yet, later on Cape Verdians became its main target group and changed its name into "Associação de Solidariedade Social". For more information see: Carolino, J. (in preparation).

[4] The story of Cova da Moura is similar to the histories of other so-called 'clandestine' neighbourhoods in the Greater Lisbon Area. A critical analysis of the policies vis-à-vis informal settlements in the Portuguese speaking landscape in Europe, Latin-America, Africa and China (Macau) is articulated by Ascensão (2013).

[5] The first author of this paper was given the role of external advisor to the research project.

[6] Project team: Julia Carólino, Joana Pestana Lages, Inês Veiga, Ana Valente, Teresa Sá, Sofia Borges. Experts: Danny Wildemeersch, Eric Hirsch, Isabel Raposo. Other researchers/team members: Joana Braga, Nádia Fernandes, Alessandro Colombo. Moreover dozens of other people were involved in seminars at different occasions. There are too many to be mentioned here, but this shows that the project went way beyond the Largo, into events at the university and elsewhere.

[7] The picture below was taken by Ugo Lorenzi and Alessandro Colombo (GESTUAL) who were the initiators of the 'Entrada Sul Project', that was finalized by Filipa Verol de Araújo. This is the project referred to in the beginning of this paper that won the Crisis Buster prize of the Triennial of Architecture.

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Negotiation and Officialisation: How commissions and task forces contribute to adult education policy in Italy and Denmark

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Abstract

In this article we examine and contrast how the work of commissions and task forces, assembled to negotiate consensus on important policy issues, contributed to reforms affecting adult education in Italy and Denmark over the period 2000-2016. First, we conceptualise the work of commissions and task forces as a key, yet underexplored, element in national policy reforms, then outline the methodology employed. Following is our comparative analysis. Our discussion highlights that commissions and task forces have been an important element in both countries, and at least three dimensions help explain their country-specific functions: 1) the type of the national political system; 2) its ideological strength over time; and, 3) the nature of its relation to the European Union (EU). We suggest that these dimensions should be adequately considered in further studies.

Keywords: adult education; adult learning; commission; Denmark; education policy; Italy; task force

Introduction

Public policy researchers have always been concerned with understanding how different governments pursue specific courses of action (Bemelmans-Videc, Rist, & Vedung, 2007). Such interest is reflected also in the work of education policy researchers, where a flourishing literature devotes attention to the mechanisms through which global governance in education occurs, under the influence of international organisations (among others, Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Lingard & Sellar, 2016). But, as Mundy, Green, Lingard, and Verger (2016) properly note, the influence of global education policy processes and discourses still depends on the local contests (especially local institutions), and how they respond to and engage with global politics.

Against this background, we pay attention to one aspect that has been given comparatively little attention in education policy research: the role that nationally established commissions and task forces (C&TFs) play in the political and administrative processes related to country-specific adult education reforms. We do so by examining and contrasting the presence, character and contribution of such temporary groups, where representatives of different elite positions (i.e., political decision-makers, other stakeholders, experts) are assembled to negotiate consensus on important policy issues, in processes of adult education reform in Italy and Denmark.

First, we conceptualise the work of C&TFs as a key, yet underexplored, element in national policy reforms, then outline the methodology employed in our comparative analysis. We start with an account of the political systems of Italy and Denmark, their national governance structures, and how their education systems are organised. Then, we illustrate the main strands of reforms that have impacted on adult education since 2000, before we examine the role that selected C&TFs have played in Italy and Denmark. Finally, our discussion highlights how C&TFs have contributed to adult education policy developments in both countries, and at least three dimensions help explain their country-specific functions: 1) the type of the national political system; 2) its ideological strength over time; and, 3) the nature of its relation to the European Union (EU). We suggest that these dimensions should be adequately considered in further studies.

Conceptualising the role of commissions and task forces

Analyses and discussions of specific commissions and their reports can be found in the education policy literature, but more general conceptualisations are sparse. For instance the book Commissions, Reports, Reforms, and Educational Policy (Ginsberg & Plank, 1995), devoted to discuss the work and results of commissions in the field of education, mostly limits itself to presenting individual case studies. For our analysis we draw on contributions from the general social and political science literature.

A government commission may be defined as a group established by a government body (most often a ministry) in which the majority of members are not government officials (Christensen, Mouritzen, & Nørgaard, 2009). There are two basic types of commissions, the political-strategic, which represents attempts to control political processes related to specific political issues, and the technical, which adjusts policy or develops policy instruments. Technical groups are often called working groups, but this is not a consistent practice. Among strategic commissions, some may be called de-politicising because their purpose it to remove issues from the political agenda, while others may be called mobilising, intended to emphasize the necessity of a specific policy (Christensen et al, 2009).

In a comment on the work of a US national commission on technology, Daniel Bell discusses advantages and disadvantages of government commissions and argues that: 'The distinct virtue of the Government Commission arrangement is that there is a specific effort to involve the full range of elite or organized opinion in order to see if a real consensus can be achieved' (Bell, 1966, p. 7). For instance the work of strategic commissions has a strong element of negotiation, where areas of agreement can be found and disagreements can be encapsulated and set aside. If a reasonable degree of consensus can be achieved in the commission, the recommendations stand a much better chance of being accepted in broader political and public forums. This of course applies to both mobilising and depoliticising commissions work.

A more general social science approach to the character and role of C&TFs is found in Pierre Bourdieu's (2014) theoretical and historical work on the state in modern society. In his discussion of the role of government commissions, he draws on a study of the French housing market.

Bourdieu describes the emergence of the modern state as a concentration and monopolisation of symbolic power. In this he differs from other approaches (e.g. the traditional Marxist approach) focused on the state's monopolisation of physical power through, for instance, the military and the police. Bourdieu recognises that the state represents a concentration of physical as well as of economic power (established through the formalisation of taxation), but sees the concentration of symbolic capital as its core element (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 207). The concentration of symbolic capital takes place through long-term processes through which the state gradually becomes the centre for determining the principles of social order. The state becomes the producer of classifications, the symbolic and cognitive structures that are embedded in everyday life, which establish order and predictability in how people relate to each other, institutions, and authorities (e.g. the state's structuring of time through implementation of calendars) (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 168).

The concentration of symbolic capital in and around the state is also a process of universalisation. The classifications and cultures produced and reproduced by the state are presented as generally valid, common for, and available to, all members of society. But in fact they represent a monopolisation of symbolic power. These cultures appear to unite but in reality divide, and since they cannot be criticized as being particular, symbolic capital is one of the great instruments of domination (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 99).

To Bourdieu, government commissions are one way in which the state extents it's meta-capital into different societal fields, introducing and reproducing classifications. They are 'organisational invention' developed and used by the state (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 26) to helps constructing public problems and their solutions. By being placed in commissions policy issues get public attention, and are generalised, as discussed by 'wise men' elevated above contingencies, interests, and conflicts. Bourdieu characterizes the work of a French commission on housing as

> (…) an extremely complex operation of officialization, which consists in theatricalizing a political action involving the creation of imperative rules imposed on the whole of society (…). This is an operation that can succeed or fail. (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 31)

As we shall see later, commissions may sometimes also be established by other actors than the state, for instance through initiatives from civil society organisations. State agencies may tacitly accept or actively collaborate in such commissions, but in any case the meta-capital of the state will be present in the classifications and cultures that such commissions have to navigate in.

In Bourdieu's approach, both mobilising and depoliticising commissions in the end serve to impose imperative rules on society. The concluding words in the above quote indicate that officialization and universalisation are objectives that the state pursues; but they may encounter deeply embedded social and cultural forces or active resistance, so the state does not always succeed. Resistance may also manifest itself in the work of government commissions, but as both Bell and Bourdieu indicate the result will most often be that it is either included in an officialising elite consensus or encapsulated and set aside.

Even though Bourdieu does not provide more specific concepts for analysing C&TFs and his theoretical approach tends to exaggerate the universal presence of state power, his

focus on symbolic capital and classifications add an important dimension to the understanding of how C&TFs are involved in policy processes.

Methodology

For the comparative empirical analysis we have selected Italy and Denmark as representing different historical trajectories of state formation and welfare regimes (Rubenson & Dejardins, 2009), and illustrative of a persistent North-South divide within Europe, in terms of participation rates in adult education, social (in)equalities, and standards of living (see also Rasmussen, 2014). Moreover, both countries are members of the European Union (EU) (Italy since 1958, Denmark since 1973), thus equally subject to the Union's macro-political pressures and prescriptions, affecting also areas that falls under the subsidiarity principle, like education.

Our empirical data consists of written sources, mainly official information about policy reforms and reports from C&TFs. We are natives of Italy and Denmark and through previous research; we have versatile knowledge about adult education as well as the broader political contexts in the two countries. This helps us interpret sources, which are almost exclusively available in the national languages. However, locating sources has involved difficulties because there is little systematic registration of C&TF documents and reports and because not all are electronically available.

In the comparative analysis, we have juxtaposed the two national cases as regards macro-social contexts (political systems and education systems) and the elements we focus on (C&TFs, adult education policy and reforms). This is a well-known procedure in comparative education (cf. Bereday, 1964), and although it may seem schematic, it allows a relatively systematic presentation of a complex field of contexts and processes.

Political systems, governance and public education

Politics governs public policy through a political system, or set of principles and procedures (Easton, 1953), that captures who, how and what contribute to public policy developments. The political systems that operate in different countries represent different types of material and symbolic state power and different relations between state and society.

During the Cold War, a bipolar world, represented by the political system of the URSS (the 'socialist' system), and of the USA (the 'capitalist' system), functioned as a 'coordinator of actions within its sphere of influence', defining the internal and foreign policy of various states (Ilyin & Sergeevich Rozanov, 2013, p. 343). In the post-Cold War era, political evolution at the global level has complicated the picture by creating multiple poles and global stratifications of political systems, and their networks of interactions (Modelski & Devezas, 2007). So national political systems got embedded in a complex governance structure and are thus subject to different powers and influences from within and outside the state (Weiss, 2013). Moreover, EU member states grant part of their 'de jure' sovereignty (a state's supreme legal power) and de facto sovereignty (a state's capacity to control its own affairs) to supranational European institutions.

Although we acknowledge global and European governance, in this contribution we are primarily concerned with the infrastructural power of the state or 'a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services' (Fukuyama, 2013, p. 3), chiefly adult education, in the territories of own jurisdiction. This clarified we now turn attention on

the political systems of Italy and Denmark, the countries' public education systems, and their national governance.

Italy is a regional state with legislative power in the hands of both national and regional parliaments, much like in federal systems, but under the supremacy of the central state, and with administrative functions distributed among national, regional and local governments. The 2001 constitutional reform expanded the legal powers of the country's twenty regions and the two autonomous provinces of Trento and Bolzano, strengthened financial autonomy of regional and local governments, and, administratively, introduced the principle of subsidiarity, inspired by the law of the EU (Groppi & Scattone, 2006). Accordingly, the levels of government collect taxes, and public expenditure requires coordination. Traditionally, public policy has resulted in fragmented social protection programs (e.g. pensions, unemployment benefits, family allowances) that reproduced status differentials (e.g. male vs. female) (Lynch, 2004), and dependence on conventional family structures and forms of welfare provision (Green & Janmaat, 2011). In the conceptualisation of Esping-Andersen (1990) this is a conservative-corporatist welfare state regime. The early 1990s marked a substantial shift in the Italian political system: the two parties in power in post-World War II (Christian Democracy and Italian Social Party) faded, and new political parties (Northern League and Forza Italia Political Movement) with federalist, liberal-conservative and populist tendencies entered power. Ever since, facilitated by a substantive reform of the electorate system, coalition governments and political change have become the norm.

Denmark, in contrast, is a small nation-state with legislative power located at the national level (Kaspersen, 2013), legislation is decided by the parliament and implemented by governments and public institutions. The local political and administrative level consists mainly of municipalities. Both state and municipalities collect taxes, but public expenditure usually follows guidelines by the state. Traditionally public policy has had a strong emphasis on welfare policies, especially in the form of universal provision of benefits and services. This is a Social-democratic type of welfare state regime (Esping-Andersen, 1990). During the 20th century coalition government was the rule rather than the exception, and in the post-war period most governments were formed by the Social Democratic party in combination with different liberal partners (Christensen & Klemmensen, 2015). The last three decades have seen an increased polarization between right-wing populist forces (especially the Danish People's Party) and social and socialist left liberals. The biggest liberal party has headed most government coalitions, with the support of the right.

When it comes to public education, Italy has a unified public system, compulsory for all people aged 6–16, that covers: five years of primary school, three years of lower secondary school, and the first two (out of five) years of upper secondary school or, alternatively, three- and four year vocational education and training courses under the regional training system. Public adult education may encompass a number of activities, including programs held in centres for adult instruction, upper secondary schools, and vocational and training centres under the aegis of the state or the regions.

Also Denmark has a unified public education system. Schooling is compulsory for all citizens aged 6-16. Upper secondary education is organised in two sectors, one (by far the largest) consists of general programmes preparing for higher education, the other consists of vocational programmes combining school education with training in companies.

The country has a long tradition of co-operation between the social partners and the state, which has been an important feature in the development of vocational education.

Public adult education includes different types of programmes, some general and some strongly vocational, including part-time higher education (Rasmussen & Werler, 2015).

Finally, education governance (including vocational training) in Italy requires coordination among different levels of government. Under the principle of cooperative regionalism', since the 1980s, the State-Region Conference functions as the main institutional link on national policy likely to affect regional matters. In the mid-1990s it was supplemented by the State-Cities and local autonomies Conference, and by the Unified Conference, an additional liaison body where state, regions, cities and local autonomies meet on matters of interest for all levels of government. In addition to the above liaison bodies, since the 1980s the Conference of Regions and Autonomous Provinces coordinates the actions of the Presidents of such local governments to increase their role and voice in the State-Region, and in the Unified conferences.

At state level, responsibility for education (from elementary to higher education) is under one ministry, which oversees regional and provincial school offices across the country, whereas the councils of the regions and autonomous provinces are responsible for vocational training. All schools and universities are funded and controlled by the state, while vocational training centres are financed and governed by the regions and the autonomous provinces. At certain conditions also non-state schools and universities are recognised by the state, but not funded. All education institutions are thus exposed to control by the ministry or the local councils, and stricter monitoring and evaluation systems have been introduced in recent years.

In Denmark the governance of education reflects the character of the Danish state and the fact that most education is public and funded over taxes. The state responsibility for education is divided between two ministers, one responsible for primary, secondary and adult education, and one responsible for higher education (including part-time higher education). Schools for primary and lower secondary education are funded and controlled by municipalities, but follows guidelines from the state. Most institutions for upper secondary education (including vocational education) and higher education have a semi-independent status, as they are led by boards often involving the social partners, but funded by, and work according, to guidelines from the state. Since the 1990s the public sector (including education) has been much influenced by new public management, bringing about activity-based funding, semi-markets for public services, strong institutional management, and ex-post governance via evaluation and monitoring.

Summarising, Italy and Denmark are both governed through democratic political systems, but showcase different political traditions and specific features. Italy distributes legal and administrative power between the state and the local governments, and much policy requires coordination between these levels. In comparison Denmark has a relatively centralised political system, with only some administrative power left for municipalities. An obvious difference affecting policy implementation is that the population of Italy (60 million in 2017) is roughly ten times that of Denmark (less than 6 million in 2017). Moreover, both countries have unified public education systems catering for the same age groups. An important difference, however, concerns the responsibly and control over adult education. In Italy general adult education - or education up to secondary school levels for out-of-school youth and adults, is under state control (through its regional agencies), vocational adult education is a responsibility of regional authorities, and continuing education is under the control of the social partners. In Denmark, even though the social partners are strongly involved in governing vocational education, all types of adult education is essentially a state responsibility.

Main policy developments (2000-2016)

Nationwide policy developments are intrinsically intertwined with both changes in national political systems and developments at transnational and global levels that impinge (although in diverse ways) on the political economies of individual countries. The most important influences in the two countries considered here come from (or are mediated through) the EU.

Table 1: Historical timeline of policy developments in Italy and Denmark

	2000	2001	2002	...	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
A	Lisbon strategy					ESF 2007-2013			Europe 2020	European Semester		Youth Guarantee	ESF 2014-2020		
B	Continuing Education Reform					(General Adult Education System Reform)					(Lifelong Learning Reform) / General Adult Education System Reform / Labour Market Reform		Lifelong Learning Reform	Job Act	
C	Giuliano Amato	Silvio Berlusconi			Romano Prodi		Silvio Berlusconi			Mario Monti		Gianni Letta	Matteo Renzi		Paolo Gentiloni
D	2000	2001	2002	...	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
E	Nyrup Rasmussen				Fogh Rasmussen			Løkke Rasmussen			Thorning Schmidt				Løkke Rasmussen
F	Continuing Vocational & Higher Education Reform / Support Scheme for Adult Students				Lifelong Learning Initiatives / Recognition of Prior Learning Reform			General Adult Education Reform	Establishment of Regional Centres for Adult Education				Vocational education and Training Reform		
G		First PISA results						Global crisis				First PIAAC results			

Legend:
A = Selected European Union's landmarks
B = Key national reforms and initiatives, Italy
C = Prime ministers in power, Italy
D = Year of reference
E = Prime ministers in power, Denmark
F = Key national reforms and initiatives, Denmark
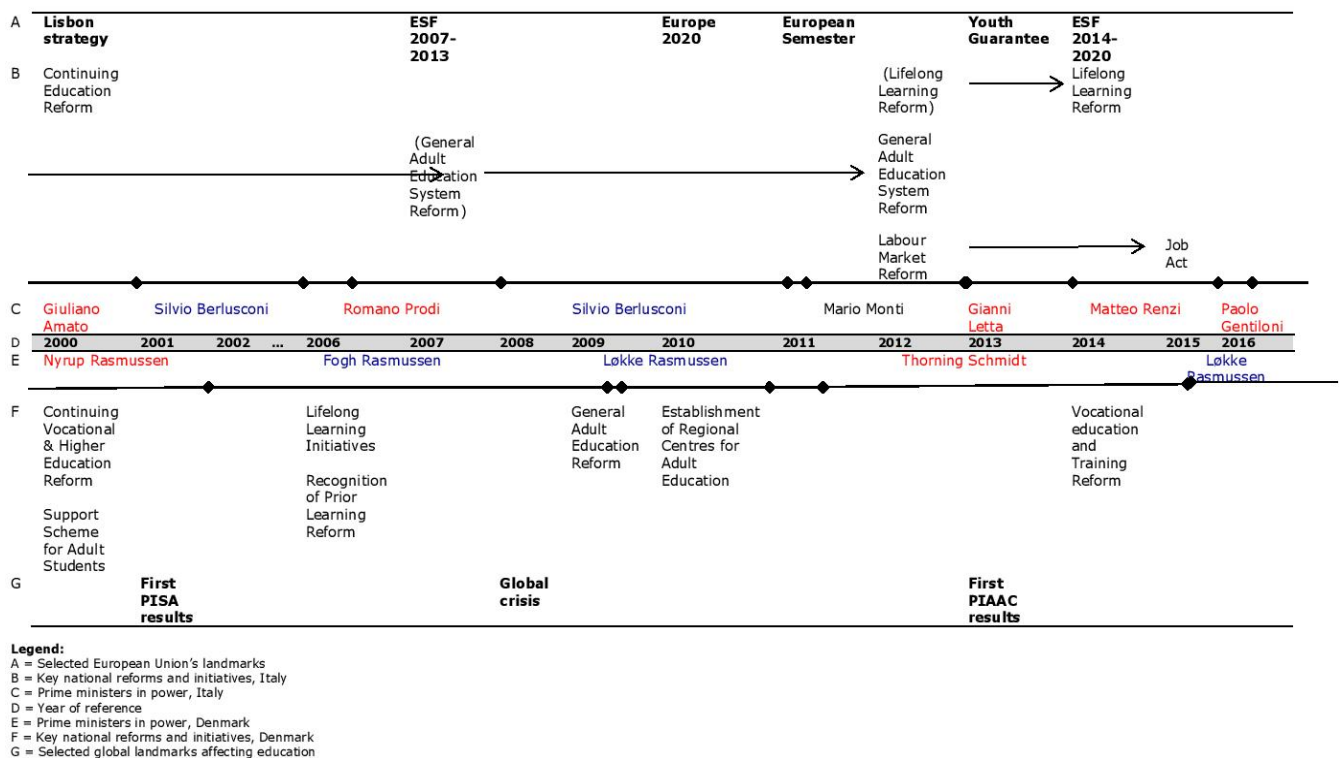G = Selected global landmarks affecting education

Table 1 reports the main changes in the national political systems of Italy (C) and Denmark (F) over the period spanning from 2000 to 2016 (D), by means of indicating the Prime ministers in power, and whether the governments they led represented mainly left-wing/social democratic (in red) or right-wing/liberal-conservative (in blue) ideologies. Further, the table indicates a few reforms affecting adult education at the time they entered into force in Italy (B) and Denmark (F), and related initiatives. A national reform is what provokes a substantial modification (reflected in the legal and financial orders) of the state of affairs in an area of life, due to the legitimate and regular action of the constituted powers. As such a reform includes not only changes in educational structures, institutional organisation and curricula, but also allocation of public funds and grants to improve their activity. Finally, the table signposts selected landmark events that occurred either within the EU (A) or at global level (G), which epitomise international prescriptions that have had effects on the political economies of education, and adult education specifically, yet at different degrees, in the two countries under consideration.

In Italy four major strands of policy reform have impinged on adult education. The first relates to the continuing education of workers, and focuses on the conditions for

employed people to obtain paid leaves to (re)enter education and/or continuing vocational training. It involved the state, its agencies, and the social partners. The second strand relates to general adult education, focuses on its organization, delivery and targets, and involved decision-makers across all governmental levels. The third strand relates to the labour market and focuses on work flexibility, worker protection and social shock absorbers for unemployed people and youth not in education, employment or training (NEET). It involved all governmental levels and the social partners. Each strand involved different kinds of C&TFs in its preparation and/or implementation. Finally, a fourth strand blurs the traditional boundaries between education and labour market policy, as it relates to lifelong learning, with a focus on the architecture of a national system that, building on territorial networks, links education, training and employment services.

In Denmark three strands of reform affected adult education, each with certain characteristic problem definitions and networks. One strand relates to labour market training and vocational education, focuses on the access of workers to education and the relevance of education to work and employment, and involves the social partners. A second strand concerns adult education as part of higher education. It also relates to the labour market but is governed through another ministry without significant involvement of the social partners. The third strand relates mainly to general and popular adult education, focuses on access of all to literacy skills and the relevance of education for citizenship and to further education, and involves different parts and levels of the state. The three strands are not clearly distinguished, and there are many transversal elements, but there are clear differences in the character of the C&TFs they involved.

Both Italy and Denmark thus show multiple strands of policy reform affecting adult education. In Italy the turning point is 2012, when the reform of general adult education was agreed on across all governmental levels, the labour market reform was codified and the lifelong learning reform was initiated. In Denmark the turning point is 2000, when the reform of continuing vocational and higher education was first introduced, alongside with a new support scheme for adult students.

In Italy, it is no coincidence that the turning point fell under the interim government of Mario Monti, an economist and former European Commissioner for Competition (1999-2004), appointed by the President of the Republic to lead a technocratic government (composed solely of unelected experts) in the wake of the Italian debt crisis. The Monti government was to take responsibility for substantial reforms and deficit-cutting measures, as demanded of Italy by the EU and the European Central Bank. Further influences of global and European landmarks events in almost all strands of reform can be found in a number of facts such as: the identification of the European Social Funds as the only extraordinary resources to reform general adult education, the constant reference to Youth Guarantee (the European initiate with earmarked funds targeting NEET) in the labour market reform, the adoption of the EU's definition in the lifelong learning reform, and the establishment of an inter-ministerial Commission of experts in the wake of the results of the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competences (PIAAC) (see below), among others.

By contrast, in Denmark the reforms show no clear connections to the landmarks at global or European levels. Yet, events like the Lisbon strategy or the global crisis have brought about adjustments in administrative practices (for instance through cutting funds or adapting development projects to new European Social Funds criteria), within the existing legislative framework.

Commissions and task forces in national reform processes

In this section we provide a detailed account of the different strands of reform identified in Italy and Denmark, and pay special attention to the role and work of C&TFs. Different types of C&TFs were found. Some have a high political profile and include top politicians and stakeholders, while others are composed of administrative officials from different organisations; at times the members are appointed by a head of state in their personal capacity, in others different organisations have the right to appoint members. We do not work with a strict typology but will highlight in the proceedings the character of each of the C&TFs under consideration.

The Italian reforms

In 2000 Italy reformed the continuing education of workers, thanks to the establishment of the leave for continuing education, the extension of the leave for education (first introduced in 1970 through collective bargaining), and the institution of the Inter-professional Equity Funds for Continuing Education (institute by law in 1997). Based on horizontal subsidiarity principles, these funds are jointly promoted and managed by the social partners, and financed by the companies. For the scope of this article, this is assumed as a point of departure to analyse the three strands of reforms that followed.

The reform strand of general adult education began in 2007 when the national financial law foresaw the re-organisation of adult education centres (established in 1997) in centres for adult instruction with own teaching staff and administrative autonomy at no additional cost to the state. Rather, such re-organization was to contribute to an overall downsizing of primary and secondary state-funded schools with administrative, organisational and didactic autonomy. Albeit the Ministry of Education defined the criteria for granting autonomy to the new centres, no further action by the constituted powers occurred until 2012. This stall was caused by the opposition of technical and vocational upper secondary institutions to the merging of primary and secondary education provisions for adults under a single autonomous centre inasmuch as by the political instability that followed the formation of a new government in 2008.

The reform strand of lifelong learning initiated in 2006, when a civil society organization, EdaForum, called an informal Panel for adult education to draft a proposal for a law of popular initiative[1], which comprised stakeholders dealing with the promotion of lifelong education in diverse capacities, like the Adult Education Union (UNIEDA), the National Association of Italian Municipalities, and the Union of Italian Provinces (Sciclone, 2007). Such proposal was to introduce and secure the right to lifelong learning, encompassing the rights: to be informed about existing opportunities, to freely choose what most suitable, and to have recognised and certified prior competences acquired in life, at work experience or via lifelong learning activities.

Introduced to the House of Representatives on 29 March 2007 by an ex-communist and a socialist party's deputies, it was soon abandoned. But it raised public attention on the subject matter, leading to a second proposal (also of popular initiative) on the right to lifelong learning, advanced in 2009 by the Italian General Confederation of Labour, the greatest and at times most powerful employer organization, and the Association for Active Aging, a nongovernmental organisation. Also this proposal soon felt into oblivion. Yet, it sparked a lively debate between civil society, social partners and, to a limited extent, local governments, on the role of the state in the promotion of the schooling of adults, and of lifelong learning (Milana, 2017).

In the meantime, the reform strand on adult education progressed. Following a Presidential Decree (n. 263/2012) laying down the general rules for the system re-organization, the Ministry of Education established a National Technical Commission on the Instruction of Adults to support the transition, the evaluation and certification of individual competences, and the realization of nationally-assisted projects (in nine regions) to support the systemic transition from the school year 2013-2014.

Led by the Ministry of Education, the commission comprised members from two other ministries (i.e., Labour and Economy), regional and local governments, social partners, and a few experts. Some members reported difficulties and delays in sustaining, while monitoring, a complex systemic re-organisation, and a lack of up-to-date information on progress with the nationally assisted projects. However, the Ministry produced several guidelines that were good valued in principles, yet criticised for their practical implications in the daily management of the centres (Milana, 2017).

Over the same period, the Ministry of Education also chaired a National Working Group (P.A.I.DE.I.A.), aimed at developing a concerted Activity Plan for the Innovation of Adult Education. PA.I.DE.I.A included representatives from the National Institute for Documentation, Innovation and Educational Research (INDIRE), supporting the ministry in monitoring activities, the National Institute for the Evaluation of the Education and Training System (INVALSI), which carries out evaluations of students' knowledge and skills, and of the quality of education and vocational training, and seven Regional School Offices. Such Offices were then partnered with a few others across six Inter-regional Working Groups. PA.I.DE.I.A was re-constituted in 2016, and integrated with representatives of the additional Regional School Offices, the school super intendences of the autonomous provinces, and the head masters of the centres for adult instruction. Chaired by the Ministry of Education, it prepared operational guidelines for planning educational activities, and supporting and monitoring the centres.

The reform strand on the labour market started with a national law on contractual typologies, flexible labour market exit, worker protection, and social shock absorbers. Passed on 28 June 2012 in response to the job losses and increased inactivity rates that had followed the 2009 global financial crisis (Di Quirico, 2010), Law n. 92/2012 sanctions lifelong learning as:

> …any activity people undertakes in formal, non-formal and informal contexts, at all life stages, with the scope of improving own knowledge, capacities and competencies, in a personal, civic, social and occupational perspective. (Law n. 92 of 28 June 2012, art. 4, par. 51; own translation)

Further, it clarifies that lifelong learning policies are to be nationally defined upon inputs from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour, but in agreement between all levels of government; the same political actors should also agree on how to promote the institution of territorial network systems connecting all education, training and labour services, thus linking strategies for economic growth, youth employment, welfare reform, active aging and active citizenship, also of immigrants.

Following the Law, all levels of governments first reached a mutual understanding (2012), and then agreed on the actual strategy to intervene in these areas (2014), yet clarifying that reform interventions were to be dependent on the European Social Fund for 2014-2020, and additional resources from Youth Guarantee.

The Toscana Region was the first to convene a National Panel for Lifelong Learning (following the 2012 mutual understanding agreement) to reflect and agree on common priorities, thus actively promoting and participating in the definition of the 2014 strategy.

The Panel included the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Labour, the National Association of Italian Municipalities, employer and employee organizations, the Third Sector Forum, the largest umbrella organisation for the non-profit and voluntary sector, the Network of Italian Universities for Lifelong Learning (RUIAP), and the Italian Network for the Instruction of Adults and Lifelong Learning (RIDAP).

After a period of inactivity, the Panel re-constituted itself in November 2016 upon the initiative of civil society and employees' organizations (thus ahead of any official convocation of the Panel in its full representation by the Conference of Regions and Autonomous Provinces), to reaffirm the need for an effective national skill strategy to overcome the Italian cognitive deficit, yet with adequate public investment and coherent policies.

In fact, publication of both the Italian and comparative results of PIAAC had attracted public attention, alarming both the Ministry of Education and of Labour, who established an inter-ministerial Commission of Experts tasked to identify further actions beyond those undertaken through the strands of reform of general adult education, the labour market and lifelong learning, and to recommend further specific measures, also taking into account the imminent launch in Italy of Youth Guarantee (Milana, 2017).

Established in November 2013 the Commission of Experts was led by an ex-Minister of Education, and included university professors (for the most part specialising in economics), representatives of upper secondary education institutions, the President of the Italian Association for Informatics and Automatic Calculation, the Deputy Director of the Directorate of Employment, Labour and Social Affairs of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and one expert from the Institute for the Development of Vocational Training for Workers (ISFOL), who sat also in the OECD's Advisory group for the Skills Strategy, and had been a previous Director of the Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP).

In its report, the Commission identifies a number of 'incapacitating factors' that can explain low skills performance rates among the Italian population (e.g. a general low level of formal education, high numbers of unemployed, pensioners, and domestic workers, a substantial social immobility, and limited learning provisions for the adult population). Accordingly, it recommends various strategic actions such as to pay higher attention to the EU and the European Council's recommendations, to strengthen sandwich education and training programs, and to reinforce a test-based evaluation culture across the entire education system. On this basis, it proposes targeting: 1) the NEET population through Youth Guarantee; 2) adults not in employment, and pensioners, through publicly-sponsored organisations and civil society; 3) and adults, unemployed or at risk of losing their jobs. The suggested instruments are stronger links between technical education and the labour market, the recognition, validation and certification of individual competences, and the use of the education and skills online self-assessment tool developed by the OECD, available also in Italian language (Ministry of Labour [MLPS] & Ministry of Education [MIUR], 2014).

But, a change of government meant also a change of public officials within the two ministries. So while a few proposals by the Commission were incorporated in the above mentioned 2014 agreement on lifelong learning, only actions under Youth Guarantee under the Ministry of Labour could be implemented.

The Danish reforms

The reforms introduced in 2000 were a watershed in Danish adult education, especially because they established a new system of part-time vocational and professional education

with programmes at all levels of education, including for the first time higher education. Many already existing programmes were streamlined into the new system, which supplemented the existing three sectors of adult education: popular education, general adult education, and labour market training. The system also introduced the principle of recognition of prior learning so that admission to higher levels of education required not only a certain level of previous education but also two years of relevant work experience. Further reforms introduced a new system for funding vocational adult education and training, and a new type of public economic support for adult education students. Students in vocational adult education were already entitled to benefits equivalent to at least the level of unemployment benefit, but the new system also provided benefits for students in general adult education. A follow-up reform transferred the Labour Market Training Centres from the Ministry of Labour to the Ministry of Education, where many of them were merged with vocational schools to create larger, centralised institutions.

The above-mentioned reforms were prepared in a government commission established in response to the increasing complexity of Danish adult education provision, as testified by its mission statement:

> The contemporary system appears as confusing and incoherent for the individual student and for companies. Considerable simplification and more coordination and targeting in order to increase the effect of the resources invested. (Finansministeriet, 1999, p. 9)

The system of part-time vocational and professional education had been under preparation in the Ministry of Education for some years, and the ministry had launched a proposal for a system of 'parallel competence' in 1996. The government commission was led by the Ministry of Finance and included officials from the Ministries of Education and of Labour. Among its ten members were the vice-director of the Labour Market Agency, which had responsibility for labour market training, and the Director from the Students' Grants Agency, indicating the emphasis on economic support for adult students.

When the government commission's work was nearing completion, it was linked to on-going tripartite negotiations, as the commission wanted the social partners to take over a greater share of the funding of vocational adult education. Agreement was reached, the social partners came to share the responsibility for a major educational reform for the first time (Mailand, 2011, p. 8). This inspired several tripartite initiatives in education ever since.

The next major adult education initiative also involved the social partners as policy entrepreneurs. In 2006 the Danish Government published the report *Lifelong up-skilling and education for all at the labour market*, based on work in a commission (the tripartite commission), consisting of representatives mainly from the government, and the social partners. In contrast to the situation in 1999, this initiative had a tripartite character from the outset (Mailand, 2011, p. 10), but its work must be seen on the background of the Globalisation Council, active in the years 2005-06. This was a high-level task force established by the Prime Minister and including other ministers, chairmen of the key social partners, other stakeholders and experts. The task force focused on education and research and its recommendations led to major government grants being reserved over the next years to boost activity in these fields. The Globalisation Council paid little attention to adult education, but a major special grant was still allocated to boosting activity in this sector. In the tripartite commission the social partners also committed themselves to establish funds for continuing education as part of collective negotiations. This system of labour market education funds has since been continued and expanded, so in a certain sector employers pay a percentage of wages (decided through nationally

collective negotiation) to a fund, where companies and employees can then apply for support to education initiatives.

The commission behind the 2006 report was a technical task force. Among its 25 members were no chairmen from the social partners. Its mission was to come up with suggestions on how to develop Danish adult education and training in order to promote lifelong learning for all. Interestingly in the title of its report 'all' was reduced to 'all at the labour market'. In fact, although the introduction said that both economy and personal development should be targeted by education and training, the report had a focus on education and training for the labour market.

This report did not lead to significant reforms. However, the introduction in 2007 of an Act on the recognition of prior learning in adult education, which made it more widely available in the education system, was no doubt inspired by the work of the commission as well as by EU policy.

The following years saw just minor reforms. In 2009 the system of general adult education was revised so as to improve its teaching and programme for adults to better qualify for exams equivalent to those of lower secondary education, and thus to contribute to the objective of having 95 pct. of a youth cohort complete an upper secondary education degree. This is important for preventing youth unemployment, but has been notoriously difficult to achieve. Preparation of the reform did not involve formalised commission work; it was handled internally in the Ministry of Education.

Another reform was the introduction of regional centres of adult and continuing education in 2010. These are not new institutions but organisational structures intended to increase collaboration and partnership between the institutions of general adult education and those of vocational adult education. The aims is to provide a more coherent provision, easier to access for users, and to intensify active work on involving companies in planning of education for their employees (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2012). Part of the inspiration for the reform came from the 2006 report above-mentioned, and from follow-up talks on adult education with the social partners (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2012, p. 11). The reform was passed under a liberal-conservative government, but supported also by the Social Democrats and the Social Liberals.

The general trend in the reforms and initiatives described so far show a focus on vocational and work-related adult education, also visible in recent attempts to boost adult education and training. In the spring of 2014, the then government (a coalition of Social Democrats and Social Liberals) worked on a comprehensive 'growth plan' for the Danish economy and as part of this it held negotiations with the social partners. It should be noted that two years earlier the government had attempted to establish a more ambitious plan for up-skilling through tripartite negotiations, but this had failed because the government insisted that more funds for education should have been linked to an increase in the supply of labour, for instance through a reduction of holidays. The 2014-growth plan was less demanding, and the social partners participated. The plan came to include a grant of one billion Danish kroners (135 million Euros) to be used to increase adult education and training activity over the following six years.

The latest significant adult education reform that has been implemented concerns part-time vocational education. This is part of a comprehensive reform of vocational education decided in 2014, and it lays out a framework for enrolment (and teaching) of adults at vocational schools in order to obtain an upper secondary vocational diploma. Recognition of prior learning is a mandatory part of this, and teaching can be conducted differently according to the character and amount of work experience that adults have. The reform has encountered considerable difficulties, not least because it has emphasised that a main purpose of the initial assessment of prior learning is to make the duration of

study as short as possible for the individual student. This tends to give the adult students (and their employers) too narrow frameworks for the learning situation. The result has been a fall in the enrolment rate (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2016).

Neither the general reform of vocational education nor the sub-reform of adult vocational education were prepared in a special commission or task force. It was rather the result of a process where important stakeholders converged in their perceptions of the problems and initiated informally coordinated work to develop policy solutions. The director of one stakeholder, the association of Danish vocational colleges, has put it like this:

> This is a long process where you discuss, continues working, improve a long chain of proposals and working papers, meet with different stakeholders and write stuff for the press. And at a certain point – at least in this case – the politicians take up the matter and start developing a reform proposal. (Kunov, 2014)

The most recent reform initiative also involves C&TF work as well as the social partners. In 2016, the Danish Government set up an expert group to come up with suggestions for a reform of the adult education system, again after consultations with the labour market organisations. The group was tasked to 'analyse and present possible solutions for adjustments and improvements, focusing especially on companies' and adults' needs for competence and on quality and efficiency in provision' (Ekspertgruppen for Voksen, Efter og Videreuddannelse, 2017, p. 10, own translation). The group's report and recommendations from June 2017 follow earlier policy, with a focus on coherence and partnership in the system, more recognition of prior learning, and flexible and efficient institutional management. One novelty is the recommendation of establishing an individual voucher system, where employees can spare resources (obtained through individual negotiation with employers) for funding continuing education. This recommendation was not adopted in the tripartite agreement reached in October the same year (Danish Government et al, 2017). Otherwise, the agreement included many initiatives aimed at making it more economically attractive for mainly the employers to make use of the adult education and training provision.

This expert group was different from earlier C&TFs. Only one member was a government official (a director from the Ministry of Employment), the other four were independent experts. Two were economists and professors; two are directors from think tanks or consultancy firms. Interestingly the original chairman (also an economist) withdrew in protest, because the labour market organisations would not provide sufficient information about the amount of funding accumulated in the competence funds that were established by collective agreement.

Conclusions

Our analysis shows how C&TFs have been present in and contributed to policy processes leading to adult education reforms in both Italy and Denmark. We have found both political-strategic and technical C&TFs, but their work has generally been mobilising rather than de-politicising. A reason for this can be that adult education is not a field where strong political interests may clash.

In the Italian context, the temporary grouping of representatives of different elite positions is crucial to coordinating central, regional and local responsibilities and interests. For instance the National Technical Commission for the Instruction of Adults was led by the Ministry of Education and included members from two other ministries as

well as from regional and local governments, social partners, and experts. Further, given the 'cooperative regionalism' principle in national governance, the initiative to convene a government task force in Italy does not necessarily come from the central authorities; for example the National Panel for Lifelong Learning was convened upon on the initiative of the Toscana Region.

In Denmark we find fewer examples of C&TFs, when compared to Italy, in the period studied. Yet, all those established have had three main functions: to signal the political importance of the adult education (or the lifelong learning) agenda; to coordinate policy development between difference sectors in central government, and to involve the labour market partners in policy development. The last function has been linked to the tripartite negotiations between the state, employers and trade unions, which have frequently taken place, although with varying success. This configuration has dominated commission work in Denmark, even in C&TFs with technical mandates.

Another distinctive feature is that in Italy the establishment of C&TFs is also a way for civil society organisations to get directly involved in the process of policy-making. The informal Panel on adult education was convened, for instance, on the initiative of a civil society organisation, and commissions initiated by the government, like the National Technical Commission on the Instruction of Adults, also include members from civil society organisations. In Denmark labour market organisations have been strongly involved, while other civil society organisations have generally not been allowed access to national policy bodies.

Education experts have been included in most of the Italian C&TFs, whereas in Denmark ministries and social partners seem to have preferred using their in-house expertise. This reflects the historical strength of these partners in Denmark. However, the most recent commission established in 2016 as follow-up to tripartite agreements has a majority of independent experts.

In sum the character of C&TFs in Italy and Denmark reflect in many ways the political systems and the governance of education of the two countries. In Italy, the development and implementation of adult education policy needs to include decision-makers and officials from central, regional and local governments, and this makes reform processes complex and relatively slow. In Denmark reform processes can happen faster, and implementation is facilitated by a relatively efficient public sector, and the smaller size of the country.

Moreover, in the period under consideration there have been political changes in both countries. In Denmark, the strong parliamentary of the populist Danish People's Party has displaced established patterns of collaboration, but this has had little impact on education policy. In Italy there has been considerable higher political instability, which has no doubt hampered reform activity in many fields, including adult education.

In presenting the national policy developments, we have paid less attention to the influences of global or European strategies and initiatives. As noted earlier, however, both countries are EU members, and the EU's influence, even when not accounted for it may well have been in the background of reform or commission work; for instance in Denmark the part-time higher education introduced in 2000 adhered closely to EU recommendations, but this was not used as an argument in the decision-making process (cf. Rasmussen, 2006). Global influences also differed; for instance, in Denmark publication of the PIAAC results passed almost unnoticed in the policy circle (Cort & Larson, 2015), while in Italy, as noted, prompted the establishment of a Commission of experts in 2013, led by an ex-Minister of Education.

According to Bourdieu's approach that we introduced earlier in this article commissions are an innovation introduced by the state in order to extents its symbolic

meta-capital into different societal fields. Through commissions, social problems are constructed and given public attention, and solutions are constructed to reproduce seemingly universal (but in reality monopolistic) cognitive and cultural classifications. This applies to both strategic and technical C&TFs. Our study does not allow us to confirm or disprove this general theory, but the differences between C&TFs work in Italy and Denmark show how the symbolic hegemony depends on the character of the state. In the centralised Danish system it can be argued that negotiating adult education policy with the labour market partners does in fact help 'taming' the social partners, making them accept the basic logic and rules of state power. But it can also be argued that this constellation influences the character of state power, introducing collective relations between state and citizens as supplement to the individual relations. In the more diversified Italian system the universalising function of C&TFs must be seen as weaker, because they have a primary function of establishing coherence within the state.

To conclude, more work is needed to further conceptualise and research the role of C&TFs in the development of adult education policy. However, our results point at three dimensions that could shed lights on country-specific functions, and hence may be considered in further comparative investigations. These are: 1) the type of political system in place in one country (e.g. the Italian federalist system vs. the Danish centralised systems); 2) the ideological strength of a national political system over time (e.g. the Danish government stability vs. the Italian government instability); and, in the case of EU members' states: 3) the nature of the relation a national political system holds with the EU (e.g. the Italian closer relation to the EU vs. the Danish looser relation). Adequate consideration of these (among others) dimensions may also shed light on the effectiveness (or lack of it) of the negotiation of standpoints for collective action through C&TFs, for the state to accomplish definite objectives in adult education policy.

Notes

[1] A law of popular initiative is a legal institution for direct democracy, through which Italian citizens can present a law proposal for discussion and/or approval to the Parliament or a different local administration. For law proposals with a national breath to be considered by the Parliament, citizens shall gather and submit to the highest instance court at least 50,000 signatures

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Teenaged Internet tutors' level of interactivity - by sharing tacit and explicit knowledge with older learners

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Abstract

Younger people, i.e. teenagers without any pedagogical training and work experience play an important role in teaching computer skills to older adults. The present study is based on 14 cases in which a teenager teaches an older adult to use a computer on a topic of the latter's own choice. Both interactive as well as non-interactive techniques used by the teenagers will be analysed, as well as their dependence on the whether the tutor is a user of the chosen website, whether he/she has made preparations for the tutoring session, and the combination of these two attributes. As a result, we saw that any kind of previous experience the tutor had with the content taught (as an everyday user or by independent exploration prior to the tutoring session) decreased interactivity of tutoring process. At the same time, the risk of over-demonstration emerged in such cases. For further research, some hypotheses to test the idea of a reciprocal learning model in which an older learner would be a resource person for the young tutor on interactive tutoring techniques are proposed.

Keywords: interactive techniques; naturalistic tutoring; older learner; tacit knowledge; teenage tutor

Introduction

Intergenerational contacts are nowadays more frequent than ever before (Phillipson, 2013; Laslett, 1996). Despite that, the divide between the young and old in technology-related skills is ever increasing. There is a discussion around 'grey digital divide' (Morris, Goodman, & Brading, 2007). Estonia is a good example: 43% of people aged 55–64 and

72% of those aged 65–74 do not use the Internet on a regular basis Tambaum, 2016), while World Bank (2016) refers to Estonia as one of a handful countries closest to becoming a digital society.

Grey digital divide is related to social digital divide (Millward, 2003), both of which in turn increase the risk of social deprivation among older people (Myck, Najsztub, & Oczkowska, 2015). Providing training courses for older people is not a solution to decrease grey digital divide. As it requires ample resources, formal training is always random and too short to enable the participants to reach a level where they can use Internet intuitively (Sandhu, Damodaran, & Ramondt, 2013). Learners with basic skills tend to ask when they come up with the questions independently, not when there is a scheduled Q&A session (Grief, Murphy, Nijjar, & Taylor, 2002). Using ICT is not 'an one-off exercise but an on-going process' and therefore, learning to use Internet requires broader support than a fixed training programme (Tatnall, 2014). Haywood (1995) sees all the other people as sources of such broader support; Tatnall (2014) advises to use younger relatives for teaching ICT to older people. Strom and Strom (2011; 2012) consider the youth as the part of society which takes the responsibility for teaching new technology in the 21ˢᵗ century; Pyle (2005, p. 40) says that 'It is said that youth are the future, but in today's rapidly changing world, youth really are the present'.

Learning which involves different generations is considered intergenerational learning (IGL). IGL benefits the society through the sharing of societal and professional resources, tacit and explicit knowledge among generations (FIM-NewLearning, 2008); in the IGL process, both the confidence (Wang & Noe, 2010) and self-awareness (FIM-NewLearning, 2008) of the one sharing knowledge increases. The contact between the generations improves as the focus is on similarities rather than differences (FIM-NewLearning, 2008) and the knowledge and skills of both sides increase (Tatnall, 2014). However, a meta-analysis shows that the evidence base for the effectiveness of intergenerational practice is still weak (Springate, Atkinson, & Martin, 2008; Hatton-Yeo, 2010).

According to the definition, IGL is a process, through which individuals of all ages acquire skills and knowledge, but also attitudes and values, from daily experience, from all available resources and from all influences in their own 'life worlds' (FIM-NewLearning, 2008). Studies on IGL, however, report much more on projects where an older person is the main source of knowledge and skills, for example by sharing their memories about the recent past with younger people (Osoian, 2014), helping to improve children's literacy (Walters, 2016), or mentoring 'vulnerable' children in need of support (Ellis, 2004). The knowledge-sharing behaviour of mentors is much less studied (Dong & Deng, 2016); the few existing examples include Strom and Strom (2012) and Baily (2009), who study a process where young people coach senior colleagues on using technology.

Every young person can find him- or herself in a tutor's role, be it in family circle (Kraut, Brynin, & Kiesler, 2006), at school and in the community (Schneider, Tosolini, Iacob, & Collinassi, 2012; Strom & Strom, 2009), or later, in the work environment (Løwendahl, Revang, & Fosstenløkken, 2001) often with inadequate or non-existent preparation (Czaja & Lee, 2007). However, the fact that the younger person has ICT experience and readiness to share his/her skills does not always mean that he/she has the knowledge about the concrete content he/she is going to teach (Tambaum & Normak, 2014; Tambaum, 2017). The reason might be that it is a spontaneous process, in which the content taught takes shape during the process and the younger person does not decline to teach something they have no previous experience with(Tambaum & Normak, 2014). In addition, computer and Internet are parts of a teaching process which in themselves

create spontaneous situations (Tambaum, 2017). The tutor himself creates a spontaneous situation as well when he does not prepare for tutoring and does not learn to know the website they are going to teach. One of the reasons for such behaviour might be a shallow approach to teaching often practiced in schools, which creates the impression that the skills needed are already there or the lack of them can be disguised (Race & Pickford, 2007). Wang and Noe (2010), who have studied knowledge sharing processes in work environment, emphasise that even though knowledge sharing is a learning process for the one sharing the knowledge – because they have to fully understand what they are teaching – only people high in learning goal orientation may perceive knowledge sharing as a learning opportunity.

The factors described above indicate that *naturalistic tutoring* (Chi, Siler, Jeong, Yamauchi, & Hausmann, 2001; Graesser, Person, & Magliano, 1995) may contradict the principles which are considered essential in professional teaching. John Dewey wrote already in 1902 that:

> When engaged in the direct act of teaching, the instructor needs to have the subject matter at his fingers' ends; his attention should be upon the attitude and response of the pupil. /.../ the teacher should be occupied not with subject matter in itself but in its interaction with the pupils' present needs and capacities (Dewey, 1902a, p. 362).

The quality of teaching process is emphasised both in IGL (FIM-NewLearning, 2008) and especially in case of arranging training for older people (Tambaum & Normak, 2014). Wang and Noe (2010) point to the need to study the quality of knowledge sharing in organisations, including in pair work. Thus, it is important to ask about the level of quality of naturalistic tutoring process in different settings and in case of tutors with different knowledge and skills.

Theoretical background

For effective learning and teaching theoretical principles of knowledge development and knowledge transfer have to be taken into account. Below we will describe the principles which underpin the present study.

Formation of Knowledge

Dewey (1902b) has pointed out how humans usually, for example while eating, do not differentiate between the subject matter and the method of an activity. However, if they reflect on the experience, then they create a difference between *what* they experience and *how* they experience it.

According to Polanyi (1967), not perceiving the difference between the subject matter and the method implies the formation of tacit knowledge (Polanyi used the term 'tacit knowing'), which is universal and contains both theoretical as well as practical knowledge. Tacit knowledge is formed in a situation where the environment provides simultaneously two types of knowledge. Human senses receive the information, but the brain does not process all the information in the same way; thus, one part of the information occupies main part of the person's attention (distal term) while overshadowing the other part (proximal term) (Polanyi, 1967). Polanyi brings an example of an experimental situation where a person is being shocked. The shock itself as a result receives the person's full attention and the cause of the shock remains thus concealed. Further examples are speaking without being explicitly aware of grammar and syntax

(Schugurensky, 2006) or sensing the face of a stranger via its parts. "We know the first term only by relying on our awareness of it for attending the second." (Polanyi, 1967, p. 10). Characteristic to such indirectly formed (proximal term) knowledge is that the person is later able to use it, but he/she may not be able to describe it. Polanyi (1967, p. 18) describes this situation as 'a way to know more than we can tell'. Phenomenal aspect of tacit knowledge appears when a person is aware of his/her knowing, but does not know the details (Polanyi, 1967). According to some studies, unconscious thought can form 95% of all thought (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999).

Nonaka (1994) and Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) describe interpersonal knowledge creation from the continuous interaction of tacit and explicit knowledge. According to Nonaka (1994) tacit knowledge signifies the intangible knowledge embedded in the minds of people and obtained through experience, it is intuitive, ambiguous and nonlinear. Explicit knowledge, on the other hand, is documented, published or formulated knowledge, which is analysed and taught. Nonaka (1994) allows to draw a parallel between categorisation of knowledge into tacit and explicit and the distinction between procedural and declarative knowledge used in cognitive psychology. Procedural knowledge expresses methods or steps towards reaching an answer or result (e.g. steps of dividing one number by the other); whereas declarative knowledge is composed of facts, episodes, generalisations and principles (e.g. periodic table) (Hollingsworth & Ybarra, 2009). Even though this analogy is not quite correct − a person may have a tacit knowledge of a piece of declarative knowledge, e.g. in socialization process, which is both unintentional and unconscious at the time of learning experience (Schugurensky, 2006) − the two classifications do have a large overlap as procedural knowledge is exactly the kind of knowledge that remains unformulated, because it is created through an activity.

Knowledge transfer and interaction

In case of transferring declarative knowledge, the content of what is learnt (*what*) is explained to support the learner in understanding and remembering the information. However, when transferring procedural knowledge, it is shown *how* to do something; whereas it is important to describe how to recognise analogous situations where this procedure can be applied (Hollingsworth & Ybarra, 2009). Formal learning assumes that both declarative as well as procedural knowledge to be shared has been made explicit before it is transferred (Løwendahl, Revang, & Fosstenløkken, 2001).

Knowledge sharing in non-formal environment is described by Nonaka's and Takeuchi's SECI model, which suggests that tacit knowledge possessed by individuals is externalized and transformed into explicit knowledge, so that it can be shared with others, and then enriched by their individual viewpoints to become new knowledge. This is then internalized once again as a new, richer, subjective knowledge, which becomes the basis for starting another cycle of knowledge creation (Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Socialisation as an unintentional and unconscious form of informal learning represents a total tacit nature and without retrospective recognition will remain hidden (Schugurensky, 2006).

Tacit knowledge, without being made explicit through externalization, is difficult for a person to apply in fields beyond the specific context in which it was created (Nonaka,1994).

According to socio-cultural approach to learning and development the roots of higher psychological functions are in interaction (Arcidiacono, Baucal, & Buđevac, 2011). More specifically, in formal and non-formal learning settings the effectiveness of tutoring

depends on the extent that the tutor allows the learner to be active, constructive and interactive, whereas the last of these three has the largest impact on the effectiveness of tutoring (Chi, 2009). Interactivity provides learners an opportunity to achieve more control over their learning (Chi et al., 2001) and stands in contrast with the instrumental style, against which Harvey (2012) cautions us. Interactivity is defined as "acts to be those comments that elicit a response from the students, such as asking the students either content or comprehension gauging questions, or scaffolding them" (Chi et al., 2001, p. 481).

Interactive style in knowledge sharing can occur without any previous preparation by the participants (Staples & Jarvenpaa, 2001). Thus, it has been confirmed that for example scaffolding can occur in the dyad of an unprepared teenager and an older learner, but it is sporadic and occurs moderately (Tambaum, 2017). However, knowledge sharing should not be based on random occurrences; rather, it should be a process controlled by the participants (Staples & Jarvenpaa, 2001).

In IGL projects, a written guide is compiled for young tutors and a short preparation conducted based on the guide. However, the analysis shows that such guides contain mainly suggestions about *what* to teach (declarative knowledge), plus general principles of communicating with older people and administrative information of the project (e.g. Cyber-Seniors, Generation YES, Grandparents & Grandchildren). What tends to be missing from these guides is information on tutoring techniques, e.g. *how* the tutor should apply the principle of interactivity. Czaja and Lee (2007) point out that in the book 'Designing for Older Adults: Principles and Creative Human Factors Approaches' (Fisk, Rogers, Charness, Czaja, & Sharit, 2009) 'there are general guidelines … that include recommendations such as allowing extra time for training, ensuring that help is available and provide opportunities for the learner to be actively involved in the learning process. However, these guidelines do not indicate what type of training technique is best suited for a particular task, technology or application' (Czaja & Lee, 2007, p. 346). Therefore, IGL projects seem to be targeted to approach interaction with no hints about how to ensure interactivity in this interaction.

Characteristics of teaching webpages

Interactivity in digital skills training means that the tutor introduces the content of the website and how to use it so that the learners are directed to explore what they see on the screen. If the tutor is a daily user of the given website, then he/she has tacit knowledge about its content and usage. There are three possibilities for transferring tacit knowledge: (a) the tutor transforms the tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge beforehand i.e. prepares for the tutoring session, which gives him/her the freedom to be interactive during the session and concentrate on the learner. (b) The tutor transforms tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge during the session through the socialisation with the learner. (c) The tutor demonstrates how to use a website as a tacit skill and the learner can acquire that skill also tacitly, by observing the tutor. In this case, the interactive component is totally missing.

If the tutor is not a daily user of the given website, then he/she can draw on his/her existing procedural tacit knowledge and transfer them into a new, but analogous environment. The tutor can gain experience with the unfamiliar website by preparing for the session (option a). If the tutor, however, does not prepare for the session, then he/she will externalise the transferred tacit knowledge during the session (option b). Nonaka (1994) considers the success of the latter quite unlikely.

Furthermore, the tutoring skills (including knowledge about using interactive techniques) of teenage tutors who have not been prepared for tutor's role are not based on externalised knowledge, but rather on knowledge acquired tacitly, primarily from the teachers at school.

Research goals and research design

The aim of the present analysis is to ascertain:

- Which techniques teenage tutors, including total beginners in tutoring, use when teaching digital skills to older adults.
- How does tutor's previous experience with the given website, or the lack of it, influence the use of interactive tutoring techniques.
- To what extent the interactivity of the tutoring process is influenced by tutor's independent preparation or the lack of preparation for the session.
- Which differences the combinations of these factors produce in the tutoring techniques.

The research design of the study was based on 14 tutoring sessions which were recorded using two video cameras. The full description of the research design can be found in Tambaum (2017) and thus, we will only describe the main points of the research design here. There were two participants involved in each session — a teenaged tutor (hereinafter the *tutor*) and an older learner (hereinafter the *learner*) working together at a single computer (Table 1). No prior Internet skills were required of the learners. The authors identified young volunteer tutors by presenting the project task to classes at three schools. The snowball method was used for finding older learners. It was ensured that the tutors and learners did not know each other previously in order to prevent hidden messages or behaviour that is difficult to interpret on video data. The tutors were not given any prior advice or briefing on teaching Internet skills to older adults. The participants had been assured that they were completely free to decide on their modes of instruction. The tutors and learners were asked to teach/learn one website which was discussed with each learner some days before the session. The tutors were informed of the topic, but any preparation was at their discretion.

Table 1. Profiles of the participants and learning topics

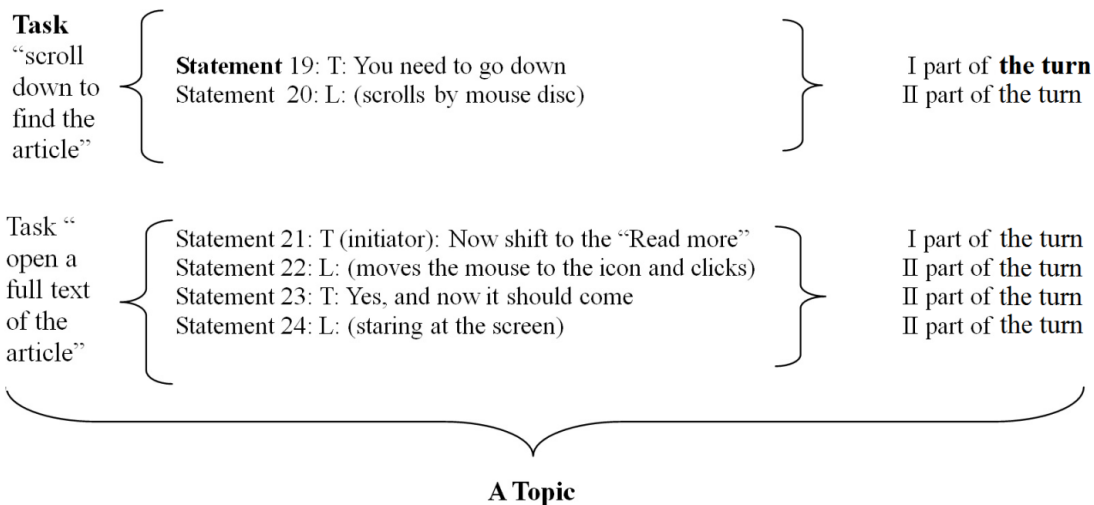| Learners	14	Tutors	14
men	4	men	2
women	10	women	12
in their 60s	1	14-year-old	5
in their 70s	8	15-year-old	4
in their 80s	5	17-year-old	5
computer users	12		
beginners	2		
higher education	12		
secondary education	2		
Topics: Ticket Office (4), Google; News (2), E-mail (2), Digital authorisation (signature), Download pics, Print screen pics, Public transport, Facebook account			

The video recordings of total 10.2 hours were analysed using ELAN video annotation and analysis software. During the first phase of the analysis, one tutor-learner pair was discarded as the only technique used was demonstration i.e. the tutor did all the moves of the task for the learner. Tacit knowledge was transferred tacitly, interactivity was completely absent.

Coding system and principles of analysis

The data coding was based on the categorisation that was used in a study conducted by Chi and colleagues (2001). Each session was devoted to one *topic* (a particular website, e.g. E-mail or Ticket Office) and the learning-tutoring process was divided into *tasks* (e.g. "type address" for the topic E-mail or "select seats" for the topic Ticket Office), which were usually repeated in different contexts during the tutoring session.

Every task consists of moves, which are described by *statements*. One statement is 'equivalent to a single idea, sometimes sentence length, but not necessarily' (Chi et al., 2001). Often the task involves two *turns* — the beginning and the reaction — but not always (see Example 1). Sawchuk (2003) uses the term 'monotopical interaction' for a single segment of talk with one opening which marks the beginning of a turn (I part of the turn) usually followed by a reaction or reactions (II part(s) of the turn). Cues from the context were used to divide the process into segments.

Example 1. Division of data into tasks, statements and turns

Task
"scroll down to find the article"

> **Statement** 19: T: You need to go down
> Statement 20: L: (scrolls by mouse disc)

I part of **the turn**
II part of the turn

Task "open a full text of the article"

> Statement 21: T (initiator): Now shift to the "Read more"
> Statement 22: L: (moves the mouse to the icon and clicks)
> Statement 23: T: Yes, and now it should come
> Statement 24: L: (staring at the screen)

I part of the turn
II part of the turn
II part of the turn
II part of the turn

A Topic

The format of the students' and tutors' comments was captured in the statement coding. Each substantive statement was classified as one of the techniques used by Chi and colleagues (2001), e.g. explanation, feedback, scaffolding, etc. Considering the characteristics of working with a computer, 'demonstration' was added to Chi's categories of techniques. Another category used was 'command' (Wood, Lanuza, Baciu, MacKenzie, & Nosko, 2010) which also had emerged very often in the video data of Tambaum and Normak's study (2014). The initial review of the data revealed a need for four more categories (see Table 2). According to Chi and colleagues (2001) all techniques are divided on the base of interactive and non-interactive nature of the dialogues.

Table 2. Categories of tutoring techniques used in the study

Non-interactive statement or move	Interactive statement or move
According to Chi et al. (2001)	
Giving explanation	Asking content questions a) about screen, b) general
Giving feedback a) short ('mhmh', 'yep'), b) longer	Answering
Reading, scanning what is displayed	(Direct) scaffolding (Chi et al., 2001). Indirect scaffolding* ((Tambaum, 2017)
Making self-monitoring comments Reflecting on what is displayed	Asking reflection or comprehension-gauging questions
Added during data review	
Demonstrating	Asking an advice
Command	
Motivating	
Acting	
Observing / listening	

* Direct scaffolding means using 15 techniques listed by Chi et al. (2001), for example if the tutor does not say what to do next but rather gives a hint. Indirect scaffolding comes in the shape of avoiding all types of tutoring techniques, including scaffolding, while the learner completes the task. It describes the turns in which the tutor is available for the learner but only observes the learner acting independently and does not interfere even when the learner faces a problem, remains thinking, tries to make or makes a wrong move. Indirect scaffolding has been turned out as a separate technique particularly in the process of teenagers' naturalistic tutoring since young tutors tend to offer help before that help is requested (Tambaum, 2017)

In case of six pairs, the learners had chosen a website which the tutors were not using and in two pairs, the tutors were not familiar with one of the topics covered in the session (using city public transport plans turned into a topic of how to find information on coach routes; the tutor started to teach using a mailbox in gmail.com, but later it became necessary to teach the same in hot.ee). In three pairs, the tutors themselves were using the website taught i.e. they had the required tacit knowledge about it.

In addition, there were two pairs where the learners were complete beginners. In these pairs, the tutors' work was not so much about teaching how to use the chosen website, but rather the basic computer skills, such as coordinating hand and eye movements while using a mouse. Thus, the situation was more about the tutor transferring procedural knowledge of computer usage. The initial review of the recordings revealed that in case of teaching complete beginners, the tutors' previous knowledge of the topic (in both cases how to use a news portal) did not play any role, as the focus of teaching was somewhere else.

Altogether five tutors had prepared for the session; four of them in order to learn to know the website that they had not used before. Table 3 shows the division of tutors according to the website usage and preparation.

Table 3. Tutors' profiles by subgroup. Pairs who had sessions with one part of one type and the other part of another type are in brackets.

		Tutor had prepared for the session		Learner is a beginner
		Yes	No	
Tutor is a user of the website	Yes	**YY** M62F17 (F84F15)	**YN** F82F14 F83F14 (F71F17)	
	No	**NY** M76M17 F76M17 F75F15 (F84F15)	**NN** F80F17 M78F14 M73F15 (F71F17)	
Learner is a beginner				**00** F77F14 F81F14
		5 pairs	6 pairs	2 pairs

Explanations of abbreviations:

The code of each pair indicates the learner's and the tutor's gender (F – female, M – male) and age.

YY – The tutor is a user of the website taught and has prepared for the session.

NY – The tutor is not a user of the website taught, but has prepared for the session.

YN – The tutor is a user of the website taught, but has not prepared for the session.

NN – The tutor is not a user of the website taught and has not prepared for the session either.

User of the website means that the tutor has used the given website before in his/her own interest. Having prepared for the session means that the tutor has performed possible tasks on the website taking into account the forthcoming session.

Results

First, we will consider which tutoring techniques listed in Table 2 were used by teenage tutors. Of the 14 techniques analysed, the tutors used only eight techniques in more than 1% of their statements. It appears (see Figures 1 and 2) that most of the techniques that the teenagers used frequently were non-interactive. Giving explanations and commanding were dominating. Of the interactive techniques, only scaffolding and to lesser extent, answering questions in the second part of the turn were used. Asking questions was rarely used by the tutors. The average number of questions about the content was 5.8 questions per hour (60 min) and the same indicator with questions asked about what was displayed on the screen was 9.4 questions per hour. Scaffolding was used in the second part of the turn even more often than in the first part of the turn.

Looking at the activities of the tutor as initiator of the turn according to whether he/she was a user of the website or not (Figure 1) and whether he/she had prepared for the session or not (Figure 2), we can see that the tutors who had not prepared themselves

gave much less explanations than the tutors who had prepared and used somewhat more demonstration and scaffolding. Tutors who had used the website before used much less demonstration than the tutors who had not used the website; whereas the proportion of giving explanations was similarly high in both groups.

Characteristic to the tutors teaching beginners was a high number of commands in the first half of the turn and more explanations in the second half of the turn.
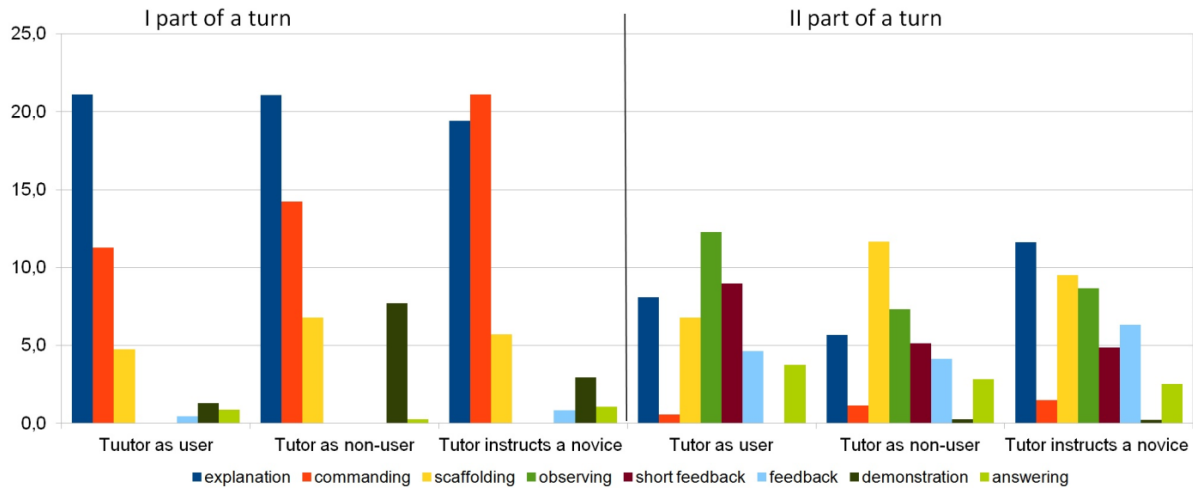

Figure 1. Eight most frequently used techniques in case of tutors with different using experience (proportion of all the statements). The Figure does not include these six techniques whose average frequency of usage was less than in 1% of all the statements
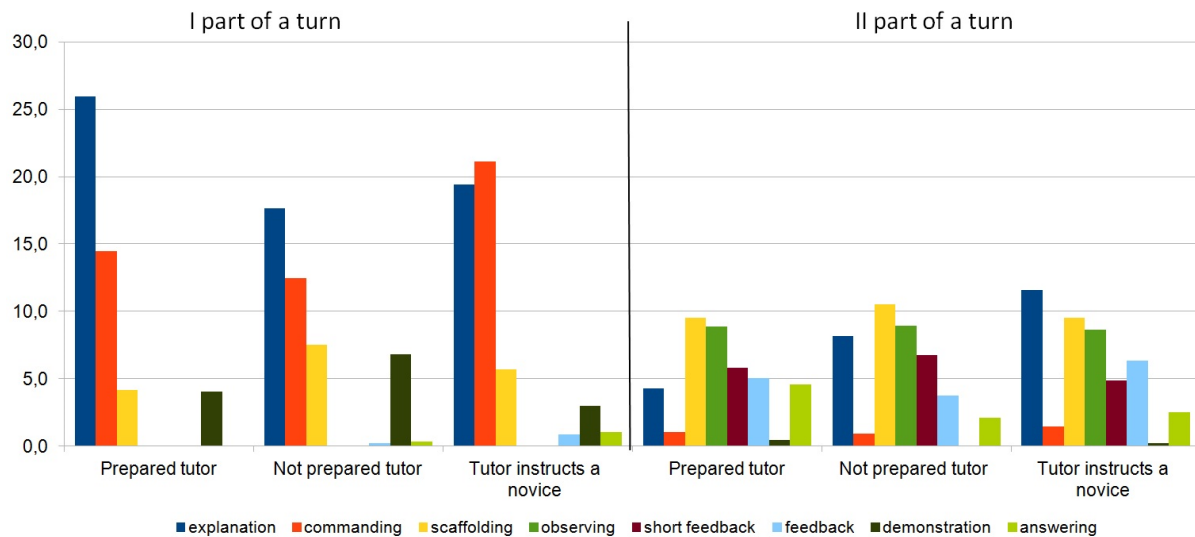
Figure 2. Most frequently used techniques in case of tutors with different level of preparation (proportion of all the statements)

If we focus on the dependence of the usage of interactive techniques on previous using experience and preparation and later, the combination of these two characteristics of tutors (subgroups), then we can see already on the Figures 1 and 2 that the usage of interactive techniques is relatively low. Table 4 contains the subgroups of tutors based

on the usage of interactive techniques during the session. We can see that interactive techniques made up roughly a fifth of all the tutoring instances.

Table 4. Proportion of interactive techniques of all the techniques used in all the turns per tutor subgroup

	% of interactive techniques		% of interactive techniques
Tutor YN	16	Tutor as user	18
Tutor instructs	20	Tutor as non-user	23
Tutor NY	21	Prepared tutor	21
Tutor YY	24	Not prepared	22
Tutor NN	26		

* For explanations of abbreviations YY, NY, YN and NY, see Table 3 above.

It is interesting to note that interactive techniques were used the least by tutors who had previous experience with the website, but had not prepared for the session (YN). The largest difference in interactivity appeared between the tutors who were (YN) and who were not (NN) the users of the given website and had not prepared for the session.

The summary of results of subgroups YY, YN, NY, NN is presented in the Figure 3. It shows that in general, any kind of previous experience with the content to be taught – either by using the website on everyday basis or while preparing for the session – increased the proportion of explanations given during the tutoring session. However, if the tutor had no previous experience with the content (NN), he/she used more demonstration than others. Answering questions occurred almost equally in all the subgroups, group NN excluded.
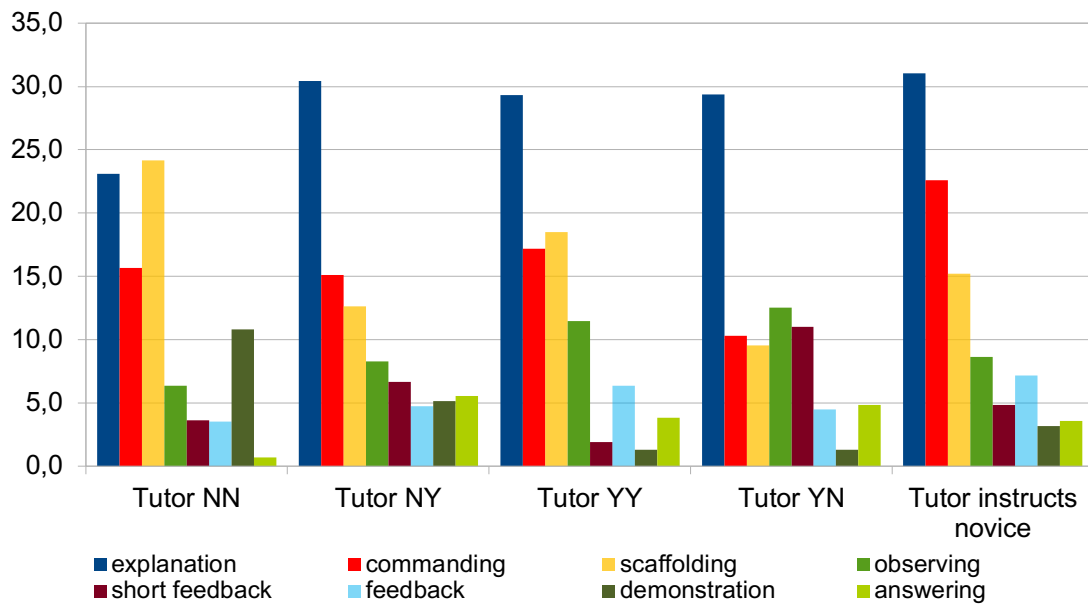
Figure 3. Most frequently used techniques by tutor subgroups

We can see from Table 4 that in case of non-users, the ones who prepared for the session (NY) displayed less interactivity than the ones who did not (NN). Table 4 confirms that NN-type of tutors did use direct scaffolding techniques more frequently both in I and II part of the turn than the NY-type of tutors. The reverse tendency among the users of the website (Yx), where preparation for the session increased interactivity (see Table 4), was also mainly due to more frequent use of scaffolding (Figure 3). At the same time, Figure 5 shows that in case of YY-type of tutors, scaffolding increased mainly in the second part of the turn, i.e. indirect scaffolding was mainly used. However, the YN-type of tutors used moderately both direct scaffolding in the first part of the turn as well as indirect scaffolding in the second part of the turn (Figure 5).
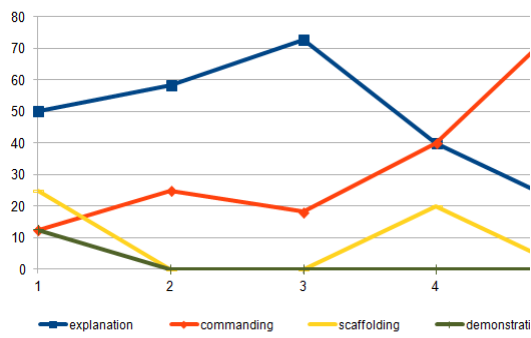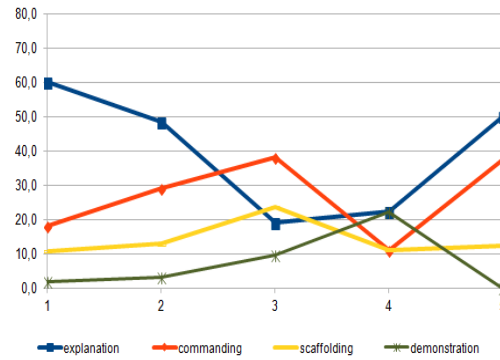

A

B
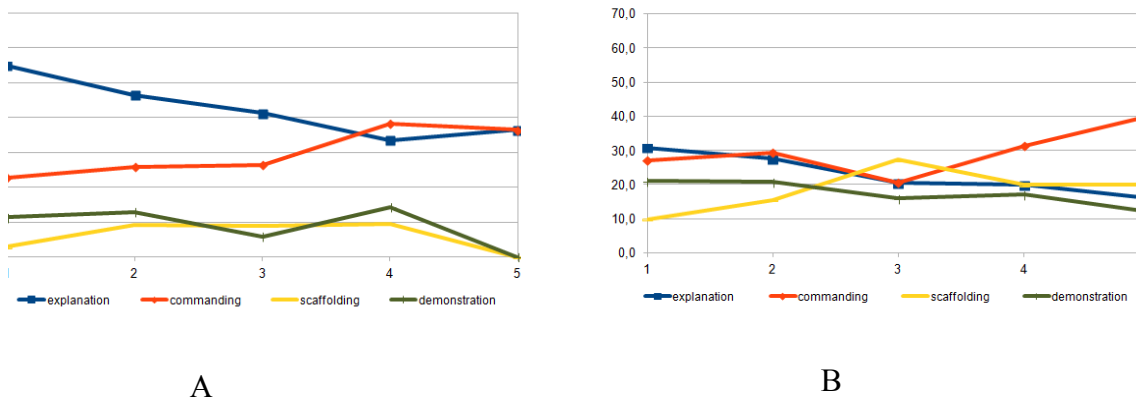
Figure 4. The most frequent techniques of non-user tutors who had prepared (NY) (Figure A) and who had not prepared (NN) (Figure B) for the session in the first part of the turn during first five repetitions of the topic
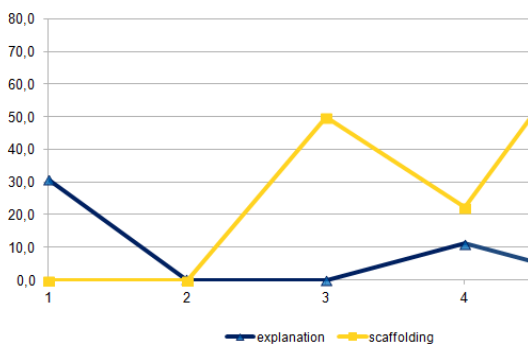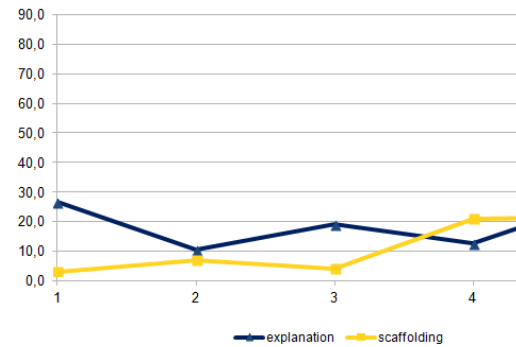
A

B

A

B

Figure 5. The most frequent techniques of tutors who were users of the given website and had prepared (YY) (Figure A) or had not prepared for the session (YN) (Figure B) in the first (above) and second (below) part of the turn

Previously, we saw that in case of instructing a beginner, the most common techniques used by the tutor in the first half of the turn was commanding and in the second part explaining; the

Figure 6, however, shows that a teenager teaching a beginner used a constantly high proportion of commands in the first part of the turn throughout the session, regardless of the number repetitions of the task. In the second half of the turn, also scaffolding were used quite a lot, which in this part of the turn consists primarily of indirect scaffolding.
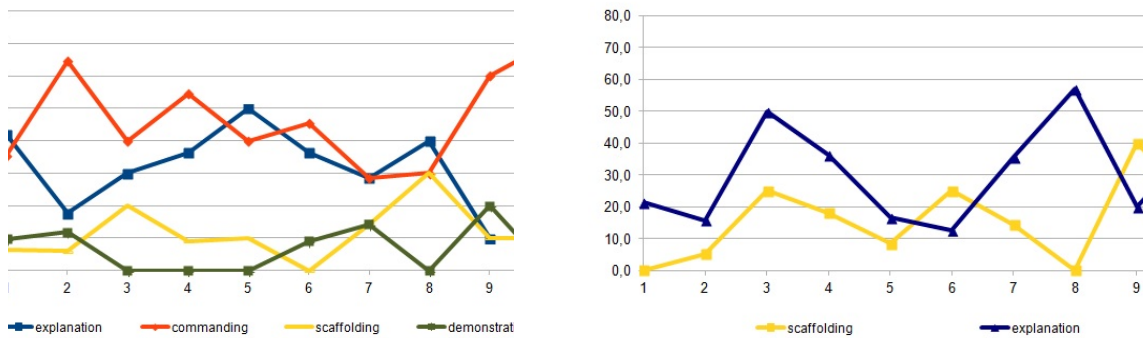
Figure 6. The most frequently used techniques of a tutor instructing a beginner in the first and second part of the turn

General indicators of interactivity were similarly low in case of tutors instructing beginners as well as in the YN-type group; but in case of non-interactive techniques, the tutors instructing beginners used significantly more commands and explanations in the second part of the turn than the YN-group. The characteristics observed during the data analysis indicate differences in the tutoring process in these two groups. The repetitions of a task by a beginner often failed (e.g. taking the cursor to an icon and clicking on it failed and required repetition). The number of failed attempts was relatively big because during the first half of the session the tutors did only present declarative knowledge, e.g. *what* to do (take the cursor there). By the end of the session, both tutors of beginners re-directed their focus from the display to the learner and phrased procedural knowledge e.g. *how* to do (how the mouse should be handled to get the cursor there) (F81F14). However, it took a while for the tutors to understand that the explanation *what* to do is not producing any results, and during that time the learners had to experience series of failures without any moments of success.

Similarly, to the tendency of the tutors of beginners to explain *what* needs to be done and skipping the explanation *how* to do it, the tutors of advanced learners gave feedback to failed attempts by commenting on the change that took place on the screen (*what* went wrong – the arrow moved away from the icon), but not by giving feedback to the learner's incorrect activity (*why* it went wrong – e.g. your hand did not stay in place while you clicked on the mouse).

Discussion

The present study showed that teenage tutors use interactive techniques scantily. The main techniques used were explaining and commanding, which corroborates the results of similar studies conducted by Tambaum and Normak (2014) and by Chi and colleagues (2001). Of the interactive methods, the tutors used primarily scaffolding, which may be an intuitive activity (Tambaum, 2017), and to some extent answering questions, which is a natural reaction to learners' questions. Teenage tutors themselves asked very few questions. Thus both types of interactive techniques implemented by tutors may not have been used deliberately. Altogether, the tutoring was relatively authoritarian or prescriptive rather than collaborative, which makes the effectiveness of the training (De Guerrero & Villamil, 2000) questionable.

We saw that the tutors with lesser declarative knowledge were more interactive by drawing on their procedural knowledge and vice versa, having more declarative knowledge drove the tutors to command/explain more, rather than to use scaffolding and ask questions. Nonaka (1994) has indicated that creating direct tacit knowledge on the basis of procedural tacit knowledge without having previously engaged in creating explicit knowledge (group NN in our case) can be problematic in non-formal tutoring. The results of the present study showed the opposite, at least as far as the interactivity of the tutoring process was concerned. Tutors with superficial (NY) or non-existent experience with the content (NN) behaved in a way which can be considered characteristic to collaborative learning – he/she explored the website together with the learner which resulted in more interactive learning and instructing process.

In collaborative learning the tutor and learner hold a rather equal position. As pointed out above, the common learning goal and the feeling of similarities rather than differences forms the prerequisite for improved contact between different generations (FIM-NewLearning, 2008; Tatnall, 2014). Therefore, at least in informal settings, e.g. at home, if the older person asks the younger one to introduce him or her something the younger person is not familiar with, it is probable that they engage into a natural tutoring process with high interactivity rate. However, in case of non-formal learning settings where the younger person has been given the role of a tutor, the older person may expect more than just collaborative learning and co-learners' different pace of cognitive reactions may also affect the result adversely. The latter may be one of the reasons why the effectiveness of formal or non-formal intergenerational practice is still measured to be weak (Springate, et al., 2008; Hatton-Yeo, 2010).

We assume that teenage tutors without any formal training used tutoring techniques that they had acquired tacitly from the adults. What we saw in the study was that tutors' independent preparation before the session, i.e. externalising tacit tutoring knowledge, decreased rather than increased the usage of interactive techniques. Taking into account Polanyi's (1967) theory on the creation of tacit knowledge (in current case the creation of tacit knowledge about how to instruct the learner), this result may indicate that for some reason which affects the consciousness, non-interactive techniques influence students' behaviour more than interactive ones. Several studies have indicated frequent usage of non-interactive techniques at school (cited in Tambaum, 2017) and it may be one of the possible reasons why they dominate teenagers' natural tutoring process. However, future research should focus on other possible reasons of limited use of interactive techniques acquired from school. For example, whether assessment and fear of making mistakes at school can occupy main part of the student's attention (*distal term*) and overshadow the interactive techniques used by the teacher (*proximal term*). In this case, the regular school would not be a suitable environment for students to acquire effective tutoring techniques and other forms of intergenerational cooperation should predominate.

Tutor having tacit knowledge, which Dewey (1902) described as a necessary prerequisite for adequately guiding and reacting to the learner's needs, indeed influenced interactivity, but in the opposite direction to what Dewey had in mind. If tutors had tacit knowledge, but had not prepared for transferring it (YN), then they had the lowest level of interactivity of all the groups considered, i.e. they were less able to turn their existing tacit knowledge into an opportunity to focus on the learner.

In addition, our study showed that the situation of teenage tutors who instructed older people who were totally unexperienced in using a computer, can be regarded as similar to YN-type of tutors. For those tutors, large part of what they teach has most likely been learnt tacitly, without having anyone explicitly describe to them procedural knowledge

involved in the process (e.g. how to handle a mouse). In those pairs the tutor's inability to focus on the learner was literally visible – the first half of the session the tutor's attention was primarily on the display, not on the learner. Tutors of novices, having only tacit knowledge, were easily able to transfer their declarative knowledge (*what* to do on the display) but they had difficulties to transfer their procedural knowledge (*how* to do), which is essential for novice learners. Therefore, it is necessary to prepare the tutors of novices for externalising their tacit procedural knowledge.

Teenage tutors who had not prepared for the session gave less explanations, but used more demonstration than others, especially when the tutor had no previous experience with the website under consideration. In case of demonstration, knowledge is not externalised but rather, the tutor's tacit knowledge will become learner's tacit knowledge. When demonstration is overused, the learner may acquire the skill, but may not be able to use it in another, analogous situation (Nonaka, 1994). Indeed, previously we have identified some implications of older computer users' difficulties to transfer their computer skills to another tool. In combined-age learning groups (Tambaum, 2014), the fact that the computer skills of older learners tended to be related to specific tool, e.g. their personal computer at home, influenced negatively their learning activities in a group. Therefore, demonstration as an easy technique in skill learning may have a negative impact on sustainability of older people's learning. Current study showed that especially tutors with no independent preparation for the session may run the risk of overusing demonstration.

In case of tutors who had tacit knowledge and who also prepared for the session (YY), the level of interactivity increased passively, resulting in increased scaffolding in the second part of the turn, most of such cases being instances of indirect scaffolding (Tambaum, 2017). Thus, YY-tutors, despite of their independent preparation, were mostly unable to lead the learning process in an interactive way; however, they gave the learner opportunities to be active. In case of tutors who had no experience in using the website, independent preparation decreased interactivity, i.e. they (NY) had no skills to lead the learning process in an interactive way and they also tended to restrain the learner from being active.

Our results support the idea that you cannot expect "instant intergenerational magic" just by bringing young and old together (Generations United, 2007). Natural tutoring process in non-formal intergenerational learning settings has certain risks which can be avoided by preparing young and old for this experience. Based on the theory of tacit knowledge formation, we doubt that formal school education could provide preparation for intergenerational learning undertakings. Sanchez and colleagues (2008 cited in Buffel, De Backer, Peeters, Phillipson, Reina, Kindekens, De Donder, & Lombaerts, 2014) have emphasised that the key to the term *intergenerational* in the phrase *intergenerational practice* lies not in the *generational* but in the *inter* – the existence of the *between* in *relationships* between people. Therefore, we propose that acquisition of interactive tutoring skills should be an element of an IGL framework and the source of these skills would be the older learners themselves.

Conclusion

Shaping skills necessary to cope in the modern technology-saturated society in older people takes place with the support of younger family or community members. In most cases, teenagers lack systematic pedagogic knowledge and their choice of tutoring techniques is based primarily on tacit knowledge which they have gained while being in

the role of learner. Previous studies have shown that teenage tutors do not decline to teach content that they are not familiar with (Tambaum and Normak, 2014); in addition, it cannot be assumed that the teenager will prepare for a session of naturalistic tutoring. Therefore, the teenage tutors differ in their declarative knowledge and some teenagers transfer only their tacit knowledge during the tutoring process, while others have beforehand turned it into explicit knowledge.

The goal of the present study was to find out what kind of problems occur in the naturalistic tutoring of older people by teenagers and to develop methodological suggestions to address these issues.

We saw that teenagers as tutors use interactive techniques relatively rarely and tutoring tends to be authoritarian or prescriptive rather than collaborative, which affects negatively the effectiveness of the training (De Guerrero & Villamil, 2000). If the tutor has declarative knowledge about the subject, then this drives him/her to explain and describe rather than to scaffold and ask questions. We also observed that young tutors stand a risk to overuse demonstration.

We saw that in the cases where the tutor had no experience with using the given website, he/she used more interactive techniques. The proportion of interactive techniques was especially high when these non-users had not prepared for the session either. In such cases the session was more about collaborative learning which is rather acceptable in informal settings but does not meet older learner's expectations in more formal settings like an IGL project.

The usage of interactive techniques was the lowest when the tutor was a user of the given website i.e. he/she had tacit knowledge about it and he/she had not prepared for the session i.e. he/she did not have explicit knowledge about the subject taught. As it is known that the effectiveness of instruction depends on the usage of interactive techniques and taking into account that the effectiveness of IGL projects has not found a firm confirmation (Springate, et al., 2008; Hatton-Yeo, 2010), then sharing tacit knowledge without preparation can be one of the reasons for low effectiveness. Tutor's activity plays a key role in older people's learning (Duay & Bryan, 2008); therefore, the tutors should be aware of the threats that emerge when sharing tacit knowledge.

The results show that there is a general need for introducing interactive tutoring techniques among the teenagers. Thus, in IGL projects, where the goal is skills development (e.g. Internet skills), it is not sufficient to describe the principles of communication – the tutors also need knowledge about tutoring techniques. As formal school education normally does not tackle this issue, the problems of improving the quality of naturalistic tutoring could be an element of an IGL framework. In particular, an interesting idea to test would be that of a reciprocal learning model, in which older learner would be a resource person for the young tutor on interactive tutoring techniques.

In addition, we observed that the preparation for teaching beginners should differ from preparation for teaching advanced learners.

On the base of current research we phrase three hypotheses for future research into the process of naturalistic tutoring.

Hypothesis 1. Independent preparation of young tutors to tutoring does not improve their interactivity compared to tutors with no independent preparation.

Hypothesis 2. IGL projects in which older learners are prepared for reflecting on tutoring techniques used by his or her young tutor in the process of learning Internet skills indicate a higher rate of interactive techniques compared to similar IGL projects in which learners are not prepared.

Hypothesis 3. Tutors who have turned their procedural knowledge of computer usage into declarative knowledge before the tutoring session are more effective in teaching beginners i.e. the number of repetitions for achieving success is smaller than in case of tutors who have not brought their computer skills to the declarative level before the tutoring session. (i.e. teaching basic computer skills effectively cannot happen via demonstration only.)

Acknowledgements

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