Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives

edited by

Maria Slowey
Heribert Hinzen
Michael Omolewa
Michael Osborne

FIRENZE UNIVERSITY PRESS

STUDIES ON ADULT LEARNING AND EDUCATION
ISSN 2704-596X (PRINT) - ISSN 2704-5781 (ONLINE)
– 17 –

STUDIES ON ADULT LEARNING AND EDUCATION

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2023

Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives / edited by Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne. – Firenze : Firenze University Press, 2023.
(Studies on Adult Learning and Education ; 17)

https://books.fupress.com/isbn/9791221502534

ISSN 2704-596X (print)
ISSN 2704-5781 (online)
ISBN 979-12-215-0252-7 (Print)
ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4 (PDF)
ISBN 979-12-215-0254-1 (XML)
DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

Graphic design: Alberto Pizarro Fernández, Lettera Meccanica SRLs
Front cover image: © zolotonsmailru|123rf.com

Editing and layout by LabOA: Arianna Antonielli (managing editor), with the collaboration of Alessia Gentile, Francesca Salvadori, Elisa Simoncini and the students of the Master in Print and Digital Publishing (Department of Education, Languages, Interculture, Literatures and Psychology, University of Florence, academic year 2022-23).

Peer Review Policy
Peer-review is the cornerstone of the scientific evaluation of a book. All FUP's publications undergo a peer-review process by external experts under the responsibility of the Editorial Board and the Scientific Boards of each series (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice.3).

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Published by Firenze University Press
Firenze University Press
Università degli Studi di Firenze
via Cittadella, 7, 50144 Firenze, Italy
www.fupress.com

This book is printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Italy

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Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, © 2023 Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

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Foreword

Baroness Jan Royall
Principal of Somerville College, University of Oxford

In November 2020, aged 93, Lalage Bown recorded a message for the students of Somerville College that I believe you can still find on our YouTube page. At that time we were at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, with all its attendant lockdowns, restrictions and dire prognostications.

The message Lalage recorded for us that November day captures perfectly who she was. Thinking nothing of her own situation, she devoted all her attention to the students themselves. She empathised with what they were going through, drew thoughtful analogies with her own postwar experiences at Somerville and used her mischievous sense of humour and endless kindness to comfort a group of young people clearly shaken to the core by the sudden and complete interruption of their lives.

These qualities are, of course, the same ones that made Lalage such a force for positive change in the world of adult education. Throughout her life from the day she left Somerville till those last days in Shrewsbury, she seems to have been guided by two unswerving beliefs: one, that learning and knowledge have an endless capacity to improve our lives; and, two, that everyone has a right to access those treasures throughout their lives, without fear or favour.

These twin beliefs, in learning and social justice, destined her for a unique and ground-breaking career. The touchstone of her legacy is perhaps the anthology she edited, *Two Centuries of African English*. This book encapsulates perfectly how her faith in people transcended the colonial and canonical dogma of the time, shedding much-needed light on a rich seam of African writing that has been valued by generations of learners.

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Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, © 2023 Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

Within the pages of this book, you will learn that Lalage was also a fearsome administrator, a fearless ally, a dazzling innovator and a true friend. In many ways, she feels quintessentially modern to us in 2023. In particular, the way she sought to divert attention away from herself and onto others, restoring agency and voice to those disenfranchised of those rights, feels particularly relevant. But I would argue that Lalage's outlook was essentially timeless: she was one of those people whose innate beliefs always guide them to find the right path, and do the right thing.

Here at Somerville, we count ourselves fortunate to have known her. I have no doubt there are thousands more people across the world – those who were touched by her teaching, innovations in pedagogy or loyal advocacy – who feel the same gratitude.

Happily, all those people who did not have the fortune to know Lalage personally or feel her influence can now read about her in this book. It is the record of a life well-lived and a legacy well-earned.

Acknowledgements

This book is the result of a collective effort. It is a tribute to the remarkable impact which Lalage Bown had on so many people from different areas of adult education research, policy and practice across the globe that everyone we approached agreed – without hesitation – to contribute. As editors, we sincerely appreciate their hard work, from which we have learnt so much. We know there are many others who would like to have been involved and apologise to them that it is only due to space limitations that we could not include more authors.

We are grateful for support provided by the Centre for Research and Development in Adult and Lifelong Learning and the School of Education at the University of Glasgow towards publication of the book; also, the invaluable assistance provided by Dr Lucia Vazquez Mendoza, Post-doctoral Researcher at the Higher Education Research Centre (HERC) Institute of Education, Dublin City University. In addition, we acknowledge the helpful comments and suggestions made by the anonymous reviewers.

We are particularly indebted to Professor Paolo Federighi and Professor Vanna Boffo, Florence University, and Florence University Press (FUP) in accepting the book for inclusion in the book series, *Studies on Adult Learning and Education*.

The book involves thirty-seven authors who, at the time of writing, were based in fourteen countries from the global south and north: Africa (Botswana, Ethiopia, Nigeria, South Africa, and Uganda); South America (Colombia); New Zealand; Europe (Germany, Ireland, Moldova, Ukraine and the UK- Scotland and England); and North America (Canada and the USA).

FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, © 2023 Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

Bringing this work together was a major logistical task, and, above all, we wish to express our sincere appreciation to Dr Arianna Antonielli and Dr Francesca Salvadori, Department of Education, Languages, Interculture, Literatures and Psychology, Florence University. Their professional input far exceeded that of 'standard' copyediting. We benefited so greatly from their expertise that it is not an exaggeration to say we came to regard Dr Antonielli and Dr Salvadori as, in effect, members of the editorial team.

Maria Slowey (Dublin, Ireland), Heribert Hinzen (Bonn, Germany), Michael Omolewa (Ibadan, Nigeria), Michael Osborne (Glasgow, Scotland)

December 2023

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

The Legacy of Lalage Bown: An Inclusive and Post-colonial Vision for Adult Learning and Education

Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne

Abstract:

This chapter introduces the work of Lalage Bown: a highly influential practitioner, researcher and activist who was passionately committed to the role which adult education could play in supporting social justice aims. The four main themes of the book are outlined: adult education and social justice; decolonisation, post-colonialism and indigenous knowledge; from literacy to lifelong learning; and, policy development and supporting future generations of adult educators.

Keywords: Adult Education and Learning; Inequality; Lalage Bown; Post-colonial; Social Justice

> … may we uphold: the Way, seen as open and equal access: the Truth, seen as real knowledge and not trivia; and the Life, seen as the length of time during which we should pursue these values.
> Lalage Bown, Emeritus Professor of Adult and Continuing Education. "Charge to the Graduates". Adapted from the Latin motto of the University of Glasgow, *Via Veritas Vita*. April 2002

Introduction

The world currently faces three major, interrelated, crises. Firstly, the lives of countless millions of people are threatened as a direct result of climate change, in addition to challenges posed to the survival of many, possibly most, other

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne, *The Legacy of Lalage Bown: An Inclusive and Post-colonial Vision for Adult Learning and Education*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.05, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 15-25, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

species. Secondly, migration levels have reached a scale unprecedented since Second World War. Thirdly, there are significant threats to democratic principles and the maintenance of peace as a result of the growth of neo-nationalism and authoritarianism. In this context, the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) – although somewhat battered and weakened – remain beacons for the promotion of the value of education and learning, within and between the global north and south, *for all*.

For over seven decades, Lalage Bown was a highly influential practitioner, researcher and activist who was passionately committed to the role of adult education in supporting social justice aims, especially in relation countries emerging from colonial domination in the 'global south' poorer regions of the world. She placed great emphasis on strengthening connections between universities, NGOs, civic society and public policy with a view to taking positive action in favour of the educationally disadvantaged. Given the triple crises mentioned above it is reasonable to inquire as to whether such (worthy) aims for adult learning and education are in danger of remaining no more than lofty ambitions.

In this book, distinguished scholars and practitioners from different disciplines and different global regions explore the contemporary relevance of these values, concepts and methods for future developments in policy, practice, advocacy and research in adult education aimed at promoting inclusion and social justice.

Lalage Bown's far reaching influence earned her the epithet 'the mother of adult education in Africa'. Over her long life working in many parts of Africa, including in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda and Zambia, in Europe, notably her home country, the United Kingdom, she moved between universities, NGOs and official positions with a passion for promoting access for people of all ages and stages of life: and, underlying all her work lay a deep commitment to striving to achieve greater equality for women. When she sadly died at the age of 94 in 2021 the outpouring of tributes reflected the impact she had made on so many people from so many different parts of the world and walks of life.

The four of us, who are co-editors of this book, had the great pleasure of knowing her professionally and personally over many years. We believed it important to find a way in which her intellectual work might be honoured – and analysed – as a contribution to her enduring legacy. We each had the privilege of working with her in different capacities and in different parts of the world: Michael Omolewa in Nigeria and other parts of Africa as well as internationally with bodies such as UNESCO; Heribert Hinzen, also in Africa and a range of international adult education organisations; Maria Slowey and Mike Osborne more closely working with her in the UK, particularly in Scotland as her successors as chairs of adult education at the University of Glasgow – and, for Maria, also in Ireland.

This introductory chapter is divided into three parts. In the first, we reflect on Lalage Bown's vision for adult education, and her enduring influence on international developments and organisations. In the second, we draw particular attention to her lifelong passion for the people, culture and general well being of the people of many countries in Africa – promoting adult education for all and

embodying a post-colonial perspective. The third part introduces the purpose, themes and authors of the book.

1. Lalage Bown: Impact on International Developments in Adult Education

The post-Second World War period saw a resurgence of interest and opportunity in international adult education, with UNESCO playing a central role in facilitating engagement between adult educators – including practitioners, researchers and policy makers – in a series of international conferences, including: Elsinore, Denmark (1949); Montreal, Canada (1960); Tokyo, Japan (1972); and Paris, France (1983). The deliberations in Elsinore were highly influenced at the time by the search for peace; Montreal saw engagement by the new independent states after the fall of colonialism; Tokyo served to deepen understanding adult education as a profession; while the Paris conference was highly politicised by cold war fears and hesitations (Knoll 2014).

Shortly after the Paris UNESCO conference, Lalage Bown reflected on the inputs, findings and recommendations and made a succinct presentation on "Current World Trends in Adult Education" during an *International Symposium on Adult Education – New Trends in Education and Occupations of Women*.

> A formal and large-scale international conference has limitations, but I have used the Paris conference to show what general world opinion on adult education seems to be. As I have said, such conferences do provide an opportunity to affirm what is generally accepted. Additionally they provide an opportunity for commitment and once these commitments have been made, those of us who are concerned can follow these up and ensure that our governments really act on those commitments – that, as we say, they 'put their money where their mouth is'. The right to learn is now a formal international commitment and we should translate that right into practice (Bown 1985, 8).

These global gatherings continued to take place every 12 years using the acronym CONFINTEA (from the French – Conférence Internationale sur l'Education des Adultes) and they grew in participation and size: CONFINTEA V in 1997 Hamburg, Germany had some 1500 participants with a large civil society intake; the event in Belém, Brazil in 2009 resulted in the Bélem Framework for Action (BFA) with significant impact on associated debates in a shift from education to learning through *Education for All* to *Lifelong Learning for All* (Hinzen 2013). The most recent conference, CONFINTEA VII, took place in Marrakech, Morocco in 2022 – of which more below.

Although these events aimed to be inclusive, Lalage Bown – speaking from her extensive experience of working in Africa – pointed out at the time, the meetings and agendas were heavily dominated by conceptual assumptions that were mainly derived from the interests, and from the intellectual traditions, of the richer Western states of the developed world (Bown 1983). Despite this concern, however, she also believed that the increasing engagement of representatives from developing countries stimulated new strands in international and comparative adult

education. Their ideas, ways of working, epistemologies combined to changing the character and stances of international meetings by emphasising the importance of considering the nature, purposes and mission of adult education. In particular, she drew attention to the fact that the countries emerging from colonial domination in the poorer regions of the world tended to place an emphasis on locating adult education in the wider context of lifelong learning, defining adult education more broadly than had been the case in many developed countries. This strengthened the connection with public policy, and, centrally, the need for positive action in favour of the educationally disadvantaged. This was a far-sighted view which even today has its relevance with a sense of urgency as shown in the Fifth Global Report on Adult Learning and Education (GRALE 5) (UILb 2022).

Lalage was therefore quite open to debates on how to understand adult education: a concept which today remains subject to different interpretations. However, in the African context, the distinctive values and forms of adult education espoused by Lalage played an important role in assisting the better understanding of communalities, similarities and differences between indigenous (African) approaches (Ocitti 1973) and colonial, missionary, or more widely, Western forms of education and schooling: a debate explored in some depth in "Change and Continuity in African Traditional Adult Education" (Omolewa 1982). There were a number of reasons why this debate grew stronger, and the insights that had previously assumed causality between formal education and development, and the role of formal education within development aid programmes, were more critically discussed in a comparative perspective: as analyised, for example, in "Education – An Obstacle to Development? Reflections on the Political Function of Education in Asia and Africa" (Hanf et al. 1975).

In 1968, an influential book by Philip Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis*, made the case that traditional, formal, education systems around the world were inefficient, emphasising the importance of 'non-formal education'. In a similar vein, a report *Non-formal Education in African Development* (Sheffield and Diejomaoh 1972) documented experiences of young people and adults who had participated in a variety of community activities in education, training and learning, while a few years later the World Bank published *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-formal Education Can Help* (Coombs and Ahmed 1974). Over that period, and subsequently, Lalage showed her commitment to the importance of the value, and practice, of non-formal education. For example, referring to the work of her colleague and friend, Paul Fordham, she commented

> The non-formal idea … is part of a widespread search for alternatives in education which is itself intimately bound up with changing conceptions of development. The term 'non-formal' was given currency by development planners rather than educators. Existing terminology was seen as too narrow – while many of the more important programmes (e.g. farmer training) were sometimes not seen as education at all, even by practitioners themselves. What was needed was an all-embracing term for … 'educative services'. As it gained

> currency, the term also came to include provision for the school-age dropouts and left-outs of the formal system (Bown 1983, 46).

However, it took many more years before a stronger manifestation of the importance of education, training and learning outside formal institutions was taken up more widely, notably in the *UNESCO Guidelines for the Recognition, Validation and Accreditation of the Outcomes of Non-formal and Informal Learning* (UIL 2012).

Lalage Bown realised at an early stage that close collaboration was needed from a triangle of actors in order to build adult education as a movement, a profession, a sub-sector of the education system, as well as an academic discipline: government, civil society and academia (Hall 1995). She therefore supported right from the start the establishment of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) which held its First World Assembly in Dar es Salaam in Tanzania in the mid-1970s (Hall and Kidd 1978). Lalage served as Rapporteur General to this Assembly (Bown 1976), and at the same time she was also Editor of *CONVERGENCE*, the flagship journal of ICAE (Hinzen 2022). Taking every opportunity to promote adult education- in all forms- she used the journal not only for research dissemination, but also for advocacy purposes: publishing, for example, the draft of an important document *International Instrument on the Development of Adult Education*; this was subsequently adopted by a UNESCO General Conference in Nairobi, Kenya as the *Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education* (UNESCO 1976). This was certainly a perspicacious document as it was over three decades later before any revision/updating took place (UIL 2010). After thorough consultation processes, including the integration of policy areas arising from the Belém Framework for Action and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Education 2030 Agenda (UNESCO 2015a), the UNESCO General Conference in 2015 adopted a new *Recommendation of Adult Learning and Education* (UNESCO 2015b).

Lalage continued her far-sighted support for the professionalization of people working in the field of adult education, underpinned by research, through her work in university departments in the many countries which provided her base throughout her professional life. One, early example, which encapsulates her approach is the *Handbook of Adult Education for West Africa* which she edited with her Nigerian colleague Olu Tomori (Bown and Tomori 1979).

Almost four decades after Lalage had pointed to new world trends in adult education, as mentioned above, in 2022 CONFINTEA VII took place in Morocco, with over 1,000 participants attending in person and on-line. The specific objective was to examine adult learning and education policies within a lifelong learning perspective and within the framework of the UNESCO SDGs. Member States committed themselves

> to using the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as a roadmap for the development of transversal skills, recognizing how this agenda brings cohesion and synergy to the multifaceted goals of ALE for the years to come. Quality education and lifelong learning are important mechanisms for implementing

> SDG 4 and are also prerequisites for poverty reduction (SDG 1), health and well-being (SDG 3), gender equality (SDG 5), reduced inequalities (SDG 10), gainful employment and decent jobs (SDG 8), inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable cities (SDG 11), just, peaceful, inclusive, violence-free societies (SDG 16) and climate action (SDG 13).
> *Furthermore, adult education is part of the right to education and crucial for the realization of all human rights* (UIL 2022a, 15, emphasis added).

In this vein, ICAE had previously reinforced the importance of «strengthening the institutional structures (like community learning centres, for delivering ALE [adult learning and education]) and securing the role of ALE staff» as well as «improving in-service and pre-service education, further education, training, capacity building and employment conditions of adult educators» (ICAE 2020, 13), which are reflected in the UNESCO Marrakech Framework for Action (MFA) that states:

> We stress the key role of teachers and educators, including volunteer tutors and other professionals engaged in adult learning and education. We commit to implementing policies and strategies to upskill and further professionalize and specialize adult educators through pre-service, in-service and continuing training – in association with universities and research institutes – and by improving their working conditions, including their salaries, status and professional development trajectories. We further recognize ALE competency frameworks as strategic instruments for the professionalization of educators and the enhancement of their qualifications (UILa 2022, 11).

In advance of the Marrakech conference there were many attempts to understand better what had been achieved and where lessons needed to be learnt. A special issue of the *International Review of Education* reflected on topics such as «Africa: Education as a Source of Restoration» and «Future Visions of ALE and Lifelong Learning» (Benavot et al. 2022, 178, 175). All those familiar with Lalage's work can well imagine how she would have been a dynamic and inspirational contributor to these debates in which her experience around the globe, along with her commitment to social justice, would play a distinctive role.

We can also imagine her articulating her views in a favourite proverb of hers (drawn from the Akan in Ghana) «A Rusty Person is Worse than Rusty Iron»: as quoted in her acceptance speech when she was the first woman to be awarded the William Pearson Tolley Medal for Distinguished Leadership in Adult Education, Syracuse University (Bown 1975).

The 1970s saw a first cycle of discourses on *The Limits to Growth* which was led by the Club of Rome and showed already clearly that the development model of the time was not contributing to a sustainable future but – as we understand even better today – was having a disastrous effect on our climate. And there was another concerned debate about the impact of colonization, on development – and underdevelopment – often influenced by the influential study *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Rodney 1972). Current debates on failed de-coloniza-

tion are equally relevant as much of data which on the global impact of climate change were already available in the early 1970s (Meadows et al. 1974).

2. Lalage's Exceptionalism in Africa

So, in many respects Lalage was totally different to many Europeans who worked in Africa in the colonial and post-colonial periods. As the overview of her biography in Chapter 2 indicates, although she returned to work in UK in 1981 she was no less active in her advocacy for adult education in Africa.

Once she resolved to contribute to the advancement of Africa, she never wavered, nor did she allow the challenges of working in the Region to change her mind. Here again, she is different from many British personnel who quickly resolved to return 'home' due to the harshness of the weather or the frustrations arising from bureaucratic hindrances, which prevented them from working maximally on their dreams for the development of the region. Some examples abound, one of the best known being the experience of Major Arthur John Carpenter who was recruited as Mass Education Officer in Nigeria, but who took an early retirement at age 45 in protest against the obstacles presented by the colleague officials who refused to allow him to operate the mass education agenda proposed by the British Government in 1944.

Her enthusiasm for Africa's development led to close engagement with the British Council as she lobbied relentlessly for resources for the region for adult education. It was for this reason, for example, that on her return to Britain, she became one of the leading drivers of The Britain-Nigeria Educational Trust founded to promote friendship and understanding through financial support for Nigerian education. She also remained an active member of the Council for Education in the Commonwealth. In addition to mentoring Africans and supporting them in every way she could, Lalage promoted African values. She was often seen in African attire in the streets of Britain and living in homes decorated with African carvings and artefacts, excellent memories of the richness of the African past.

Lalage also identified with Africa in the struggles and aspirations of the continent. It was perhaps her decision to adopt two girls, African twins, that further demonstrated her empathy for service there. The twins had been abandoned as young children, but Lalage took them over, gave them a sound education and a home and saw them to the status of respected positions in life.

There are thus many aspects to her legacy that live on beyond her writing and her work through this international family which she created.

3. Purpose and Themes of the Book

Following this introduction, this book is divided into four main substantive parts, along with a concluding reflection.

The first of these parts addresses the theme of adult education in relation to promotion of equality and social justice, particularly in terms of women's education. Robert Hamilton (University of Glasgow, Scotland) introduces the life

and work of Lalage Bown, outlining her central ideas, methods of working, and impact on policy, practice and research. These concepts are taken up in detail in further chapters. Maria Slowey (Dublin City University, Ireland) who had succeeded Professor Bown as Professor and Director of Adult and Continuing Education at Glasgow University, explores changing conceptions of social purpose higher education through the legacy of university adult education. She traces the historical background to the development of the Glasgow Department, and explores the extent to which, despite the significant changes that have taken place in higher education over recent decades, a social purpose mission can be discerned, albeit in different manifestations.

As mentioned above, Lalage was a champion for women's education for personal development as well as empowerment and social progress. Jean Barr (Glasgow University) reflects on struggles for women's right to education and scholarship. She draws on a case study of women's education in the West of Scotland in the 1980s to illustrate the ways in which women's education for empowerment often tends to thrive in the less formal spaces and concludes with a critique of a current narrowing of adult educations horizons. The theme is pursued further in the chapter by Stella Nwizu (University of Nigeria) and Mejai Bola Mike Avoseh (University of South Dakota) who focus on the crucial importance of women's education in the context of equality and poverty alleviation in Africa.

This part of the book is concluded by Alan Tuckett (University of Wolverhampton), who was previously Director of the National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education in England and also President of the International Council for Adult and Continuing Education, roles in which strong advocacy and lobbying on behalf of adult education formed a major part. He highlights the ways in which Lalage also understood that it was possible (though not easy) to persuade policy makers to sign up to broad commitments to lifelong learning for all, but that turning those broad commitments into practical policies affecting poor and marginalised adults, and particularly poor and marginalised women was infinitely harder. He illustrates the importance of advocacy in practice through an examination of three specific examples.

The second substantive part of the book investigates the role of adult education and decolonisation, post-colonialism and indigenous knowledge(s). Chapters address: themes of liberation and empowerment (Michael Omolewa, University of Ibadan Nigeria; Ruphina U. Nwachukwu, University of Nigeria; and, Anne Katahoire, Makerere University, Uganda); institution building (Samir Halliru, and Audu Semiu Aganah, Bayero University, Nigeria); the African experiment in global partnership building (Akpovire Oduaran, North-West University, South Africa; Gbolagade Adekanmbi, University of Botswana; and, Rashid Aderinoye, University of Ibadan, Nigeria); decolonialised language training (Abimbola Abodunrin, Jason Chan, and Srabani Maitra, University of Glasgow, Scotland); and, the decolonial intent, and the emergence of an 'African Voice' (Budd Hall, University of Victoria, Canada; and Michael Omolewa, University of Ibadan, Nigeria).

The third part is entitled "From Literacy to Lifelong Learning" and begins with a chapter by Mia Perry, Marcela Ramos (University of Glasgow, Scotland) and Nancy Palacios (University of the Andes, Colombia) who consider the changing conceptions of literacy. There then follows a chapter from Michael Osborne (University of Glasgow) that relates to the interplay between SDG3 (Health), SDG4 (Education and Lifelong Learning) and SDG11 (Cities) in the context of the capacity strengthening of researchers in the global south. Oluwayemisi Obashoro-John (University of Lagos, Nigeria) and Brian Findsen (University of Waikato, New Zealand) address the important question of supporting lifelong learning for older adults – who are an increasing proportion of the population across the world. Ellen Boeren and Catherine Lido (University of Glasgow, Scotland) conclude this part of the book by exploring the capture of lifelong learning metrics through international surveys and novel innovative methods.

The final and fourth substantive part explores methods to enhance future development of adult learning and education through fostering excellence. Contributors are: Maja Avramovska, Sonja Belete, Uwe Gartenschlaeger, Heribert Hinzen and Levan Kvatchadze (Institute for International Cooperation of the Deutscher Volkshochschul Verband, the German Adult Education Association, Germany [DVV]) who build on the extensive experience over many decades of DVV. Shirley Walters (University of the Western Cape, South Africa) provides an analysis of a distinctive case study «professors of the street», while Ievgeniia Dragomirova (Donetsk State University of Management, Ukraine) and Rob Mark (University of Glasgow, Scotland) investigate the education of adult migrants in Europe, drawing on the experiences of Ukrainian refugees fleeing the invasion of their country. Bonnie Slade and Preeti Dagar (University of Glasgow, Scotland) conclude this section investigating the implications for future formation of adult educators given the growing diversity of professionals with roles and responsibilities in this arena.

The final chapter in the book concludes with a personal reflection of the enduring legacy of Lalage Bown, by Richard Taylor (Wolfson College, Cambridge, UK), who had worked over many years with Lalage in different capacities. It focuses on the values that informed her work in adult education over the decades, with considerations on what priorities she might advocate for contemporary adult education policy and practice.

Concluding Comments

Inevitably with the limited space that we have available, we have not been able to include all of those who wished to contribute and to reflect upon the immense contribution that Lalage Bown made to the field of adult education across the globe for seven decades. We thank those that have contributed and hope she would feel we have done our best as editors to do justice to her values and work. We also hope that readers will gain a sense of a life lived to the full, with an unremitting concern with social justice and service.

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PART I

Adult Education and Social Justice
Co-ordinating Editor: Maria Slowey

CHAPTER 2

The Fight for Social Justice – Lalage Bown: A Lifetime's Mission*

Robert Hamilton

Abstract:

This chapter examines the life and legacy of the remarkable and inspiring Emeritus Professor Lalage Bown, OBE, who died in 2021, aged 94. The author locates Lalage's commitment to adult education to a post-war Second World War period, when many believed that the kind of injustices suffered under colonial rule had to end. It is demonstrated that she was a globalist who believed that all humanity was interconnected, and that education could promote transformative change across and within national boundaries. An eminent women's literacy advocate, who devoted her life's work to improving education for the disadvantaged, especially women, Lalage sought to bring university opportunities to the widest possible sections of society. She was immersed in a tradition which regarded adult education as a catalyst for significant social change, and this chapter highlights how she developed new inclusive, post-colonial approaches to education, including the reform of university curricula across many countries in Africa and Europe.

Keywords: Access; Adult Education; Decolonisation; Universities; Women's Literacy

A product of an Oxford education, Lalage chose to serve overseas, leaving behind the comfort of her environment for more challenging terrain in Africa. Her long and distinguished 30-year career in various parts of Africa from 1949 is traced here. Lalage became so influential that she was styled by many admirers as the 'mother of African adult education'. Of particular significance, attention is devoted to her crucial support of the 'Africanisation' of the curriculum. Her anthology *Two Centuries of African English* (1973) arguably transformed approaches to literature in the continent. She also saw first-hand the effects of illiteracy and dedicated much of her time in Africa to helping adult women learn to read and write.

The chapter also focuses on Lalage Bown's return to the UK in the late 1981, where she continued to highlight the need for those in developing countries to have access to the knowledge community. Her message was about equality and

* Portions of the article previously appeared as Hamilton 2021a. "Lalage Bown (1927-2021). Adult Educator for the Right to Education, Women's Literacy and Decolonisation".

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Robert Hamilton, *The Fight for Social Justice – Lalage Bown: A Lifetime's Mission*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.07, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 29-40, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

access between countries as well as within the UK. The author contends that she succeeded in giving Adult and Continuing Education a recognised profile as a major field of education policy in Africa, Europe, and beyond. It is concluded that Lalage's ideas and her lifetime commitment to social justice serve as an enduring resource.

Emeritus Professor Lalage Bown, OBE, died on 17 December 2021, aged 94 (Hamilton 2021b; *The Times* 2021; Innes 2022). Lalage was a life-long fighter for social justice. An eminent women's literacy advocate, she dedicated her life's work to improving education for the disadvantaged, especially women, seeking to bring university opportunities to the widest possible sections of society. Lalage's ideas were informed by a post-war world in which many believed that the kind of injustices suffered under colonial rule had to end. But, beyond this, in her radical way, Lalage also saw the need to develop new inclusive, post-colonial approaches to education, including the reform of university curricula. She devoted her life to this mission, inspiring and challenging all she met – professionals and learners – across many countries in Africa and Europe.

1. Background

Daughter of Dorothy Ethel Watson and Arthur Mervyn Bown, Lalage Bown was born in Croydon on 1 April 1927. Her name, Lalage, derives from Horace's Ode XXII «'*dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo dulce loquentem*' which appropriately transfers to 'I shall love Lalage, who laughs and talks so sweetly'» (University of Glasgow 2022). The oldest of four children, she was destined for a strong start in life. Lalage's mother was denied the opportunity to go to university because, as a woman, 'it was not the done thing'. However, nothing would be too good for any daughters she might have. Lalage's mother agreed to marry Arthur Bown – on the condition that, if they had any daughters, they would be entitled to education opportunities equal to any sons, quite remarkable for the 1920s. Her father was the author of a First World War memoir, *Was it Yesterday?* Lalage had two brothers, Hugh and Mark, and a sister, Jacqueline. Their parents lived abroad because their father's work with the Indian Civil Service was based in Burma (Myanmar). The children lived «a bit of a ragamuffin's existence» in childrens' holiday homes and boarding schools (*The Times* 2021). As the oldest, Lalage was responsible for keeping an eye on her younger brothers and sister, effectively bringing them up. Their mother would travel home by boat every summer, but their father had leave only every third year. They would speak to their parents for five minutes on the telephone each Christmas.

Lalage was shaped by many forces and especially by education. She enjoyed a privileged education from the outset and quickly learned about the value of learning and how it can change lives. She was educated at Wycombe High School for Girls (1939-42), Cheltenham Ladies College (1942-45) and Somerville College at the University of Oxford (1945-49), gaining an Honours Degree in Modern History (1948) followed by a Master of Arts (1949). At that time, she was one of just 600 female students at Oxford among 6000 males. In common with all her

generation, Lalage experienced the challenges of the Second World War. During the recent lockdown at her home in Shrewsbury in 2020, Lalage reflected in an interview on the fight against fascism during Second World War and the then current fight against the coronavirus (Bown 2020a). Describing both as «struggles without boundaries» (Bown 2020a) she recalled the fear of imminent death in Second World War through bombing, of carrying a gas mask, and queuing with schoolmates, each paying sixpence for the Red Cross just to smell a single grapefruit. Demonstrating the sense of social justice, she displayed all of her life, Lalage observed «the advantage then was that everyone had a basic equality. I never foresaw a time when millions had to go to food banks» (Bown 2020a). She added that «the greater social equality of the war years ('all in it together') resulted in welfare reforms, including, of course, the National Health Service» (Bown 2020a). Without it, she concluded, our present 'war' against the coronavirus would be unbelievably more frightening.

While at Oxford, Lalage went to Germany in 1947 at the age of 20 as a member of a group of British university students contributing to the Allies humanitarian and educational work. They met with other students from all over Europe to think about a peaceful living together with other nations on the continent. They worked day and night in a half-ruined hotel in Bonn (Bad Godesberg), where almost a decade earlier, Chamberlain and Hitler met during peace negotiations just before the outbreak of war. She was particularly impressed at Somerville College by the «exceptional diversity» of her fellow students, whose cohort included people from Denmark, France, Poland, Guyana and New Zealand. One of her fellow students was the daughter of a Nottinghamshire coal miner, whereas another, Lalage recalled, had «never learned to make her own bed» (Bown 2020b). Lalage's particular interest in Africa was awakened by childhood reading and by the talented African fellow students she met at Oxford, including Alex Quaison-Sackey, who became the first black African to serve as president of the United Nations General Assembly. Undertaking postgraduate courses in adult education and economic development further stimulated this lifelong interest in Africa. She left Oxford with a strong sense of responsibility to make good use of her privilege.

2. Pioneering Adult Education in Africa

It is not surprising, therefore, that after her studies, Lalage applied in 1949 for a resident tutor post based at the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University College of the Gold Coast (subsequently Ghana). She set down a marker for what became a lifetime of commitment to the educational needs of those who are marginalised. As an African colleague said, she chose to serve overseas, leaving behind the comfort and serenity of her environment for the more challenging terrain of Africa. During her interview for the post in the Gold Coast, Lalage was challenged by a man who was sceptical about her ability as a young woman to survive in her new environment. She was asked «Now Miss Bown, supposing you were to get the job and you were in the jungle in a car and your car broke down, how do we know you wouldn't have a fit of hys-

terics?» She simply replied, «Well sir, if you don't give me the job, you'll never find out, will you?» (*The Times* 2021). She was given the job. At just 22, Lalage travelled via Senegal to Gold Coast where, in her words, she immediately «felt the warmth of the climate» (*The Times* 2021). Lalage became involved in teaching African literature and arts and helped to create the first folk high school on the African continent.

Lalage remained in Africa until 1980, living and working in Gold Coast, Uganda, Nigeria and Zambia. Over a distinguished period of 30 years, she was central to institution building across the continent. She became the first field resident tutor in the Extra-Mural Department at Makerere University College in Uganda and held various positions at the University of Ibadan and Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria, the University of Zambia and the University of Lagos. She made use of a museum in Uganda to help build a sense of cultural identity. In Zambia, Lalage established a national extra-mural programme, emphasising the role of the university in promoting discussion of current issues, with special courses for trade unionists, politicians and the police, and through *University of the Air* made use of radio, television and theatre for public education. She also helped to set up the first systematic university training for adult educators in Africa. She was an activist who served as the founding Secretary of the African Adult Education Association and was an active participant in the building of the Nigerian National Council for Adult Education. For her role in these institutions, she received numerous awards and recognitions. A special issue of the journal *Adult Education in Nigeria* was dedicated to the celebration of her seventieth birthday in 1997, when she was named the 'Mother of Adult Education in Africa'.

Of most significance, Professor Lalage Bown saw first-hand the effects of illiteracy and despite opposition from some men she dedicated much of her career in Africa and beyond to helping adult women learn to read and write. She observed that many widows were stripped of absolutely everything and if «they could not read or write they were utterly helpless» (*The Times* 2021). Lalage viewed literacy as a human right and an instrument for transformation. She recognised that literacy was intimately linked to voice, identity, status, aspirations and power. In 1990, she drew on experience in Africa, the United States and the United Kingdom, and as an active member of the Canadian-based International Council for Adult Education, to produce a significant report for Action Aid, *Preparing the Future: Women, Literacy and Development*. In 2009 she gave the UNESCO International Literacy Day Lecture and took the opportunity to appeal for more support from member nations. Interviewed by Mary de Sousa in 2009 for the UNESCO Education Sector Newsletter, she said: «I was left [...] with the huge conviction that even the simplest acquisition of literacy can have a profoundly empowering effect personally, socially and politically. When it comes to women, there is a huge change in their self-worth and confidence» (Millora 2022). She was an advocate for adult literacy throughout her life and sought to change a situation in which literacy programmes were marginalised in almost all societies and the number of non-literate people in the world remained fairly static. In an address to the British Association for Literacy in Develop-

ment (BALID) in 2015, she called on members to educate themselves in political literacy and not think of literacy only in the traditional sense (Bown 2015). Lalage rejected the narrow view of literacy within adult learning which views it instrumentally, as a means to employment in a capitalist society, or formally, as part of the formal educational structure. In her later years, Lalage often quoted the words of Irina Bokova, UNESCO Director-General in 2014, that «literacy not only changes lives, but it also saves them» (United Nations 2014). She took inspiration from the UNESCO meeting on Global Education for All in 2014, which adopted a framework for education which in addition to other keywords of inclusivity, equity, and quality, included a commitment to *lifelong learning*. For Lalage, this last phrase provided the basis for the advocacy of adult literacy. She learned through personal experience that developing countries had much to offer to rich countries regarding the nature and purposes of adult education. From her experiences in Africa, Lalage recognised that developing countries often located adult education in a wider context of lifelong learning and with an emphasis on meeting the educational needs of the most marginalised in society.

3. Early Efforts to Decolonise the Curriculum

Lalage was also instrumental in supporting the 'Africanisation' of the curriculum. Speaking on BBC Radio 4 *Women's Hour*, she described how, when she arrived in Africa, the students were required to study standard English texts such as William Wordsworth's "Daffodils" poem (Innes 2022). She thought this was absurd and that they should be studying more relevant African texts. Lalage challenged her colleagues to rethink the curriculum. She suggested to her (mostly male) colleagues that more relevant material, by African authors about African life, would be more appropriate, but they said there was no material available in English. She informed her sceptics that she could identify texts written in English by Africans with African concerns, over a period of 200 years. Lalage's colleagues laughed at her but within two weeks, aided by her training as a historian, she had found relevant letters, diaries and texts. This eventually led to the publishing of her book, in 1973, *Two Centuries of African English*, which became a much relied-upon resource for the African universities at the time and helped transform approaches to literature in the continent. It featured among other writers Ignatius Sancho, Olaudah Equiano, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere and Chinua Achebe. It also meant that the voice of Africa could be heard on a broader international stage. Her passion to get the outside world to work with adult educators in Africa led, partly, to the publication of the *Handbook of Adult Education for West Africa* by Hutchinson Press in 1979 (Department of Adult Education, University of Lagos 1979), supported with funds from the German Adult Education Association. This work established a starting point for broader discussions about the scope of adult education beyond basic literacy. One reviewer noted that the most important aspect of this book was that it was written at all and that it would encourage others to further develop their own adult education texts based upon their own cultural systems.

On a personal level, Lalage Bown embraced African culture and life in so many different ways. She tried to speak the local language Yoruba in Nigeria but, in her own estimation, with limited success. When in Nigeria, Lalage looked after five-year-old Nigerian twin girls. After six months, she had bonded so strongly with the girls, she asked if she could keep them on. There were no formal adoption arrangements, but they became her daughters. Her friends also described her as a woman of 'sartorial flair'. Following her death, a collection of Lalage's clothing was donated by her family to the Victoria and Albert Museum in response to the Africa Fashion call-out in 2022. Lalage typically purchased her clothes from local tailors in Africa, recommended by her students. The collection included *busuuti*, a common form of dress for women in the Buganda kingdom in Uganda, made of Barkcloth. Lalage received the *busuuti* as a gift from the wife of the Uganda Minister Amos Sempa. She also commissioned a *grand boubou* from a local tailor in Dakar in 1966, and it was designed to make a statement. She wanted to wear the complete outfit worn in the streets by almost all of the women in Senegal at that time. She visited Dakar a few times in the lead up to, and for, the Second International Congress of Africanists, of which she was the Joint Executive Secretary. She wore the outfit several times, at the opening ceremony hosted by Senegalese President Leopold Senghor, and some of the receptions in 1966 and 1967. Lalage later commissioned Shade Thomas-Fahm, 'Nigeria's first fashion designer', to create an ensemble for her to wear to receive her OBE (Order of the British Empire) in 1977 at Buckingham Palace.

4. Returning to the UK

Lalage's work in Africa did not go unnoticed. In 1974, she became a Commonwealth Visiting Professor at Edinburgh University; and in 1975, she was awarded an honorary doctorate from the Open University for services to the education of the underprivileged. She received the William Pearson Tolley Award from Syracuse University in 1975, the first woman to receive that award in memory of an American academic who, among other achievements, expanded access for women to higher education and helped to create the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (the GI Bill). Lalage was then, as previously mentioned, awarded an OBE in 1977. The honours and accolades continued throughout her life; she received her sixth honorary doctorate (from the University of Chester) during a graduation ceremony in 2018. Lalage returned full-time to the UK as Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex in 1980. Whilst there, she assisted a colleague who was running a small independent adult education centre based in the Quaker meeting house in Brighton and embroiled in political struggles to defend learner-centred literacy work. Lalage arrived as ever a whirlwind of energy, advice and clarity of thought; radical, disciplined, inspiring and determined that the adult education centre should combine internationalism and the pursuit of social justice in its work. For the remainder of her life, whenever they met her, colleagues were inspired by her distinct combination of a challenge to be rigorous, coupled with encouragement and renewed motivation.

5. University of Glasgow, Scotland

In 1981, Lalage was appointed to the Department of Adult and Continuing Education (DACE) at the University of Glasgow as Director and titular professor. All of those who had the chance to work with Lalage in Glasgow were privileged in a directly personal way. Under her leadership in the 1980s, Glasgow University had the widest subject range of all continuing education departments in the UK, and the fifth highest enrolment figures (Hamilton and Slowey 2005). Close to Lalage's heart was the establishment in 1990 of an Equal Opportunities Training Unit with three members of staff. This unit provided pioneering antiracism training for the police and for Glasgow District Council. She brought to Glasgow a determination to ensure that everyone who could benefit from it should have effective access to higher education. A programme providing a pathway to degree study for underrepresented groups flourished under her leadership, with many former students even going on to achieve higher degrees. She looked outward from the university to promote public engagement outside of the university walls, connecting with the important regional authorities at the time, to the wider community, the media, the City of Glasgow, museums and the like. She was a trustee for National Museums Scotland and a board member of the National Trust. An annual highlight for her, involved a visit to all the outlying DACE centres of learning throughout the West of Scotland. She also looked inward to the university, working tirelessly to engage with colleagues in all Faculties and Departments about the importance of widening access, promoting lifelong learning, part-time study opportunities and outreach activities. She also played a significant role in the major committees of the university, ensuring that adult education had a voice where decisions were made on institutional priorities (Hamilton and Slowey 2005).

Lalage also maintained significant links with African nations. In 1986 she delivered a lecture at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, as part of its Faculty of Education Silver Jubilee celebrations. That same year a group of African adult educators visited the Department. Throughout her tenure at Glasgow, Lalage's reputation encouraged many African students to undertake postgraduate work in the Department of Adult and Continuing Education (DACE). She was particularly proud of the growth in the number of students taking postgraduate courses in adult education. Given her belief in the importance of the relationship between theory and practice in adult education, postgraduate studies held particular significance for her. Many of the part-time postgraduate students were employed in work with ethnic minorities and low-income students. 1983 saw the first graduate from the MEd in Adult and Community Education. Lalage believed firmly in the maintenance of high academic standards, rigour and excellence in the discipline of adult education. She insisted that academic colleagues in the Department from other disciplines study the principles and practices of adult education.

On her retiral from the University of Glasgow in 1992, Lalage was delighted that her successor was also a woman, Maria Slowey – at a time when 6% of the professoriate were women – setting the stage for subsequent women in sen-

ior leadership roles. Lalage maintained her links with the University for the remainder of her life, including as a strong supporter of the Centre for Research & Development in Adult and Lifelong Learning (CRADALL). In the late 1990s, in line with her appetite to widen access to knowledge across international boundaries, she agreed to act as External Examiner for an innovative University of Glasgow Masters in English and Educational Studies, which was partly delivered on-site in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) (Hamilton and Slowey 2005).

Unusually, in recognition of her distinctive contribution, Glasgow University awarded an honorary degree to one of its own Emeritus Professors. Lalage received a D.Litt. in April 2002 and was invited to give the charge to the graduates. In a stirring address, she stressed the importance of equality in learning. The graduates were spellbound as Lalage laid out her conviction that everyone had a right to knowledge, but that knowledge must not just be information but should include analysis, interpretation and critical appraisal. From her personal experiences in Africa, she stressed the importance of adult literacy and, in praise of lifelong learning, advised students that their degrees were only a start, not an end to learning. In further support of adult education, public engagement and lifelong learning, she called on the University to strengthen its service to mature citizens who wanted access to some university knowledge, but not always necessarily a degree. She also highlighted the need for a better gender balance, especially in postgraduate study. She looked forward in her address to the day when the University might have a female Principal. Finally, she drew from her long career in Africa to highlight the need for those in developing countries to have access to the knowledge community. Her message was, therefore, about equality and access between countries as well as within the UK. Again, unusually for such an event, this oration received a standing ovation. She fought the corner for adult education and widening participation long after she left the University of Glasgow. Successive Principals received communications from her whenever the provision of courses for the general public came under internal scrutiny. She said she would rather argue with academic colleagues than have adult education funding 'earmarked' by government bureaucrats. Lalage was dismayed in the 1990s and in the twenty-first century to see the disappearance of so many adult education departments in universities as funding priorities changed throughout higher education in the UK. She kept up the struggle through argument, and an unquenchable hope and vision that universities could be organised by dialogue and would remain accessible to under-represented groups.

6. On-going Global Engagement

The post-Second World War interest in international adult education saw UNESCO-led attempts to facilitate engagement between adult educators, researchers and policy-makers. Such collaboration across international boundaries was second nature for Lalage Bown. She stressed the benefits of global partnership throughout her career and incorporated this ideal into her practices. Through her work in the Gold Coast, Uganda, Nigeria and Zambia, Lalage engaged in educa-

tional collaboration and exchange between Commonwealth member states. Because of this commitment to African university development and international exchange, she was a natural choice to serve from 1989 on the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility and Higher Education Development, where she became involved in the shaping of central Commonwealth policy-making (Williams 2022). The Committee looked at distance education and capacity building in the universities of developing Commonwealth countries. Lalage helped the Committee set up the Commonwealth Higher Education Support scheme with component programmes close to her heart in university management; books, journals and libraries; academic staff development and women's leadership. She later served as one of the Deputy Chairs of the Council for Education in the Commonwealth (CEC) during which time she co-authored several important studies on Commonwealth academic exchange and student mobility, the first forty years of Commonwealth Educational Co-operation and the experiences of English-speaking African countries on introducing universal primary education. In all these endeavours she worked with a group of co-authors and for many of them it was much the experience of collegial working under Lalage's chairmanship as the final product itself, that lingers in the mind. At CEC she supported gender equality issues. She strove successfully to bring younger people, particularly women from different ethnic backgrounds, on to a committee that had been populated by older white males (Williams 2022). Her contribution to the work of the CEC and to Commonwealth educational cooperation was therefore particularly significant.

Lalage retired to Shrewsbury in England in 1992 holding honorary positions from Warwick University and the University of London Institute of Education. She continued to work to try and make a difference in people's lives all throughout her 'retirement'. She observed that «they say you can't teach an old dog new tricks, but research has shown you can go on learning new things until you drop off the perch» (*The Times* 2021). In the 1990s, she pulled together her experiences on the effects of literacy on adult women into a ground-breaking report *Preparing for the Future: Women, Literacy and Development. The Impact of Female Literacy on Human Development and the Participation of Literate Women in Change* (1990). She was also named a Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1991. In 2009 Lalage was inducted into the International Hall of Fame for Adult and Continuing Education. She was Hon. Vice-President of the Townswomen's Guilds in the UK for 24 years. She chaired both the British Association for Comparative and International Education and the Development Studies Association. Lalage remained an active member of many boards, trusts, committees and councils concerned with higher education, adult education, literacy and community enrichment in Africa, the Commonwealth and the UK, including being life member of the African Adult Education Association. She recalled being the only woman on some committees «they look at you if you open your mouth as if you are a kind of talking dog on its hind legs» (*The Times* 2021).

To her friends and colleagues, Lalage appeared both phenomenal and indestructible. Just before her planned ninetieth birthday celebration in Glasgow in 2017, she fell and broke her hip. As she was wheeled into hospital in great pain, Lalage found the strength to chuckle when the young volunteer pushing her wheelchair said it «made her day to meet a celebrity». The indomitable Lalage came to Glasgow the following year to celebrate a belated ninetieth birthday. Among other commitments in her final years, she was an engaged patron of the *Adult Education 100 campaign* – celebrating and taking forward the ideals of the ground-breaking 1919 British Government report on adult education. Lalage remained active in her local community in Shrewsbury and regularly recorded newspaper readings for the blind. At the age of 94 she enjoyed participating in a local campaign against a new development in her area but complained it got in the way of her academic work! She was a generous donor to appeals for public monuments in Shrewsbury, was Chair of the townships residence association and was an active member of the local Rotary.

7. Legacy

Professor Lalage Bown was an outstanding communicator: she wrote, edited or contributed to around 26 books and monographs plus 86 articles. In her leisure time, she enjoyed travelling, reading and entertaining friends. She was living proof of the adage, «If you never stop learning, you never grow old» (Hamilton 2021b). One colleague said if he were to highlight one special characteristic of Lalage's among so many, it would be her open, friendly, and collaborative attitude to working with other people. He added that she was not self-seeking or competitive but enjoyed bringing out the best in others – she was interested in and valued every contribution, yet if she disagreed with you, she would let you know in a straight way. Another colleague had one abiding memory of her formidable and impressive qualities. At Lalage's urging, he went (with her) to a conference in Nigeria, her old stomping ground. The campus was sadly decaying, and things were obviously in poor shape. The conference dinner was in a bizarre setting of military opulence, with a row of men sitting on the dais; in her after-dinner speech, Lalage managed to combine perfect politeness with a blistering attack on their failure to maintain the place and the lack of educational opportunity. Her colleague was torn between admiration and fearful anxiety as he scanned their faces (Hamilton 2021b).

In the words of one of her African colleagues, Lalage was a trailblazer in the global Adult Education movement. She was emersed in a tradition which regarded adult education as a catalyst for significant social change. Her understanding of adult education extended to and integrated with economics, ecology, health education, literacy, religious and linguistic traditions. Her commitment to, and insight about, democratic adult education was unbounded. She succeeded in giving Adult and Continuing Education a recognised profile as a major field of education policy in Europe, Africa and beyond. All recall her commanding presence at conferences (Little 2022). She initiated and strengthened programmes

based on the fundamentals of individual tradition, traditional culture and religion. In conclusion, Lalage was a people's person. She had a strong commitment to her family. Lalage had a truly unique gift for people and engaging in the communities in which she found herself. Her friends were always impressed by her engagement with everyone she encountered, including taxi drivers, porters and even strangers on the train. Lalage was a friend and mentor to countless people who loved and admired her.

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CHAPTER 3

Changing Conceptions of Social Purpose Higher Education: The Legacy of University Adult Education

Maria Slowey

Abstract:

Lalage Bown was an inspirational adult educator who worked tirelessly to bring university education to people of all ages and sectors of society. For her, this was not a one-way process of 'knowledge transmission' but rather a partnership to the *mutual* benefit of both higher education and society at large.

In this chapter I illustrate one university's engagement with its wider community though a social-historical account of the emergence of Glasgow University's Department of Adult and Continuing Education – from which Lalage Bown retired as Director in 1992. The chapter then explores different interpretations of 'university adult education' in Britain and the wider European context – both conceptually and in practical terms. Finally, the question is posed as to whether the time may have passed for the values and ideals espoused by this tradition? Or whether, alternatively, they are interpreted anew through, for example, universities' commitments to widening access, social responsibility, the Sustainable Development Goals and other forms of outreach and civic engagement?

Keywords: Access; Community Engagement; Extra-mural; Social Purpose; University Adult Education

> I am standing in the drizzle at a bus stop in one of the famous «schemes», and begin talking with a young woman, who tells me how she feels trapped and alienated. In the end, we neither of us get a bus. She invites me in out of the rain, and the outcome is she organises a small class in her tenement flat. They «never knew» that the uni [University of Glasgow] was for them. I take along the Dean of Social Sciences and even he «never knew» how the university would be enriched by their knowledge and insight.
> Lalage Bown (2003, 153)

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Maria Slowey, *Changing Conceptions of Social Purpose Higher Education: The Legacy of University Adult Education*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.08, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 41-54, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

Introduction

The location of the meeting at the bus stop in the above quotation refers to Glasgow municipal housing 'schemes' located in areas of multiple deprivation. The exchange illustrates the values, creativity and rather feisty 'direct action' approach, so typical of the remarkable adult educator, Lalage Bown, as she worked tirelessly to bring university education to the widest possibly community. But more than that, importantly it reflects the fact that she did not regard knowledge 'exchange' as a one-way process. For her, universities also had much to gain from engagement with people of all ages and from all sectors of society.

In this chapter, I am approaching the question of social purpose higher education through the example of the work and legacy of Lalage Bown in the particular case of her time at Glasgow University.

As Director and Professor of Adult and Continuing Education in Glasgow University, Scotland (1982-92), her ideals reflected those of A.D. Lindsay, Professor of Moral Philosophy who, in the 1920s, had campaigned to persuade the University to establish an Extra-Mural Education Committee. Although the University had previously organised *ad hoc* lectures and collaborated with external bodies such as the Mechanics Institutes, this Committee represented a step change in approach as it was called upon to work to open higher education opportunities to the people of the City of Glasgow and its environs in a more structured way than had previously been the case. Commenting in 1923 that a University such as Glasgow, which was, at his time of writing «situated in the centre of a great industrial community» (Lindsay, quoted in Scott 1971, 102), Lindsay argued that it had a responsibility, and an opportunity to make

> humanistic studies the possession of all men and women who are faced with the need of it, if all who want a completer understanding of the ideals and possibilities of our common life, of economic and political relations, of the laws and the working of the political and social institutions they are called upon to handle, can come to the University for help, and look to it for a standard of impartial and scientific study (Lindsay, quoted in Scott 1971, 102).

There is a view that education is particularly valued in Scotland and, while perhaps some of this could arguably be viewed as a 'reinvention of tradition' it is the case that as, as Bob Bell and Malcolm Tight (1993) point out, in the fifteenth century at a time when there were only two universities in England – Oxford and Cambridge – there were three in Scotland: St Andrews (1413), Glasgow (1451) and Aberdeen (1495). As it happens, there is an interesting connecting line through Oxford University between A.D. Lindsay and Lalage Bown: Lindsay became of Master of Balliol College, Oxford and subsequently Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, while Lalage was strongly influenced by her experience while a student of Somerville College, Oxford (as discussed by Robert Hamilton in Chapter 2).

The appointment of Lalage Bown in 1982 as Director of what had by then become the Department of Adult and Continuing Education (DACE) was significant in many respects. The activities had expanded and changed since those undertaken under the auspices of the Extramural Education Committee, and

there had been an expansion in scale and development of provision in the period after Second World War. However, Lalage's appointment represented a step-change transformation in relation to the philosophy and the profile of the work of the Department: both within the university and externally in the wider community. She was not only Director, but also the Professor of Adult and Continuing Education – at a time when, in Scotland, there was typically only *the* Professor in a department. Her intellect, strong values and personality made her a formidable advocate on behalf adult learners throughout the university and beyond. The tales of her challenging interventions at Senate are legendary – attracting on more than one occasion spontaneous standing applause when she subsequently retired to the campus College Club for a 'wee dram' or in one of the local restaurants where she was an always popular, familiar figure.

When Lalage 'retired' in 1992, I had the privilege of being appointed as her successor. I was both delighted and apprehensive in equal measure. Delighted as DACE had become, under Lalage's leadership, not only one of the largest but also one of the most far-sighted and innovative departments of its kind in the UK. I was of course also rather apprehensive – she had set such a high bar: how might it be possible to follow in her footsteps?

However, I need not have worried: Lalage's contribution was so distinctive that she would have been a hard, if not impossible, act for anyone to follow. From the moment she heard of my appointment, Lalage was unstinting in her support for the new Director of the Department in the University that she loved so much. Once my appointment had been confirmed, she insisted we celebrate together in one of her favourite Glaswegian restaurants.

Given her long-standing commitment to equality for women in all walks of life and in all situations she was particularly delighted that it was one of the first – if not *the* first – occasions in Glasgow University when a female Professor had been succeeded by another woman, but also that my appointment was as a time when it was estimated that only around 6% of the professoriate in the university were women.

Indomitable, intrepid, dedicated, engaging, inclusive, imaginative, radical… these are all terms would come to mind when thinking about Lalage. She dedicated her long life to fighting for social justice: and, in her tireless pursuit of this struggle, adult education – in its various manifestations – formed her 'weapon'.

This chapter makes the case that her ideas and strategies remain, if anything, even more pertinent today than ever. The discussion is divided into three parts.

In the first, drawing largely on three historical accounts (Shearer 1976; Hamilton and Slowey 2005; Slowey 2010) I use Glasgow University as a case study, tracing a brief social history of the background to the university's engagement with its wider community – including the introduction of the first university classes designed for the general public, from which the Department of Adult and Continuing Education emerged.

Secondly, I explore different conceptual and practical interpretations of 'university adult education' in Britain and the wider European context over recent decades.

In the third part I raise the question as to whether the time of the extra-mural, university adult education tradition – to which Lalage devoted most of her working life – may have come to an end? Or, whether alternatively, have the values and ideals she espoused been reinterpreted anew through, for example, universities' commitments to social responsibility, access initiatives and wider forms of civic engagement?

1. The Case of Glasgow University: Changing Manifestations of University Adult Education

Universities are social institutions which, inevitably, change over time in response to shifting cultural, social, political and economic conditions. At the core, however, lies a common mission to create and disseminate knowledge through research and teaching. In this way, universities are simultaneously part of society, yet, if they are to fulfil their unique academic mission, they also require the freedom to be independent, holding a critical mirror back to the society of which they are a part.

One significant aspect within this context concerns a commitment to supporting wider society and the 'public good' – the notion of which, of course, varies over time (Marginson and Yang 2020). However, arguably an arena where university values and those of social purpose adult education converge concerns access to education for people of all ages and stages of life – not just school leavers – and particularly those who did not have the chance to engage in higher education at a younger age.

In the case of Glasgow University, approximately 300 years ago, in 1727, the University Commissioners instituted changes in the Constitution of the university whereby the Professor of Natural Philosophy was required to offer two courses: one in physics and one in experimental philosophy. It was further laid down that «any person, not a student as said is, may attend the lessons of Experimental Philosophy without a gown»: in other words that the course on experimental philosophy should be open to the general public (Shearer 1976, 1). In this spirit, from 1729 to 1746, the Professor of Moral Philosophy, Francis Hutcheson, gave his lectures in English to both students and the wider public. Over the eighteenth century the professors of the university connected with clubs such as the Political Economy Club and the Glasgow Literary Society – combining, Shearer suggests «the pleasures of conviviality with the dissemination of knowledge and the promotion of research» (1976, 3). With influential thinkers such as Adam Smith and David Hume the scale of influence was impressive given that in 1800 the university comprised just thirteen professors and a few lecturers.

While the university had links with working class men through Mechanics Institutes, it was not until the 1860s that the university – not without opposition on the part of some professors – made its major contribution to widening access for women through the Association for Higher Education of Women,

the establishment of Queen Margaret College and its subsequent incorporation into the university.

It was James Stuart – another influential academic who also had spent time at Glasgow University – who is credited with articulating the idea of university extramural (beyond the walls) provision in Cambridge University (Fieldhouse 1996). In 1873, the University of Cambridge agreed to organize, formally, programs and lectures in various centers, and Oxford also undertook to provide a number of programs through extension centers. Shortly afterwards, the University of London established the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching.

In Glasgow an 'Extension Board' was established in 1888, however, it some decades later, largely through the energy and commitment of A.D. Lindsay, Professor of Moral Philosophy, who had been strongly influenced by his experiences in Oxford University, that more formal connections were developed between the university and the WEA (Workers Education Association).

Ultimately this led in 1924 to the establishment of the Glasgow University Extra-Mural Education Committee. The work undertaken under the auspices of this committee was firmly in the liberal tradition of university adult education, placing an emphasis on personal growth and development of the individual, through educational experience, including both the acquisition of knowledge and analytical skills and enhancement of self-confidence and breadth of social awareness. In this regard, informed, independent, self-motivated, free individuals are held to be the cornerstone of the 'good society'. And to this objective of individual development, liberal education should be characterised by critical thinking: all questions are open questions, subject to rigorous, sceptical and wide-ranging criticism and discussion.

This then is the tradition of university adult education into which Lalage Bown fitted so well when she was appointed as Professor and Director in 1981 – shortly after her return from an influential period of working in many countries in Africa: as described in detail in other chapters in this book.

This was also the background which Lalage Bown drew on in a joint lecture which I had the pleasure of presenting with her in 1998 as a contribution to a seminar series in honour of Glasgow University's 11th Jubilee (Bown and Slowey 1998). In our lecture, Lalage emphasised the historically important role played by university adult education in supporting what she termed «a huge surge towards democracy», and the major concerns she had for a narrowing of focus due to increasing domination by economic imperatives.

In the next part, I elaborate on the economic and other imperatives which have shaped university adult education in recent decades – particularly in Britain, but also with reference to the wider European context.

2. University Adult Education: Interpretations in Britain and the Wider European Context

The days when a university might comprise just thirteen professors and a tiny proportion of the male population are long gone. In the global north higher

education has expanded greatly to a scale where many, if not most, young people progress from school to some form of higher education (UNESCO 2022).

Three factors however have to be taken into consideration when looking at these raw statistics. First, the age participation rate (APR) simply measures the proportion of the population of the typical school-leaving age which progress to higher education – that is young people. Secondly, much of the expansion in higher education over the last two decades took place in institutions of higher education other than universities – such as polytechnics, community colleges, further education colleges, and the like. Thirdly, international statistics usually refer to full-time undergraduate entrants, whereas adult learners are more likely to be found on part-time, distance, post-experience, and non-credit programs.

An examination of adult participation in higher education in selected OECD countries (Schuetze and Slowey 2012) identified five different approaches to the categorization of engagement by adult students in higher education.

- The age of the learner on entry to higher education – defined in many countries as those aged somewhere between 21 and 25.
- The mode of study – predominantly part-time, blended, distance or on-line.
- The type of programme undertaken – for example, professional updating or retraining and non-credit or community courses, as opposed to undergraduate degree qualifications.
- The life course stage, or predominant motivation of the learner – for example, 'second chance' or postexperience.
- The mode of organization of higher education provision for adult learners – for example, whether it is through specialist institutions (such as open universities) or centers with a dedicated mission to meet the needs of adults (of which the extramural tradition, considered above and below, is the classic example) as opposed to widening access for adults to 'mainstream' higher education provision.

While arguably most university systems in Europe display some elements of the above features, in order to understand more specific patterns of university adult education, it is necessary to have a broad appreciation of the historical traditions from which they emerge.

In this regard three major traditions can be identified.

First, the model of bringing university education 'outside the walls' to the wider community. As discussed in the example of Glasgow University, the origins of this model can be formally traced back at least to the 1870s in the British universities. It led in many of the older universities to the establishment of specialist adult education (extra-mural) departments, with, at some stages dedicated and separate funding lines. These departments were unusual in being multidisciplinary and devoted to the delivery of university level courses specifically tailored to meet the needs of adult students. This extramural approach provided a con-

ceptual model which, as demonstrated by Lalage Bown, had also a widespread international influence, in particular in Commonwealth countries as discussed in other chapters in this book.

Second, some higher education systems have traditions of university adult education which are connected to the ideal of 'service' by the university to local and regional social and economic communities. A significant example of this tradition are the land-grant universities in the USA, which had a particular mission to support community and rural development.

Third, there are traditions where educational provision to adults, as a distinctive group, tended not to be seen as a significant function for universities, but was rather associated with institutions such as folk high schools and similar. This is particularly evident where the university traditions emphasized research, professional development of adult educators, where direct delivery to local communities was largely undertaken by other agencies and specialist institutions, such as open universities or vocational organizations (for example in the Humboldtian higher education system of Germany).

The complexity and variability of patterns was well demonstrated in the findings of a comparative study of continuing education in universities across thirty countries which showed that

> activity with ostensibly different purposes, including continuing professional development, second chance education, education for leisure and social development, U3A and technology transfer, are all within the remit of continuing education. Increasingly, continuing education within universities has become blurred with other aspects of flexibility including part-time education, summer universities, open and distance education, accreditation of prior learning and work-based learning (Osborne and Thomas 2003, 20).

Allowing for the expansion and development of on-line learning opportunities and the – as yet unknown – impact of artificial intelligence, there is little reason to think that this 'blurring' has declined in recent decades: or, seems likely to do so in the future.

To what extent do such organisational changes matter in the efforts to widen access to higher education for adult learners, and the social justice mission of universities? This is a question which is explored in the next part.

3. Reinventing the Social Justice Mission of Higher Education

The case of the extramural tradition considered above illustrates common challenges faced. These in part concern the relative advantage of seeking to incorporate adult learners into 'mainstream' university activities versus the benefits of dedicated provision which reaches out in proactive ways to the wider community, with curricula, modes of teaching and assessment (where relevant) tailored to the interests, needs and life experiences of adults – as distinct to the traditional cohort of school leavers.

Additionally, there are wider structural dynamics operating at the level of both higher education systems and individual institutions which influence how this balance tilts one way or the other, including: financing; research priorities; and institutional missions. In the case of the British model of extramural education, the interaction of these three factors over recent decades has led to a situation where effectively many such departments – leaving aside Oxford and Cambridge – have ceased to exist in the forms most had since after Second World War.

These are briefly considered below.

Finance: many such departments had been the recipients of two important streams of funding. One of these operated at a national level through specific earmarked allocations from the relevant higher education funding agency – the names and structures of which changed over time. A second stream of funding, which was particularly important for the Scottish universities, came through close collaboration with regional public authorities. By the year 2000 these two streams of funding had either come to an end, or been significantly reduced. In their place, while some targeted funding became available on a bidding basis, this not secure enough to maintain the previous scale of activity.

Research: the second important development with a significant impact on adult education departments was associated with an increasing focus on research assessment. The traditional adult education/extramural departments were, by definition, multi-disciplinary. In some respects their nearest equivalent were Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, with a mix of experts from a variety of different disciplines who took responsibility for developing programmes and oversight of the quality of provision in their areas of expertise. Such academics were expected to be active scholars in their relevant areas. This provided a fruitful environment for the growth of new interdisciplinary areas of knowledge, many of which subsequently became incorporated into the 'mainstream' departments (Steele 1997; Taylor et al. 2002). Thus, for example, the Department of Adult and Continuing Education at Glasgow University in the 1990s comprised academic colleagues with backgrounds in archaeology, art history, biology, geology, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, physics, sociology, as well as researchers in adult and community education.

With an increasing worldwide emphasis on 'league tables' research assessment and research excellence it became important for all such members of staff to be assessed within their relevant disciplines. This was not only in order that individuals might receive appropriate personal recognition, but also because, in effect 'successful' assessment was associated with some additional funding to the relevant department. In the case of Glasgow University, we were pleased that the research on adult and continuing education received increasingly higher grades over the years in British national research assessment systems. However, as the numbers engaging in such research were relatively small, the funding associated with this line of activity did not reflect the time and effort dedicated to it.

Institutional mission: the third matter which arguably shaped the demise of extramural and adult education departments in their previous manifestations was

associated with changing institutional missions and strategies. This was partly associated with the major growth of new types of universities in a unitary system, with the consequent demise of dedicated funding lines. But possibly even more importantly, wider financial pressures led institutions to focus attention on income generation through, for example: recruitment of fee-paying international students; technology transfer and start up enterprises; income generated through student residences, alumni and the like. In such an environment there was, unfortunately, rarely a willingness to subsidise wider adult education programmes for the community, leading to them being seen as marginal to core university 'business'.

In investigating what they termed 'academic capitalism', Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) showed the many ways in which the boundaries between public concerns and private gains became increasingly blurred, as universities sought income from increasingly diverse sources. Consequently, continuing professional education provision, which is usually self-funding – or even 'profit' making – tended to expand: the arena of lifelong learning being one which is particularly subject to the growth of the private sector and both profit and non-profit higher education providers (Peters 2001; Marginson 2011).

Writing in 2009, Peter Jarvis, in considering the wider landscape of adult education beyond universities, posed a question as to whether the adult education 'movement' led, or followed? Towards the latter part of the twentieth century, with the rise of the knowledge economy, and the need for a more educated workforce, he makes the point that suddenly lifelong learning became important «but it was not the adult educators who forced open the door, because in many ways they have been left behind with the rapidity of the transition» (Jarvis 2009, 16).

In a similar vein, Chris Duke – a long-standing colleague of Lalage's at Warwick University where she was a Visiting Professor – reflecting on changes taking place in higher education, remarked that these were «little informed by the commendable and abiding purposes for which extra-mural liberal adult education was founded»

> As universities come to deepen their interest in engagement, and often their commitment to regional partnerships and development, this occurs without benefit of the socially informed liberal perspectives of and the facilitation skills honed in EMDs [Extra-Mural Departments]. University engagement in regional development has been more unbalanced towards the (neo-) liberal economic and the technical/skills agenda. Universities as well as regions are the poorer as a result. As the world experiences new forms and intensities of economic, environmental, geopolitical and cultural crisis, rebalancing in favour of a wider civic mission becomes the more urgent (Duke 2008, 214).

So, if the classic model of the adult education/extra mural department has all but disappeared, where might we see evidence of this 'engagement' on the part of higher education? Given that Lalage Bown dedicated her long and inspirational professional life to supporting the development of dedicated university

centres, departments, or institutes of adult education what does the demise of many such mean for her legacy? Might it mean that, leaving aside her incalculable personal influence, her institutional legacy has somehow been 'lost'? I believe not, as I explain in my concluding reflections.

Concluding Reflections

In reviewing current developments in higher education in Britain and Europe more widely, I prefer to draw not only Lalage's values, but also the positive energy and associated strategies which she, as a principled pragmatist, epitomised. I see these as a combination of: regrouping in the face of adversity; and vigilance in identifying, and then seizing, every opportunity in whatever institutional 'spaces' she could find, to reinvent new approaches for universities engage with their wider communities, extending access to university knowledge to all.

Where might we identify evidence of such 'spaces' in contemporary universities? The Commissioner for Fair Access in Scotland, Peter Scott, points to some as he makes the case that there is a need to replace what he calls a 'pseudo-populist narrative' that focuses on fear, by one based on hope. In this context, policy makers, and universities «need to recalibrate our language, away from world-class universities and beggar-your-neighbour league tables, and back to social purpose, social responsibility and – of course – more open (and fairer) access» (Scott 2017, 4).

Individual academics have always engaged with, and made major contributions to, wider society with a view to supporting 'the public good'. The question is what is happening at the institutional level? Can we find any grounds for optimism as – some – universities seek to reinvigorate this social purpose mission?

The last time I saw Lalage was when she came to speak at a seminar, I was hosting in Dublin City University – to which I had moved when I left Glasgow – on 4th February 2020. Despite being in her early 90s, she had taken the train by herself from Shrewsbury to Holyhead port, where I met her. As it happened, there was a new ferry travelling between Holyhead and Dublin that day and, in inevitable Lalage style, we were upgraded to seats to right at the bow of the ship – where she charmed all the crew settling into the comfort, commenting the experience was less like a ferry crossing more like being on a cruise! She also was the highlight of the seminar the next day at the launch of a report addressing issues dear to her heart *Living Longer - Working Longer? Ageing Population and New Workforce Dynamics in Ireland* (Slowey and Zubrzycki 2020).

So, in looking for some signs of optimism below I highlight just a few initiatives with which Irish, British and many other European universities are involved, reflecting attempts to put social justice principles into practice.

Widening access: many European countries have set national targets for universities to achieve. For example, in the case of Ireland the objective is «to ensure that the student body entering, participating in and completing

higher education at all levels reflects the diversity and social mix of Ireland's population» ("Higher Education Authority" 2023).

Universities of Sanctuary (2023): building on the City of Sanctuary movement, this initiative promotes good practice by universities in welcoming sanctuary seekers (students and staff) into their communities seeking to foster a culture of welcome and inclusion for all.

Age Friendly University ("Global Alliance of Age Friendly Universities" 2023): a network of c100 universities with the aim of making higher education more accessible and responsive to the needs of older learners.

Scholars at Risk (2023): An international network dedicated to protecting academics and «the freedom to think, question, and share ideas».

Development of new international 'ranking' systems focusing on universities impact, for example in working to help achieve the UNESCO Sustainable Development Goals ("THE Impact Rankings" 2023).

The above such initiatives have, of course, strengths and weaknesses, and some may prove little more than 'flavour of the moment'. However, as chapters by Alan Tuckett and others in this book describe, this is where there are clear lessons to be learnt from Lalage's approach: strong advocacy; research to produce the evidence; recount adult students' (compelling) personal stories; networking; developing partnerships and alliances; and, ultimately, 'speaking truth to power'. Whether that representative of 'power' be the Dean of the Faculty (as in the quotation at the head of this chapter), the Principal of the University, representatives of international, national or regional Governments, civic society agencies, business, commercial bodies or whoever.

At the heart of the endeavour, lies the key question: what can we do in universities to engage, share and generate knowledge with the widest possible public? In this respect, as Evans and colleagues put it in a recent Handbook on Lifelong Learning, reimagining «lifelong learning is a creative and productive process in which we all share responsibility in contributing to the iterative and recursive development of ideas, plans, programs, and practices» (Evans et al. 2022). Aways committed to fighting inequality wherever she saw it, in contemporary terms Lalage's approach might be termed 'intersectional': she did not look at key structural factors of gender, race, and social class in isolation, but rather as the ways in which they combine to shape people's opportunities for education and associated lifechances (Slowey 2022).

So, Lalage's vision, as I see it, directly follows those of the founders of the adult/extra-mural tradition in Glasgow and similar universities described briefly in this chapter – combining a passion to widen opportunities for individuals to learn and develop over their entire lifespan, with an Enlightenment conception of the value of liberal democracy. In this respect, the academy rather than

being part of the problem, through exclusion and intellectual isolation, might become part of the solution by, as Jean Barr says in her discussion of the idea of an educated public «actively supporting the growth of new associations, rooted in projects, to which committed intellectuals and academics from different disciplines might contribute» (Barr 2008, 23).

In the Albert Mansbridge Lecture in 1995, Lalage laid out, perhaps most explicitly, her arguments supporting democracy and democratic principles. In doing so, she also stressed that it is crucial

> to draw on our inheritance, on the understanding of our predecessors that democracy's 'magic promises' will always fail without opportunities for the general public to learn about the issues of our time and to judge them on the basis of logic and articulated principles, rather than prejudice (Bown 1995, 7).

> [...] those who use the rhetoric of 'active citizenship' need to have their bluff called: reflective citizenship comes before active citizenship. Political education makes the reflection possible (Bown 1995, 18).

With widespread contemporary challenges to the pursuit of 'truth' and the rise of populism and neo-nationalism across many parts of the world, if Lalage's warning is perhaps more apposite than ever, so also is her vision.

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CHAPTER 4

Unfinished Business: Forgotten Histories of Women's Scholarship and the Shifting Status of Women's Education

Jean Barr

Abstract:

Lalage Bown championed women's education for women's personal empowerment and social progress. She insisted that such empowerment and progress always risk being lost and must be continuously defended and fought for. Part of this project involves remembering past creative achievements and struggles for women's rights to education and scholarship. The chapter therefore begins with a brief biography of Mary Somerville, the Scottish born scientist after whom the Oxford College attended by Lalage is named. Her name is now unknown to most people. This leads into a discussion of Lalage's history of *Women's scholarship, past and future* and belief that it has flourished where structures are less formal and there is a loosening of the 'strange clerical culture of science'. A case study of women's education in the West of Scotland in the 1980s follows to illustrate this view. Current narrowing of Adult Education's horizons, alongside threats to women's rights worldwide, is counterposed to Lalage's and bell hooks' vision for Adult Education as the 'practice of freedom'.

Keywords: Informality; Professionalisation; Women's Education; Women's Studies

Lalage Bown studied Modern History at Somerville College, graduating in 1949, and later taking an MA in Adult Education and Economic Development. Mary Somerville (1780-1872), the Scottish astronomer and mathematician after whom Lalage's college was named, is now almost completely forgotten, one of a legion of women creators who, though celebrated in their day, fade from public memory unless deliberately recalled years later. Somerville Hall, one of Oxford's first two women's colleges, was founded seven years after Mary's death: too late for her but not too late for Dorothy Hodgkin, winner of the 1964 Nobel Prize for Chemistry (and other alumnae such as Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher and Iris Murdoch). Aptly, Dorothy Hodgkin's daughter, Elizabeth Hodgkin, nominated Lalage as the woman who inspired her most in an episode of BBC Radio 4's *Women's Hour* which was broadcast in 2017. In *The Chain*, Lalage talked about women's literacy work in Africa.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Jean Barr, *Unfinished Business: Forgotten Histories of Women's Scholarship and the Shifting Status of Women's Education*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.09, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 55-65, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

Mary Somerville wrote explicitly to popularise science and to show how its various branches interconnect. Her book, *Physical Geography*, went through six editions, whilst *On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences*, published when she was 54, was a prescribed text at Cambridge University from which she and her daughters were excluded. She was also denied access to the Royal Society in London, with the result that in 1826 she had to deputise her husband to read her paper, "On the Magnetizing Power of the More Refrangible Solar Rays", the first paper by a woman ever delivered to that august body. The mother of six children, Mary's success as a scientist was assisted by the amateur status of science in early nineteenth century England. In Scotland, the pursuit of science as a profession was already more advanced (Reynolds 2006).

Somerville had spent her early life in Scotland and after a brief spell of married life in Edinburgh had settled in London, with frequent periods abroad, especially in Italy. Her autobiography gives no indication that she felt an outsider to the developing amateur-professional scientific network in the capital. Dorothy McMillan's comment on the 'gatekeepers' reception of her work seems astute: «It was», says McMillan, «probably her good fortune to be little and shy». Though hailed as the 'queen of science' in her day, Mary never lost her sense of inferiority, believing that as a woman she lacked creativity. She feared that «the mind, like the body, is gendered [...] by the body», recording in her diary, «In the climax of my great success [...] I was conscious [...] that I had no originality. [...] That spark from heaven is not granted to the sex» (2001, xxiii-xxv).

David Noble also quotes from Mary's diary in his book, *A World Without Women*: «I have perseverance and intelligence», she wrote, «but no genius». Noble sees this as evidence of Somerville's absorption of the 'strange clerical culture' of science that by her time was 'a thousand years in the making' and whose prejudices she had internalised in 'mirrored female form'. He comments: «Her despair haunts us still» (1992, 281). The cost of such self-effacement is high.

Mary campaigned for women's rights and women's higher education but feared that the world of science would *remain* a world without women. Noble challenges the common assumption that the culture from which Western Science emerged *always* excluded women, highlighting earlier periods when women played a key role in scholarship, linking these to episodes of what he dubs 'anticlericalism'. Lalage's brief history of *Women's Scholarship Past and Future* endorses Noble's claims about the lost history of women's scholarship. She cautions against thinking that progress with respect to women's scholarship is linear: what has been won can be lost.

Lalage also points out that though the late nineteenth century was a watershed as far as women's access to university to acquire a degree is concerned, this was not the case in relation to their opportunity to *create* knowledge. They are still behind men in relation to the most prestigious subjects, in postgraduate study and top jobs in academia (Bown 1996).

Both Noble and Lalage point to earlier times when women had greater opportunities to develop new knowledge. In classical times, it was a woman, Hypatia (370-415 AD) who was one of the most notable scholars. As a mathematician, she

was a prototype for later successful women, many who excelled in Maths, which requires little apparatus and can be done in a domestic setting. Mary Somerville fits a pattern prefigured in antiquity, where access to knowledge depended on family circumstances, such as a father, husband, brother willing to share his knowledge. Later, between the seventh and eleventh centuries, Christian religious communities, sometimes headed by an abbess, offered opportunities for learning and scholarship, where women worked alongside men. These operated like small, endowed universities, such as when Hildegard of Bingen (1098-179) founded a convent and wrote medical texts.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the circumstances favouring the kind of establishment that allowed women like Hildegard to achieve intellectually had disappeared, victim to struggles between male secular and religious leaders and the centralising tendencies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Scholarship passed from male *and* female monastic centres to exclusively male enclaves of episcopal schools of bishops. These became the universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, where opportunity for study was restricted to a select few men. By the seventeenth century, in the wake of the Reformation and the humanist social movements arising out of it, new currents of learning flowed *outside* established institutions. These included many women - a temporary rapprochement between women and early modern science and intellectual culture that occurred «within the less formal circles of salon, court and craft» (Noble 1992, 197).

But by the close of the century, women were once again becoming identified as exaggeratedly sexual beings, intellectually inferior by nature, and marginalised to such an extent that some even waxed 'nostalgic for the convent'. In 1694, Mary Astell unsuccessfully petitioned the court to establish a Protestant female monastery where women could gain the education they were otherwise denied (Noble 1992, 243). The eighteenth-century Enlightenment made little difference in this regard, with universities, the Enlightenment's chief focus, remaining exclusively male well into the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, political control tightened guild regulations. Artisanal women were steadily replaced by men who, as scientifically trained professionals competing for their function, appropriated women's craft knowledge, most notably in medicine.

By the nineteenth century, there was an increase in women's participation in higher education, even if only informally (see below), but by the middle decades of the century, gender had become crucial once more for defining intellectual identities as well as social roles. Longstanding portrayals of women as incapable of creativity were recycled; and women who wrote explicitly to popularise science were represented as reliable *reproducers* rather than creators of knowledge. Mary Somerville and Harriet Martineau were both portrayed in this way, and, more perniciously, they saw themselves in these terms. The resulting psychological acrobatics could be profound. Martineau, a talented sociologist, journalist and political economist, initially presented herself as a diffuser of other peoples' knowledge. By the mid-1840s, having become involved in mesmerism, she said that the trance allowed her to solve profound philosophical issues – as if, as an entranced subject, she was able to claim authority and credibility from the very fact that she did not control her own mental state.

Who can count as an original thinker is of course not clear-cut. And for those who believe such cultural prejudices about women's lack of creativity are long gone, consider the example of a Professor of English at Glasgow University, whose introduction to the 1980 Penguin issue of Walter Scott's book, *Waverley*, opines:

> The novel gained a new authority and prestige, and, even more important perhaps, a new masculinity. After Scott, the novel was no longer in danger of becoming the preserve of the woman writer and the woman reader. Instead, it became the appropriate form for writers' richest and deepest imaginative explorations of human experience (quoted in Russell 1988, 296).

Women, it would seem, do not have 'human' experience; in this worldview, at best, women are allocated something akin to a position of permanent marginality.

When Enlightenment ideas were still in vogue in the late eighteenth century into the nineteenth, as alluded to above, there was a great deal of popular education, including higher education, for women, especially in Scotland, and not just for the daughters of exceptional nonconformist and intellectual families. For instance, at Anderson's Institute in Glasgow, between 1796 and 1850, large numbers of women and working men attended popular academic lectures in a range of subjects. Women in Scotland had significant access to university lectures at the time, though not as matriculated students.

By the later Victorian period such access was discouraged, and when women sought entry into the medical profession in the second half of the nineteenth-century, doctors told them that their «uteruses would atrophy and their brains would burst» (Smith 2000, 328). Thus, when in 1869 the first group of undergraduate female students to matriculate at any British university, the so-called 'Edinburgh Seven', began studying medicine at Edinburgh University, the Court of Session ruled that they should not have been admitted in the first place and could not graduate.

The reason is clear. By the middle of the nineteenth century women's education had come to be seen as a threat to male socio-economic dominance. The restructuring of universities and the professionalisation of many occupations raised the status of degrees and made *graduation* of increasing socioeconomic value to men. As higher education became increasingly important for men it became more inaccessible for women.

Lalage's short history, like Noble's longer one, charts a recurrence of counter-progressive trends, as when, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the increasing centralisation of learned establishments like monasteries into new universities led to the exclusion of women, and when, in the sixteenth century, women barber-surgeons were forced out of their occupation when universities took over the accreditation and licensing of physicians. Lalage frames her history differently from Noble's 'clerical' versus 'anti-clerical' periods. She concludes: «Centralization and rationalization seem to be inimical to women's scholarship since they are used to assert male dominance. Where structures were less formal women were able to establish their own» (Bown 1996, 179).

Parallel arguments can be made about Adult Education itself; namely, that it is the marginal, non-mainstream position of Adult Education which has been its particular strength and which, in its more radical forms, has enabled social movements and community groups to secure the services of intellectuals for their own ends and projects (Steele 2007). Adult Education has an important history in relation to social movements. Yet just as women's historical struggles for education and equality have to be continually rescued from our forgotten memory (along with individual women's intellectual achievements) so too Adult Education's traditions of engagement with groups and social movements are readily forgotten. An example is Women's Education/Women's Studies as it developed in the 1970s out of the Women's Liberation Movement, a seedbed of study groups, newsletters, conferences and consciousness-raising.

Unlike in the USA, where the strongest women's studies networks developed in higher education, in Britain, women's studies grew up and acquired its distinctive methods in Adult Education, the least well-resourced, most marginal sector of education and the only sector where most participants, both students and tutors, were women. Before the sweeping changes of recent decades, Adult Education seemed to many feminists a fruitful place to carry out the educational work inspired by the Women's Liberation Movement. It had many of the features of a popular education movement, much of it taking place in local areas and promoting links between local groups, women's health, trades union and peace movements, as well as with the wider women's movement. Little of this feminist inspired women's education in the 1970s and 1980s was documented, precisely *because* it took place in the poorly resourced Adult Education sector of the Workers Educational Association (WEA), Local Authority Community Education and University Extra-mural Departments, whose part-time tutors had neither the time nor resources to write about it.

Redefining the content of education and what *counts* as knowledge was a key objective of such women's education/women's studies from the outset. As part of a wider struggle to empower women, it aimed to show that knowledge and education are related in fundamental ways to the unequal distribution of social power between men and women. For this reason, it was concerned as much with context, timetabling and crèches as with content and pedagogy. By seeking to bring education «nearer to a point of full *human* relevance and control» it satisfied Raymond Williams' litmus test of 'cultural seriousness' as spelled out in "*Culture is Ordinary*" (Williams 1993; italics added). Scottish education traditions, despite their reputation for being (or having been) uniquely egalitarian and democratic, fail this test.

I encountered David Noble's (secular) male clerisy alive and kicking in Scotland's educational establishment when I embarked on writing a book on Scotland's so-called 'democratic intellect', made famous by George Davie in his text of that title. When Lalage set out to chart women's progress in relation to women's scholarship, noting that «Academic curricula are male constructs and females are still largely defined out», she did so with specific reference to Davie, noting in characteristically direct manner that «All books on the democratic intellect do this; all» (Bown 1996, 182). Davie's book and the vast literature spawned in

its wake are almost totally silent on women. Yet in 2003 it was still being hailed as the «single most important volume written in the twentieth century about Scottish intellectual history» (Turnbull 2003). The 'democratic intellect' is part of a Scottish national narrative that is deeply gendered and resistant to change.

The Democratic Intellect (Davie 1961) is in fact a kind of lament for Scotland's lost, native, intellectual tradition as enshrined in its universities. The legacy of the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment, it contends, combined with the country's distinctive Presbyterian culture, was a bent towards a peculiarly critical intelligence, with theory or philosophy at its core. This dominated Scotland's universities until the late nineteenth century when, says Davie, it was suppressed by a process of Anglicisation. In Davie's view, «the Scots» had «an almost religious attachment» to the «inherited ideal of a culture in which the general should take precedence over the particular and the whole over the parts» (Davie 1961, 4). Really?

The kind of intellectual history practised by George Davie and many others is challenged by historian Eileen Yeo, who construes it as consisting of «depicting the discussions and quarrels among formally educated men» (Yeo 1996, 11). A typical sentence in Davie's book begins, «Ferrier, Forbes and Blackie had in fact more in common with older men like Hamilton, Brewster and Melvin [...] than with younger men like Lyon Playfair and Principal Shairp and Edward Caird whose views [...]» (Davie 1961, 277; Barr 2008). Yeo challenges this sort of history for its restrictive notion of knowledge:

> If scholars do not seek subaltern groups, they do not find them. Without a more spacious idea of context which makes room for less privileged persons, scholars will go on constructing models of [...] the production of knowledge which allow no room for activity from below in the past or in the future (Yeo 1996, XI).

Yeo's *The Contest for Social Science* offers a case study to demonstrate how the 'production of knowledge' was a battleground in Britain in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century. The participants in this struggle were not a handful of university men and bureaucrats but groups and social movements, as well as individuals. Most notably perhaps, the Co-operative and socialist movement, inspired by Robert Owen, but with an overwhelmingly working-class membership, challenged all 'education from above', urging working people to 'think for themselves', and stressing mutual improvement. Owenism was the first really influential movement also to address gender inequality and cultural oppression. Founded at New Lanark in the 1820s, it even called its strategies 'social science', where experience, importantly, women's experience, had a key place, opening a way to accessible forms of social knowledge and to what Logie Barrow has called a 'democratic epistemology' (Barrow 1986; Yeo 1996, 25).

Yeo highlights the role of adult learning in 'liberating knowledge'. Her account of the emergence of Social Science as a field of study tells a story of a massive takeover bid by professional men and women *from* working people who had developed their own ideas and knowledge for emancipation, so as to establish their *professional* indispensability. Davie's account of the democratic intellect

slots neatly into this kind of intellectual history, totally ignoring independent sources of knowledge outside the universities and at the same time guaranteeing his own place as guardian of Scotland's national culture. This type of enquiry produces some peculiar blind spots. The absence of women is simply *not noticed*.

Throughout the 1980s I was District Secretary of the West of Scotland District of the Workers Educational Association (WEA). When I began working for the WEA Margaret Thatcher's policies were beginning to bite. For the rest of the decade, the WEA in Scotland was subject to short-term funding, frozen Scottish Education Department grants and cutbacks in Local Authority spending. Lack of resources went hand in hand with the absence of any coherent policy on adult and continuing education in Scotland and any sensible framework for its delivery. But up the road was a fellow spirit and staunch ally. To my great good fortune Lalage Bown moved to Glasgow in 1981 to begin her decade as Head of the Department of Adult and Continuing Education (DACE) at the University of Glasgow. Since 1949 she had lived mainly in Africa, spending much of her career developing Adult Education provision in Ghana, Uganda, Zambia and Nigeria, with a particular commitment to women's empowerment through literacy.

We spent the 1980s fighting the same battles, from the same corner. One of these shared enterprises concerned women's education. For much of this period, only two WEA District Secretaries in the UK were women (out of a total of twenty-one) and both were in Scotland, the most poorly resourced part of the WEA. My District had an established tradition of women's education stretching back to Jean McCrindle's groundbreaking work with the Cooperative Movement in the 1960s and her pioneering 'women's studies' afternoon classes for working class women in Lanarkshire. The classes even provided childcare - an aspect of WEA provision that would become enshrined only much later (though briefly) in WEA national policy. From the mid-1970s into the 1980s, women's courses were again mounted, this time in so-called Areas for Priority Treatment (APTs), using money from Strathclyde Regional Council, in line with the Region's area-based, 'community development' social deprivation strategy.

Lalage and I shared an antipathy to what she described as the «target-group mentality», which could attach to Strathclyde's approach. Quoting Ettore Gelpi, she insisted:

> Adult education is [...] about enabling people to become subjects, rather than objects and when we work in co-operation with disadvantaged groups, the enterprise needs to be on that basis – co-operation and not on a basis of doing things to people (Bown 1986, 36).

But in the 1980s, Adult Education, as incorporated within the community development strategy of Strathclyde Region, often failed to take seriously the *educational* needs of the people involved, usually women. Frequently slipped by stealth into community centres and mothers-and-toddlers' groups almost apologetically, its informality and near invisibility could be a cloak for a hidden curriculum (concerning mothering skills), never surfacing sufficiently to be subject to negotiation or challenge.

The Women's Education/Women's Studies courses that were developed in Strathclyde's APTs by the WEA and extramural departments were the antithesis of such 'education for the disadvantaged', which, by definition, sold people short. Developed by tutors who were part of the women's movement in the West of Scotland, courses drew on their own experiences of campaigning and workshop-based conferences, which played such a major part in feminists' lives at the time. Groups focused on themes like the family, welfare, employment, sex and gender; curricula developed out of the women's own lives, making connections with literature, the law, social and historical studies, as and when required.

Some of these discussion groups, which met in community centres, nursery schools and unemployed workers centres, developed into drama or writing/reading groups; others became stepping-stones into various forms of education or community and political action. An important feature of provision was the coming together of women from different areas at 'awaydays' and residential weekends held at Newbattle Abbey College, with crèche provided. But by the mid-1980s, the social change, coupled with personal development aspects of the work, had given way to personal development goals. There was a growth in assertiveness-training and in health and counselling courses, reflecting a growing trend towards finding personal solutions to social problems and a waning of belief in politics and social movements as forces for change.

Feminism itself fragmented, with Thatcherism effectively forcing the most political forms of British feminism, particularly socialist feminism, underground. By the mid-1990s, tensions had developed between Women's Studies (explicitly feminist with its distinctive subject areas and methodologies) and Women's Education, masking the latter's feminist antecedents and increasingly concentrating on assertiveness training, New Opportunities and vocational preparation courses. Women's Studies as a field of academic study had by then become fairly well entrenched in universities, with tenuous, if any, links with grassroots feminist politics. The two strands, which had co-existed in Adult Education, providing feminist scholarship with a dynamic intellectual community, united around an educational/political project, defined as much by pressures 'from below' as educational priorities 'from above', separated.

There are now several women's movements across the world with diverse aims and degrees of power. Ignored by the media (except the recent 'Me Too' movement), these movements have mobilized well beyond the women's liberation groups of the 1970s, to create new national and international networks. Many women, particularly the poorest amongst them, in Mexico, Peru, Nicaragua and South Africa, faced with extreme circumstances, such as displacement through war and famine and the dominance of market forces, have organised around prices, basic social needs, education and sanitation. Recent events in Afghanistan around the exclusion of girls from secondary schools show just how rapidly gains that are made by women can be lost, whilst in Iran, for the first time, it is a women's movement that is leading anti-regime protests.

There, thousands of women and schoolgirls have taken to the streets, following the death in custody of Mahsa Amini, arrested by morality police for improper wearing of the hijab. Protests against religious rule have spread as never

before, ignited by a new generation of highly educated women and girls, outraged at being told how to behave, whose parents and grandparents had tried and failed to change the system from within. «Clerics, get lost» is the chant of girls as young as eleven across Iran. Small acts of defiance such as discarded headscarves and shorn hair have become part of daily life in Tehran, and despite further murders, crowds continue to gather, chanting, «No force. No hijab. Freedom and Equality!» Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe's public hair-cutting act of solidarity in London was designed to show that the fight for women's rights in Iran is a global fight. Meanwhile, in the US, the Supreme Court's reversal of the Roe versus Wade ruling on abortion is a useful reminder that it is not just in religious autocracies that women's hard-won rights can be erased.

Where is Adult Education in all of this?

Here, in the UK, Adult Education has gone in and out of receiving government attention in recent decades, usually as a means of promoting flexibility and transferable skills in a rapidly changing world. Yet as the kind of women's education described earlier that Lalage championed indicates, Adult Education can be a means by which people deal creatively and critically with the world in order to change it. The forgetting of such traditions has gone hand in glove with Adult Education's overhaul in favour of instrumental values and business interests. As Lalage once remarked, in relation to the commodification of knowledge, «Information is to knowledge as a pile of bricks is to a skyscraper» (Bown 2004). For university extra mural education, the result of this narrowing of horizons and winnowing of the curriculum has been either its complete abandonment or absorption into the mainstream. This is a great loss. To borrow an expression from the late, great, bell hooks, Adult Education, with all its limitations, remains a «location of possibility» where «we [can] collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress. This is education as the practice of freedom» (hooks 1994).

Such an idea of education contrasts with «the great British social mobility myth» inscribed in our education system which Selina Todd has recently taken to task. As a promise of a better society, social mobility has failed. Policies meant to encourage the talented to ascend have not resulted in a meritocratic ladder:

> Instead, twenty-first-century Britain is more akin to the 'greasy pole', criticised by the Workers' Educational Association in the 1900s. At the top sits a tiny group of wealthy and powerful people, who have spent the last few decades stripping the world of its resources [...]. Far below is everyone else, clinging tight [...] but all too often sliding further down (Todd 2021, 353).

Todd believes that the time has come to rediscover the campaigns of 1970s feminists. Since the status quo has rarely benefited women, it is frequently women who have had to be the most imaginative in their visions of a better society. In the middle of the twentieth century, feminists like Ellen Wilkinson, as Minister for Education, created and helped implement transformative social policies. In 1945, she and other architects of the welfare state didn't know if their poli-

cies would succeed. We now know that they did (however briefly) and that they created a society that was more equal and didn't lead to the economic disaster so many predicted but, on the contrary, to improvements in everyone's living standards. In 1940, few people would have dreamed that they would have free healthcare, secondary schools for all, university grants and a political commitment to full employment within a decade.

Fast forward eighty years and Britain is now one of the most unequal countries in Europe. OECD data show that the UK, where social mobility has been slowing down for the past forty years, now has one of the lowest levels of social mobility in the developed world. If Labour could erect an unprecedentedly ambitious welfare state at the end of a crippling world war, then the fifth-richest nation of the early twenty-first century can surely initiate reforms that will show – as did the labour movement pioneers of the early twentieth century and the leftists and feminists of the 1970s – that an unequal hierarchy of wealth and power is only one model for organising society, one that fails the vast majority of people.

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CHAPTER 5

Adult Learning and Education for Poverty Alleviation in Africa. Challenges and Opportunities for Women

Stella Chioma Nwizu, Mejai Bola M. Avoseh

Abstract:

This chapter examines the contributions of Adult Learning and Education (ALE) towards empowerment and poverty reduction amongst women in Africa. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) emphasise the need for countries of the world to ensure that poverty in all its forms is ended everywhere. SDGs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 10 especially connect to the focus of this chapter. Despite the implementation of various programmes by African governments towards SDGs attainment, a substantial number of African women still live in poverty in many countries. ALE as an instrument for poverty alleviation has the potentials to provide inclusive and equitable educational opportunities for women. However, ALE in its efforts to empower women for development is confronted with numerous challenges. The chapter highlights the opportunities provided by ALE in facilitating poverty alleviation and promoting active citizenship among African women. The chapter concludes with a brief acknowledgement of the role of Lalage Bown in the history of women empowerment in Africa.

Keywords: Adult Education; Adult Learning; Poverty Alleviation; Women's Empowerment

1. ALE and the African Context

We use the social context of Africa to highlight the challenges of poverty among women and the opportunities that ALE provides to address these challenges. Bown encouraged adult educators to place importance on historical context in their work. According to her, «history teaches the adult educator to set his (her) work in a social context» (1981, 166).

UNESCO made a bold statement on ALE as a significant component of lifelong learning. It confirms that ALE «cater to the learning needs of young people, adults and older people. [And] Adult learning and education cover a broad range of content – general issues, vocational matters, family literacy, and family education, citizenship […] with priorities depending on the specific needs of individual countries» (UNESCO 2009, 6). More recently, UNESCO

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)

FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Stella Chioma Nwizu, Mejai Bola M. Avoseh, *Adult Learning and Education for Poverty Alleviation in Africa. Challenges and Opportunities for Women*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.10, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 67-77, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

reaffirmed ALE as a key component of lifelong learning noting that «ALE policies and practices apply to a wide range of ages, education levels, learning spaces and modalities» (2022, 2). Similarly, the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) stated the core values which inform ICAE's understanding of ALE. These include «education as a fundamental human right, a common good and a collective endeavor». And that ALE is «participatory, inclusive, and emancipatory» (2022, 5) encompassing a diversity of groups including race, ethnicity, disability, gender, poverty, and a host of others.

Official and unofficial figures indicate that the map of poverty in Africa coincides with the map of other barriers and challenges. For women, those barriers and challenges include cultural and religious oppression, and economic manipulation. We argue that empowering women to address these barriers depends to a large extent on improved access to ALE. In identifying ALE as the source of breaking barriers and transforming unpleasant conditions for women, we subscribe to UNESCO (2016):

> The aim of adult learning and education is to equip people with the necessary capabilities to exercise and realize their rights and take control of their destinies. It promotes personal and professional development, thereby supporting more active engagement by adults with their societies, communities, and environments. It fosters sustainable and inclusive economic growth and decent work prospects for individuals. It is therefore a crucial tool in alleviating poverty, improving health and well-being and contributing to sustainable learning societies (quoted in UNESCO 2022a, 32).

Furthermore, UNESCO in the *Marrakech Framework for Action* (MFA) stresses the role of ALE in empowering adults and older citizens through «community learning and citizenship education» which are «key factors for sustainable development, including rural development, and to raise awareness of the impact of climate change» (2022b, 6, paragraph 17). Finally, UNESCO in the MFA confirms that despite efforts, reaching adequate literacy level is becoming an intractable problem including in women's literacy. Paragraph 16 of the MFA sums up succinctly the gap in literacy education and the need to cover that gap. It is worth quoting the section in detail:

> In spite of remarkable progress during the past decades, including in women's literacy, many countries still struggle to reach adequate literacy levels, including digital literacy, and to bridge the considerable gender gap. In 2021, more than 770 million adults were lacking basic literacy skills, three out of five of whom were women (UIS). The benefits of literacy for individuals, families, communities, societies, and the planet are well documented, and adult literacy must receive sufficient policy attention and financial support (UNESCO 2022b, 5).

Given these statements about women in Africa, it is expected they should be given better access to ALE and be empowered to play more significant roles in the development of the continent. This chapter therefore aligns with UNESCO

and other agencies that believe that ALE can make significant contributions to poverty alleviation among African women.

2. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Poverty Eradication in Africa

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development provides a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet with 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to help actualize this goal. The 17 SDGs are all connected to SDG 1 – 'No Poverty'. The United Nations (UN) «recognize that ending poverty and other deprivations must go hand-in-hand with strategies that improve health and education, reduce inequality, and spur economic growth» (2015, 1). UNESCO reiterated its commitment to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in the MFA and reemphasized the connections of the SDGs. Paragraph 40 of MFA reaffirms:

> Quality education and lifelong learning are important mechanisms for implementing SDG 4 and are also prerequisites for poverty reduction (SDG 1), health and well-being (SDG 3), gender equality (SDG 5), reduced inequalities (SDG 10), gainful employment and decent jobs (SDG 8), inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable cities (SDG 11), just, peaceful, inclusive, violence-free societies (SDG 16) and climate action (SDG 13). Furthermore, adult education is part of the right to education (UNESCO 2022b, 15).

Consequently, SDG 1's focus to end poverty in all its forms everywhere must embrace the energy and cohesion of the «multifaceted goals of ALE for the years to come» (UNESCO 2022b, 15). What is true at the global level is especially true of Africa, and more so for the challenges that confront women in fighting poverty.

Therefore, for African women to be empowered to effectively carry out their responsibilities as active citizens – such as contributing to the welfare of their families or participation in decision making at home or larger society – there must be an eclectic embrace of the 17 SDGs using ALE as the 'glue'. Hence, the urgent need to establish more educational programmes for which ALE is a nucleus to provide safe and inclusive learning environment for African women. Such a learning environment aligns with Mauch's (2014) depiction of Adult Education as a catalyst to promote competencies which are associated with sustainable development. ALE incorporates formal, non-formal and informal aspects thus making it possible for African women to acquire relevant skills needed to enhance their personal, socio and economic life.

In concluding this section, we must acknowledge the obvious fact that the number of African women living in poverty is staggering. The UN (2020) notes that in sub-Saharan Africa, where the majority of the world's poorest live, the number of women and girls living in extremely poor households is expected to increase from 249 million to 283 million between 2021 and 2030. It further observed that the number of African women living in poverty has risen by 50% over the last decade. Similarly, Chant (2011) notes that women are prone to be particularly exposed to time poverty as a result of multiple labour burdens, which

impact heavily on their scope to exit poverty through engaging in activities with higher returns. McFerson (2010) identified gender and globalization, gender property rights, gender and time, gender and governance and gender as the root of poverty among African women. The Borgen Project (2021) found that although the literacy rate among African women is steadily improving in some African countries, attaining universal literacy remains a significant challenge. It further reported that in 2000, the literacy rate of adult females in sub-Saharan Africa was 46.8% as against 58.8% in 2019. Statista (2020) reports that apart from Cabo Verde, Ghana, Nigeria, and Togo which have their female adult literacy rates above 50%, other West African Countries have theirs below 50%. It specifically reported the following as the female adult literacy rate in West Africa in 2018, by country: Cabo Verde, 82%; Ghana, 74%; Nigeria, 53%; Togo, 51%; Mauritania, 43%; Gambia, 42%; Cote d'Ivoire, 40%; Senegal, 40%; Sierra Leone, 35% ; Liberia, 34% ; Burkina Faso, 33% and Guinea-Bissau, 31%. The data above explains part of the reason women are the poorest of the poor in Africa.

3. Poverty Level and Some Alleviation Efforts in Nigeria

The new extreme poverty line announced by the World Bank (2022a) is $2.15 per person per day. The new figure was an upgrade on the old figure of $1.90 in 2017. A similar release by the World Bank on Nigeria confirms that «as many as 4 in 10 Nigerians live below the national poverty» (World Bank 2022b). What is true of Nigerians generally is truer of women who often bear the brunt harsh economic, cultural, social, and religious downturns. We must clarify at this point that poverty alleviation especially for women goes beyond helping the poor. It is a refusal to acknowledge the human rights of others. It is in this regard that the theme for the 2022 International Day of Poverty alleviation is aptly titled «Dignity for All in Practice» focused on the broader issues of «social justice, peace, and the planet» (UN 2022). This universal conceptualisation of poverty is more fitting in the Nigerian situation where most especially women lack access to education and basic infrastructure. The 2022 World Bank poverty assessment of Nigeria highlights the fact that the devastating effects of climate and conflicts which disproportionately affect women and the poor generally are «multiplying, and their effects have been compounded by COVID-19» (2022b).

The current figures and fortunes seem to be worse than some previous periods, for example: USAID (2010) reported that 27.2% of Nigerians were living below poverty line in 1980 whereas by 1996 the poverty incidence had surged to 65%. This was a time when economic growth in Nigeria reached its lowest point at 2.5% in 1995. The high incidence of poverty in the five year period of 1995-99 could be attributed to the political instability that characterized that period. The 2022 World Bank report argues that most households in Nigeria have adopted 'dangerous' survival strategies – including reducing food consumption and classifying education as a luxury. These strategies are inimical to their 'humanization' which Freire describes as «humankind's central problem». Poverty has forced most Nigerian and African women to the zone of marginalization which forces

an individual to «ask if humanization is a viable possibility» . Poverty alleviation should therefore be about humanization. As Freire puts it, «concern for humanization leads at once to the recognition of dehumanization» (2018, 43).

From 1999 to date, there have been many poverty-alleviation and women-empowering programs. The most recent include the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP). Its major components are Mandatory Attachment Programme (MAP); Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES); Capacity Credit Programme; Keke NAPEP; and Capacity Acquisition Programme (CAP); other poverty alleviation programs include Universal Basic Education; Free School Feeding Scheme; and the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC). Prior to these later efforts were programs in the 1990s that sought to empower women to overcome poverty. Two prominent programs were the Better Life for Rural Women (BLRW) and the Family Support Programme (FSP) led by Maryam Babangida and First Lady, Sani Abacha respectively. Avoseh noted that both programmes like the ones before them failed because «political showmanship took precedence over the real problem of women's education» (1999a, 96). He listed other problems and barriers, including lack of political will, lack of funding, and poor attention to literacy matters. In addition, he acknowledged that women face many challenges including «early marriage, insensitivity and lack of commitment by governments, and inappropriate male-biased curriculum» (Avoseh 1999a, 96). In a similar argument on women's empowerment in Namibia, Avoseh (1999b) identified the almost fatalistic attitude of women, and violence as major challenges to women's empowerment. He argued that most Namibian women (and indeed most African women) have, as Freire would put it, «internalized and rationalize the oppressive, male-dominated status quo» as what should be. He contends that the attitudinal challenge is compounded by the fact that «most people believe that the gender issue is women's problem» and that this negative attitude «negates the necessary psychological foundation for women empowerment» (Avoseh 1999b, 5). These challenges and barriers undermine what Lalage Bown is quoted as calling women's «self-worth and confidence». Our argument is that the challenges facing poverty alleviation in Nigeria and indeed most of Africa, have increased and poverty alleviation remains an intractable problem.

These programs and projects on poverty alleviation in Nigeria have achieved little success relative to the amount of money invested on them. Several reasons have been identified as being responsible for the failure of poverty eradication in Nigeria. One major cause of failure of poverty eradication in Nigeria is lack of community participation or citizens' participation in the identification, formulation, execution and evaluation of these programmes and projects. There is also the problem of accountability and transparency in the implementation of the schemes (in other words corruption). Poverty alleviation is a challenge for countries in the developing world like Nigeria, where the majority of the population are considered poor. Poverty eradication programs or projects can succeed fully if the affected poor are involved in every development stage of the programmes. The influence of adult education and learning on the development

of African women can be enormous if properly harnessed with the correct mindset. And the danger of poverty and illiteracy can be very alarming. Adult Learning and Education has the potential to provide an all-inclusive and equitable educational opportunities for women. One sure step towards addressing the problem is the genuine embrace of literacy with the type of conviction that Lalage Bown had about empowerment through literacy. According, to her «I was left with the huge conviction that even the simplest acquisition of literacy can have a profoundly empowering effect personally, socially and politically. When it comes to women, there is a huge change in their self-worth and confidence» (Hamilton 2022). This type of mindset and conviction is what the Nigerian situation, and by extension, the African case needs to make poverty alleviation among women an accomplishable task.

4. Challenges and Opportunities of ALE for Active Citizenship among African Women

In Africa, loss of lives, especially with the onset of HIV/AIDS and the COVID-19 pandemic is expensive and reduces the productivity of African women leading to low development. However, though adult education programmes, African women could be helped to become less vulnerable – and also help their children to become more alert to potential dangers. The World Bank has recognized the striking body of empirical evidence that demonstrates strong benefit of educating girls and women which span across a wide range of areas including:

- Increase in wage earning for themselves and their families and improvement in the non-market and market productivity;
- Reduction in infant mortality and morbidity through improvements in children's health by applying hygiene and nutritional practices.

The skills, knowledge and vocation provided through Adult Education programmes can facilitate the attainment of the above development indices thereby leading to a reduction in poverty and non-literacy rates among African women.

Good health is an important development indicator for poverty alleviation. Adult education programmes provide skills and knowledge for better nutrition to African women and their families. Better health for a nation implies better quality of life, more productivity and less likelihood of young women giving birth during adolescence (early pregnancies). Furthermore, non-literate women are relegated to low productivity occupations with limited income and growth potential. There is no gainsaying about the importance of adult education and the priority that should be accorded to adult education programmes for the growth of African women because of the overwhelming evidence and multiplier effects that come with adult education. The more African women that participate in adult education programmes the better for the development of African nations at large especially in poverty reduction amongst women. The health challenges faced by African women would more easily be managed if the women are educated to benefit from reproductive health programmes provided through adult education.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that ALE has a significant role to play in poverty alleviation through improved literacy level and vocational skills for African women. However, much needs to be done to improve the welfare of African women through adult education which is one of the keys to unlock development fortunes. However, there is little evidence to indicate that literacy education in Africa has gone beyond the methods of colonization. Avoseh (1999b) argued for the need to open up adult education beyond the *status quo* that currently puts women in Africa under oppression. Citing another source, Avoseh suggests that literacy tied to the status quo «continuously reinforces women's traditional domestic reproductive, and community helper role» (Leach 1998 quoted in Avoseh 1999b, 5).

To reach the level of achieving the objectives of the SDGs in Africa, literacy education that intends to empower women and alleviate poverty must embrace literacy as «reading the word and the world» (Freire and Macedo 1987). This literacy means that «there would be a real respect for those learners who have not yet become familiar with saying the word to read it. This respect involves the understanding and appreciation of the many contributions nonreaders make to society in general» (Freire and Macedo 1987, 56). This is the type of opening up to the liberating powers of ALE which according to Freire (2018) equips women as oppressed and their oppressors to gain awareness of their dehumanizing situation. It means, «a way of empowering women to reveal and make conscious efforts to eliminate the underlying features of oppression within their community's and nation's decision-making and power structures» (Avoseh 1999b, 5). This is the crux of the matter of ALE for poverty reduction and active citizenship among African women. This is a condition without which women in Africa cannot be active citizens who can upturn some of the tighter that poverty has used to hold African women down. In thinking of African women as active citizens, we align with UNESCO who in the *5th Global Report on Adult Learning and Education* cited a previous UNESCO publication to define active citizenship thus:

> active citizenship means engaging with social issues such as poverty, gender, intergenerational solidarity, social mobility, justice, equity, exclusion, violence, unemployment, environmental protection, and climate change. It also helps people to lead a decent life, in terms of health and well-being, culture, spirituality, and in all other ways that contribute to personal development and dignity (2022a, 32).

This is the crux of the challenges and opportunities of ALE for poverty reduction and active citizenship among African women. Poverty alleviation is just a subset of being an active citizen – and individual who Freire (2018) describes as being «in the world» and «with the world». For African women, it means refusal to read the chauvinistic words chosen by the male-dominated society. It is, according to Freire and Macedo contention that «the realization on the part of the student [woman] that [...] she is making a decision not to accept what is perceived as violating [...] her world» (1987, 123). This was the standard and

model that Lalage Bown set at the inchoate stage of her career when she had the 'audacity' to confront colonial curricula in African education when she was just 22 in the early 1950s. Her push for 'Africanisation' of the curriculum (Hamilton 2022) makes her a vanguard of the pedagogy of the oppressed which Freire describes as a «task for radicals» (2018, 39).

5. Lalage Bown: Decoloniser and Vanguard of Women Empowerment in Africa

We conclude this chapter by acknowledging the colossus and trailblazer of an adult educator, Lalage Bown, who «dedicated much of her career in Africa to helping adult women learn to read and write» (Hamilton 2022). So many things make her stand out as a vanguard of women empowerment in Africa. Her advocacy for and insistence on 'Africanisation' of the curriculum falls within Freire and Macedo literacy must flow from the students' reading of the world. They insist that «words should be laden with the meaning of the people's existential experience, and not of the teacher's experience» (1987, 35). Lalage Bown's insistence on 'Africanisation' of the content of adult literacy in those days puts her in the same category as Bishop N.S.F. Grundtvig who advocated then for the Danish language to be the medium of instruction as a way of decolonizing learning which was in the nineteenth century mostly in Latin. Bown's courage in insisting on Africanising content was a way of opening up adult education for women empowerment. This would qualify Lalage Bown as a cultural-humanist who believed that active citizenship is best encouraged when people locate learning within the realities of their world. By that singular stance, Lalage broke away from the mechanical reinforcement of didactic learning and took the risk of stimulating Africans (especially women) to doubt instead of suffocating their curiosity. Freire and Macedo enjoined that «educators should stimulate risk taking, without which there is no creativity» (1987, 57). It is worth quoting Freire and Macedo extensively in order to put Lalage Bown's decolonizing and empowering commitment to education and especially adult education in clearer perspective. Freire and Macedo in their argument for a new society have this to say:

> to be consistent with the plan to construct a new society in these ex-colonies free from the vestiges of colonialism, a literacy program should be based on the rationale that such a program must be rooted in the cultural capital subordinate Africans and have as its point of departure the native language (1987, 151).

Freire and Macedo were advocating the above more than three decades after Lalage Bown had brazed the trail and 'stood her ground' in defence of humanistic adult education that uses the meaning-making schemes of African women to empower them to be active citizens.

As our last word, we want to acknowledge and celebrate Lalage Bown as that adult educator who changed society by taking adult education as a vocation. In her chapter on history and adult education, Bown mentioned Socrates, Jesus, Mohammed who changed society through their commitment to the ed-

ucation of adults. Little did Lalage Bown know then that she belonged in the class of individuals with indelible footprints in history. This was what Lalage wrote in 1981:

> although history helps to restrain over-optimism, it ought to give the adult educator inspiration. It provides sufficient examples of persons who took the education of adults as a vocation and who did change society thereby [...] to give any aspirant adult educator a sense of pride and mission and a broad vision (Bown 1981, 167).

Lalage Bown changed her society, that of Africans in adult education, and especially in empowering African women to be active citizens who can speak their own words.

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CHAPTER 6

Advocacy, Adult Learning and the Pursuit of Social Justice

Alan Tuckett

Abstract:

The chapter highlights the centrality of advocacy work for adult learners, particularly from marginalised and excluded communities, as a key feature of the work of Lalage Bown and its scope nationally and internationally. It explores effective work in representing the experience and demands of adult learners, and those who work with them, undertaken by adult learning associations at a national, regional and global level. The three examples considered are the work of the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) in England and Wales, notably around the creation of Adult Learners' Week as festival and advocacy tool; the work of the Asian South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE), in combining research-based policy work and advocacy, regionally and globally alongside developing advocacy skills among its members; and the work of The International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), the global non-governmental association for adult learning, and the work of its International Academy for Lifelong Learning Advocacy in strengthening practitioners' capacity to engage with global decision making processes affecting adult learning. The chapter concludes with reflections on the key skills needed for successful advocacy.

Keywords: Adult Learning; Advocacy; Associations; Equity

Lalage Bown was a passionate educator, dedicated for more than seventy years to securing education as a right for everyone, to ending gender inequality, and to securing a voice for under-represented groups. She understood that a life worth living needs health, sufficient wealth and learning, and that adult learning and education is a fundamental tool in the struggle for social justice, and in making those needs accessible to all. She also understood that it was possible (though not easy) to persuade policy makers to sign up to broad commitments to lifelong learning for all, but that turning those broad commitments into practical policies affecting poor and marginalised adults, and particularly poor and marginalised women was infinitely harder (Bown 2000). She recognised that policy makers at local, national and international levels regularly fail to see its significance without sustained, passionate and evidence-based advocacy. In part this is, as she knew, because adult learning and education, for all their importance are seldom visible in wider public debates. Lalage's response to this was to take every possible opportunity to assert the right to education, to insist that

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Alan Tuckett, *Advocacy, Adult Learning and the Pursuit of Social Justice*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.11, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 79-92, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

the curriculum for structured education for adults must reflect the experience and voices, the lived experience of learners, and to push policy makers and practitioners to do more and better on behalf of those who have benefited least, and that debates in a privileged country like Britain should never lose sight of the experience of adults in the global South. Because she was a serious educator she used her formidable talents, and her unmatched determination in advocacy for an Adult Education and wider learning environment that matched the rhetoric of lifelong, life-wide learning for all.

My first encounter with Lalage illustrated this. When she had returned from her ground breaking work in West Africa, to work for a year at The Institute of Development Studies based at Sussex University, she visited the voluntary sector adult education centre where I worked at a time when our adult literacy work had survived enquiries from three government departments into potential political bias in our literacy materials (happily leading to the national publication of our materials as the best of good practice), and at a time the local authority was planning to cut adult education. She was, of course, supportive of our campaigns on behalf of learners, which included a week-long day and night teach-in which mobilised media support for the work. Nevertheless, Lalage saw this as no reason not to demand more and better of our work on behalf of women's education – always pushing us to outdo our best. My last substantial encounter was similar. It came when she was invited as a witness to an initial meeting of the Centenary Commission for Lifelong Learning in 2019, where her contribution was learned, politically sophisticated and clearly forward looking. Never someone to be slow to come forward, Lalage invited herself to all the subsequent meetings of the Commission, making incisive rights-based contributions to its findings (Centenary Commission 2019).

It is then, entirely fitting that in a celebration of Lalage's work and contribution, the centrality of advocacy for rights-based education and learning opportunities for adults should be explored. This chapter explores how adult learning associations at a national, regional and global level undertake that work, both in representing the experience and demands of adult learners, and those who work with them, and in developing the skills needed to be effective advocates among their members. It describes work in the UK, co-ordinated by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, NIACE, to create a national festival, Adult Learners' Week, connecting broadcasters, policy makers, and the wide range of providers in celebrating existing learners in order to encourage others to participate, and as a showcase for pressing for policy change to strengthen services. It also explores how that initiative was taken up in some fifty-five countries. At a regional level it explores the work of the Asian South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education, ASPBAE, in combining research-based policy work and advocacy, regionally and globally with its practical strategies for developing advocacy skills among its members to develop effective strategies for promoting the right to education for young people and adults. The International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), the recognised global non-governmental organisation representing adult education, established an International Academy for

Lifelong Learning Advocacy, recognising that many of its regional and national members were almost wholly engaged in national or regional work, and seeking to develop a cohort of practitioners able to combine working locally with global advocacy work on behalf of adult learning. In each case, the organisations highlighted through their work the vital importance of including participants from under-represented groups, recognised the importance of securing effective succession planning, and the importance of celebration and festival as advocacy tools. The chapter concludes with reflections on the key skills needed for successful advocacy.

Harbans Bhola, the distinguished Indian adult educator argued that adult education is both structure and culture. It is a distinction Lalage would recognise:

> We must recognize that adult education in all societies of the world, whether developed or developing, is first a culture, and then a sector. Within the adult education culture, adults educate other adults, by beating drums for attention, singing folk songs, and shouting messages over loudspeakers, by putting posters on walls, and organising exhibits; by organising political and religious functions on street corners or in city parks; and by spreading the message over the radio and television. On the other hand, the adult education sector is made up of the adult education establishment comprising governmental and non-governmental institutions; ministries, enterprises, research bureaus, night schools, and adult learning centres (Bhola 1997, 47).

1. NIACE

The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, NIACE (now renamed the Learning and Work Institute) was created in 1921 as the British Institute of Adult Education. For its first half century it was primarily a professional network, fostering communication and development among professionals in university adult education, the WEA and local government. NIACE published an authoritative journal for its field and mounted an annual residential conference and an autumn meeting – broadly supportive of Bhola's «adult education as sector» (Bhola 1997, 47). However, early in its life it housed initiatives that led to the creation of the British Film Institute and to the national Arts Council, and during the Second World War its full-time Secretary was seconded to run a mass adult education initiative, the Army Bureau of Current Affairs – each with a visibility and reach far greater than adult education itself. In the post-war era adult education attracted relatively little public policy attention, though the 1973 government commissioned Russell report recognized that adult education services were less effective at engaging 'disadvantaged' communities, and a number of initiatives followed, hosted by NIACE, supported adult literacy, English as a Second Language, educational guidance for adults, and provision for unemployed people (Gilbert and Prew 2001).

At the end of the 1980s the government proposed legislation that would end local authority responsibility for adult education, and limit public funding solely

to provision leading directly to qualifications for work. Approaches to government to modify the policy were brushed off. As NIACE's Director I was told by the lead civil servant that there is no such thing as adult education, it is just further education. The Institute members decided that it needed robust and public campaigning to affect the legislation. Briefings for provider institutions were issued. Local authorities agreed to collect a petition against the proposals, securing more than 500,000 signatures in less than a month. Perhaps most significantly, the National Federation of Women's Institutes, a NIACE member organization with a formidable organizational capacity mobilized its 9,000 branches in a letter writing campaign to MPs. The Department of Education had to take on significant numbers of extra staff just to respond to the correspondence. NIACE then supported sympathetic Members of Parliament and peers to create an All Party Parliamentary Adult Education Group to foster informed debate on adult learning and education policy. Newspapers and the broadcast media offered sympathetic coverage. One striking story in *The Independent* covered the experience of a merchant banker, who had gone to local authority evening classes in flower arranging as preparation for a career change, prior to opening a glorious florist's shop in Brixton, London (the site of riots in the 1980s) and hiring several fellow class members to work in the shop. The florist was clear that for him flower arranging was industrial training, and that you cannot tell students' purposes from the title of a class.

Within a remarkably short time the government 'clarified' its position – reversing proposals to exclude wider liberal education from public funding. There was a perhaps unsurprising but relatively short-lived cooling of government relations with NIACE, which it part-funded through grant aid (Tuckett 1996, 54-55).

The Institute, despite considerable initial scepticism, recognized the breadth of institutional and media support its campaign had generated, and agreed to set about creating new alliances to promote a national festival of adult learning and education, Adult Learners' Week, in 1992. In part this was to demonstrate the wide range of settings and the extraordinary diversity and richness of studies adult undertake, in part to celebrate existing adult learners and to give them a voice as an encouragement to others to join in. Its third purpose was to help decision makers to understand and respond to the rich variety of demand. The Week built upon an earlier American initiative but on a significantly larger scale. NIACE was lucky that the BBC had decided, with the support of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) to make short advert like programmes to promote adult participation in learning, and agreed to align timings. Independent television companies also agreed to feature outstanding adult learners' stories in regional news shows, and Channel 4 commissioned a major drama focusing on an autodidact. NIACE co-ordinated awards ceremonies, supported the thousands of local events, published research on adult participation for the week, supported news organisations in searching out stories, liaised with the MSC in creating a free telephone adult guidance helpline for the Week. The European Social Fund supported those aspects of the Week targeting unemployed adults. The impact was impressive. 55,000 people phoned the helpline, and then more than a half

were long term unemployed. Within three months more than a third had taken up a course. A key to the Week's success was its permissiveness – anyone could organise their own activities under its umbrella – and its success also consolidated NIACE's own voice as an advocate for adult learning of all sorts (Yarnit 2010).

The success of the Week was marked, and agreement with the major partners was secured to repeat it on an annual basis. During the second Week, agreement was secured to insert an advert into every unemployed person's benefits cheque encouraging them to phone the helpline – incidentally a perfect way to demonstrate the evidence of the successful targeting to beneficiaries required for funding support from the European Social Fund. *The Guardian* carried a 22-page supplement highlighting a combination of policy issues and personal learning journeys. NIACE was invited to host a Parliamentary Reception for the Week, and close relations with government were re-established, helped by the enthusiasm of a new Minister, Tim Boswell. Each year new dimensions were added – the oldest learner in the country was found, women returners were highlighted, a sustained focus on learners' voices was developed, supermarkets opened learning centres for the Week, Government Ministers hosted the major national ceremonies, and international colleagues visited to see how it all worked (Tuckett 2021). Comparable initiatives were developed in Switzerland, South Africa, Jamaica, and a raft of European countries. In 1997-98 UNESCO adopted an International Adult Learners' week and the initiative spread to some 55 countries (Bochynek 2007).

One key lesson NIACE took from the Parliamentary campaign, and Adult Learners' Week was the importance of accessible and easily digested data, to enable decision makers to make better informed policies and programmes. NIACE instigated an annual market research driven and representative survey of participation in adult learning of all sorts, and a complementary research programme in a wide range of studies, but particularly on the barriers faced by under-represented groups and how these might be overcome. It made the findings of this work available to policy makers, funding bodies and to politicians of all the major parties. Indeed, in 2008-09 it spent a million pounds on commissioning research to identify a lifelong learning strategy given the absence of a government one (Schuller and Watson 2009). The work was effective. Leisha Fullick noted that the extent to which NIACE established itself as an indispensable tool for busy politicians was demonstrated in 2004 when a Liberal MP complained:

> The Honourable Member [...] (for Daventry) [Tim Boswell-Tory] has gone through virtually the whole of the NIACE briefing notes, leaving me somewhat bereft of comment (Fullick 2010, 206-7).

The Institute was successful in helping to shape the new Labour government's thinking, and helped administer national development programmes through more than a decade, but still maintained a sharp critique when it saw the interests of learners being damaged by developments – perhaps notably when funding for programmes of English for Speakers of other Languages was cut radically (Grover 2006). Managing the role of partner to governments of all persuasions

whilst maintaining effective advocacy for adult learning and education needed diplomacy and trust, with government and funders, but also in relations with providers, practitioners and learners. In its work with government, NIACE secured a voluntary sector compact, renewed annually alongside its rolling three year funding, that recognized the balance of risk in cooperative relationships between the state and voluntary bodies. Government recognized the benefit to be gained from NIACE's robust critique of public policy as a critical friend, and NIACE offered 'no surprises' – a guarantee that when it disagreed publicly, or planned to campaign against proposals, it would inform government in advance. It was also important that the Institute remained fiscally independent by earning 90 percent of its turnover apart from government grant (Tuckett 2009; Fullick 2010).

Despite the success of its advocacy till the mid 2000s, however, NIACE and its renamed successor has spent much of the last fifteen years fighting campaigns to minimize the reductions in opportunity for adult learners that flowed from neo-liberal austerity programmes, and from a new narrow utilitarianism in policy. To date some 4 million fewer adults are engaged in publicly supported programmes than in the mid 2000s.

2. ASPBAE

ASPBAE, the Asian South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education is a regional association of almost 300 members, working across in excess of thirty countries in the Asia-South Pacific region, dedicated to

> building a movement committed to advancing equitable access to relevant, quality and empowering education and learning opportunities for all people, especially the most marginalized groups. Its overall goal is to secure equal access of all citizens to basic and Adult Education of good quality, thereby contributing to poverty eradication, sustainable development and lasting peace (Castillo 2012, 43).

Its members include non-government organisations, national education campaign coalitions, national federations of Adult Education, community groups, indigenous people and women's organisations, popular education groups and university departments. It is a values driven association, with a powerful commitment to human rights, and especially education as a human right. Its staff and members combine passion, rigour, a strategic understanding of how to promote change, and how to hold governments and funders to account in achieving the promises they make about basic and adult education. It recognizes that in many of the states in its region, the policy commitments and funding available through development partners is as critical as the decisions of governments, and has as a result developed a combination of strategies that seek to help shape global as well as regional policy and funding. To achieve this, ASPBAE is highly effective at creating and sustaining partnerships at the different levels of its activity, and by concentrating on four areas of focus – policy advocacy, leadership and capac-

ity building, strategic partnerships, and institutional capacity building, each of which is elaborated on below, and all of which are key elements in advocacy at a regional and global level (ASPBAE 2014). It is held in the highest regard by partners, governments and the UN process, not least because of the exceptional leadership skills Maria Almanaz Khan demonstrated during her twenty-five years leading the association.

ASPBAE was formed in 1964 as the Asian Pacific Bureau for Adult Education (the name changed in 2005), with 33 founding members (overwhelmingly academics and the national adult education officers of states), who were seeking to foster co-operation and development among adult educators in its region. In their first decade they met where possible in the interstices of other funded organisations' events, unable to fund independent meetings. ASPBAE's initial fragility was exacerbated when its first General Secretary died suddenly in 1967 (Morris 2011). The second, Chris Duke described ASPBAE when he first encountered it:

> It was a small, shallow-rooted club of people in universities, government departments and in a few cases national associations. My first encounter was in a Stiftung-funded regional workshop in New Delhi in 1972. Here I learned (too late!) that the price of participation was to agree to take on the secretarial work and fan life into what had become a shell organisation. In the next two years the main sign that ASPBAE existed was a Newsletter, the Courier (2003, 83).

Three events contribute significantly to its transformation from small beginnings to its present status. The first was its role in the formation of the International Council for Adult Education in 1973, and in ICAE's first Assembly in Dar es Salaam in 1976. Through its role as ICAE regional vice-president for Asia Pacific ASPBAE contributed actively to drafts of UNESCO policy documents. The second key development resulted from the agreement of ASPBAE and the German Adult Education Association's Institute for International Cooperation, DVV International, to sign a formal partnership in 1977 which has lasted more than forty years. DVV International played a critical role in funding national co-ordination offices for adult education in the member countries of ASPBAE, securing a robust organizational base for its work. Following an initial joint meeting at Chiangmai, Thailand ASPBAE embarked on a vibrant decade of shared meetings, regional training, travel fellowships, and shared advocacy, with ASPBAE members playing a full role lobbying hard, (albeit like all other ngos from outside the formal conference hall), at the fourth World Conference on the Education of Adults, CONFINTEA IV.

The third transformative act followed a 1990 report of ASPBAE's General Secretary, W.M.K. Wijetunga which noted a crisis in ASPBAE, which worked overwhelmingly with the region's university based adult education, whilst a major expansion had taken place in NGOs and civil society organisations working actively, and innovatively in the field. The ASPBAE Executive Council decided, on receipt of the report to recommend strongly that the Association should «convene an assembly of all potential new members of ASPBAE to better root ASPBAE's work in the realities of the region and to redefine its structures and

priorities in this regard» (Khan 2014). The resultant First ASPBAE General Assembly, in Tagatay, Philippines in December 1991 moved from accepting single representatives of countries to accepting direct membership of individual organisations, and the focus shifted from academic to popular education, and to effective network building (Khan 2014).

This shift of focus was given added impetus from 1995 when Maria Lourdes Alamanaz Khan was appointed Secretary General. By 2000, and the third General Assembly, ASPBAE had built a robust network, helped members to strengthen their own organizational base, had adopted transparent governance processes, and as a review of its work noted:

> The values and philosophy of a transformative Adult Education are now more entrenched in the organization. The commitments to social justice, gender justice, sustainable human development, equity and peace are explicit in the organisation's philosophy (ASPBAE quoted in Khan 2014).

However, the Assembly also noted that the network's strength had not led to influence education policy reform or challenged dominant paradigms of thinking about education and learning. The 2000 UNESCO World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, recognised that the goal set a decade earlier, to halve illiteracy by 2000 had not been met, and set a new process Education for All in place, with targets to be achieved by 2015. ASPBAE was active in Dakar, but the EFA follow up process, which expanded opportunities for NGO and CSO participation, gave it a mechanism both to have an impact on global policy, and through UNESCO and development partner funding, could impact on the region's governments (Khan 2000). As a result ASPBAE focused its policy work and advocacy firmly on EFA. Globally, it joined the Global Campaign for Education, and the UNESCO Collective Consultation of NGOs on EFA, whilst maintaining its role in ICAE and its partnership with DVV International. Over the next decade ASPBAE became convinced that to make gains for adult education in the wider policy environment it needed to argue the indivisibility of education for all, and in 2008 changed its name and constitution again to become the Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education, reflecting the all-age focus of many of its grass roots member associations.

ASPBAE built on the successful Education Watch model developed by its member, the Campaign for Popular Education in Bangladesh, to create an independent citizen based assessment of the state of basic education at regional, national and local levels, focusing on disadvantaged groups, and designed to highlight the magnitude of the gap between global targets agreed by governments and the current scale of the shortfall in meeting them. Change is monitored over time and analysis undertaken to identify problems and identify solutions. Periodic Report Cards are published by ASPBAE, among them *Failing the Midterms: Half measures won't do! An Asia Pacific Citizens' Report Card rating governments' efforts to achieve Education for All,* and *Gender, Equality and Education: A Report Card on South Asia* (ASPBAE 2009). External global conferences stimulate further research. The sixth World Conference on Adult Education planned for

2009 prompted an ASPBAE study analysing the financial requirements needed to meet the Education for All adult literacy targets by 2015. A Literacy Cost-Benefit Study and literature review undertook cost benefit analysis of adult education and learning, particularly for developing countries, and these studies are then complemented by policy briefs for practitioner advocates and policy makers alike. As education privatization was introduced in the region, ASPBAE studied its impact and implications for under-represented groups. Studies on the comparative performance of different countries were particularly effective. As EFA and the Millennium Development Goals were replaced in 2015 by Sustainable Development Goals, ASPBAE was active and effective in influencing the language and focus of global preparatory papers, and in monitoring subsequent progress (ASPBAE 2010; Khan 2014).

This externally focused advocacy work is complemented by leadership and capacity building programmes. A Basic Leadership Development Course introduces participants to the ASPBAE network, the principles of emancipatory adult education, and policy advocacy. The course is residential, lasts 6 days, and includes dynamic strategies for engaging and enthusing groups. This is partnered by a programme aimed at developing trainer facilitators in the region. The third key element in advocacy work focuses on strengthening the National Education Campaign coalitions in the region, where ASPBAE works in partnership with the Global Campaign for Education and partners in other global regains to strengthen coalition members capacity to campaign for education as a human right (ASPBAE 2010; Castillo 2012).

An important dimension of advocacy work by umbrella bodies like ASPBAE is the ability to secure funding from a sufficiently broad range of sources to secure and develop the work. This has been less easy since global development partners moved to a large extent from funding infrastructure to programmes with quantifiable outcomes, but ASPBAE has been extremely successful in this, aided in part by its shift to being a network for learning across the age span. However, it is the skill of the network to make and sustain dynamic partnerships that make it such a successful advocate on behalf of the right for all to quality education.

3. ICAE

The International Council for Adult Education, the only global non-government organization representing adult education and the adult learners' movement, was founded by a group of non-state actors following the third UNESCO World Conference on Adult Education in Tokyo in 1972. Inspired by the Canadian J. Roby Kidd, they were determined that civil society needed a voice in global discussions affecting the interests of adult learners. At first, as with ASPBAE «it was the combination of contacts in the national adult education associations with those in university adult education that provided the strongest base for the early development of the Council» (Hall 1995, 191). ICAE's first General Assembly, which met in Dar es Salaam in 1976 attracted 700 participants from more than a hundred countries, and was addressed by Julius Nyerere,

President of Tanzania and ICAE's first Honorary President. Nyerere argued that «the first function of adult education is to inspire both the desire for change, and an understanding that change is possible», and that adult education «is the key to the development of free men and free societies. Its function is to help men to think for themselves to make their own decisions, and to execute these decisions for themselves» (quoted in Hinzen 2006, 69).

In response, ICAE developed a distinctive blend of advocacy, combining evidence-based policy analysis with celebration of popular education, and negotiating hard to secure the realization of education as a human right. To that end ICAE developed a close working relationship with the work of the UNESCO Institute for Learning (UIL), which became later the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.

Its own organization was shaped by work through its regions and national organization members to facilitate links with practitioners and local bodies. The regions comprised the European Bureau of Adult Education (founded in 1953 and like ASPBAE in existence before the creation of ICAE, evolved in the early 1990s to the EAEA); the African Adult Education Association, ASPBAE, and later CARCAE in the Caribbean, CEEAL (the popular education network in Latin America, and a network in North America. From the late 1970s it worked most effectively through thematic networks, linking activists across the globe to share experience and initiatives, and to build an evidence base. The key networks were women's education (Ellis 1995); education for environmental awareness (Clover 1995), adult literacy (Rodney 1995), and adult education for peace (Kekkonen 1995). The Council also played an important role in fostering participatory research, ensuring the voice of learners were fully represented in the design and content of research activity. Through the 1980s the Council strengthened partnership with a range of social movements – seeking change by aligning its work with actors, particularly in the global south seeking to overcome the marginalization and poverty affecting communities.

Its impact on global policy making came through its role as a partner of UNESCO and in particular UIL. Perhaps the relationship between ICAE and UNESCO has been best expressed at the twelve yearly world conferences on adult education. At CONFINTEA V in Hamburg in particular, the conclusions strongly reflected ICAE's vision, its commitment to education as a human right for all and to life-wide learning. ICAE played a pivotal role at the conference in securing UNESCO commitment to develop learning festivals and Adult Learners' Weeks, and greater centrality for gender equality (UNESCO 1997).

However, soon after CONFINTEA V, ICAE hit difficult times. It established a Renewal Task Force, paralleled by a review instigated by its development aid partners. The review report was clear that ICAE seemed trapped in a 1980s agenda and needed urgently to change. However, the report was emphatic that a global learning organization representing adult education and the adult learners' movement in global debates was needed (DANIDA 1999, 4).

At a Special General Assembly held in Manila in 1999 to respond to the report, ICAE shifted the balance of its partnership work and its formal member-

ship towards bodies representing community-based adult education practices, whilst keeping a central commitment to policy advocacy. It sought to align itself with other global social movements, and to seek a stronger voice for agencies in the global south, and from 2001 the office moved from Toronto to Montevideo in Uruguay.

ICAE's advocacy work has focused since on four distinct but overlapping interests, alongside effective communication with its members through its online newsletter Voices Rising, and listening to them through its inclusive online seminars and consultative debates. The first involved advocacy in relation to UNESCO's agenda. UNESCO's Dakar World Education Forum in 2000 provided an arena for the revitalised ICAE (including ASPBAE as seen above) to forge partnerships to advocate for adult education as the Education for All (EFA) agenda was established. However, whilst the partnerships proved robust during the fifteen-year period of the Education for All agenda adopted at Dakar, the commitments secured in the EFA agenda for adults were modest. The commitment to halve illiteracy among adults, adopted first in 1990, was restated, a commitment was made to secure gender equality in participation, and a vaguer goal was agreed to ensure «[…] that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes» (Global Education Monitoring Report Team 2015, 2).

Whilst progress on the EFA goals was monitored annually, the failure to agree robust data sets that could measure the goal relating to youth and adult participation meant despite advocates' best efforts this goal never received adequate attention. No sooner had the EFA agreement between agreed between governments than the UN agreed eight Millennium Development Goals, including only universal primary school from the EFA agenda, which, since the MDGs garnered the overwhelming bulk of development finance, had the effect of further marginalising the right to adult education for all.

ICAE had more impact in the follow up process to CONFINTEA V, preparing an evidence based Shadow Report in time for the Mid Term Review in 2004, taking 20 countries representing different stages of development and monitoring progress on countries' implementation of the CONFINTEA V agreements (ICAE 2003). The paper was the key document debated at the Review, and led at CONFINTEA VI to the adoption by UNESCO of a 3 yearly progress report cycle (GRALE) from 2009. Similarly, in the preparation for the 2009 CONFINTEA VI in Belem, Brazil ICAE mobilised organisations and social movements to create a Preparatory event, FISC, that met immediately prior to the full conference, attracting 1200 participants to a creative, innovative and celebratory festival that offered a sharp critique of the state of adult education provision in 2009. Its outcome document offered a more confident and forward looking agenda than the formal conference (International Civil Society Forum 2010; Tuckett 2015). Its role was even more central once the CONFINTEA VI Mid Term Review was held in Korea, with members playing key roles as speakers, moderators, and drafting committee members, and in influencing its findings.

Given the impact of the MDGs, ICAE concluded that work with UNESCO needed to be complemented by advocacy at the UN itself as a second main strand of its activity, and that more progress was likely as part of other social policy agendas than for adult education directly. From this point it was active in the UN Women's Major Group, one of nine coalitions of non-state actors formally recognized by the UN, through the ICAE Education Office and also through the Voluntary Sector Group. This proved prescient, when following the Earth Summit at Rio in 2012, the commitment to create Sustainable Development Goals from 2015 was developed. From 2011, ICAE's work brought these two strands together in its advocacy related to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and secured a key place in the High Level Monitoring Group reviewing progress towards the SDGs after 2015 (United Nations 2015; Tuckett 2015).

A third dynamic dimension of the work came when ICAE participated as a founding partner in the World Social Forum (WSF), which met annually to explore alternatives to the dominant international discourse, and the role education could play in bringing other possible worlds into existence. The Forum offered a massive festival of ideas, theatrical performances, marches, music performances and dances all dedicated to the creation of a world worth living in. Shaped by popular movements in the global South the WSF offered a markedly different site for the development of global dialogue than the committee rooms of the UN.

The final focus of ICAE's advocacy activity was through its International Academy for Lifelong learning Advocates – run annually from 2004 as a three week seminar for emerging leaders in the field and introducing them to the global policy context, debates and advocacy strategies. It proved transformative for ICAE itself as new young leaders increasingly took roles in shaping its agendas, and its graduates have gone on to take senior roles in a wide variety of agencies.

As ICAE arrives at its fiftieth anniversary the vibrancy of its message remains intact, despite recurring funding challenges, as development partners' priorities changed. However, despite the commitment governments make to lifelong learning for all, there remains a huge task to match rhetoric with practice, and the need for evidence based advocacy is as strong as ever.

4. Making the Case for Adult Learning

As the three networks highlighted here demonstrate advocacy work needs a combination of Bhola's distinction between structure and culture. Effective advocates make arguments grounded in evidence, often using the declared intentions of the agencies that need to be convinced as a benchmark to highlight present gaps. Often they will know more than the responsible officers (civil servants or politicians) with whom they negotiate. They focus attention on groups under-served by current policies, and give voice to under-represented groups. They combine the personal illustration with social trends. They speak in the language of those they wish to influence. They make strategic decisions on when their case is best pursued through co-operation, and when to use conflict. They secure broad alliances with other agencies, mobilise learners, and articulate values and aspirations

clearly. Advocates need patience, and to combine short term compromise with long term intransigence. Where possible they become invaluable to the agencies with which they work – as 'critical friends'. But as Lalage Bown well understood the advocate benefits too from innovative forms of provision, and from organising events that catch the eye, that engage participants in vibrant festivals of learning – banging drums for attention as Bhola would have it. They recognize the importance of generosity to allies, but need firmly to maintain attention on the communities they represent. In their own work, too, they need mechanisms to share skills and experience and to create ladders of opportunity. NIACE, ASPBAE and ICAE each make clear that none of this is a short term task – again something Lalage Bown recognized in a long life making the case for adult learners.

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PART II

Decolonisation, Post-colonialism and Indigenous Knowledge
Co-ordinating Editor: Michael Omolewa

CHAPTER 7

Liberation, Empowerment and Decolonisation through Adult Education in Africa

Michael Omolewa, Ruphina U. Nwachukwu, Anne Ruhweza Katahoire

Abstract:

Adult Education is an interdisciplinary field that often includes a focus on social justice issues and thus prompts a liberation, empowerment, and decolonisation approach to adult education. The purpose of this chapter is to report findings from informed by the papers of Lalage Bown held by the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford, and the British Library. The chapter explores the concepts and nexuses of liberation empowerment and decolonisation through Adult Education in Africa. It addresses liberation and empowerment in the life of Lalage Bown in Africa, and her life and family background. It also explores her perceptions on decolonisation and the key reasons why she fought for the oppressed through Adult Education during her stay in Africa. The paper examines Lalage Bown's work experiences in different universities in Africa – including Nigeria – Britain, and her new ideas, including her approach to colonisation, Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Finally, it discusses Lalage Bown's Legacy.

Keywords: Colonialism; Decolonisation; Empowerment; Lalage Bown; Liberation

Introduction

Adult Education is an interdisciplinary field that often demands a focus on social justice issues such as freedom, decolonisation, and empowerment. From the outset in Africa, Adult Education was the veritable foundation force used as a strategy for rescuing people from the ravages and limitations imposed by society. Thus, Adult Education should be regarded as the foundation and essential driving force of social justice and thus, prompts a liberation, empowerment, and decolonisation of the citizens. The education of the adults liberates and empowers them to develop the competencies and traits to alleviate the problems of poverty, ignorance, misery, inequalities, exploitation, degradation, unemployment, and other societal problems.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Michael Omolewa, Ruphina U. Nwachukwu, Anne Ruhweza Katahoire, *Liberation, Empowerment and Decolonisation through Adult Education in Africa*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.13, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 95-106, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

This chapter draws attention to the role played by Adult Education in the empowerment of Africans from the last days of colonial rule. It explores how Lalage Bown, a graduate of Oxford University, was inducted into the Adult Education discipline following an internship programme in Adult Education at the same University. It examines aspects of the life of Lalage Bown and tries to explore some of the influences that may have led her to focus attention on Africa where she effectively promoted Adult Education. In 1949, she arrived in Ghana for her first leg of work before moving to Makerere College in Uganda, and later to the University College, Ibadan, which later became the University of Ibadan. From Ibadan, she moved first to the University of Zambia and thereafter to the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria in Nigeria and finally, the University of Lagos, Nigeria. Lalage Bown made an unusual and unlikely decision to work in Africa and in the field of Adult Education despite her upbringing in elite educational institutions and the promise of comfort in life. Despite her birth and the privileges of colonial rule, she chose to stand by the victims of colonial rule and work for their liberation and empowerment. Lalage's choice was a result of her encounter with the post-war world in which many believed strongly that the injustices suffered under colonial rule had to end.

The study used historical and qualitative research methods, which involved the use of primary and secondary sources from the rich depositories of her work at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the British Library in London, and the various places where she worked in Africa as well as narratives from those whom she met along her professional journey in Africa.

1. Arrival in Africa: Work in Ghana and Togo

At just about the time of the graduation of Lalage, the Oxford Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies had made the important decision to extend its work to some selected British colonies. This was at the age of massive involvement in the promotion of adult education by universities in the United Kingdom. T.L. Hodgkin, Secretary of the Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies at Oxford University, launched the Extra-Mural programmes of his University in the Gold Coast, which later became Ghana in 1947 (Yousif 1967; Omolewa 1975a). This followed a period of consideration of the country to be used for the pilot programme of the University of Oxford in Africa. By February 1947, the Delegacy had resolved to «discover if there was any potential demand for the kind of adult education such as is met in Britain through courses provided by University Extra-Mural Departments in cooperation with voluntary organizations» (Bodleian Library MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 2, File 2). An Extra-Mural Resident Tutor from Kent gave lectures from May to July 1947 on Economic History and Problems. Following the request by the local people to discuss politics rather than economics, the Delegacy introduced a course on "Problems of Government". The annual report stated that «The fear entertained that the initial enthusiasm everywhere displayed for the classes would be ephemeral, fortunately, proved unfounded. Everywhere sizeable groups of students emerged who soon showed that they

would stay the course and would indeed certainly have undertaken longer and more ambitious courses of study if such had been available» (Bodleian Library MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 2, File 2). David Kimble was appointed Resident Tutor in April 1948 and the University College of the Gold Coast took over the responsibility for Adult Education from Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies with effect from April 1, 1949.

David Kimble was appointed Director of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies and reported that considerable progress was made in Adult Education during the year, 1949 to 1950. This was the time that Lalage Bown arrived in Accra. David Kimble noted in his Annual Report for the year that:

> Miss Lalage Bown, B.A arrived at the beginning of November, and took up residence in Accra, though she travels weekly around Togoland. Her enthusiasm has created such a demand across the Volta that she has undertaken a very strenuous programme, sometimes involving seven classes a week in widely separated places (Bodleian Library MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 2, File 2).

Kimble had continued in his Report that visitors from the United Nations to Togoland had submitted in their Report their fascination with the work of Lalage Bown:

> The mission watched a young English woman tutor introducing a group of Togoland youths and young women to the procedures of the British Parliamentary system by allowing them to play for themselves the role of government and opposition (Bodleian Library MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 2, File 2).

Kimble further noted that «Miss Lalage Bown, B.A has maintained a successful weekly class in Accra entirely for women. Enthusiasm has persisted in spite of an awkward day and time» (Bodleian Library MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 2, File 2).

She gave a talk on "You and Your Representative" as contribution to the broad theme on "Focus on the Constitution" at the Accra Community Centre, on Saturday 7th April, 1951. She was also involved with what was described at the time as "Activism in community development". In April 1953, under the auspices of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Lalage organised the Tongu-Rural Survey, involving volunteers who dedicated 2 weeks highlighting the needs of the community, including disease control, water supply, occupations, and prospects, to which the Chief Regional Officer reacted.

One of the contemporary adult educators, Paul Bertelsen, lamented during his presentation of the paper titled "The Relationship between Adult Education and Economic and Social Development in West Africa" at the 7th Conference of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, at the University College, Ibadan on 19 December, 1960, that «Comparatively small amount allocated to adult education, suggesting that adult education is commonly regarded as of only incidental importance for economic and social development». He suggested that this may have been because «the benefits of adult education are so diffuse that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to keep track of them».

Lalage had enormous faith in the potentials of Adult Education, not only for empowerment through the acquisition of knowledge but also in assisting the adult learners have confidence in themselves and respect their individual talents and potentials (Bodleian Library MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 1, File 2).

Lalage's strategy included the organisation of National Seminars, publication of newsletters, encouraging all the people involved in literacy promotion to be involved with programmes and activities and it was to be translated, eventually into an effective, active, and productive, adult education movement.

2. The Uganda Phase

Professor Lalage Bown joined the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Makerere University College of East Africa in 1955. She served as a Resident Tutor in the Eastern Region of the country for two years and continued to maintain the vigour, zeal, focus, and energy that she had brought into the promotion of Adult Education from Ghana, then the Gold Coast. Again, her emphasis was on making sure that the students remained the centre of attraction and were made participants in the learning process. She taught the subject Introduction to Psychology to the students of Adult Education. In her notes to the students, she stated:

> This is the second part of a course on Psychology and is planned to take five lectures to complete. Students are reminded that a study-course of this kind is a cooperative effort between students and tutor. Regularity of attendance is essential, and the work of the class needs to be supplemented by reading at home. At least half the time in each class meeting will be devoted to questions and discussion (Bodleian Library MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 3).

Lalage also introduced to the students the course she entitled, "Some Political Problems". Here, she introduced, "Types of Constitution: Federal Constitution", and asked them to reflect on the roles and responsibilities of each component part of governance, explaining that «The work of a group of Ministers is to prepare a policy for the consideration of the lawmakers, and also supervise the carrying out of policy by the various departments» (Bodleian Library MSS.Afr.s.1877 Box 3). As usual, she was recognised for her work, which she pursued with great passion, energy, and excellence. Thus, during her first year as Resident Tutor in Eastern Uganda, she was reported in the 1956/57 Extra Mural Report to have set a track record:

> Particularly encouraging was the strong development of extra-mural studies in the Teso District. It is indicative of the keenness that more students came from Teso to the first Annual Study Vocation than from any other district in East Africa. The arrival of over 70 people from the Eastern province at 5 am at Kampala Station was a sight that will be remembered (Bodleian Library MSS. Afr.s.1877, Box 3).

3. The University College, Ibadan

Lalage was invited to Nigeria in 1960 by Professor Ayo Ogunsheye, Head of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Ibadan as Assistant Director. Ogunsheye was a graduate of the London School of Economics and Political Science of the University of London, and former Assistant Secretary of the Nigeria Union of Teachers.

The Department of Extra-Mural Studies that later changed to Department of Adult Education, started off with 12 classes inherited from the Oxford University Extra-Mural Delegacy in 1949. A year after establishment of the University College, Ibadan, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was founded based on the recommendation of the commission on higher education in West Africa which was appointed by the British Government in June 1943, with Walter Elliot as chairman. This was in response to the criticism of the local institutions which were poorly staffed, and poorly equipped, and which offered programmes which did not lead to the award of a degree. The commission had advised that extramural work should be pursued by the university in West Africa to ensure that the university was not isolated from the community. The Department of Extra-Mural Studies came up with the objectives of translating the Elliot vision of adult education into programmes (Omole 2022, 3).

Lalage believed in the capacity of the African to lead institutions and she firmly supported Professor Ayo Ogunsheye, the African candidate for the position of Dean of Education at the University of Ibadan against Professor Andy Taylor, the candidate from New Zealand. Ogunsheye won the election in 1965.

She was fully involved with the establishment of the Faculty of Education at the University of Ibadan. She had been recruited as staff of the first Department of Adult Education which had been founded at the University College, Ibadan in 1949, and named at the time, Department of Extra-Mural Studies. The University College had invited Robert Gardiner, a Ghanaian Economist and Cambridge University educated scholar, as the first Director. When the proposal came for the establishment of a Faculty of Education in 1962, in which the Department of Extra-Mural Studies would be one of its constituents, Lalage made the case that Extra-Mural issues were wider than being placed in a single faculty of Education. In the end, it was agreed that the new Faculty would be called the Faculty of Education and Extra-Mural Studies.

Lalage encouraged tutors of Extra-Mural classes to prepare syllabuses, stating that the purpose of the syllabus is to provide the students with a plan of the study areas to be covered in the course, so that they can see the bearing on one another of the topics to be discussed, and be able to organise better their own study. A good syllabus, like a good course, deals with a single important problem or aspect of a subject in a progressive way (Bodleian Library MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 6, File 1).

She joined the Department to outline the Duties of Full-Time Tutors, to conduct tutorial, advanced or preparatory classes, keep accurate register of student's attendance, and assist in appropriate ways in the establishment of a voluntary

adult education organisation. She also helped the Department to prepare the proposal to the Director-General of UNESCO for the establishment of The African Institute of Adult Education in the Department. She was promoted Deputy Director of the Department where she served until 1966.

4. Zambia

She moved to the University of Zambia in 1966 where she was made a Professor (*ad personam*). In Zambia, she continued with her usual work of serving as advocate for access to learning for those who were denied access to formal education. She also continued in the establishment of Extra-Mural centres in the country and training Extra-Mural tutors. She thus organised the Conference for Part Time Tutors and prospective Part-Time tutors held at Kasama, from June 30, to July 2, 1967, under the auspices of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Zambia. In 1970, Lalage introduced a programme entitled "Credit Unions and the Mobilisation of Savings" as a means of capacity building for income-generation, to empower learners of the Extra-Mural classes. She also prepared the Study material required for the proposed Certificate Course in Adult Education at her University. Her energy and zeal for the promotion of Adult Education were unlimited. She remained Director of Extra-Mural Studies in Zambia until early 1971 when she moved back to Nigeria.

5. Back to Nigeria

From 1971 to 1976, Lalage returned to Nigeria on her appointment as Professor of Adult Education and Chief Extension coordinator at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria. There, she was concerned by the quality and quantity of the Adult Education offerings, observing that:

> the specific needs of the adult student at evening school have been sorely neglected. Unlike British evening schools with their wide spectrum of programmes, Nigerian evening schools have all too often been solely oriented towards examinations, while the syllabus tends to be accepted uncritically by students and teachers alike. Survival in the school system and the resultant certificate has tended to be main object, and this at the expense of true education for life (Bown 1969, 169).

She responded to the criticism and mounted more relevant Adult Education programmes. She undertook visits to all the Military Governors of Northern States and encouraged them to patronise the various Adult Education programmes mounted by her department. She left for the University of Lagos where she served as Professor and Head of the Department of Adult Education. From 1979 to 1980, she was Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University. That was her last posting in Africa before she returned to the United Kingdom after thirty-one years in Africa.

Perhaps her main legacy was being a member of the team from the UK that contributed to the process of the achievement of political independence of Africa through the cultivation of Africans by the use of Adult Education. Certainly, Extra-Mural work had provided access to higher education which would otherwise have been impossible for educated Africans who began to contend for positions of responsibility in government, commerce, and industry. These were also the Africans who began to express dissatisfaction with the prevailing conditions that denied them access to self-determination, and who began to form political parties and organise mass protests against colonial rule, building up the African public opinion and nationalist sentiment against continuing imperialism and British rule. It was in this context that Lalage would be appreciated as a supporter of decolonisation (Omolewa 1975b; Titmus et al. 1995).

6. Lalage and Follow-up Initiatives / Testimonies from African Countries

Lalage preserved the relationships that she built in the African countries where she worked, including at Makerere University. In 1983, she returned to Uganda as a Visiting Professor after nearly 30 years. She returned to the same Department, where one of her old colleagues from the Extra-Mural days, Jassy Kwesiga, was then Director. She found that a lot had changed since her earlier years and that the Department of Extra-Mural Studies had been transformed into a Centre for Continuing Education (CCE) amidst the social, economic, and political changes that had occurred after independence, and during the Amin era. Lalage, at the time, was Head of the Department of Adult Education at the University of Glasgow.

During her month-long visit, she challenged and encouraged colleagues at Makerere to critically re-examine the Centre's philosophy, given the changes that had taken place in the country and in the field of Adult and Community Education in Africa, and globally. Her passion and commitment to Africa's development and the potential role that Adult and Community Education could play in this process were the central focus. Her emphasis was on the role of Adult Education in developing communities in Africa and, more importantly, women's empowerment through Adult Education. She worked with colleagues in redefining the role of University Adult Education in Uganda. Drawing on her wealth of experience from Africa and elsewhere, she provided a much-needed critical external viewpoint that was both empathetic and challenging. A joint Report produced at the end of her visit made several recommendations, including the need for the Centre to focus more on Adult Education training and research at a university level.

This marked a new trajectory for University Adult Education in Uganda, emphasizing the study, profession, and practice of Adult Education through research, teaching, and training (CCE, Triennial Plan for 1981/84, in Atim et al. 2004). Shortly after, CCE was restructured into an Institute of Adult and Continuing Education (IACE) with three departments, one of which was the Department of Adult Education and Communication Studies (AECS). This marked a significant step towards offering full-time training programmes for professional adult educators.

Another important outcome of Lalage's visit was an arrangement supported by the British Council, that enabled seven academic staff members to pursue postgraduate studies in adult education in the UK from 1983 to 1989. The University of Glasgow was part of this arrangement. As Anne Ruhweza Katahoire, one of the beneficiaries from Uganda testifies:

> Alice Ndidde and I got British Council Scholarships through the British Council to pursue our Master's degrees in Adult and Community Education at the University of Glasgow. We were privileged to be trained by Lalage as it was a rare opportunity to be taught by someone who understood the context we were coming from. I was inexperienced, having just completed my undergraduate degree. At Glasgow University Lalage very kindly helped me adapt and settle in very quickly. She invited me to different places, including her home, where she cooked African food, which made me feel at home. In addition to the mandatory courses on the Master's programme, Lalage gave me tutorials where she required me to read materials mainly on Africa. We would then meet and discuss them. The tutorials transformed my thinking about education and its role in transforming people's lives and communities in Africa. She challenged me to think more critically about my worldviews and assumptions about education. I read widely and thought hard in preparation for them and later realized that it was her way of challenging me to reflect more critically about my assumptions about education more generally and adult and community education more specifically. I enjoyed the materials I read especially those on women's empowerment through education in Africa. Lalage challenged me to think more critically about these issues and my positionality as an African woman. I attended my first International Adult Education Conference with her at the University of Bangor, where I met adult educators whose materials I had read. She seemed to know all of them and introduced me to some of them. She taught me the importance of developing professional networks. She graciously introduced me to adult educators who wrote about Africa and who had worked there and whom she thought I needed to know (Reflections by Anne Ruhweza Katahoire, chapter co-author).

With Lalage's support in the 1980s, Makerere was able to develop a critical mass of professional adult educators trained in the UK. This enabled the establishment of full-time academic and professional training programmes in Adult and Community Education. On Lalage's recommendation and as a follow-up to her visit in 1983, Professor John Oxenham, a then Senior Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex, visited Makerere University in 1984 to conduct a planning workshop. He worked with the staff to develop a training course in Adult Education and Development. He participated in the initial round of the course, introducing the concept of designing learning for development. Thereafter, the course was offered annually as a twenty-week sandwich course. This series of courses were made possible through a grant from the German Adult Education Association (DVV), which annually sponsored most of the participants in the course. The training targeted trainers

who then trained other development workers in the field. Its focus was on how to design/develop, implement, and evaluate adult education and development training programmes. The curriculum for this course was later expanded and developed into a full-time Diploma course in Adult Education.

Lalage set the stage and laid a firm foundation for the training of professional adult educators and educationists at Makerere University. She had long argued that Adult Education was a profession, as expounded in her publication with Okedara in 1981. In the face of programme restructuring and merging of courses at Makerere University, their argument was used to defend Adult Education as a field of study and a discipline worthy of academic research in Uganda. Their distinction between 'adult educationists', 'adult educators', and 'educators of adults' provided the much-needed conceptual clarity in distinguishing training curricula for the different cadres engaged in adult and community education. It also provided clarity regarding the positioning of the Department of Adult Education in relation to the other training institutions involved in training development workers. A Diploma in Adult Education was launched at Makerere University in 1988-89 designed for people working in adult education in development programmes. Nearly ten years later Bachelor of Adult and Community Education (BACE) was introduced in 1997-98, designed to create a cadre of well-trained decision-makers, designers, and implementers of Adult and Community Education programmes. Currently, the Department offers graduate training in adult and community education at both Masters' and PhD levels. Several of the younger staff in the Department are products of this training and are continuing to develop Adult and Community Education as a profession embracing new developments in the field. Lalage keenly followed the developments in Uganda and at Makerere and was always excited to hear about any new developments in the Department of Adult Education:

> When we last met physically in 2014 after many years, she was excited to see me and to hear about the new developments at Makerere. We spent a weekend together at her home as always, she was in high spirits and full of energy. She took me for a walk around her neighbourhood, explaining the developments that were happening in the community. It reminded me of my student days when she took me to museums and explain the history of the buildings and artifacts. As her former trainees, Alice and I have carried her mantle and trained a critical mass of professional adult educators who now run the Department and adult education programmes at Makerere University. Others have established similar adult education training programmes at new universities in Uganda. I can say with confidence that her legacy lives on. Her trail in training 'adult educationists' can still be traced at Makerere University, Department of Adult and Community Education through those of us whom she taught and mentored. We likewise have taught and mentored the next generation of professional adult educators and have passed on her mantle to them (Reflections by Anne Ruhweza Katahoire).

7. Lalage and the Promotion of African Indigenous Knowledge and Values

Lalage had a positive attitude towards African indigenous knowledge and practices for which she showed respect. She was frequently dressed in the full African traditional dress. She also appreciated indigenous African languages customs and practices. She once defended the use of the pidgin English by Africans struggling with the use of English. She fondly celebrated the New Year festival in Accra, then in the Gold Coast, now Ghana. She attracted traditional dancers, drummers, poets, and court historians. In this way, she identified with the poor marginalized and the neglected, mostly rural population. She enjoyed the environment and was an Unconscious promoter on environmental conservation and heritage protection. She believed in the capacity of the African to develop their skills and expertise. She also related to both the young and the old male and female and refused to be drawn into the debate about the weakness of the Africa in the face of the powerful Imperial system of her days.

She was truly and completely sworn into the defence of African values and the promotion of African heritage. She loved Africa with a passion. It is therefore not a surprise that she decided to bring up twins who required help because they were abandoned and were orphans, Taiwo and Kehinde. She supported the education of the twins and stood in as their parents. Both became celebrated and successful, one serving as a University Librarian and the other a top Director at the Federal Ministry of Education in Nigeria.

Lalage belonged to the group of non-Africans who were committed to project African Studies. They described themselves as Africanists. It was to them that Africa owes the convening of the International Congress of University Adult Education, in Dar es-Salaam in June 1976 to which the President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, presented the keynote address titled Adult Education and Development, as further elaborated in the book by Budd Hall.

Lalage Bown, assistant director of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was appointed to serve as Secretary of the committee. Lalage, while in Zambia, served as Joint Executive Secretary of the International Congress of Africanists with her friend Michael Crowder, the British Africanist, at the Second International Congress of Africanists, held from 11 to 20 December 1967 at the University of Dakar, Senegal. The theme of the Congress was Research in the Service of Africa.

8. Towards a Conclusion

Lalage Bown was born to make a difference to lives, peoples and she worked with persistence and determination to make the difference. Born into a life of privilege in the days of the Empire, Lalage had a choice to benefit from the imperial system and live a life of privilege and access to opportunities and positions offered by the system. The Empire brought resources, fame, and opportunities for postings to the colonies, and she would have been literally worshipped by the subjects who had no say in who governed them. She turned her back on those at-

tractions of the world of privileges, favour, and opportunities. She was resolute and convinced about her choice. She was bold, courageous, brave, and adventurous to live a life among the people and be part of the communities. She made the choice of supporting self-determination or keeping the status quo and denying those who desired freedom and nationalism. It was also a period when it was not fashionable to be a woman, for women were vulnerable. It was also not a popular choice to make to support decolonisation at a time when there were advocates of retaining imperial control with the determination that the sun had never set.

She was a trail blazer in global Adult Education movement, and an eminent women's literacy advocate of a white British heritage. She contributed enormously to the liberation and decolonization of different African countries including the establishments and expansions of adult education programs in Ghana, Uganda, Zambia, and Nigeria, respectively. Lalage Bown was honoured with numerous awards and recognitions including the award of the order of British Empire (OBE) due to her dedication to the service of humanity through adult education. In 1997, a special issue of the *Journal of the Nigerian National Council for Adult Education* was dedicated to her and she was appropriately named the 'Mother of Adult Education in Africa'.

She dedicated her life's work improving education for the less privileged, especially women, seeking to bring university opportunities to the widest possible sections of society. Lalage was immersed in a tradition which regarded Adult Education as a catalyst for significant social change. She was a fierce defender of adult education, and her views were inspired by a post-war world in which many believed that the kind of injustices suffered under colonial rule had to end. She was a gentle feminist who fought for the liberation and empowerment of women and the oppressed.

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CHAPTER 8

Enhancing Adult Education through Institution Building: The Nigerian Experience

Samir Halliru, Audu Semiu Aganah

Abstract:

Adult Education as a humanitarian discipline is critical for ensuring social justice, human capital development and social transformation in different walks of human life. The role of Adult Education in achieving the above objectives could only be visible in Africa with the institution building. The decolonisation process of adult education played a vital role in ensuring such institution building in Africa. The early inception of Adult Education in Africa has received enormous contributions of great scholars and educators, who established and strengthened institutions of indigenous education for proper entrenchment of Adult Education. One of such great scholars was Professor Lalage Bown of blessed memory, who contributed to Adult Education discourse across many African countries. This chapter uses primary and secondary sources of data to establish ways of enhancing Adult Education, while reflecting on the works and legacies of Bown. It discusses the legacies of Lalage in the light of personal reflection of the author, who was privileged to meet Bown at a conference as a student at the University of Glasgow. The chapter draws from the experience of the people who worked or had encounters with Professor Bown in Nigeria and beyond. It examines publications and activities of Bown in the promotion of indigenous knowledge. It offers policy directions arising from the discussions of Bown's legacies in order to provide solutions to the current economic, social and political development challenges facing Africa.

Keywords: Collaboration; Lifelong Learning; Mentoring; Social Inclusion and Social Justice

Introduction

It is not surprising that Adult Education as a humanitarian discipline is critical for ensuring social justice, human capital development and social transformation. The role of Adult Education in achieving the above objectives was to be only visible in Africa, and Nigeria in particular, with the development of Adult Education institutions, which served as a training ground for students, scholars and educators who navigate through life in addressing human suffering (poverty, illiteracy, deficit skills and social unrest) created by the global forces of capitalism, as argued by Allman (1999). The process of decolonising Adult Education curricula plays

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Samir Halliru, Audu Semiu Aganah, *Enhancing Adult Education through Institution Building: The Nigerian Experience*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.14, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 107-119, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

a vital role towards addressing the above human challenges, through identifying and acknowledging local resources and talents in teaching and learning processes.

The early inception of Adult Education in Africa has received enormous contributions from great scholars and educators who established and strengthened institutions of indigenous adult education through their activities of teaching, research and publications. One such great scholar was Professor Lalage Bown, who contributed to Adult Education discourse in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda and Zambia between 1949 and 1980, where she promoted and established many adult and continuing education programmes and units (Innes 2022), and was integral to the establishment of Adult Education institutions in Africa. Bown can never be forgotten for her contribution to the establishment of Adult Education departments. For example, Bown left behind her comfort zone to move from Ghana to Nigeria and other parts of Africa to promote Adult Education. Omolewa (2021) has reported that Bown served in building the Department of Extramural Studies at the University College, Ibadan, moved to Zambia and then to Uganda before, finally, returning to Nigeria, first to the Ahmadu Bello University in the North of Nigeria and then to the South of Nigeria, as Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Lagos (Omolewa 2021). According to Hamilton (2022), one of Bown's African colleagues said, she chose to serve overseas, leaving behind the comfort and serenity of her environment for the more challenging terrain of Africa.

The chapter discusses the legacies of Bown and the personal reflections of one of the authors who was privileged to meet her in 2014 at the Council for Education in the Commonwealth conference as an MSc student and later as PhD student at the University of Glasgow. The chapter also draws from the experience of the people who worked or had encounters with Professor Bown in Nigeria and beyond. It examines the works of Bown in the promotion of indigenous knowledge. The chapter offers policy directions arising from the discussions of the legacies of Bown in order to proffer solutions to economic, social and political development challenges in Africa.

1. Personal Reflection of the Author – The First Encounter with Bown

I was barely three months at the University of Glasgow when I first met Professor Bown on the 2nd April 2014 at the Council for Education in the Commonwealth conference. This is the Professor whose name and work I had heard and encountered as a student of Adult Education and Community Development at Bayero University, Kano in Nigeria. I was so delighted to be introduced to Professor Bown by Professor Mike Osborne (Professor of Adult and Lifelong Learning at the University of Glasgow) in the presence of Professor Budd Hall (University of Victoria, Canada) and Dr Bonnie Slade (now Professor of Adult Education and Social Change at the University of Glasgow). I was introduced as one of the few students of Adult and Continuing Education at the University of Glasgow from Nigeria. Professor Bown was so welcoming and she said «my son» and I replied «of course not your son but your great grandson». There was

a laughter and I said «you are the teacher of the teachers of our teachers». Our conservation continued with Bown asking me about the book she co-authored with J.T. Okedara in 1981, which proposed a multi-disciplinary and cross-cultural approach for developing countries. She asked, «is the book still in use in Nigeria?», and I gave her my assurance that the book was still relevant and still in use as one of the earliest books on Adult Education with the African context in mind (Bown and Okedara 1981). It was also one of the earliest attempts at the promotion of indigenous adult education for the purpose of addressing economic, social and political development challenges affecting Africa. Professor Bown was particularly interested in our role in promoting adult education and social change in Nigeria and beyond. She was passionate about adult education, social justice and widening access to education. To this date, the words and works of Professor Bown have significant influence in my actions and life as an educator in Nigeria.

The Centre for Research and Development in Adult and Lifelong Learning (CR&DALL) Seminar series in 2017 was another opportunity to meet with Bown again, but unfortunately the seminar was cancelled due to ill-health affecting her. It was rescheduled to 18th May 2018, after I had had my external examination. It was an event that celebrated her 90th birthday and reflected upon her as the former Head of the Department of Adult and Continuing Education at the University of Glasgow and contributor to Adult Education discussion across the globe. The event was organised in her honour to reflect on what was, what is and what will be in the field of Adult Education, captioned as *Adult Education – Past, Present and Future: A Seminar in Honour of Emerita Professor Bown* (CR&DALL 2018). I was privileged to be selected to join a number of speakers who had worked with Bown in the past and many of her former colleagues, all of whom make contributions in open discussion. I was meant to discuss some part of my PhD research, which at the time had reached its climax. I had another encounter with Bown when she addressed students of the International Masters in Adult Education for Social Change at the University of Glasgow and the lessons learnt are still part of my contributions to strengthening Adult Education practices in Nigeria.

2. Reflections of People who Worked or Heard about Professor Bown in Nigeria

This section presents reflections of people who worked or heard about the activities of Professor Bown in promoting Adult Education in Africa and Nigeria in particular. We had the privilege of interviewing a person who was recruited, mentored and assessed to become a full Professor of Adult Education in 1982. This person is none other than Emeritus Professor Michael Omolewa (Professor of Adult Education at the University of Ibadan, the premier university in Nigeria, and formerly Nigerian ambassador to UNESCO). We had a 30-minute productive interview that generated the most important data that would validate some of the documentary evidence on the legacies of Professor Bown.

Professor Bown set the ground for Adult Education in Africa to lift humanity from the shackles of illiteracy, poverty and powerlessness. «Her passion for literacy was a great deal because she knew that Africans need that breakthrough in literacy» (Omolewa 2023, unpublished interview extract). In an interview with the veteran of adult education, Emeritus Professor Omolewa, key themes emerged that show the legacies of Professor Bown. These themes include but are not limited to:

1) Recruitment of indigenous adult education lecturers;
2) Mentoring and uplifting confidence of other people;
3) Sharing learning through national and international Adult Education platforms;
4) Publications in support of Adult Education;
5) Partnership building by doing.

The above themes will be supported with quotations from the extract of the interviews conducted on the 12th April 2023 with Professor Omolewa. These themes stand as some of the major attempts and contributions of Lalage in enhancing Adult Education through institution building from the African experience.

2.1 Recruitment of Indigenous Adult Education Lecturers

One of the key themes that emerged from the interview was the recruitment of indigenous people into the discipline of Adult Education. It was an emerging field at that time in Nigeria that required setting a foundation for the recruitment of capable people to advance the discipline in an attempt to strengthen the institutions of Adult Education. Omolewa, reflected that:

> On the 16th October 1971 Professor Lalage Bown arrived at the University of Ibadan from the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria where she was serving as Professor of Adult education, and Chief Extension Coordinator.

She came as a consultant to serve on a panel to interview applicants for the position of lecturer in the Department of Adult Education which had just gained approval to begin a degree programme in Adult Education. The newly established department required native personnel, who would manage its affairs for the future. Omolewa mentioned that:

> I was one of the candidates invited to the interview. On arrival at the interview room, I was asked to describe what I would be doing as a lecturer in adult education … On the 1st of November 1971 I got a letter from the university council informing me of my appointment as a lecturer … Lalage was part of the commendable efforts of the University of Ibadan to recruit indigenous lecturers to prepare graduates in the field of Adult Education in Nigeria.

Omolewa was one of the selected few lecturers recruited to advance the direction of Adult Education. The new recruits showed zeal and confidence in the promotion of Adult Education. The recruitment of indigenous adult educators was one of the steps to empower learners' using books written with Africans

in mind. This was one of the courses championed by Professor Bown for the purpose of strengthening institutions of Adult Education which became one of her legacies. She advanced indigenisation as a way of ensuring sustainability and understanding the perspectives of the locals. The educational approaches of the colonial era that might have been one of the factors contributing to high poverty and illiteracy in Africa were discarded. The indigenisation process of Adult Education would help Africans to reclaim their strength. The implication of such indigenisation efforts of Bown led the regional governments to embark on mass literacy campaigns with a view to uplifting large number of people from illiteracy, poverty and backwardness. It was noted by Aderinoye (2002) that in the 1960s, while Western and Eastern regional governments embarked on Universal Primary Education (UPE), the Northern regional government opted for free primary and adult literacy vigorously to eradicate ignorance.

2.2 Mentoring and Uplifting Confidence

Mentoring and uplifting confidence of people is one of the key factors for institution building in Adult Education in Africa. Professor Bown contributed to mentoring and uplifting others through her commitment to humanity. Omolewa reported that:

> What I notice about Lalage was that she was always eager to encourage everybody to go to the next level of learning, knowledge, experience and expertise. Lalage was in my own mind an instrument to upgrade the confidence of everyone she came across and that was my experience with her.

Undoubtedly, this shows that Bown helped people to realise their potential in learning, knowledge, experience and expertise. Many African promoters of Adult Education are standing on the shoulder of Bown today because of the legacies she left behind. Omolewa reflected on how she has influenced his life:

> Lalage became our external examiner … When I was to be assessed in 1982 for promotion to the position of full Professor in Adult Education, Lalage was one of the three academics that were invited to assist the University of Ibadan. I do not have the privilege of knowing what she said about me about one decade after she got me into the Department but I know that the Vice Chancellor announced my promotion with effect from 1st October 1982. So, you can then see how my life had been touched, guided, controlled, influenced, and impacted by Lalage at every stage of my professional life.

This was how she impacted positively on the life of others, including myself, to sustain Adult Education institutions in Africa. Omolewa noted that whenever he appeared before UNESCO, «I had declared openly that she was the one who recruited me to the discipline of Adult Education. Thus, on every visit, I had moved from my seat to greet her for everybody to know that without her intervention I wouldn't have got appointed a four decades earlier» (2023 interview extract). Her outstanding contribution is still being enjoyed by Adult Educa-

tion practitioners in Nigeria and beyond. This can be seen later in the section that reports how she encouraged publications for sustaining Adult Education institutions in Africa.

2.3 Sharing Learning through National and International Adult Education Platforms

Learning and sharing are important in the advancement of knowledge and this was one of Bown's contributions. She utilised workshops and conferences to promote the ideals of Adult Education of uplifting humanity from the troubles of illiteracy and poverty. Omolewa reported that:

> my professional development, [...] as a member of Nigerian National Council for Adult Education, NNCAE, [...] I again met Lalage who was always making presentations and giving lectures.

This reflects how committed Bown was to learning and sharing, which is one of the great ways to build the institution of Adult Education in Africa. Bown's commitment to supporting the career development of others was what made her active in NNCAE and African Adult Education Association. Omolewa explained that:

> Lalage was also active at the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE). There was hardly anywhere that you went without running into the lady in one way or the other.

This is what sustained Adult Education in Africa and as reflected above, when I (Samir Halliru) first met Bown when she was 90 years old, she asked me so many questions on Adult Education and the book she co-authored. Omolewa mentioned that she sustained knowledge sharing aimed at promoting literacy at international platforms such as UNESCO. He mentioned that:

> She sustained that passion for literacy promotion throughout her life. It was most satisfying to her and us all that in September 2009 she was invited by UNESCO to present the International Literacy Day address. That was clearly the highest honour you can have globally under the auspices of UNESCO. Before that September 2009, she had visited UNESCO as part of the UK delegation to the organisation.

Adult Education practitioners in Nigeria and beyond accord her respect and in 1997, on her 70th birthday, she was named 'Mother of Adult Education in Africa'. This respect is because of the legacies she left behind for the betterment of adult education in Africa.

2.4 Publications in Support of Adult Education

Publications remain long after the author is gone. This is exactly what Bown did especially in supporting Adult Education institutions in Africa. This was reflected in an interview with Omolewa, when he said:

> In 1977 my Head of Department Professor S.H.O. Tomori asked me to go to Ghana and represent him at the writing workshop for the proposed Handbook of Adult Education for West Africa, which Lalage and my Head of Department were co-editing. I was asked to write the Chapter on Libraries as a form of support for Adult Education programmes and I was also invited to join Lalage to write the last chapter of that book on the future of adult education in West Africa.

Bown supported indigenous scholars to publish in the field of Adult Education. She not only published books herself, but also supported others to publish. Omolewa has written the following on the *Handbook of Adult Education for West Africa*:

> Lalage graciously transformed the draft into a chapter that was well received by the readers of the Handbook. So, you could see that not only did she recruit me and promote me, she was also a partner in progress in the business of publishing and generally in my professional development.

This early effort sustained the discipline of Adult Education in Africa. Undoubtedly, her contribution in no small measure has helped with education and empowerment of people in the continent.

2.5 Partnership Building by Doing

Partnership building was critical to the development of Adult Education. This partnership sustained the intellectual and developmental relationship between the Global South and the Global North. Bown used her wisdom to assemble scholars so that institutions of Adult Education to be sustained. To buttress the partnership of Adult Education as promoted by Bown, Omolewa has this to say:

> What I noticed was that the book which was prepared in Ghana brought together about fifteen of us, including veterans of Adult Education from different parts of West Africa. Among these were Kwa Hagan, head of Adult Education Department at the University of Ghana, Christian Cole the pioneer extramural tutor in Sierra Leone, who came with their own experience and expertise. I observed from the experience of writing the book that adult education involved partnership building and shared experience.

Knowledge, experience and expertise have to be shared among the institutions of Adult Education to flourish and to empower (liberate) people from poverty, exploitation, marginalization, oppression, powerlessness and dehumanization. Adult Education can support people to self-actualize and to exercise the capacity of active participation in social, economic and political in line with the global trends of development. No one has monopoly of knowledge. Therefore, scholars and practitioners have to learn and share knowledge and experience with each other across contexts without any prejudice, as Omolewa explains:

> You don't have the monopoly of knowledge. I also noted that adult education humbles you and lets you know that your knowledge is only a part of the wider knowledge that can be developed.

Adult Education as a simple discipline requires people to learn from each other through partnership, collaboration and sharing of knowledge and experience. From the foundations Bown set, departments of Adult Education in Africa are partnering with departments across the United Kingdom, Europe and the US in order to empower people from the troubles created by the global forces of capitalism.

On this note, there are three lessons to learn from the life and time of Professor Bown, as reflected by Omolewa:

1. Bown shows that Adult Education embodies the notion that everyone is equal and has the potential to develop. Adult Education is based on the principle of equality that touches on lives irrespective of status or poverty level of anyone;
2. Bown paid attention to the lives of both the downtrodden and the rich. She often looked at the life behind the vessel of the human body;
3. Bown, by her example and life, showed that learning should only stop at the end of formal schooling and should remain lifelong.

The subsequent sections of this paper will illustrate actions and praxis in the life of Bown as one of the champions of Adult Education in Africa and the world at large.

3. Publication as Legacies of Bown in Africa

Publications are a great source of sharing knowledge and empowering large segments of the population. The act of learning and sharing knowledge was what Bown devoted herself to throughout her lifetime. Hosen and Lau (2020) maintained that sharing knowledge through publication is an important step for authors to empower readers and also for scholars to make their positions known. One such great scholar whose publication has made and is still making an impact in the field of Adult Education was Professor Bown. She published many works, especially in the field of the Africanisation of knowledge. According to Innes (2022), Lalage made an early attempt, after taking a new post, to challenge faculty to reconsider rethinking the African curriculum to reflect the ideals of Africa as a way of empowering them. She suggested that it was important for African students to encounter writing by and about African people. This is the reason why her 1973 book entitled *Two Centuries of African English*, as reported by Innes (2022), features writings by African writers such as Ignatius Sancho, Olaudah Equiano, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere and Chinua Achebe. Bown sought to promote indigenisation of knowledge for empowering individuals through literacy for the purpose of liberating them from the shackles of poverty, illiteracy and disempowerment. However, absence of indigenisation of knowledge invariably might be contributing to the current economic, social and political development challenges affecting humanity especially in Nigeria. Eze (2021) maintained that Adult Education is critical and essential to economic, social and political development of any country.

Moreover, Bown and Tomori's (1979) *Handbook of Adult Education for West Africa* discussed the scope of Adult Education beyond the realm of literacy to cover other important aspects of human life. This handbook, as noted by Ewert (1982), served as a stimulus for African scholars to further develop Adult Education literature based on the existing economic, social, cultural and political circumstances of their own context. This chapter argues that enhancing Adult Education process requires input from Africans as it pertains to their circumstances. Bown served as a strong advocate for supporting the Africanisation of the curriculum and content of learning (Innes 2022). This involved using books and ideas from African origins, and Hamilton (2021) has reported that Bown's social activism and decolonisation of the curriculum continued in Scotland, through knowledge sharing.

Another book, entitled *An Introduction to the Study of Adult Education: A Multi-Disciplinary and Cross-Cultural Approach for Developing Countries*, was presented in 1972 at an international meeting of scholars interested in Comparative Adult Education, under the auspices of UNESCO and the Danish Ministry of Education (Bown and Okedara 1981). It is an attempt to support the building of strong institutions as platform for the promotion of adult education in Africa and beyond.

The need for the book was based on three aims articulated by the authors. The first aim was to apply insights of other disciplines and professions to that of adult education by establishing connections and relationships with them. This is simply learning from other disciplines as a way of enhancing and strengthening the practice of adult education. The need for the book started with academics from Nigeria, but Nordborg had shown that there were fellow adult educationists elsewhere with similar interests. The second aim, as noted by Bown and Okedara (1981), was to apply cross-cultural perspectives to Adult Education. The authors were from three different continents and reflected a range of experiences from their own and others' cultures. This arguably is important in strengthening and enhancing Adult Education teaching, learning, research and practices across cultures. The third aim was to scrutinise the needs, practices and prospects of Adult Education in developing countries, especially in Africa, to look at Adult Education through many lenses rather than from one location. Bown and Okedara (1981) argued that many African countries were affected by ideas and institutions imposed by or copied from colonising powers. The book sets a foundation for learning, and for sharing ideas and practices with developing countries in the Adult Education discipline. This calls for the indigenisation of knowledge in a bid to solve the economic, social and political development challenges in developing countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda and Zambia.

Bown and Okedara (1981) maintained that it is no longer a case of borrowing from Europe or North America, but an interchange of knowledge and ideas between Latin America, Asia and Africa, which should be the focus, a forerunner to more recent ideas of knowledge co-construction and capacity strengthening, as exemplified by Osborne in this book. For example, the Freirian literacy idea

of 'conscientisation' (Freire 1993) from Brazil was taken across Europe, North America and Africa. This interchanging of ideas has significantly contributed to the building and strengthening of Adult Education practice and prospect in Africa. Bown has a driven policy change and development of Adult Education from her work of interchanging ideas to strengthen development.

4. Contributions of Bown to Adult Education Institutions and Policy through Conferences, Seminars and Workshops

All through her life Bown contributed to many Adult Education learning platforms, including at conferences and within institutions. The first time I met Lalage, as mentioned earlier, was on the 2nd of April 2014 at the Council for Education in the Commonwealth conference. She served as a speaker at the conference sharing knowledge and ideas about widening access to education. It was one of the ways that she preserved knowledge from the past.

Hamilton (2022) reflected on the role Bown played in building and strengthening Adult Education institutions in Africa, particularly through her involvement in establishing the first systematic university training program for adult educators in the region. Bown together with Malam Abubakar Koko, a former Nigerian civil servant, administrator and politician, met with the Secretary of Military Government in 1969 to find out what University can be doing to help citizens.

The government paid attention to adult education and its policies only after the advocacy visits by Lalage Bown to senior government officials in both military and civilian administrations. This has led to the policy development for Adult Education agencies across Nigeria with a view to helping people out of illiteracy and poverty. Bako (2022) has reported that, as part of its literacy campaign, the Kano State government in 1980 promoted the Adult Education Unit of the Ministry of Education to become an independent board called Agency for Mass Education. It was a landmark as it was the first post-independence effort to set up an autonomous parastatal responsible for adult and non-formal education in Nigeria.

Furthermore, it is through advocacy efforts that decree 17 of the Military Government led to the establishment of the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education (NMEC) on 25 June 1990 (Federal Republic of Nigeria 2014). It is not surprising to say that some of the activities of Bown through advocacy visits to address illiteracy rates have influenced the development of Adult Education policies that culminated in the establishment of institutions of Adult Education such as NMEC and other state agencies for mass education in Nigeria. The core mandate of these state agencies for mass education and NMEC has been the eradication of illiteracy and providing adult citizens with necessary education *inter alia* for public enlightenment (Federal Republic of Nigeria 2014), which is in line with the thinking and ideas of Bown as advocated in the country. These policies are still very important for the country in the enhancement of literacy rates and addressing social injustice (Eze

2021). Bown's advocacy visits sought to inculcate an understanding about the thinking and expectations of people on the development of their community by universities for now and the future through literacy and engagement (Hamilton 2022). It should be noted that, initially, Adult Education was not included in the National Policy on Education, but, with a review in the 1980s, became a part of the National Policy.

A new policy guideline for mass literacy, adult and non-formal education was developed in 2017 under the leadership of Professor Abba Abubakar Haladu (Executive Secretary NMEC) to guide the implementation of literacy activities in Nigeria. The policy thrust of the document was ensuring education opportunities for all citizens, addressing in and out of schools literacy opportunities that safeguard the over 65 million young persons and adults who missed out on formal education (NMEC 2017). The activities of Bown have impacted on this new development and future developments of Adult Education in Nigeria. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, Bown advocated for the necessity of collaboration. That is why the new NMEC policy guidelines emphasize the importance of such synergy in addressing illiteracy in Nigeria. The NMEC policy guidelines emphasize the importance of collaboration and synergy with related organisations (Universal Basic Education Commission [UBEC], National Teachers' Institute [NTI], National Board for Arabic and Islamic Studies [NBAIS] and National Orientation Agency [NOA]) in the promotion of literacy and empowerment of citizenry in Nigeria.

The policy guidelines further emphasize the relevance of multilingualism in basic literacy, proposing that basic literacy should be promoted in the language of the learners' immediate environment. Therefore, efforts have been made to develop basic literacy primers using the language of the learners, especially the three major languages: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Bown sought to promote the idea of using books in the first language understood by the learners as a way of addressing the challenges of literacy poverty. The mass literacy, adult and non-formal education policy documents highlight some key themes in Adult Education discourse such as access, equity and opportunity for all citizens irrespective of gender, and economic and social status. Bown was an important advocate for women's empowerment and widening access to education. Part of gender integration of the NMEC (2017) has been to address the diverse learning needs of women and girls from different socio-economic backgrounds. The following categories of women and girls are targeted by the policy:

a) Out-of-school and drop-out girls;
b) Women in purdah;
c) Divorcees and widows;
d) Girls;
e) Vulnerable women;
f) Market women;
g) Unemployed and single women.

Bown's efforts were always directed towards the empowerment and uplifting of weaker and non-literate members of society. These aims have seen the light of the day by being incorporated in the national policy of mass literacy, and adult and non-formal education. This new policy has enshrined that all college education in Nigeria should establish Adult Education departments as a way of generating personal power for the development in Nigeria.

Professor Bown served as the first secretary of the African Adult Education Association and was active in building the Nigerian National Council for Adult Education (NNCAE). These institutions played an important role in elevating adult education in Nigeria and beyond. NNCAE serves as an institution that mentors scholars and as a platform for learning and sharing of adult education ideals. Bown, while in Zambia, served as Joint Executive Secretary of the International Congress of Africanists with her friend Michael Crowder, a British Africanist, at the Second International Congress of Africanists, held from 11 to 20 December 1967 at the University of Dakar, Senegal. The theme of the Congress was "Research in the Service of Africa". The congress, under the leadership of Lalage, made great efforts to bring different umbrellas of adult education together for the purpose of developing international cooperation in the field of African studies, through the organisation of periodic sessions, study groups, scholarly publications and the exchange of information between Africanists and served as a forum for discussion of issues related to adult education research. Through all these efforts, as reported by Hamilton (2021), were informed by Bown's strong belief concerning the effect of literacy on personal, social, political development, and especially when it came to women, for whom literacy offers change in self-worth and self-confidence.

Conclusion

We conclude that the decolonisation process of Adult Education in Africa started with scholars such as Bown, who laid the foundation for indigenous Adult Education practice and played a significant role in expanding the scope of Adult Education in Africa. This provided the foundation for the sustainability of Adult Education practice in Nigeria, and Africa more generally. She worked and understood African perspectives of learning and education. She believed that indigenization of knowledge, practice and the system as a whole would have helped to solve economic, social and political development challenges in Africa. The chapter offers directions for policy on the development of Adult Education Agencies such as NMEC and States Agencies for Mass Education as a way of addressing the challenges of illiteracy and ignorance in Nigeria. Learning from the advocacy and activities of Bown, future Adult Education policies would call for the entrenchment of ownership, mentoring, sharing and partnership in Adult Education in Nigeria. How would that happen? Bown as a mentor, scholar and grassroot educator worked in close contact with people, built their trust in her in order to empower them out of illiteracy and ignorance. This has implications for the need of the institutionalisation of mentoring and partnership institutions in Nigeria. It is also concluded that lack of the utilisation of institutions of Adult

Education to empower weaker people and illiterates in Nigeria by authorities might be the triggering factor for poverty, illiteracy, inequalities and widening gaps in access to education.

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CHAPTER 9

Global Partnership Building through Adult Education: The African Experiment

Akpovire Oduaran, Gbolagade Adekanmbi, Rashid Aderinoye

Abstract:

Against the background of colonial and missionary interventions, Africa's adult education, influenced by home, work, and religious traditions, soon changed in character and content, frame and forms. Since 1945, global partnerships have shaped its agenda with international organisations, foreign and local universities, and external funding, determining its themes and trajectories. Functional, and ICT-oriented literacies, health, poverty alleviation, community development, youth issues, climate, migration, gender, and school access became areas of intervention. In response, Africa's problems have served as sounding horns to resolving issues of poverty and want globally. Africa's pursuit of partnership is a fitting tribute to Professor Lalage Bown, whose passion for promoting it has been legendary.

Keywords: Adult Education; Fourth Industrial Revolution; Global Partnerships; Ibadan Experiment; International Organisations

Introduction

Africa's adult education was originally home grown, resting on the platform of the people's histories, arts and culture, their vocation, music and dance, and their extensive oral literature, including their prose, poetry, and play. The folklores of its immediate beneficiaries provided dimensions of content and curriculum while the home, work, and religious institutions dictated the nature of its motives, methodology, and morals. Between the intricacies of European expeditions, missionary interventions and colonial imposition, Africa's adult education took a formal turn, and there began a careful balance of new motives and methodologies, and content and character, in the context of a plethora of partnerships. These partnerships, begun as intervening incidents and events, have shaped, and transformed Africa's adult education agenda, purposes, and practices.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Akpovire Oduaran, Gbolagade Adekanmbi, Rashid Aderinoye, *Global Partnership Building through Adult Education: The African Experiment*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.15, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 121-133, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

In this chapter, put together, in honour of a doyen, Professor Lalage Bown, appropriately described by Omolewa (2021) as the matriarch of adult education, and whose partnership and interactions with Africa has enhanced the foundations of practice, the authors explore the experimental nature of the global partnerships that have shaped African adult education since 1945. We discuss the origins and nature of partnership building, the role of international organisations and the early challenges of the experiment. We explore the activities of continental and international organisations and include universities and multinational institutions. We highlight some work of the United Nations (UN) and its agencies like UNESCO, and others such as the Commonwealth of Learning (COL), the Commonwealth Association for Education and Training of Adults (CAETA), the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), the German Adult Education Association (DVV), the International Foundation for Education and Self Help (IFESH), the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA), the Forum for Access and Continuing Education (FACE), the International Conferences on Adult Education (CONFINTEA) and the African Association for Adult and Literacy Education (AALAE), among others. We also discuss current trends and themes of partnership, in the context of the knowledge and learning society, and the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR). Finally, we consider the future of global partnerships. Although the focus of this chapter is Anglophone Africa, examples from other African contexts are occasionally highlighted.

1. Global Partnerships in Adult Education: Concepts, Types, and Role Players

Partnership means collaboration, association, a union aimed at getting things done or accomplished. Hailey (2000) has noted that 'partnership' has been used to cover almost all relationships. Hailey (2000) states that sometimes the relationship could be nothing more than that of a contractor and subcontractor or just a contract between equals. Others define partnership by stating that it is an arrangement existing between two or more organisations for individual or institutions working towards a commonly defined goal (Darlow and Newby 1997). Partnership implies relationships based on equity and mutual benefit, respect, and trust; compatible purposes, strategies, and values; and a two-way exchange of information, ideas, and experience (International Council of Voluntary Agencies [ICVA] 1987). Partners agree on defined goals and a rational division of labour based on mutual advantages (Postma 1994; Hastings 1996; Rundall 2000). This is supported by Witte et al. (2014) who indicate that in partnerships there must be a specific goal to achieve, a clear reason for the relationship, with mutually desirable benefits seen.

Partnerships also take place at regional, sub-regional, continental, and international levels, with some involving multi-stakeholders, across the north and south divides, and through in particular, the United Nations organs and its constituent bodies. The thematic areas of health, education, economy, finance, and environment, among others are mentioned. While governments collabo-

rate, non-governmental organisations, not-for-profit institutions and similar bodies coalesce under various aegis to establish ties that enable the pursuit of global goals. Global bodies such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the World Health Organisation, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Arab League, the African Union, European Union, and others, are helping to fashion mutually benefitting responses to global issues.

Mielke opines that effective partnerships would require a strategic vision, commitment, and investment. In an institution, it would require an assessment of that institution's ongoing programmes, their faculty resources and «an analysis of market demand for adult learning opportunities» (2021). By commitment, she refers to a core dedicated staff to build connections, explore possibilities and ultimately use their authority to create mutually beneficial opportunities. The European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA) (2018) has noted that when collaboration is successful, the benefits impact learners, organisations, and the adult education sector. It also enhances policy and practice in all issues to do with increased learner participation rates, exchange of best practices, innovation and the building of structures and transformation. Thus, EAEA engages in partnership in policy frameworks, finance of adult learning and networks building. Addressing the development needs of tobacco farmers in Nigeria's Oyo North has required the intervention of officials from UNESCO and the success of that intervention has been replicated in other places.

In adult education, local needs and global problems have led to global partnerships. However, global discourse in adult education emerged as a recognition of the need to promote peace, remove illiteracy, and promote lifelong learning. With literacy came functional literacy, and a careful stringing together of occupational and health related themes into its fabric. UNESCO's early work in global adult education partnership has footprints across many African countries. While a lot of emphasis is on the post 2015 developments of the UN Development Agenda, global partnership in adult education is more of a renewal than a start.

2. The Context, Yesterday and Today

Before the late 1950s, most Anglophone African countries were colonies of Great Britain, and their systems and orientations mirrored those of Great Britain. But that has since changed with these erstwhile colonies gaining their political independence, with renewed hopes, aspirations and needs. Political independence also meant that the people had to be 'educated' to become more effective participants in the new democratic processes that reflected Britain's. Africans also needed to be educated in the exercise of their civil rights as part of the adult education packages that became more visible on the continent; in addition to the adult basic education (especially adult literacy) programmes that had begun to be a noticeable segment of African education systems.

After political independence, it was felt that newly independent countries may not have the know-how to plan and implement the 'new' adult education pro-

grammes, and as such, some form of global partnership was urgently needed, especially in the area of staff and student exchange. Before political independence, Anglophone African countries were generally agrarian and consumer-oriented economies, largely expected to produce the much-needed natural resources for industries in Europe. However, with political independence, new socio-economic middle and upper classes emerged, with new tastes and desires to industrialise the economies in different countries to make them become more competitive.

Anglophone African countries needed to engage with birthing economies capable of creating employment for the newly educated cohorts of the populations. Just about when the economies were struggling to become more relevant, Anglophone African countries were exposed to globalisation, and, not too long afterwards, the uptake in the 4IR. By implication, their need to wholeheartedly promote global partnership in education and adult education became more urgent than they had anticipated.

With independence also came changes in governance structures in adult education. Hitherto adult education in the Anglophone African countries had been driven largely by the universities whose traditions and objectives were rooted in Great Britain. Independence meant that their vision and mission statements had to change. Rather than address mainly the goals and needs of the colonial enterprise, the university in post-independence Anglophone African countries had to reflect the new realities, especially the people's need to become more relevant in the development initiatives. The needed change in governance structures also meant that the yawning gaps between them needed to be bridged effectively. The ivory-tower mentality had to give way to multiple stakeholders' involvement in governance, introducing more elements of global partnership. Under colonial rule, academic advisors across faculties were appointed to facilitate student exchange and staff recruitment.

Before political independence, appropriate financial incentives for the support of academics were in place. Post-independence, the local communities had had to make some form of contribution to the development of education and adult education. The contributions were in cash and kind; and it was reassuring to see some communities voluntarily offering themselves for free labour in the building of physical infrastructures as was the case at the Achimota College, Accra, the University College in Ibadan, and the Chancellor College at Zomba (in present day Malawi). In Botswana, the *One man One Beast* slogan was the rallying cry to inspire the community to contribute to the establishment of the nation's premier University.

3. Origins and Roles of Global Partnerships

If global partnership in education and adult education must be understood as international cooperation in sharing and exchanging resources, with a view to promoting access and quality, one would easily conclude that the phenomenon itself is nothing new. Knight and de Wit (1995) had since proposed that ideas aimed at facilitating the mobility of students and scholars sharing educa-

tional resources actually began in the Middle Ages and had continued until the end of the seventeenth century (Chan 2004).

Our context is adult education, but the concept of global partnership for education remains almost the same for both formal and non-formal education. We argue that this should be the case because its main aim remains that of strengthening or empowering educational systems in developing countries such that the numbers of learners in formal and non-formal frameworks are dramatically increased. However, global partnership in education does not just stop at shoring up learner numbers. It also aims to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of learning systems, made possible by bringing together the needed cooperation and collaboration desirable in moving education forward. Thus developing countries, donor countries, civil societies, teaching organisations, private sectors, education-focused foundations come together to contribute ideas and resources that should accelerate access into the general education systems. With this, quality teaching and learning in either framework is bound to take place, and the return to investments in education is guaranteed.

Following from this, it becomes imperative for us to properly account for its planning and implementation with regards to adult education mainly in Anglophone African countries in the years preceding political independence and the years thereafter. Our discussion should shed more light on our context, in the years leading to 2002, when the well-known organisation called Global Partnership for Education, previously known as 'Education for All-Fast Track Initiative' was actually launched. Notably, this was launched to speed up progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goal of Universal Primary Education by 2015. Nevertheless, real global partnership for modern adult education in Anglophone Africa probably began in the early 1940s, and since then the initiatives have gone through several metamorphosis until now.

If global partnership is, however, understood to imply the trends towards the initiation of international cooperation, then we would say that its roots and spread are quite profound as already indicated in the extant literature. For addressing this subject from that perspective, Heribert Hinzen (2000) has written rewardingly on the efforts Governmental Organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations have made to ensure that professionalism was built into the practice and management of adult education in Africa. Taking the lead in this direction is UNESCO, which since 1949, has promoted adult education as a significant sub-system of education through its hosting of many international conferences. These had brought together academics and administrators from all over the world to share knowledge and other significant resources. It has not relented in this task of bringing together these experts approximately every twelve years, since the first conference took place in Elsinore, then Montreal, Tokyo, Paris, Hamburg, and so on (Hinzen 2000).

The year 1960 is a significant threshold in promoting international cooperation for the development of adult education in Africa. It was in 1960 that the needs of developing countries were first thrashed out passionately, and it was the Tokyo Conference that offered that opportunity right at the threshold of

political independence of many African countries. It was also there that the professionalisation of adult education was identified and promoted. And that was re-emphasised by the UNESCO General Conference that took place in Nairobi, Kenya in 1976. It was also in Tokyo that adult educators like Roby Kidd of Canada, Paul Mhaki of Tanzania and Helmuth Dolff of Germany met for the first time to have a friendly chat on how the existing non-governmental organisations (NGOS) and adult education associations from across the globe might work together for the strengthening of adult education through lobbying and the dissemination of relevant information about the field (Hinzen 2000). An example was the Pro-literacy of the US reaching directly to the University Village Association (UNIVA), a Nigeria based NGO. Founders and NGOs have been working to support south-south cooperation and localisation in development and humanitarian aid. This is towards supporting the need for future funding and partnership to build partnering capacity at national and regional levels, while maximising learning and collaboration globally (Jennings 2017).

Tokyo was very critical for the expansion of global partnership in adult education in Africa. It was there that African adult educators began to be more conscious of the need to form continent and nationwide adult education associations. The goal was to replicate developments in Europe, which had the European Association for Adult Education founded in 1953; the Asian-South Pacific Bureau for Adult Education (ASPBAE), founded in 1964, and a much more global association, the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) founded in 1973, with its headquarters in Canada.

Whilst the developments in Tokyo and Nairobi were significant, countries like Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Sweden, the United States of America, to mention a few, had also established their own nationwide associations. They took particular interest not only in promoting adult education, but invited to their conferences African adult educators who went back home to set up their own national associations. That was why we had, for example, the Nigerian National Council for Adult Education (NNCAE), the Sierra-Leone Adult Education Movement, Kenyan Adult Education Association, and such other bodies in Botswana, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe. It should be observed that the Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (DVV International), which started its international work in Africa in the early 1960s, may have paved the way for other European countries to find a niche for cooperating with African countries to promote adult education on the continent.

The awareness brought about by UNESCO and the associations highlighted have yielded unintended results. Thus, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations International Children Education Fund (UNICEF), the British Council Department of International Development (DID), and the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help (IFESH) began to initiate significant partnership projects on the continent. Aderinoye (1997) has shed light on the work of these Governmental Organisations, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOS), associations and other funding bodies on the continent, and there is no need to reinvent the wheel in this chapter.

Notably, the British Council through its Department of International Development (DID) had played key roles in promoting global partnership for the development of adult education in Africa. It moved away from its preliminary major push in higher education to make its impact felt in basic education that encompassed primary education and adult literacy. Its approach was community-based; and Aderinoye (1997, 148) has reported on projects in local government areas in Borno, Adamawa, Akwa-Ibom, Abia, Bauchi and Taraba States in Nigeria between 1996 and 1999. During the late 1990s, the British Council launched what it tagged 'British-African Partnership' (BAP) that paved the way for British and African scholars in adult education to engage in relevant collaborative research and research methodologies training. These are significant in enforcing adult education global partnership.

A typical case of how an international private body can promote partnership can be found in IFESH, which supported the University of Ibadan Community Development Literacy and Health Project (UI-CDLHP), which later became the UNIVA. UNIVA was conceptualised and driven by the enigmatic scholar, Michael Omolewa, and worked mainly at the grassroots level in Egbeda and Akinyele Local Government Areas of Oyo State, Nigeria, and in Isokan and Irewole Local Government Areas in Osun State, Nigeria (Aderinoye 1997, 145-58). This initiative showed that international cooperation cannot and should not be taken as the 'hidden' process of 'westernising' African countries. Far from that, global partnership was understood and implemented to give the people an opportunity to find and project their own historical and cultural identity as they strive to portray their own alternative ways of life. On their part, global partners were afforded the opportunity to appreciate the African scale of values.

Through the Commonwealth of Learning (COL), established in 1988, access to tertiary education has been promoted in Africa and other Commonwealth States. Additionally, open educational resources (OER) have been taught and shared, technology enhanced teaching and learning has been promoted in schools and universities, and a level playing ground for expertise sharing has been seen between the North and the South. Africans have served as COL consultants, obtained fellowships, participated in research and publishing, while the OASIS repository has been a major avenue for sharing of documentation.

Since its establishment in 1971, the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA) has promoted research in adult education, but lately across other disciplinary spectrums, and, with its landmark conferences, continues to serve as a sounding post for discourse between Europe, Africa and the rest of the world. Similarly, FACE, since its establishment in 1993, has also promoted research and scholarship in continuing education and been used by Africans to share their thoughts on the field.

We will now highlight some developments at the University of Ibadan's Department of Adult Education, a premier department of adult education in Nigeria, which has pioneered major firsts in the field and benefitted from the efforts of Professor Emeritus Lalage Bown.

4. The Ibadan Experiment: A Case Study in Global Partnership

A discourse on global partnership in adult education is incomplete without noting Professor Emeritus Lalage Bown's role in the development of the University of Ibadan's Department of Adult education. After planting the seed of adult education in Ghana, Uganda, and Zambia, she came to Nigeria, where she, among others, worked at the Ahmadu Bello University. In Lagos, she linked Nigerian intellectuals in adult education with colleagues in different continents through her contributions to the book she co-edited with the late Professor Okedara, *An Introduction to the Study of Adult Education* (Bown and Okedara 1981). Other contributors had included J. R. Kidd, E.K. Townsend Coles, D. Thomas, R.G. Armstrong, P. J. Mhaik, R. Scarford, B.L. Hall, E.J. Blakely, and S. Tate, who had also served as role models to many Nigerian adult education intellectuals. Professor Bown became a foundation staff in the then Institute of Extra-Mural studies in Ibadan and, by 1962, had led to the Department's linkage with the Faculty of Education. She later prepared a position paper, making a case for a Conference Centre where students would receive lectures and be accommodated. Now called the Subomi Balogun Conference Centre, the former University Conference Centre is the baby of the Department of Adult Education.

Professor Lalage Bown influenced the formation of professional adult education associations. She helped in the formation of the International Council for Adult Education, the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE) and the Nigerian National Council for Adult Education (NNCAE), where her services as foundation secretary are acknowledged.

The Department was also involved in promoting the UNDP-UNESCO Mass Literacy Project of 1995-96. This was a UNDP/UNESCO national Mass Literacy intervention in which it provided experts. The active participation of the Department helped it to win the UNESCO Literacy Prize in 1989. Equally of importance was the award of UNESCO Chair in the application of ICT to Literacy delivery. Through this, the Department developed different instructional materials and capacitated staff, including those from other Institutions. The Department provided experts in the implementation of the five-year Mass Literacy programme funded by the UNDP, serving as a cooperating agency in providing technical 'back-stopping', recruitment of international experts, provision of equipment and materials and the monitoring and evaluation of the project. It further played active roles in literacy promotion both at local and international levels. Similarly, it worked with the German Adult Education (DVV), the British Council, the Pro-Literacy, the International Foundation for Self-Help (IFESH) and the UNESCO International Conferences on Adult Education (CONFINTEA) to mention a few.

The exposure created by Professor Lalage Bown continued to impact on the activities of the Department in its improved status with UNESCO. It facilitated staff and student participation in UNESCO Summer Literacy Training Programmes of the International Literacy Institute (ILI) at the University of Pennsylvania, USA. It led to the establishment of the Unit of Social Work in partnership with UPENN-School of Social Work with Professor Louise Shoemaker coming as

a visiting Professor from UPENN. The unit has since been upgraded to a full-fledged Department of Social Work.

Notably the DVV- German Adult Education Association has played major roles too. The partnership resulted in the Department's participation in global adult education bodies like the International Council for Adult Education, UNESCO and CONFINTEA. The association was for many years responsible for the funding of the Department's Diploma programmes which assisted in the training of middle level non-degree personnel.

Also, the British Council, in alliance with the University of Nottingham, collaborated with the Department. The programme impacted on many education-focussed organisations. Seven academic staff travelled to the UK for further exposure, learning more about the UK education system and practice of adult and continuing education. Five academic staff of the University of Nottingham also visited Ibadan. In one visit, Professor Alan Rogers conducted a joint interactive seminar with staff and students on the delivery of literacy using Real Literacy Material (RLM) and Learner Generated Material (LGM). The conduct of research on the Literacy Shop as an effective delivery strategy of literacy among market women was the result of that global interaction.

A departmental linkage with Reverend Sullivan of the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help is also significant. It helped the rural communities in the provision of education, health services as well as community transformation. Through this partnership, the Department took functional literacy to over thirty-three communities in Oyo and Osun States of Nigeria. Community centres were established for literacy classes as well as health services through environmental programmes. Adult learners suffering from river blindness received medical assistance through IFESH and the Federal Ministry of Health-ONCHOCERCHIASIS Department. A "Train them to train their peers" project for clerical staff and customary courts judges was initiated, thus bridging the rural community-university gap. The University Village Association was subsequently established to strengthen the Department of Health services to more than thirty-six villages across Oyo and Osun States and was a vehicle for rural transformation.

The Pro-Literacy of Syracuse group, another partnership, strengthened the bond between the university and communities. Special literacy programme on Traffic literacy for the National Union of Road Transport Workers in Oyo State of Nigeria was a major product of such. Similarly, the National Research Fund (NRF) of the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) led to a proposal titled "Preventive Education Strategies As A Vaccine for COVID-19". The research has served as a means of partnership between universities, academic staff from Bayero University Kano and the University of Port Harcourt.

Other agencies and institutions that the Department extended its manpower include the Federal Ministry Education, the Agencies of Governments, the Adult Education Associations like the Pan African Literacy and Adult Education (PALAE), and the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE).

5. Current Themes and Trends in Adult Education Partnership in Africa

Although the core areas and disciplines involved in adult education are obvious, the themes are more expensive, more solution-oriented, more global in outlook and more descriptive of global responses to observed inequities and challenges. Based on the extant literature, the thematic list includes, but is not limited to, the following:

- Literacy, especially work related and ICT oriented literacy;
- New focus on older adults, their educational and social needs;
- Promotion of public early childhood education, and the expansion of basic education as a way of enhancing overall reduction of illiteracy;
- Health issues, with reference to addressing various forms of disease affecting adults;
- Poverty alleviation strategies through work and vocation related activities, with the incorporation of learning into educational programmes and plans;
- Gender issues, a prominent theme in the pursuit of sustainable development goals;
- The environment, with a growing recognition of indigenous peoples and their beliefs and indigenous knowledge as a basis for authentic development;
- Climate change and implications and the embedding of such in the school and university curricular either as direct programmes or embedded themes;
- Peace as a major area of discourse in global education initiatives;
- Community development and community education initiatives;
- Learning society promotion through Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCS), championed by the Commonwealth of Learning;
- Provision of access to tertiary education and a related expansion and gradual growth of tertiary enrolment ratios in many African countries;
- Technology uptake and the related growth of open educational resources;
- Open and distance learning and the related growth of e-learning;
- Discourse on labour conceptualization, including what constitutes labour for women;
- Youth issues such as unemployment, drugs, poverty, and others;
- Migration, and its socioeconomic and educational implications.

In the themes identified, Africa has been a major theatre of discourse and practice and has been collaborating in the global arena on the issues.

6. The Learning Society and the 4IR Movement

A discourse on global partnership is incomplete without the 4IR. Ally and Wark (2020) have noted the use of the 4IR in development-oriented issues. They observe an increase in 4IR technologies which can aid sustainable development goals. Reference is made to UNESCO's two international conferences in 2019 on Artificial Intelligence for Sustainable Development and the International Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Education, Planning Education in

the AI Era: *Lead the Leap*. While artificial intelligence will provide its benefits, the authors suggest the use of a multidisciplinary team to help «develop an informed, collective understanding of the benefits, challenges and other issues arising from the adoption of 4IR technologies for achieving the SDGs» (Ally and Wark 2020, 1). They define sustainable development in the context of 4IR as «the use of technologies to combine the physical, digital and biological worlds to improve the lives of citizens while existing in harmony with the environment» (Ally and Wark 2020, 5). Developing countries cannot continue to use the first three industrial revolutions to push their development agenda. A resort to the 4IR would aid the leap into the use of smart technologies, especially in sub-Saharan Africa whose lack of relevant technical expertise hinders its development.

While the first, second and third industrial revolutions are characterised by mechanical and mass production, growth of electricity and the growth of information and telecommunication technologies, respectively, the fourth has been characterised by an exponential interaction between machines and humans, robotics, cloud computing and the performance of complex activities by robots (Elayyan 2021). Reaves (2019) emphasises the possibility of the disruption of job-related activities. The World Economic Forum (2018) has actually identified a list of redundant jobs, stable jobs, and the jobs of the future. The implication is that the content of adult education and lifelong learning must reflect societal needs and 4IR considerations. The wide gaps that exist between the North and the South in gross domestic product, tertiary enrolment, standard of living and other social indices, can be bridged by partnership in global adult education enabled by the 4IR. National policies need to consider 4IR developments, while expectations in multi-stakeholder arrangements must reflect new developments. Sub-Saharan Africa requires partnership building to address its inadequacies.

7. A Glimpse into the Future

Given the present state of global partnership in adult education, one can assume that the future should be bright. The use of technology and social media in national development should not exclude an equal application in adult education. We must propose and use virtual platforms for the exchange of knowledge and skills in the field. If the 4IR has been intended to include adult education, scholars in Africa, in the first place, and those outside that continent should soon start dialoguing, engaging in joint studies, and sharing relevant resources on it.

Globalisation has also meant that knowledge and skills transfer in fiscal and physical terms should become possible on a much wider scale. Globalisation is not just about the movement of financial capital but also about social capital exchange among staff and students. Thus, with modern technology, ideas sharing, and advocacy should occur on a much wider scale, although there are limitations as well. The upsurge in the acclamation for nationality and dwindling of resources previously made available for international cooperation are major threats to global partnership in adult education. But the challenges are not insurmountable and must be addressed.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, the African experiment in global partnership in adult education has been beneficial through the years. Dialogues have taken place, resources have been availed, an exchange of policies and programmes is seen, and concepts and practices and programmes have been replicated in various climes. While Africa may have brought more problems than solutions to the table, it has nevertheless served as a sounding horn for issues ranging from illiteracy, poverty, disease, low enrolment ratios, and levels of technology, all requiring international attention. However, lessons learnt, and policies enacted have also benefited the developed world, a reminder that African issues are also global issues for which global partnerships can help make a difference everywhere.

For documentations shared and technology promotion, many of the partnerships have been useful and developments have been embraced for literacy promotion, new agricultural practices, schooling access, poverty reduction, gender balancing, and tertiary and distance education promotion. Perhaps the future of partnership may become clearer with time, following post COVID-19 developments, where the North may have suffered more than the South, but where the financial challenges arising from such are obvious for all. The 4IR will determine the future of partnership and Africa cannot lag in its development, utilisation, application, and the societal response and education needed for its maximum application. But in all this, partnership in global adult education must continue, and serve as a glowing tribute to a doyen who came from Britain, served in Africa, and loved it for all it could offer, and where a passion for collaboration will last beyond the present book that honours her name.

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CHAPTER 10

A Decolonial Perspective on Adult Immigrant English Language Training in the Global North

Abimbola Abodunrin, Jason Chan, Srabani Maitra

Abstract:

Transnational migration across different borders often necessitate immigrants learning different languages, values and customs of the receiving country for a 'successful' social and economic integration. Available evidence suggests that adult immigrants studying non-academic English as a second or other language (ESOL) worldwide is large and fast-growing. In this chapter, drawing on decolonial perspective, we explore the nuanced racio-linguistic ideologies and Eurocentric linguistic visions underpinning language of teaching adults. In line with Lalage Bown's pioneering work in Adult Education broadly challenging educational institutions to rethink their curricular and pedagogical practices in such ways to include 'other' voices and ways of learning, we argue, for a teaching/learning approach that is culturally responsive to the diverse needs of adult English learners.

Keywords: Adult Education; Decolonisation; ESOL; English Language; Immigration

Introduction

In recent years, transnational migration has globally encouraged the process by which immigrants are able to forge and sustain simultaneous multi-national social relationships that link together their societies of origin and settlement. Such complex, transnational movements across different borders often necessitate immigrants learning different languages, values and customs of the receiving country for a 'successful' social and economic integration. Currently, English is being used as the official language in over 70 countries. English is often considered as one of the primary languages that transnational immigrants are expected to know, especially if they migrate to English speaking countries. Available evidence suggests that the population of adult immigrants (including refugees, asylum seekers, migrant workers, and naturalised citizens) studying non-academic English as a second or other language (ESOL) worldwide

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Abimbola Abodunrin, Jason Chan, Srabani Maitra, *A Decolonial Perspective on Adult Immigrant English Language Training in the Global North*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.16, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 135-148, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

is large and fast-growing. The British Council (2019) estimated that there are two billion English language learners worldwide as of the year 2020 – implying that one out of every four persons on the planet is either an English as a foreign language speaker or ESOL. These data, however, do not reflect the education or literacy 'attainment' of adult immigrants (Bown 2000), implying that their linguistic needs may not be always fully met, with dropout rates among adult ESOL learners remaining a concern (Bigelow and Schwarz 2010) and achievement being at best inconsistent (Mathews-Aydinli 2008).

Concurrent to the rise in ESOL learners, there remains the continuing focus on the relationship between language abilities and subsequent 'employability' of these adult immigrant English language learners (AELLs), thereby suggesting that English language proficiency is one of the most important markers of immigrants' success within the host society. What is important to note here is how employability and language abilities are constructed as individualised self-development agenda without taking into consideration socio-economic inequalities in the receiving country that might impact employability more than anything else. The dominance of English, therefore, has been a cause for concern, with some scholars critiquing it as a tool for post-colonial dominance and a means for perpetuating a power imbalance. Others, however, argue that English is the language of opportunity, opening doors for people seeking better lives for themselves and their families.

Given the important role of English language for adult immigrants, it is critical to explore the nature of English language training that is being imparted to the immigrants once they move to a new country. Additionally, it is also important to understand what constitutes effective and culturally sustainable pedagogical approaches for AELL learning, given the diversity of the transnational immigrants' social, cultural and linguistic practices.

Unfortunately, possible answers to these questions and many others are often rather prescriptive and simplistic, especially around issues of pedagogical approaches as demonstrated by available research studies on adult English learners (e.g., Bown 1968, 1977; Ullman 2010). Against the backdrop highlighting the knowledge gap in this area of study, we aim to explore the language of teaching adults from a decolonial perspective, specifically seeking to examine the current pedagogical approaches/models adopted in the teaching of AELLs with a view to highlighting the nuanced racio-linguistic ideologies of 'appropriateness' (Flores and Rosa 2015) and Eurocentric linguistic visions (Mathews-Aydinli 2008) foregrounding many of these approaches.

In line with Lalage Bown's (1973, 1977) pioneering work in adult education broadly challenging educational institutions to rethink their curricular and pedagogical practices in such ways to integrate 'other' voices and ways of learning, we argue, drawing also on the thoughts of other educational thinkers such as Freire (1972), Santos de Sousa et al. (2007) and Santos de Sousa (2014), for a decolonising teaching/learning approach that is responsive to the diverse needs of adult migrant English learners. Supporting the idea of adult education as continuous equipment for life rather than a one-off preparation, Bown (2000)

highlights the dangers of displacing and devaluing linguistic practices other than those emanating from the global North. According to her, adult education stands the chance of benefiting greatly from the inclusion of other knowledge and language systems, more with the idea of learning from its methods and processes rather than with the unabashed vision of lingual identity reconstruction. Other scholars have similarly argued how as English continues to gain more importance globally, other languages, particularly those spoken by minority groups, are being devalued, leading to further inequalities (Chan 2023).

Building on Bown's argument, in this chapter we demonstrate that the notion of English as the default 'global language' of learning has colonial undertones and the focus on standard anglo-normative forms of English denies the diversity of the language, learners, teachers and pedagogical practices thereby continuing to focus on English as a language of power and elitism (Liyanage and Canagarajah 2019; Rice 2021).

1. Adult Immigrants in the Context of Global English Language Learning

Given unequal global power relations, not all forms of transnational migration are equally possible, seamless, or successful (Blommaert 2010). Various types of mobilities are governed by various language, residency, and citizenship regimes. Consequently, migration from the global south to the global north is characterised by the importance of international linguistic resources such as global English and is significantly influenced by colonialist ideologies that emphasise 'global' language learning as a prerequisite for social engagement as well as economic integration in the host country (Garrido and Codó 2017). Irrespective of the increasing shifts in geopolitical power and the diverse demographics of migrant workers, students, and refugees in many English-speaking societies, there appears to be a sustained monolingual culture that privileges proficiency in English language abilities both as a form of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) and as a valuable resource for globalised cultural and economic exchange (Luke and Dooley 2011; Hanukaev 2022).

Arguably, the significant and diversified migration to English-speaking countries in recent decades has potentially reinforced the belief in monolingualism within education, despite unrelenting criticisms of the deficit perspective that serve to marginalise the linguistic practices of AELLs. This is evidenced by the renewed focus on standard English in AELL programs in the UK (Tollefson 2002), anti-bilingual activism and official English in the United States (Alim 2009; Flores and Aneja 2017), and a rise in English-only policies for Native North Americans, Aborigines, and Torres Strait Islanders (Brayboy and Castagno 2008). Even where bi- and multilingualism have been slowly integrated into AELL programs, it has relied on a multicultural approach that upholds an appropriateness-based model (Flores and Rosa 2015). Therefore, scholars like Paris (2012) propose the adoption of *Culturally Sustaining Pedagogies,* emphasising the importance of the plurality approach which entails integrating diverse languages

and cultures of AELLs while also attending to concerns of stance and terminologies, which he argues are devices for maintaining hegemonic linguistic practices.

On a similar note, García (2009) challenges idealised monolingual constructs such as 'first language' and 'second language', arguing for more dynamic language constructs that resist privileging monolingual and dominant linguistic practices. In her conception of dynamic bi/multilingual education, she makes an important point about how language learning should be perceived; not necessarily as additional competence to acquire but as a fluid *languaging* practice to negotiate social situations.

While these critical perspectives have offered an important starting point for examining how language education may marginalise the linguistic practices of immigrant AELLs, they have not explicitly addressed the Eurocentric visions and hegemonic practices of appropriateness foregrounding them. More specifically, little has been done in questioning the pedagogical approach, including the privileged and taken-for-granted status that hegemonic language and accent have been accorded in AELL programmes and everyday contexts, especially from the perspective of the white reading/listening subjects. As such, in this chapter we call to question the assumptions underlying these overgeneralised globalist and raciolinguistic ideologies (including the pedagogies and the terminologies employed in framing AELL) that project the world English phenomenon as though it were universally appropriate and culturally sustaining across global societies (Flores and Rosa 2015). This supports Paulo Freire's (1972) argument that language teaching and learning is an act of political and cultural power with substantive material and social consequences and possibilities for learners and their communities. In the following sections we foreground our decolonial perspective by highlighting three areas of critique about English language teaching for transnational (im)migrants and other language minoritized population. These areas constitute the institutionalisation and global spread of English language teaching, raciolinguistic profiling of AELLs and pedagogical approaches to AELL.

2. Institutionalised Dominance and Spread of English Language Teaching

In the last few decades, the way English language is taught to adult migrants in English-speaking western countries has undergone significant transformation. This transformation has been driven by the increasing diversity of contemporary societies and the changing demographics of English language learners. From the migrant's perspective, English is often perceived as the language of opportunity. It is seen as a way to achieve a better life, better education, and better job prospects. The demand for English is high, and the imperative to learn it is strong. As Crystal (1997) pointed out, English has attained a special role that cannot be overlooked in any country. Phillipson (1992) for example coined the term 'linguistic imperialism' to describe what he views as colonialism in the disguise of English as *lingua franca* given his skepticism about the ever-growing demand for English. He defined linguistic imperialism as the dominance asserted and

retained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages (Phillipson 1992). His argument was that perpetuating the idea of English opening 'doors of opportunities' fuels a power imbalance which intends to subjugate people, particularly in postcolonial settings, albeit clad in a less direct, softer form of control. Furthermore, building on his earlier work, Phillipson (2009) thus critiqued the five tenets of English applied linguistics and English language teaching theory. Describing them as fallacies, he explained that there is the monolingual fallacy – the belief that English is best taught monolingually; the native speaker fallacy – the belief that the ideal teacher is a native speaker; the early start fallacy – the belief that the earlier English is taught, the better the results; the maximum exposure fallacy – the belief that the more English is taught, the better the results; and the subtractive fallacy – the belief that if other languages are used, standards of English will drop.

In relation to the hegemonic development of English, an important area that needs attention is the pervasive development of International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) globally. These are two of the most widely recognized standardized tests used to assess English language proficiency for non-native speakers who wish to study, work or immigrate in English-speaking countries. Both tests assess reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills, and each has its own unique format and scoring system. According to scholars, this commercialization of English, building on the colonial history, propagates English as a valuable commodity, particularly in the global marketplace, where it is used as a means of communication, exchange and upward mobility.

Despite its international recognition, TOEFL's standards are thus not without criticism. According to Xi (2010), a test would be considered fair if it provides consistent results regardless of the test takers' cultural and individual differences. Xi further observes that fairness should focus on the comparison of test outcomes and test practices across different groups which are not geographically or racially related. Shohamy (2006) is of the opinion that the representation, preservation, and maintenance of knowledge of various culturally diverse groups are equally important. An example that could illustrate the ideas put forth by Xi (2010) and Shohamy (2006) is the development of a culturally responsive test that assesses language proficiency. Let's say that this test is designed to be administered to non-native speakers of English, who come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. To ensure fairness, the test developers should make sure that the items on the test are not biased towards any particular culture or language. For example, if the test includes idioms or expressions that are specific to American English, it may disadvantage test takers from other English-speaking countries or those who learned English as a second language in a different context. To address this concern, the test developers could involve experts in different varieties of English or hire item writers from diverse linguistic backgrounds to ensure that the test is culturally and linguistically sensitive. Furthermore, to address the need for representation and maintenance of knowledge of culturally diverse

groups, the test developers could include items that reflect the linguistic and cultural diversity of the test takers. For example, the test could include items that draw on the test takers' knowledge of their own cultural traditions or customs, or that require them to use vocabulary that is specific to their own language or dialect. Overall, by following these principles of fairness and cultural sensitivity, the standardized test would provide a more accurate and equitable assessment of language proficiency for all test takers, regardless of their linguistic or cultural backgrounds (Chan 2023).

Furthermore, there also exists the near monopoly of TOEFL that creates a bias towards a particular type of English, which may not reflect the diversity of English usage around the world. As TOEFL is an American-based test, it may not fully capture the range of English dialects and accents used in other countries, potentially disadvantaging non-native speakers who do not conform to American English standards (Chan 2023). Additionally, the high cost of TOEFL testing and preparation materials can also be a barrier for many migrant non-native speakers, particularly those from developing countries, who may not have the financial resources to access such resources. Therefore, standardized tests such IELTS and TOEFL are increasingly being used as gatekeepers, determining access to education and job opportunities globally. As Phillipson puts it, influential organizations that promote English describe the language as something «providential, well established, and as the gateway to the world » (1992, 309). This belief has caused the testing business to explode exponentially over the last decade, making it a multi-million Euro industry (Labi 2010).

Against this backdrop and drawing on Phillipson's (2009) construct of monolingual fallacy, in the next section we deconstruct the assumptions that there is one 'correct' or standard way of speaking, writing or teaching English which consequently results in speakers/writers who deviate from what is taken as the norm to be stigmatised and 'othered'. This can be seen through the concept of raciolinguistic ideologies which profile AELLs as unintelligible and as less culturally proficient because of their 'different' accents, grammatical errors and use of word choice; all of which are reinforced by a monolingual culture that places high premium on native English-like proficiencies.

3. Raciolinguistic Profiling of AELLs

Central to the idea of raciolinguistic profiling is an analysis of the continued rearticulation of colonial distinctions between Europeanness and non-Europeanness – and, by extension, whiteness and nonwhiteness (Alim et al. 2016; Rosa and Flores 2017). These distinctions anchor the joint institutional (re)production of categories of race and language, as well as perceptions and experiences thereof.

Rather than taking for granted existing categories for parsing and classifying race and language, we seek to understand how and why these categories have been co-naturalized in particular societal contexts (Rosa and Flores 2017) and to imagine their denaturalization as part of a broader structural project of contesting white supremacy, especially in the context of adult migrant language

learning (Smitherman 2017). This offers valuable insight into how constructed meaning and interpretation of language abilities and use (both in their spoken and written forms) can be racialised. Even more, it questions the expectations of immigrant writers/speakers to demonstrate language proficiency reflecting whiteness without mutual accommodation and change on the part of readers/listening within immigrants' host society (Morrice et al. 2018).

Drawing on decolonial thoughts, and in particular the idea of language learning spaces as 'contact zones', Bown (2000) argues that language classes, particularly in the global north, have had a civilising effect of maintaining/reproducing hegemonic Eurocentric norms and values rather than encouraging cultural dialogue and exchange, and pedagogical practices, which open educative spaces for challenging fixed and binary notions of cultural groups (see also Santos de Sousa 2014). Drawing on her we can argue that three linked subject types are produced through these AELL classes: the economic (that contributes to national revenue and development), the submissive (re-inventible and law-abiding residents/citizens), and the othered subject (that is perceived as linguistically deficient), explaining that although AELLs appear to be invaluable parts of the society, they are in fact located in the outer margins of society, a space Heinemann (2018) describes as 'inside-outside'.

This liminal positioning is what authors (such as Umansky 2016; Chaka 2021) have attributed to the phenomenon of constructing migrant AELLs as linguistically deficient, and in need of remediation. Rooted in the history and legacy of English language teaching itself as a field of study, Flores and Rosa (2015) conflate raciolinguistic profiling with reverse linguistic stereotyping in which the visual image of a writer/speaker's race triggers readers/listeners' positive or negative perceptions of the speaker's linguistic competence (see also Kubota et al. 2021). In either case, racialised members are perceived as 'illegitimate' and 'incompetent' English speakers with an accent.

While AEL classes are designed to frame the levels of proficiency and enhance the mastery of the spoken and written English language abilities of such learners, scholars (e.g., Mathews-Aydinli 2008; Ullman 2010) have demonstrated how their approaches are reductive and fail to challenge deficit models that socially constructs AELLs with learner status and depict the brand of English these learners speak/write as short of the perceived standard. Lingual standards as Bown (1968) points out are not a linguistic problem in themselves but rather, what must be urgently addressed is the ways in which standard English is constructed as a cultural emblem and how the circulation of that emblem perpetuates raciolinguistic ideologies and thereby contributes to processes of social reproduction and societal stratification.

Within the context of ELT arena and the broader educational spaces, it is common knowledge that learner labels are ascribed to AELLs. Aguayo (2020) and Chaka (2021) aptly capture this point, arguing that the English Learner labels are found in every facet of education concerning learners with home languages other than English and closely associated with these labels are discriminatory practices of using language abilities to make assumptions about people's race or

ethnicity and to stereotype them based on those assumptions. A good example is Miller's (2003) analytic construct of 'audible difference' which describes how stereotypical assumptions are constructed in education and other social institutions about immigrants' English abilities through rejection of non-standard English dialects and 'accents', and reluctance of first language speakers to shoulder responsibility for communicating effectively in interactions with language learners (see also Luke and Dooley 2011).

This critical perspective circles back to how standard English should be conceptualised in terms of the racialised ideologies of listening/reading subjects (Inoue 2015, 2019) rather than the linguistic practices and abilities of speaking/writing subjects, as altering one's speech or form of writing might do very little to change the ideological perspectives of listening/reading subjects (Flores and Rosa 2015). These raciolinguistic ideologies continue to manifest themselves in the everyday relational dealings with immigrants within adult education contexts. Examining career training programs for South Asian women migrants within the Canadian context, Maitra (2015a, 2015b) and Maitra and Guo (2019), for example, highlight how adult education training, including language learning programmes and their assessment procedures, shape the employment trajectories of these women. She describes how this group of migrants become 'formatted' (reinvented) in terms of their self-presentation and are expected to embody an 'entrepreneurial self' depicting certain hegemonic (white) enterprise culture in order to fit into the labour market requirements. Such practices, amongst others, are not only a form of lingual identity reconstruction as Bown (1977) puts it, signalling the devaluation and erasure of the linguistic practices of AELLs but also presenting them as flexible and 're-inventible' subjects whose prior knowledge and abilities are inconsequential. In most cases, however, migrants regard their first languages as an essential element of their personal and cultural identities, linking them to ethnic origins, their parents, families and friends, and as the only bond to an essential part of the lives they left behind (Maitra 2015a, 2015b). As such a reconfiguration of their lingual practices is not only seen as a loss to their 'roots' but may also signal a loss of their social connections and networks in addition to significant changes of losing their familiar surroundings and potentially their status and income and having to deal with issues of social acceptance, discrimination and racism in their host societies.

In light of this reality, Flores and Rosa (2015) critically argues that linguistic stigmatisation, better known as raciolinguistic profiling should be understood less as a reflection of objective linguistic practices than of perceptions that construe appropriateness based on speakers' racial positions. Along the same lines, Santos de Sousa (2007), in what he describes as recognitive justice, has argued against eurocentrism leading to epistemicide – the 'murder of knowledge' of the south and the subjugation of cultures that are perceived as subordinated (see also Santos de Sousa 2014). In his advocacy, Santos de Sousa calls for recognition of the diversity of knowledge and ability sources, the equality of knowers, and the inclusion of previously excluded sources of knowledge production. In this sense, advocates of appropriateness-based models of language education

can critically re-examine the ways that particular people's linguistic practices are been stigmatized by rethinking who decides what is 'standard' English, what constitutes standard forms of English and how inclusive is what is perceived as standard English in terms of cultural exchanges and dialogue.

4. Pedagogical Approaches to AELL

Substantial literature has demonstrated that the pedagogical approaches of many AELL programmes/classes are informed by discursive practices of English standardisation and whiteness (e.g., Silverstein 1998; Rosa 2016; Maitra and Guo 2019; Von Esch et al. 2020; Chaka 2021). Standard English (SE), which is characterised as the existence of a universally acceptable set of rules guiding the use of English both in spoken and written forms (Bacon 2017), serves as a normative benchmark that is used to evaluate all other forms of English. Any divergence from the conventional principles of spoken and written SE is often considered to be unconventional and incorrect, including the English dialect and accent spoken by non-native AELLs.

The emergence of this development has given rise to naturalised binary concept of standard English and non-standard English, first language and second language, and native and non-native English speaker amongst other terminologies, with the former typically associated with superior linguistic capabilities and used as a reference point to judge the perceived linguistic inadequacies of the latter. Nonetheless, as scholars (e.g., Rosa 2016; Bacon 2017; Von Esch et al. 2020) contend, the ideology is imbued with a sense of myth: while it is assumed to exist, it is impossible to pinpoint actual speakers of SE within a geo-linguistic setting. The only living relic of SE is its sentimental attachment to Anglo-Saxonism – a manifestation of which is Anglo-Americanism. But even then, this is a distant, if not an elusive, and romanticised vision of SE (Silverstein 1998).

The existence of both British and American Standard English raises the question of which one holds superiority, and which is the subordinate standard. Scholars in English language purism have not yet reached a definitive conclusion on this subject. The situation is further complicated by the existence of multiple standard and non-standard varieties of English, including African American English, Spanglish, West African Pidgin English amongst many other varieties of Creole. More so, studies have increasingly focused on revitalising heritage linguistic practices associated with various indigenous and (im)migrant groups as part of broader efforts to promote multilingualism (Labov 1972; Poplack 2013; Wigglesworth et al. 2013; Phipps and Kay 2014; Sabaté-Dalmau 2018). As such, Godley et al. (2015) challenge the assumption that standardised English is inherently superior and more grammatical compared to the English variety spoken by language minoritised learners.

Another point to consider is the fact that SE itself is rooted in the notion of a linguistic model based on the norms of native English speakers (Kubota and Lin 2009) which AELL programmes/classes strive to emulate without adequate consideration of the notion of 'native speaker' having its own polemics,

and being a controversial subject (Kumaravadivelu 2006; Bacon 2017). In some sense, the construct reinforces binarised dichotomies such as the association of standard English with whiteness, while non-standard English is associated with non-whiteness. Little wonder Kubota et al. (2021) observe that admiration and surprise are expressed simultaneously (often accompanied by compliments such as 'your English is so good') when a non-native English speaker or a perceived linguistically minoritised individual demonstrates high-level proficiency in written or spoken English. These issues have been examined by scholars (Kubota and Lin 2009; Sabaté-Dalmau 2018) in the past and in the present (Abodunrin et al. in press) seeking to demonstrate how subtle and inadvertent communication practices of complimenting the English language abilities of non-native English speakers could exacerbate raciolinguistic otherness and impact learning experiences.

As established in this section, within English teaching classrooms, binarised dichotomies are often predicated on Eurocentric and homogenising reasoning. Consequently, associating native speakers with standard English denotes an ideological inclination that overlooks the diverse form of English spoken by immigrant adults in AELL classes. The same flaw applies to linking the native speaker to whiteness and English standard, as there are native English speakers who are not of white racial/ethnic backgrounds as well as white speakers who only speak English varieties. So also, are those who despite not being native English speakers are proficient in the use of English by reason that English is the adopted lingua franca of their home countries. These stereotypical discursive practices aligns with Santos de Sousa's «monoculture [logic] of the dominant scale » (2014, 274) where the hegemonic scale (standard English) wields the power to dismiss all possible scales (all non-standard forms of English).

Conclusion

The continual dominance of English has brought with it both advantages and disadvantages, its colonial legacy notwithstanding. While English has become a tool for communication and a means of achieving better opportunities in some cases, it has also led to the devaluation of other languages and cultures. The increasing use of standardised tests and native-speaking teachers has further perpetuated this dominance. Therefore, it is crucial to ensure that English language teaching is inclusive and culturally sensitive to diverse groups and that the growth of English does not come at the cost of the devaluation of other languages and cultures.

More importantly, the issues associated with English being the language of a colonising nation must be addressed in order to decolonise our ways of thinking and working in a globalised world, shifting the power dynamic that traditionally favored Western nations. This will mean challenging the dominant English pedagogy in adult language learning that has failed to adequately address the unique needs and challenges faced by transnational immigrants, limiting their

potential for successfully acquiring language abilities in a way that preserves their ethnic linguistic practices and yet equip them with the necessary competencies to thrive in their workplaces and the society at large. As such, we recommend a more diverse and inclusive approach that recognizes the complexity of the language learning process and considers the various social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds of the learners. This can be achieved through the promotion of multi and plurilingualism and broader inclusion of cultural materials in language teaching and learning. To sum, the success of transnational immigrants in acquiring English proficiency will depend on a pedagogy and curriculum that center on the diversity of their experiences and needs.

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CHAPTER 11

A Decolonial Intent. Lalage Bown and the Emergence of an African Voice

Budd L. Hall, Michael Omolewa

Abstract:

Our chapter provides evidence of Lalage's decolonial intent through two narratives linked to two conferences. First is the story of her work as Secretary for the two sessions of the International Congress of Africanists actually held in Africa. The second is a close-up look of Lalage's vision of what a truly transformative African approach to education for liberation looked like. Michael Omolewa, with his historical touch, has drawn on documents from Lalage's papers in the Oxford University archives and elsewhere. The second story comes from Budd Hall's personal experience working with Lalage on the organising of the 1971 meeting of the African Association of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam. Taken together these stories provide insights into Lalage's commitment to providing space for African intellectuals and political leaders to rise from the colonial constraints of the day as well as to her ideas about the practical work needed to break colonial chains politically and institutionally. We close with a poem, a tribute to Lalage written by Budd on the occasion of her 90th birthday.

Keywords: African Studies; Decolonisation; Nigeria; Nyerere

Introduction

In 1949, at the age of 22, Lalage Bown travelled to Ghana to take up a position as a resident tutor in the newly established Extra-Mural Department of the also newly established University of Ghana. The story that Lalage was fond to share about her interview for the position in Ghana, an unusual appointment for a young woman, concerns the older Oxford scholar. He asked her, «What would happen to you if your car were to break down and you were stuck in the middle of the bush. Wouldn't you panic?» «Well», she said, «If you don't give me the job you will never find out».

The UK Foreign Office supported the establishment of adult education structures in the colonies as a way to provide educational opportunities for so many of those who had never had a chance to attend the very few secondary schools

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Budd L. Hall, Michael Omolewa, *A Decolonial Intent. Lalage Bown and the Emergence of an African Voice*,
© Author(s), CC BY 4.0,
DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.17, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 149-159, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

in those nations. Their vision was to provide post Second World War African leaders with English style educational backgrounds in preparation for Independence at some much further point in time. The colonial office idea of what constituted a proper education for eventual governance was decidedly colonial in nature. African leaders should have access to the best political and social knowledge, knowledge grounded in the Eurocentric classics on democracy and society. There was an assumption that the classical education of universities such as Oxford or Cambridge was superior and necessary. In fact, there was an assumption that African intellectual history did not contain the depth and breadth of sophistication needed for modern political life. It is the contention of these authors that the young Lalage Bown, perhaps influenced by her former Tutor, the Marxist historian Thomas Hodgkin, saw beyond the Eurocentric canon of the day and found ways to support a decidedly decolonial intellectual project. Her work both within the structures of Extra-Mural studies departments in the several universities and countries where she worked and within a broader intellectual world of an emerging African Studies had as a goal increased visibility for African thinkers of the past and of her times. While non-African by birth, she recognized the limitations of the colonial educational provision and the challenge of pulling back the curtains to reveal an Afrocentric history, politics, culture, fashion and language.

Our chapter provides evidence of Lalage's decolonial intent through two narratives linked to two conferences. First is the story of her work as Secretary for the first African studies conference to actually be held in Africa. The second is a close-up look of Lalage's vision of what a truly transformative African approach to education for liberation looked like. Michael Omolewa, with his historical touch, has drawn on documents from Lalage's papers in the Oxford University archives and records of the International Congress of Africanists at the Ajayi, J.F. Ade archives at Ibadan, Nigeria, and elsewhere. The second story comes from Budd Hall's personal experience working with Lalage on the organising of the 1971 meeting of the African Association of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam. Taken together these stories provide insights into Lalage's commitment to providing space for African intellectuals and political leaders to rise from the colonial constraints of the day as well as to her ideas about the practical work needed to break colonial chains politically and institutionally. We close with a poem, a tribute to Lalage written by Budd on the occasion of her 90th birthday.

1. Lalage and the International Congress of Africanists

Lalage's concept and view of Extra-Mural studies and the broad field of Adult Education moved her beyond the classroom. She was thus an unrepentant extension worker, carrying her mission beyond the walls of the University to the wider community, filling all available space with continuing learning. She was an activist throughout her life. Her initial dedication to the promotion of Africa, its people, values, and culture was sustained throughout her life.

While in Africa she joined the team of non-Africans who shared her faith in the integrity of the people of Africa and were described as Africanists. It should be remembered that this was the period when colonial rule justified the domination of Africa by the error of the assumption that Africa had little or nothing at all to offer to the world.

Some European writers, such as Basil Davidson, had tried to dismiss the myth of the stagnation of Africa and the absence of development and innovation in the publication of *Old Africa Rediscovered* (1959) which explored the past of the rich civilisation of Africa. Michael Crowder, another English man, had lamented his earlier tolerance of the myth of the inferiority of the African and had later chosen to work on aspects of the rich History of Africa. Crowder worked with African historians including Jacob Ajayi, one of the foremost historians of Africa, President of the Historical Society of Nigeria, and a past Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lagos (Omolewa and Osuntokun 2014). Ajayi and Crowder became joint editors of the Africa Atlas and the History of West Africa, both published by Longman in the UK. Crowder became a lifelong friend of Lalage. Other Africanists included Professor P.D. Curtin of the United States, Professor J. Devisse of France, Professor J.D. Fage of the United Kingdom, Professor J. Vansina of Belgium and Dr I. Hrbek of Czechoslovakia.

African scholars accepted these non-African academics as partners in the task of projecting African studies. A leading African scholar, Kenneth Dike, once observed that «an Africanist must not necessarily be an African [...] Many Europeans, American and Asian scholars have contributed to the development of African studies» (Oxford Bodleian MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 53, File 3).

In the meantime, the idea of the International Congress of Africanists came up in Moscow during the 25th meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists in August 1961. The Africa reports explained that until that year, those interested in African studies only used the opportunity presented by the International Congress of Orientalists to organise a side meeting named the Africa Section. It was thus at Moscow that it was resolved that, in view of the growing importance of African studies, it was desirable to establish a separate Congress of Africanists. Dike, who was at the time well-known both as principal of University College, Ibadan (later the University of Ibadan) as patriarch of African historiography, and author of the pioneering historical work,*Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta,* was nominated chairman of the Congress in absentia.Dike was to lead the Congress for the early years (Ajayi 1984-85, 1-3).

The objects of the Congress were listed as:

> To develop international cooperation in the field of African studies through the organisation of periodic sessions, study-groups, scholarly publications, and the exchange of information between Africanists; and to provide thereby a forum for the exposition and discussion of concepts and theories of significance for African research,
>
> To organise and co-ordinate research in African studies on an international basis,

> To develop cooperation with other organisations pursuing similar scholarly objectives, and
> To serve as a body which shall encourage Africans to have an ever-growing consciousness of their membership of the common race and to express themselves in all fields of human endeavour (Oxford Bodleian MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 53, File 2).

Lalage Bown, assistant director of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Ibadan was appointed Secretary of the organising committee while the Principal of the College, Kenneth Dike, served as Chairman. From her position, Lalage facilitated the meeting of the committee which was held in September 1961 at the University College Ibadan. The committee decided that the International Congress would hold for one week and that the venue future sessions of the Congress would alternate between the English-speaking and French-speaking countries.

To ensure that the Congress reflected the international character of scholars in African Studies, membership included Heads of university institutions in Senegal, Ethiopia, Congo-Leopoldville, and Ghana, together with a representative from the National Education Secretariat of Tunisia, were chosen from within Africa itself; representatives of the International African Institute, the Africa Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Société Africaine de Culture, and the US African Studies Association were invited to participate. Other distinguished scholars in African studies who were also invited included Alioune Diop, Kenneth Onwuka Dike, Daryll Forde, Michael Crowder, J. Ki-Zerbo, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Ulli Beier, S.O. Biobaku, J.F. Ade Ajayi, Philip Curtin, Bethwell Ogot, and Basil Davidson, all of «who had contributed to the promotion of the knowledge on many aspects related to Africa» (Oxford Bodleian Library MSS. Afr.s.1877, Box 52, File 1a).

The first International Congress of Africanists was held at the University of Ghana from 11 to 18 December 1961. Dike gave some details of the expectations from the Inaugural Congress:

> […] we hope for a Congress in which African Africanists for the first time can take the lead and make the decisions; and a Congress which can coordinate all the work being done in Africa at the moment. We envisage it as having the practical purpose of avoiding unnecessary duplication of effort and allowing continuing contact between all Africanists, whether African, European, American, or Asiatic. We hope that scholars from all over the world will attend the Congress with sympathy and understanding for our desire to provide a forum for African interpretations of African affairs and to some extent a nursery for aspiring African scholars (The Africa-America Institute 1963).

It was reported that Dike was by no means disappointed by the outcomes of the Congress. As the Africa Report observed:

> The Congress, which many feared would be second-rate, or dominated by politics, proved a success – partly because it produced a sensible constitution

> that will ensure its continuation, partly because it gathered a distinguished and stimulating group of scholars together in such pleasant surroundings as the University of Ghana, partly because of the interest of many of the papers that were presented, but above all, because it represented a sort of declaration of cultural independence of Africa by Africans (The Africa-America Institute 1963).

The Second International Congress of Africanists was held from 11 to 20 December 1967 at the University of Dakar, Senegal. Lalage, who was then in Zambia, served as Joint Executive Secretary of the International Congress of Africanists with her friend Michael Crowder, British Africanist. The theme of the Congress was Research in the Service of Africa and was made to address a topical subject of great relevance to Africa (Ajayi, J.F. Ade Archives, Ibadan, Box 56).

The congress brought together Africanists, specialists in African studies from Algeria, German Democratic Republic, German Federal Republic, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroun, Canada, Chad, Congo Brazzaville, Congo Democratic Republic, Ivory Coast, Dahomey (now Benin), Denmark, Spain, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Great Britain, Guinee, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Mongolia, Niger, Nigeria, The Netherlands, Poland, United African Republic, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Switzerland, Sudan, Sweden, Tanzania, Trinidad, Tunisia, Uganda, United States of America, Yugoslavia, Zambia, UNESCO, the Vatican (Ajayi, J.F. Ade Archives, Ibadan, Box 56).

Among the participants was Robert Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the Economic commission for Africa, (ECA) and founding Director of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at the University College, Ibadan, who presented a paper on Research for Economic and Social development in Africa (Oxford Bodleian MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 52, File 2a).

A major outcome of the Congress was the proposed publication of the Encyclopedia Africana "The Goal: A Scientific and authentically African Compendium of the Known Facts Concerning African Life, History and Culture" (Secretariat for an Encyclopedia Africana 1962) with its secretariat in Accra. A Director, Dr W.E.B. Du Bois, was appointed to oversea some aspects of the recommended activities emerging from the Congress.

Lalage invested her experience and expertise as Secretary of conferences and congresses in the meetings of the Africanists. The work of the Congress Secretariat was commended for the «Effective and efficient management of the Congress and provision of quality Report and proceedings of the Conference» (Oxford Bodleian MSS.Afr.s.1877, Box 53, File 3).

The holding of the Congress of Africanists had very important effects on the development of African studies. Indeed, it must be pointed out that these Africanists, African and non-African, constituted the pillar on which the subsequent History of Africa project of UNESCO stood. For example, working with notable historians and pioneers of the new Historiography of Africa, such as Jacob Ajayi, the Africanists contributed immensely to the General History of Africa project.

The 16th session of the General Conference of UNESCO in 1964 instructed the Director-General of UNESCO to undertake the drafting of a General History of Africa in response to the request of the newly Independent States of Africa to «reclaim their cultural identity, to rectify widespread ignorance about their Continent's history, and to break free of discriminatory prejudices»[1]. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO justified the General History of Africa project, rejecting «all kinds of myths and prejudices [which] concealed the true history of Africa from the world at large» (UNESCO 1980-93, vol. 3, xvii).

The Executive Board of UNESCO thereafter established an International Scientific Committee for the drafting of a General History of Africa, made up of Africanists. The product of this initiative was the eight volumes of the *General History of Africa*. Professor Bethwell Ogot of Kenya, President of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of the General History of Africa, drew attention to the significance of the work for Africa and for the world:

> At a time when the peoples of Africa are striving towards unity and greater cooperation in shaping their individual destinies, a proper understanding of Africa's past, with an awareness of common ties among Africans and between Africa and other continents, should not only be a major contribution towards mutual understanding among the people of the earth, but also a source of knowledge of a cultural heritage that belongs to all mankind (UNESCO 1980-93, vol. 4, xxv).

Lalage's contribution was evident in the work of Africanists. She was an extraordinary woman who threw her full weight to the promotion of African studies. Her contribution, material, psychological and emotional to the inauguration and promotion of the International Congress of Africanists was a major legacy in global partnership building that she left behind.

2. Pedagogies of Power: The African Association of Adult Education Conference in Tanzania, 1971

Within the field of Adult Education, Lalage's contribution to building a decolonial field of practice and scholarship expressed itself through her commitment to building Pan-African linkages through the African Association for Adult Education. Her early start in Ghana's Extra-Mural Studies unit led eventually to providing her with opportunities to further build adult education at the Universities of Ibadan, Lagos, Zambia, and Makerere in Uganda. She knew that building linkages amongst the African adult education leaders and supporters was a key to the larger decolonial project. She took on the role of Secretary of the African Association for Adult Education as a practical way to bring national figures in Adult Education across the continent. She was attracted to the vision of the late Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere who not only was the Independence leader

[1] <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/General_History_of_Africa> (2023-07-01).

for his country, but was also a deep believer in the importance of educating the adults in his country who were already in positions of influence and were ready to act to create a new Tanzania.

1970 was officially declared Adult Education Year in Tanzania by the late Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, the President at the time. Because of this attention to adult education, it was decided that the African Association for Adult Education, would meet in Dar es Salaam in 1971. Budd's director, the late Paul J. Mhaiki, assigned him to lead the organizing of the event from the Institute for Adult Education side. It was at that point that he contacted Lalage once more to see how he could help. All of their communications were done by post. No phone calls, no faxes, no WhatsApp. She helped design a call for papers, sent out all the invitations to perhaps 150 persons in various parts of mostly former British colonial Africa and Budd made arrangements for meeting rooms, special guests and began working on the programme. At the time Budd was in his 20s and had never organized a conference of any kind. He produced a programme as best as he could and waited until she arrived. Lalage arrived in Dar es Salaam five days before the others. She took a look at the programme notes, his agenda material and asked for a manual typewriter to be bought to a room on campus. What he remembers is that she sat at that manual typewriter and totally reworked all of the documents that he had tried to prepare. She never criticized him. She never asked for others to do the work. She created an elegant programme and a full set of reports and minutes in those few days of near flawless manual typing allowing the Dar es Salaam Institute to use the Gestetner machine to reproduce documents for the conference. What Budd learned from that early experience is that Lalage was not merely an intellect of legendary proportions, but was someone who had real world skills and an ability to work hard to support the people and the institutions which she believed in.

The Lalage that Budd met in 1971 was thrilled with the message of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere from two perspectives. She was delighted that he had shown such a powerful belief in the power of adult education to support the emergence of a new Tanzanian decolonized nation. She believed as did Nyerere that we cannot wait for our children to finish school, we need for our adults to learn now to take decisions to make lives better. She also believed in Nyerere's vision of socialism, of what he called *Ujamaa*, what some would call African socialism. For she had been a student at Oxford of the great historian Thomas Hodgkin. Professor Hodgkin was a remarkable Marxist historian who was instrumental in creating the Oxford Extra-Mural Delegacy. He became a confidant of the Ghanaian Independence Pan-Africanist, Kwame Nkrumah. And into this world he welcomed the young Lalage Bown who took up a job as a regional tutor in Ghana in those post-Second World War years. The goal of the Oxford Extra-Mural Delegacy was to provide access to education about politics, history, world affairs to an emerging generation of young African women and men who, because of colonial limitations on access to schooling, had been denied education. Supported by the Colonial Office, Lalage, Thomas Hodgkin and others such as the Danish adult educator Paul Bertelsen, who also began teaching in Ghana dur-

ing Lalage's time. There he brought a vision of a decolonial world, a world where the legacies of capitalism might be undone in uniquely African ways. And, at the heart of the change which Lalage and her early colleagues supported, was the knowledge that only through building African led politics, African led scholarship, African led cultural visibility, African music, literature and poetry. No matter what the Colonial Office imagined, their work was decidedly decolonial, anti-colonial, Afro-centric favouring socialist values over the market domination of the industrial age and the empire. Lalage's vision of a transformative pedagogy was not the colonial idea for the production of clerks and agricultural overseers. Her education was for the Independence movements in Africa and the world, for the building of confidence of political leaders, both women and men. While in the 2020s the concept of decoloniality has re-emerged with new voices and new urgency, her understanding of an education combined engagement with the ancient roots of African knowledge, with western political and democratic thought united by a commitment to a deep practice of excellence in building the architecture of knowledge in Africa's universities. This vision of learning continues to represent an approach to the pedagogies of power that is not fully captured by the contemporary discourses on decoloniality.

The programme of the Dar es Salaam conference began with Nyerere's vision of adult education for a new Tanzania based on African principles of *Ujamaa*, or communal good, of familyhood as presented by the Zanzibari-born Tanzanian Vice-President, Rashidi Kawawa. This was followed by a powerful contribution by Robert Gardiner, the Director of the Economic Commission for Africa, and her former boss at the University of Ibadan. These contributions were followed by contributions from the African leaders of all of the university Adult Education departments represented at the conference. The conversations were about the role of Adult Education in giving voice to the women and men whose knowledge was based in their experiences living in the villages. Two critical discourses dominated the conference: the role of adult education as key to national development and the search for an African way forward beyond the externalities of either western capitalism or soviet socialism.

The genius of Lalage Bown is that she understood the lessons of empire. She knew the power of organized learning for those who were taking over the reins of government from the colonial powers. But she knew that transformative learning had to be much more than an intellectual effort. Scholars could debate ideas, but the deep changes that Africa was crying out for and which we all over the world still cry out for need formal structures for learning, support from universities, awareness, support and funding from governments. The heart of the decolonial intent which Lalage carried with her for her entire life was can be found in the thousands of small, practical, humble, modest and hardworking efforts to translate intellectual dreams into a new architecture of knowledge.

Michael Omolewa and Budd Hall both had the privilege of knowing Lalage, working with her on and off over the years in Nigeria, with UNESCO and with the International Council for Adult Education. We have learned from her stories when visiting with her in her homes. We are thrilled that such a remark-

able group of scholars and friends is contributing to this project. May the Ancestors find the ways with Lalage's help to help us all find a way to learn our way towards a better world.

Drum Beats of Learning

Imagine yourself on a warm West African evening
Live horns and saxophones of Nigerian hi life pulsating
Cold green bottles of Star beer set out
Mostly young men, some from the army, some traders some journalists

This is the 'midnight seminar' of the University of Ibadan's
Extra-mural studies Department
And opening up the late evening conversation about philosophy, politics and science
Is our young Extra-Mural Tutor, Lalage Bown

Cheltenham College and Oxford University is where this part of her story begins
Not the place one usually thinks of for an African story
But Lalage, having studied during the Second World War at Oxford,
Met Thomas Hodgkin, historian and former WEA teacher and then Head of the Oxford Extra-mural Delegacy

The Oxford Extra-Mural Delegacy was created at the end of the war to create adult education
opportunities for post-war Africans and others to gain the skills needed for the new age emerging.
What Hodgkin really had in mind was the creation of a learning foundation to feed and support the independence movements in post-war Africa.

We are not sure how the conversations might have gone,
But the radical ideas of Thomas Hodgkin and the
Intellectual imagination of his partner Dorothy Hodgkin,
(Yes that Dorothy Hodgkin who was awarded a Nobel Prize)
Must have been exhilarating

In any case in 1949, at 22, she was selected as the only woman to join the
newly created University of Ghana as a resident tutor
She was taken to the village where she was to help build her first cottage and to begin offering adult education classes
Classes that would add intellectual heat to the growing fires of the independence.

And so began a remarkable life of leadership and institutional development
In adult education and higher education as she worked and led Extra-Mural and Adult Education

Departments in Ibadan, Nigeria, Kampala, Uganda, Lusaka, Zambia, Lagos, Nigeria and Zaria, Nigeria
Serving as the Secretary of the African Adult Education Association

Lalage's contributions to adult education, intellectual and even political life during her years in Africa are hard to capture
She brought dignity, respectability, professionalism, and a passion for learning and justice
To each post, each book, each article, each speech and each conversation about adult education that she was involved in

She served each university that she worked in with a firm belief that that particular university
At that particular point in history was as good as any in the world
And she served the leaders, the students and the citizens of each of the places where she worked with full respect, focus and dedication

Much is known about Lalage Bown, her legendary achievements as a woman academic leader
Working in the decidedly patriarchal world of 20th Century African education and politics
But what we also need to celebrate is her compassion and love
For her adopted Nigerian daughters
For her legions of friends in every corner of this vibrant world
For the music and culture of all parts of the African continent
And for wonderful late-night conversations with an occasional glass of whiskey

In closing let us say thank you in five of the languages of the countries where she worked

Medasse – Akan, Ghana
Ese gan – Yoruba, Nigeria
Weebale – Luganda, Uganda
Zikomo -Nyanja, Zambia
Na Gode – Hausa, Nigeria

Budd L. Hall, 2018

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PART III

From Literacy to Lifelong Learning

Co-ordinating Editor: Michael Osborne

CHAPTER 12

Changing Conceptions of Literacy: Pluriversal Literacies

Mia Perry, Marcela Ramos, Nancy Palacios

Abstract:

«We are being stunted by a form of critical illiteracy», state Tierney, Smith and Kan, and «our global scholarship is facing a crisis of similar proportion to that of climate change […] because we are insufficiently 'reading the world', in the Freirean sense — acting as if we can and should be monolingual in a world that is multilingual» (Tierney et al. 2021, 305). This chapter will briefly chart the history of formal literacy education and describe the scope of the field of research and practice today that encompasses both standardised models of reading and writing text as well as more expansive models of meaning making across many sign systems. We relate the current standardised and universal model of functional literacy to a colonial past whereby systems designed for the benefit of the urban global north were imposed upon other contexts to ensure their expansion of power and economic advantage. Pluriversality is a concept that emerges from a decolonial movement of thought that provides a counternarrative to contemporary Northern assumptions of the universal and, in Escobar's words, to «the hegemony of modernity's one-world ontology» (2018, 4). This chapter provides a conceptual framework of pluriversal literacies in education inclusive of, but exceeding, the literacy of print. To illustrate the opportunities of a pluriversal literacies model in education, we provide a case study of land literacy practices in agricultural education in Patía, Colombia.

Keywords: Equity; Land; Literacies; Pluriversal; Sustainability

Introduction

Through our senses we encounter the world around us – with our sight, hearing, smell, touch, and taste. We encounter the sign-systems of the world – the sights, the sounds, the smells, the textures, the tastes. The world is made up of these sign-systems that constitute texts, materials, behaviours, environments, indeed, all animate and inanimate life.

Literacies describe the ways we decode and make meaning from these sign-systems (Perry 2023). Our literacies determine and delimit our capacities to

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Mia Perry, Marcela Ramos, Nancy Palacios, *Changing Conceptions of Literacy: Pluriversal Literacies*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.19, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 163-174, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

consciously engage. This process of encountering sign-systems and responding to them is also known as the process of semiosis. Semiosis is recognised as the fundamental interaction of signs; what they signify; and the person or thing that interprets them. And it is happening all the time. Everything in the world is communicative; all things draw upon semiosis. From gestures to root patterns, from senses to temperatures, from sound to pattern formations, people and our ecosystems function amongst many complex sign systems or iconic and indexical referencing.

Text is a very specific sign system, among many others. And rather than the linguistic notion of semiotics, which is largely due to the propositions of Ferdinand de Saussure (1959), a more accurate and useful – not to mention ethical and sustainable – understanding of semiotics is a simple triad of semiosis offered by Charles Sanders Peirce (1991). This triad consists of the sign (or the representamen), the sense made of it (the interpretant), and what is signified (the object). The interactions of this triad can be applied to all life, from molecular transactions to digital interactions, from human connections to societal movements. In locating literacy practice at the fundamental human engagement and interpretive level, a radically different pathway of possibility for a literacies education is revealed. It enables learners to engage, come to know, communicate, and learn in and with the world.

Peirce's proposition that the sign is «the primary or central characteristic of life, whether human or organic» (Hoffmeyer 2015, 244) is central to this argument. It has been taken up to propel many disciplines of knowledge over the past 100 years from molecular biology to anthropology. The foundational work of Peirce has been taken up again and again across disciplines and sectors; what is critical to underline here is that signs are not just language-like (Kohn 2013).

If literacies are the practices of decoding sign-systems from the world around us, it is important to question the fact that 'literacy' in the singular is most commonly synonymous with reading and writing print. In fact, in most of the world today, 'literacy' means not only reading and writing print but reading and writing print in one of three or four 'global' (or colonial) languages. In some contexts, 'literacy' is synonymous with 'English lessons', in others, adult education most commonly equates to adult print literacy learning. This generalisation of literacy equating to print does not account for the translation of the term 'literacy' into the many different spoken languages across the world, but it dominates the driving operationalisation of literacy education on a global level.

If the whole world communicates, from a cellular to a global level, to what extent is print literacy sufficient, and for whom? What does it mean to be an active and conscious and literate member of our world (Bown 1985), a world mediated by semiosis? Semiosis occurs with or without our conscious approval or control – our cells are sending and receiving, interpreting, and responding to sign systems; but so are our organs, and similarly our tastes, our decisions, our families, and communities. On a conscious level, representational processes of communication (sign systems) form the basis for all thought. But we need to be able to 'read' the sign systems, to make meaning from them in order to impact

our understanding of ourselves and our actions in the world. *How we relate to things depends on the literacies we have.*

If Peirce's work came to light today, we might now position his semiotics as post-human. But unlike literacies educators and researchers today, Peirce was not working within the contingent primacy of language-like semiotics. A hundred years ago, his work served to support the development of linguistics as much as every other field of study, from microbiology to physics and anthropology. Language was a specific and peculiar semiotic system from Peirce's perspective (1991), but it stuck. As evolutionary and geo-political factors weighed in, the linguistic semiotic triad quickly became the universal benchmark for education.

This chapter goes on to look more closely at the evolution of print, or 'schooled' literacy as we know it today. We highlight the geo-political characteristics of its position in education. Above all, we argue the epistemic injustice of this prevailing paradigm, but also the insufficiency of it for a sustainable world (Bown 1973). Beyond critique, this chapter then introduces pluriversal literacies as an alternative framework for literacies education for equitable and sustainable futures. Finally, we offer a glimpse of one of the many places where educators are taking up this broader anti-colonial and place-based approach to literacies education.

1. The Story of 'Literacy'

Academic and public interest in formal literacy education has occurred across the globe at least since the late nineteenth century (Tierney and Pearson 2021). But it was not until the aftermath of the Second World War and the beginnings of the International Development movement that literacy education, like many other organising systems, began to be considered and defined on a political and global level (Perry 2023). In 1944, 44 nations came together in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA, to establish the first international development policies, driven by economic policy. The Bretton Woods Agreement set the stage for the governance of international trade agreements and prompted the establishment of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the United Nations.

The concept of the 'universal' was familiar to the European and North American powers of the time, but it took on a new relevance with the expressed global economic intentions that were tabled in the formation of the Bretton Woods Agreement. Any functional global system was going to need a minimum set of common principles to survive. So, in conjunction with the establishment of the systems of global economy, a much broader set of universalisms began to come into place. Chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt (widow of former US President Roosevelt), a committee of eight men, representing Australia, China, the UK, France, Chile, Lebanon, Canada, and the former USSR drafted the first Declaration of Universal Human Rights on behalf of all humanity. In 1948 this Declaration was approved by the General Assembly of the UN in Paris, France. This also represented the foundation of International Human Rights Law. Taken as a whole, the influential global moves led by global powers of the time, propelled a

worldview driven by the logics of global capitalism, individualism, and human exceptionalism. A worldview permeates not only policy, but also education and the day-to-day behaviours of people who adopt it (Lent 2021).

There is less war today, and there is more social and political accountability. Many people experience a greater degree of democracy, and waves of intellectual and cultural discovery. But over 100 million hectares more of tropical forest flourished in the 1940s, and trillions of tons more of Artic ice existed then. The world in the 1940s was home to 250 more spoken languages than it is today, and 70% more wildlife existed. These numbers and glimpses are highly selective, and there is no golden age to model from for the future. We describe these realities here to mark some of the tangible ways in which our world has changed, as a reminder rather than a summary. But we are in an unprecedented state of climate emergency and inextricable social inequity and fragmentation. Looking ahead even a few decades, the future of a planet hospitable to humans is in question. A future that relies on current frameworks of education, economy, and human-environment relations is impossible.

In the 1940s the coordination of policy and governance began to piece together a political infrastructure that ensured the growth of a global capitalist economy. Directly entangled with this process was the development of the global literacy movement. UNESCO – the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation – was founded in 1945, and by 1965 the organisation had defined 'illiteracy' and pronounced its ambitions to combat it. The definition of illiteracy has not changed very much since then, today it is defined as the inability to read and write print text (UNESCO 2016, 29).

A common language of communication that could be abstracted from context is the only way that a global economic system could grow to function systematically in such a plural world (Abram 2017). This was tried and tested during colonial conquests, most especially European colonisation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. European languages, faith systems and the education systems to teach them became important tools of colonialisation, providing the colonial powers more effective control over populations and territories. In the post-war context of the 1940s print European language, especially English (shared by the UK and the US as the primary official communication mechanism) had a second wave of influence. Not only did a global economic system need a common communication mechanism, but so did a set of universal human rights and values if they were to effectively inform law across all corners of the globe. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, decreed in the English language 70 years ago, education is a universal human right. This text is only translated into fewer than 8% of the world's languages, so it is not clear what portion of humanity knows this information, and even less can we know how many peoples believes in our current print based paradigm of 'education'.

In the name of International Development, print literacy education has been at multilateral policy tables since the 1960s. UNESCO, the OECD, the World Bank, and the IMF have been at the forefront of its advocacy, but also at the mediation across the scales, contexts, and understandings of literacy worldwide.

Within leading economic powers, literacy policy agendas began to appear towards the end of the twentieth century (Davenport and Jones 2005; Windle and Batista 2019). Governments at that time began to take more of an interest and a role in a literacy education, recognising the ways in which print literacy could support their nations to benefit from an increasingly dominant global economy and its related markets and labour force. The shift from the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) further expanded the focus of global attention from children's literacy education to the importance of literacy education across the lifespan. UNESCO has supported the contextualisation of the definition of literacies, supporting research and resources to enable literacy education to meet the perceived needs of individual nations (Hanemann and Robinson 2022). But international bodies have varying degrees of influence on individual national policy. As Allan Luke states clearly, «educational policies are bids to regulate and govern flows of discourse, fiscal capital, physical and human resources across the time/space boundaries of educational systems». Literacy was a central player in this system and «policies and policy makers set out to achieve estimable educational and cultural, social and economic goals and outcomes» (2018, 228).

At a governance level, outcomes need to align with national agendas and priorities, which in the modern era are always tied to some extent to the global market. Outcomes are easiest to evaluate, evidence, and use for further progress today when they can be quantified and re-presented in terms of a recognised standard. The easiest quantifiable thing in the world is money – the gold standard of quantities. Literacy outcomes are hard to quantify, and most of us in the field of literacy education will agree here. Western scientific paradigms however, and a pragmatic research industry have developed assessment methods that can be applied to quantify certain versions of some aspects of literacy, as long as the information is provided in certain forms.

In considering literacy education in relation to literacy testing, we move to the literacy classroom. What information and in what form can classroom teachers enable evaluators and researchers to quantify the levels of literacy of their learners? The information needs to be abstractable, countable, and then comparable. This in turn has implications for the sort of evaluation materials that the teacher uses for his/her learners, which means he/she needs materials that align with the curriculum used to develop that set of skills. And thus, we have an *industry* of literacy education. This is as close to the issue of testing that we will consider in this chapter. But testing is important to keep in mind. Taken together, what comes into view is a multi-national *edu-business* that is at once embedded in the global market economy, and modelled on the market of literacy testing (Ball 2012; Windle and Batista 2019).

Literacy education, be in print literacy or otherwise, sits in the midst of many interacting stakes. As a result, policy in literacies education today can be characterised by the manifestation of two trends: firstly, the dominance of English, Spanish, and Chinese languages as compulsory curriculum subjects or languages of instruction; and secondly, the prevalence of a phonics approach to print

literacy education. There are exceptions of course, but this overview conveys important policy trends.

This brief unpicking of a colonial past and neo-colonial present, reveals a global market economy and knowledge economy driven by the Global North. But underlying this, is a human exceptionalism that has disconnected us so much from the non-human world that many today go about their daily lives as if only dependent on other people and the systems we have designed.

This chapter moves on now to offer a conceptual and methodological framework for literacies and literacies education that includes both human and non-human, language and non-language-like sign systems. The proposition is a new framework for literacies education – a pluriversal framework. It contests the colonial and neo-colonial literacy practices that influence geopolitics and the knowledge economy and that have reigned for so long that most have forgotten to question them.

2. A Literacies Education for Sustainability and Equity

How we relate to other things matters; it is intrinsic to life. Donna Haraway famously bestows: «It matters what matters we use to think other matters with; it matters what stories we tell to tell other stories with; it matters what knots knot knots, what thoughts think thoughts, what descriptions describe descriptions, what ties tie ties. It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories» (2016, 12). How we relate to things is determined by semiotic systems, or sign systems. Our literacies determine our capacity to relate, to engage, to de-code, and then make sense of signs. But, as Tierney, Smith and Kan remind us, «we are being stunted by a form of critical illiteracy». They warn that «our global scholarship is facing a crisis of similar proportion to that of climate change [...] because we are insufficiently 'reading the world', in the Freirean sense – acting as if we can and should be monolingual in a world that is multilingual» (Tierney et al. 2021, 305).

Literacies are micro practices; that is, they occur on the level of the particular, of the unique encounters that make up our myriad human relationships, moment to moment. They describe our abilities to read text, but also our own body, the land we stand on, the materials that mediate our lives, the water, the sky, the faith systems that drive so many of us. Literacies are plural, because relating to different things requires different practices of meaning-making and communication. To work together on a common earth with a common purpose of sustainability requires embracing not just difference and a plurality of literacies, but also the relations between us and our literacies. Relationships begin with, are nurtured by, and are sustained through our literacies in semiotic practices. We can write, we can read, we can listen, we can sing, we can plant, we can heal, we can hug, we can coordinate and teach and learn, through literacies. So how can we re-story the relationship between literacies education across different contexts and peoples of the world? To do this work, it is necessary to reach beyond a universal model, beyond a human exceptionalism, and beyond a notion of a

«unity of science» (Wilson 1998, 5). But this is not a new challenge. There are many conceptual propositions to work from and work to learn from in other fields.

The pluriversal framework calls for *literacies* and not *literacy* education. It positions literacies as a practice of social and ecological justice and sustainable futures. Plural literacies are nurtured in responsive education systems, are interrelated through kinships across geographical and literacy boundaries, and are recognised by humans engaging all senses and reciprocity. They include literacies of land, water, matter, body, faith, along with the many other place and time specific literacy demands of our collective human-environment condition (Perry 2023).

3. Pluriversal

«Un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos», (a world in which many worlds fit) (Ziai 2018) was a powerful slogan of the Zapatista movement which originated in Mexico and came to international attention in the 1990s. Prompted in part by the force of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on the country, this political movement fought against the loss of land ownership and control for the Indigenous people, as external economic and commercial bodies gained increasing bargaining power over land and production.

A World That Is Home to Many Worlds (Ziai 2018) is in direct contrast to the concept of the 'universal' that has driven much of the modern world's efforts of global cohesion, cooperation, and versions of planetary peace and prosperity. Many worlds equate to many perspectives, ways of being, knowing, and relating to shared planet earth. The 'pluriverse' provides the conceptual and discursive possibility for this reality. It gives legitimacy not only to one universal, but to many universals. Aspiring to a pluriversal approach to education is not a call to eras past; it does not locate sustainable solutions in times prior to globalisation, capitalism, or the United Nations. It is a global perspective that has emerged in part because of a resurgence and reclaiming of stories that don't fit in with the global market economy, stories that are born out of other values and commitments. This movement has been strengthened further by critical developments in decolonial theory and perspectives, in relational theories, and in post-humanism. The pluriversal world is not a planet separated into parts (nations, tribes, cultures), nor is it a structure requiring new boundaries, nor an argument for cultural relativism. The world is taken up in the pluriversal framework as relational and evolving. Mignolo states that the pluriverse is «a world entangled through and by the colonial matrix of power», and that we need to think and understand «in the interstices of the entanglement, at its borders» (2018, xi). Therefore, the stories that guide us and the theoretical discourses that we use to analyse them are as important as the historical and political discourse, in understanding the merits and potentials of the pluriversal framework.

It is critical to a sustainable world to acknowledge and allow for the plurality of ways in which different humans need to relate to, and be in balance with, different parts of this interconnected world. But this evades common standards

of literacy, practice, and purpose; a pluriverse doesn't produce comparable outputs; a pluriverse doesn't hold equal value to the same gods, be they money or deities. But the pluriverse does allow for inclusion, equity, diversity, and ecological and social logics that are reciprocal and sustainable. So, in this inconvenient proposition, how can we connect with common purpose? How can we work together across geographical contexts and recognise the values of global governance structures and human rights? Wall Kimmerer states, «To be native to a place we must learn to speak its language» (2013, 48). This starting point allows for a pluriversal framework for literacies education, especially for those who consider epistemology inextricable from language.

4. A Glimpse of Pluriversal Literacies at Work in Colombia

Colombia is the fourth largest country in South America and one of the continent's most populous nations, with an estimated 50 million people. From a socio-cultural perspective, this country, a colony of Spain until 1819, has been known for its ethnic and geographic richness. Mestizo Colombians make up to 47% of the population and are considered the largest group in the country; including substantial minorities of African Ancestry (Afro-Colombians make up 23.6 % of the population), mixed European and indigenous descent. Colombia's recent history is shaped by more than 50 years of conflict between the state forces, guerrilla insurgents and paramilitary groups. The conflict resulted from social and political exclusion and unequal land distribution and has significantly shaped different aspects of Colombia's nation-state formation processes and economic development (Karl 2017).

The conflict has significantly impacted the livelihoods of peasants, indigenous populations and black communities living in rural Colombia. At the same time, climate change has transformed production boundaries in the last ten years and imposed new challenges on small-scale farming. These include changes in crop phenology (Eitzinger et al. 2018); the quality of underground water and water availability; animal and milk production; livestock diseases and biodiversity (Rojas-Downing et al. 2017); land degradation and desertification (Ramirez-Villegas et al. 2012). Recent research has explored the impacts of climate change among dairy and cattle farmers in Patía, a department located in the Pacific region of Colombia. Smallholder farmers described several impacts in their daily farming due to unexpected changes in seasonal patterns and extreme droughts that affect crops, pastures, animal health and access to water. These processes cause economic damage and production lost. But the testimonies also recall another loss, impacting not only autonomy and success in participants' day-to-day life, but also their future possibilities. Specifically, this is the loss of local knowledge and land literacies inherited and developed across generations. This literacy of the land has been critical for millennia, to inform decisions on, for instance, when to plant and what to produce, and identify potential issues affecting soil and crops. This land literacy also constitutes what it means to be a farmer in this area of Colombia.

The loss of a pluriversal land literacy has been conceptualized in research that analyses non-economic losses and damages associated with climate change (Tschakert et al. 2019; Dorkenoo et al. 2022). The loss of 'socio-cultural systems' attached to land literacy affects communities as strongly as the loss of assets or disruption in production, since they are farming practices that are part of the local culture (Chandra et al. 2017). This degradation and disappearance of a critical land literacy is also associated with a loss of freedom and autonomy, as farmers must lean on external knowledge sources and technologies to maintain local food production. Furthermore, this loss contributes to the hierarchy of knowledge systems, demoting land literacy in favour of literacy of print, and along with that the sort of information that can be contained and portrayed via print language.

However, against this familiar backdrop, our research has identified pockets of practice in Patía in which smallholders are forging new forms of land literacy by reading and making meaning of the changes that the natural world is experiencing. They are developing what we could call 'climate change land literacies'. For example, the appearance of specific new colouring in the treetops indicate drought and soil quality problems. Some smallholders have started to farm new varieties of grass, i.e., non-native species expected to be more resilient to the conditions caused by climate change. These new types of pastures are the result of new technologies, but to be adopted successfully, farmers need the ability to read and decode the new colours, textures, sizes, and patterns of the growth and care of in relation to the new variety of seeds. The interaction between animals and the new pastures are also shifting and farmers are learning to read and interpret which leaves the cattle chew and how they chew them; what the cattle discard, and which parts they like best. These relations between animals and pastures further inform smallholders' decisions and actions.

The Patía case shows that land literacy is evolving in response to climate change. In the long term, by attending to these micro practices between people, animals and their lands, we can support a contemporary curriculum of land literacy in tertiary and further education – a critical need in response to a vulnerable context. Specifically, the challenge facing agricultural and rural school programmes are twofold: on the one hand, they must ensure a complex understanding of land practices and how these can favour or inhibit life and sustainability in Indigenous, Afro-descendant, land-dependent and rural communities. On the other, they must contribute to new knowledge construction approaches that emphasise contextual and environmental literacies and knowledge transmission across generations (Gómez Espinoza and Victorino Ramírez 2008).

Revisiting educational practices built from re-examining rural contexts is possible. The literacies that are sustaining rural subsistence farmers can enable the place-based pedagogies beyond traditional school practices and scientific methods (Peña 2014). This work requires a revision of print only literacy processes in agricultural schools and rural community schools (Da Silva 2001; Palacios et al. 2023). Incorporating local land literacies into education involves new strategies that require often unexplored worldviews, ways of understanding human-nature relationships, and learning across the rural contexts (Peña 2014).

A Colombian rural school pedagogy that values the importance of communities' literacy of the land challenges a traditional positivist paradigm in education. It calls for a pedagogical approach based on dialogue and recognition of diverse knowledge systems. It is a proposal for pluriversal literacies conceived from a liberating and emancipatory lens to challenge practices that have historically overvalued some knowledge and hidden and undervalued others (Delgado Tornés 2012; Peña 2014).

Conclusion

The Patía case study is a brief example of place-based, critical and socio-ecological literacies needed for a decolonial and sustainable future. In a different context, for example an urban centre, a nomadic community or a coastal region, the critical sustaining literacies needs would be different. A pluriversal approach to literacies education allows for this plurality of relational needs between humans and their contexts to be attended to in an inclusive pedagogical framework. A comparison with standard assumptions and evaluations of literacy quickly highlights the distance between pluriversal literacies and the print-based literacy and evaluation used to determine levels of educational attainment worldwide. The work introduced in this chapter points to the needs and pathways of possibility to once again revisit the foundations of literacies education in reflection of literacies that have before, and can once again, enable sustainable futures.

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CHAPTER 13

Strengthening Capacity to Address Urban, Health and Education Challenges in Fast-Growing Cities and Neighbourhoods*

Michael Osborne

Abstract:

This chapter considers the work of a large-scale project, the Centre for Sustainable Healthy Learning Cities and Neighbourhoods (SHLC), funded within the UK's government's Global Challenges Research Fund, part of its Official Development Assistance Programme. In particular, the focus of the chapter is the ways in which the capacities of researchers in the global south can be strengthened through collaboration with universities in the global north. There is an emphasis in this work on the juxtaposition of capacity development and capacity strengthening, the latter invoking the notion that there are foundations to build upon. All of the work of SHLC focused on the links between SDG 3 (Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages), SDG 4 (Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all) and SDG 11 (Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable). The chapter reports on a range of activities with a focus on a number of projects that it funded in the global south.

Keywords: Capacity Strengthening; Cities; Global South; Neighbourhoods; SDG 3, 4 and 11

Introduction

As we know from preceding chapters, Lalage Bown was a committed internationalist, and an early advocate of inter-disciplinary working. Moreover, much of her life's work demonstrated a profound concern with development, especially in what we now refer to as Low to Medium Income Countries (LMICs). She lived long enough to know something of the University of Glasgow's burgeoning portfolio of research within the field of international development, though not quite long enough to know that its School of Education, within which she was a Professor Emerita, had become a UK leader in the field. This is illustrated in its submission to the UK's Research Excellence Framework (REF) (the mechanism

* Material within this chapter has *inter alia* been informed by the work of the Centre for Sustainable Healthy Learning Cities funded by UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) grant ES/PO11020/1.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Michael Osborne, *Strengthening Capacity to Address Urban, Health and Education Challenges in Fast-Growing Cities and Neighbourhoods*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.20, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 175-189, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

by which research quality is measured) in 2021. The School reported that its success in winning UKRI/BA (UK Research and Innovation/British Academy) awards under the aegis of the Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF). Indeed, it was, with 21 awards, the UK's largest beneficiary of the GCRF in the field of Education, which it reported in its REF Environment statement as being «suited to our research aim to make a difference for society's most vulnerable and educationally disadvantaged» ("Environment Submissions Database" 2021)[1].

The Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF), to which it refers, has been an unprecedented £1.5bn funding stream allied to the UN's Sustainable Development Goals. When initiated in 2016, it was an innovative contribution to the UK's Official Development Assistance (ODA) Programme which at that time was committed to meeting the United Nations (UN) recommended target of spending at least 0.7% of GNI (Gross National Income) on aid to the poorest countries in the world. It first reached that target in 2013, and was one of only seven OECD countries to do so. The GCRF programme was novel in as much as it was 'challenge-led', inter-disciplinary, collaborative and agile. It sought to:

- promote challenge-led disciplinary and interdisciplinary research, including the participation of researchers who may not previously have considered the applicability of their work to development issues
- strengthen capacity for research, innovation and knowledge exchange in the UK and developing countries through partnership with excellent UK research and researchers
- provide an agile response to emergencies where there is an urgent research need (UKRI 2023).[2]

The commitment to creating the GCRF was made in 2015 following the UK's comprehensive spending review, and was also part of the promises made in the manifesto of the ruling Conservative party to uphold the allocation 0.7% GNI to aid (HM Treasury et al. 2015). We will reflect on these promises later in the chapter.

For the research community, this was a rare opportunity to work collaboratively with researchers in the global south with a view to tackling some of the world's most intractable problems with a notable emphasis on 'capacity strengthening'. It is notable that this phrasing was used to describe the work of GCRF projects. The term sits in juxtaposition with 'capacity development', and implies that there are foundations to build on in partner countries. In the chapter we describe one of the projects, and indeed the largest in terms of funding and duration (some £7m over 5 years) amongst the 21 in which the School of Education was involved, the Centre for Sustainable, Healthy and Learning Cities and Neighbourhoods (SHLC). In an introduction to the centre on its website, it is noted that:

[1] See <https://results2021.ref.ac.uk/environment/submissions/d5ced964-924e-4ed8-b09d-e91c0dc2c182/environment> (2023-07-01).

[2] See <https://www.ukri.org/what-we-offer/browse-our-areas-of-investment-and-support/global-challenges-research-fund> (2023-07-01).

> Films such as 'Slumdog Millionaire' and 'Favela Rising' give us a raw glimpse of what daily life is like in fast-growing cities in the developing world. But the sprawling slums of Mumbai and the fierce favelas of Rio de Janeiro are not the only neighbourhoods to be found, and life in the slums is not the only story to be told (Centre for Sustainable, Healthy and Learning Cities and Neighbourouhoods 2018).[3]

With over half of the population living in urban areas and the numbers increasing daily (Wang and Kintrea 2021), cities are facing unprecedented demographic, environmental, economic, social and spatial challenges. At SHLC, we have been studying cities from the inside out, and our international team of researchers are particularly interested in investigating how cities are responding to urban, health and education challenges at the neighbourhood level. Our focus thus pertains to the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UN 2015), with a particular focus on SDG 11 (*Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable*) through the lens of SDG 3 (*Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages*) and SDG 4 (*Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all*). Furthermore, our work within the aegis of SDG4 has adopted a lifelong perspective, reflective of the fact that quality and comprehensive adult and lifelong education (ALE) has been promoted as a key component of education and lifelong learning is critical for the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2015) and especially so within a lifelong learning philosophy (Hinzen and Duke 2019).

A key logic to our work is that cities are not homogeneous, and that we need an understanding of the intersecting issues affecting liveability in cities will vary from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. The work of SHLC thus focused on the important link between education, health and sustainability, which is well documented in both developed (Fitzpatrick and LaGory 2011) and developing countries (Smit et al. 2014), and we did so in Glasgow through collaboration between Urban Studies (who led the centre), Education and our Institute of Health and Well-being. Our work did not simply analyse cities as a whole, but through detailed investigation of their neighbourhoods, exploring how cities are changing bit by bit. Furthermore, our team of researchers in eight countries, studying 14 cities in the global south in Bangladesh, China, India, the Philippines, Rwanda, South Africa and Tanzania, were not only looking at poorer communities, but all types of neighbourhoods across the whole city – from slums to gated communities and everything in between. Our focus on intersectionality took us to another layer of complexity in these cities where any one individual may be experiencing both opportunity and exclusion depending on a range of characteristics, linked to, amongst other factors, race, ethnicity, gender, class, caste and disability (Tefera et al. 2018). This complexity was explored in depth and is evident in numerous Briefing Papers and Research Reports of the cities found at the SHLC website.

[3] See <https://www.centreforsustainablecities.ac.uk> (2023-07-01).

Since 2016, SHLC's work has been looking specifically at fast-growing cities across Africa and Asia as it is here that urban populations have undergone the fastest change – and through the current century, it is here that we will see the greatest urban growth (Kii 2021). The speed and scale of rapid urban growth has created many opportunities – but also many problems. Rapid urban sprawl, migration and population growth have led to a shortage of housing, inadequate water supply and pollution: migrants moving into cities often find themselves living in poor neighbourhoods and the inequality in living standards and access to good job and learning opportunities we see in these neighbourhoods is a major challenge.

1. The Aims of SHLC

The centre has been an international consortium of nine partners: University of Glasgow, Human Sciences Research Council (South Africa), Ifakara Health Institute (Tanzania), Khulna University (Bangladesh), Nankai University (China), National Institute of Urban Affairs (India), University of Rwanda (Rwanda), University of the Philippines Diliman (the Philippines), University of the Witwatersrand (South Africa). Its programme of work has two overall aims:

1. to strengthen research capacity among urban studies researchers, government officials and policy makers in the public and private sectors both in the UK and in developing countries;
2. to conduct systematic and comparative studies of urbanisation and the formation and differentiation of neighbourhoods in urban areas in order to address the challenges associated with urbanisation and large-scale rural-to-urban migration in Africa and Asia.

Research and capacity-strengthening activities in SHLC have been designed to help support and contribute to the achievement of the SDGs, particularly Goal 3, Goal 4 and Goal 11, across fast-growing cities in Africa and Asia. Its activities are very much grounded in principles of equitable partnership and south-south learning where collaboration and interdisciplinarity is key. In an early blog, SHLC's Principal Investigator explained why this approach matters:

> In the past, international collaboration tended to mean that experts from the developed world telling developing countries how to build cities using the 'Global North' experience. This approach is not suitable. Cities in developing countries have grown under very different economic, political and social conditions. Many cities, like Delhi, Cape Town and Manila, have very distinctive and unique features which older industrial cities in the West do not share. By bringing developing country researchers together we are not just sharing knowledge between the 'Global North' and 'Global South', we are focussing on knowledge transfer and sharing learning experiences between developing countries. For example, our case study cities in China, India and South Africa – the so-called 'BRICS' countries and emerging economies – have

developed quite differently and at different rates. But their neighbourhoods show some similar features. Relatively poorer developing countries, like the Philippines, Bangladesh, Tanzania and Rwanda, have a different level of economic development, so their cities are facing slightly different challenges. By comparing similarities and differences between all of our case study cities we will gain greater understanding and insight into how cities work and how we can make the city work better for all (Wang 2018).

2. The Nature and Rationale of SHLC's Capacity Strengthening Activities

The Centre's activities specifically supported UKRI's "Growing Research Capability to Meet the Challenges Faced by Developing Countries" funding stream within its GCRF portfolio, and was one of 37 similar major investments totaling £225m in funding, and themed under the programme of Growing Research Capacity (UKRI 2017). As in the case with each of these projects, a core and indeed the principal purpose of SHLC was to strengthen capacity through identifying, understanding and responding to urban, health and education challenges in neighbourhoods in cities in the global south. This is the focus of the rest of this chapter.

Capacity strengthening activities included a series of training workshops, knowledge exchange events and a small grants fund, through which SHLC sought to create a strong and durable network of urban researchers specialised in neighbourhood analysis of rapidly urbanising cities. These activities were intended to support and complement the Centre's core research, which involves a comparative study of urbanisation and differentiation of neighbourhoods in 14 different cities in both emerging economies and relatively poor countries in Africa and Asia (Ahmad et al. 2021).

This work in capacity strengthening was directed towards all members of the team of some 50+ researchers, including the investigators, research assistants and PhD students, and was conceived along four strands of activity:

1. **UK Based Workshops and Training**, largely focused on social science methods, including those using big data, social media data, GIS (Geographic Information System) and spatial analysis;
2. **Knowledge Exchange and Capacity Strengthening in/between Countries** based on principles of co-construction of knowledge and responsible research and innovation with face-to-face and virtual sessions. This included workshops to disseminate and exchange initial findings with city/region representatives, NGOs and individual researchers;
3. A **Visiting Research Fellow Programme** for early career researchers within and beyond the collaborating organisations;
4. **Research Seminars, International Conference and Wider Network Building** organised by in part by in-country teams.

Over and above these elements of our work, a key element of the strategy was to extend reach beyond the core team through the small grants programme, the *Capacity Development Acceleration Fund* (CDAF), which funded 19 projects across Latin America, Africa and Asia with grants of up to £25k per project. Most of these projects were led by early career researchers, with the aim that the skills, knowledge and experience they are developing will help strengthen and sustain research capacity within their local context. CDAF aimed to grow capacity in the following key areas:

- *Research methodology* – improved understanding and application of tools and techniques required to support neighbourhood level analysis of fast-growing cities in developing countries and emerging economies;
- *Global challenges* – improved knowledge of urban, health and education issues caused by rapid urbanisation, migration and population growth in Africa and Asian cities including recommendations for addressing these issues;
- *Knowledge exchange* – enhanced south-south partnerships and improved ability to use research findings to engage relevant stakeholders to influence urban policy, practice and planning.

The pilot projects funded through SHLC's CDAF had three key objectives. The first of these was to support and drive a strong interdisciplinary and international network of highly skilled researchers with expert knowledge of sustainability, health and learning in developing-country cities, thereby arming them with improved capacity to influence urban policy, practice and planning. Secondly CDAF aimed to develop a new understanding of urbanisation at the neighbourhood level that would help change how urban planners and policymakers conceptualise urban development. Thirdly the fund encouraged the development of new methodologies, theories, and capacity that would be utilised by government officials, policymakers and supra-national bodies to change perceptions, behaviours and the way issues are defined and framed so that cities better address challenges of urbanisation and large scale rural to urban migration at the neighbourhood level.

CDAF was designed to support capacity strengthening at three levels, based on three levels of impact that have been highlighted by UKRI as areas where they expect to see change, based on a practice paper produced by the UK's former Department for International Development (DFID) (2010):

1. *Individual*: upskilled researchers, policymakers and planners more effectively undertake and utilise research to change urban planning, policy and practice;
2. *Organisational*: improved capacity of project teams and organisations to better design, manage and sustain urban research projects;

3. *Institutional*: changed 'rules of the game' which address incentive structures, political context and resource base in which urban research is undertaken and utilised by policymakers.

3. An Overview of Projects

Projects funded by CDAF were wide-ranging and included a mixture of disciplines, methodologies and tools from participatory mapping and community-led workshops to using virtual reality as a research tool to support urban planning. For example, one team in Bangladesh used GIS-based analysis of remote sensing data to understand the rate of land and water body change caused by rapid urbanisation. Another team in Colombia facilitated political and economic inclusion for informal workers through participatory policy engagement activities. Whilst there was diversity in what was supported, there are several threads woven across the programme of work. Capacity strengthening directed to a range of constituencies has been core, and many projects spoke to participatory engagement with community members, equipping them with the tools and knowledge to interrogate their own communities. But engagement is more than simply a top-down process, and many projects sought to work with community members using participatory, citizen-science and action research methods, and provided opportunities for individuals and groups to give voice to the issues with which they were most concerned. In this sense, there was an attempt in many of these projects to turn the rhetoric of citizen engagement and knowledge co-construction into a reality in many projects (Borkowska and Osborne 2018). Tab. 1 shows a full list of projects including country of focus, the nature of the research and the SDGs being targeted.

Table 1 – CDAF-funded projects.

Project title	**Project description**
Planning for Post-Conflict Cities: Virtual Reality for Urban Planning and Research towards Building Back a Sustainable, Healthy, and Learning Marawi City (Philippines, Goals 4 and 11).	This project entailed developing and prototyping post-conflict planning, research, and a training tool for neighbourhoods using virtual reality (VR) technology. It was predicated on the notion at VR technology democratises planning by providing a means for visualisation and methodology for participation and engagement. At the same time, the project has promoted lifelong learning by providing accessible experiential learning not just to academics, but also to the community and stakeholders involved in planning and decision-making at the grassroots level.

Capacity Building Workshop for Early Career Researchers on issues and challenges of Urban Sector (India Goal 11).	This one-week capacity building workshop in New Delhi for early career researchers sought to strengthen the participant's knowledge and skills in theory and practice, including research methodologies, data analysis, participatory planning, project management, and other soft skills to address the challenges of urban sector.
Liveable Regional Cities in Bangladesh (Bangladesh Goal 11).	This research explored what makes the cities of Noapara and Mongla liveable from the perspectives of residents, officials and stakeholders in an interdisciplinary manner through the use of storytelling workshops, production of videos and interviews.
Connecting the Urban and Peri-urban (CoUP): A transformative policy framework for inclusive and resilient urban development in India (India Goal 11).	The lack of planning and policy attention to peri-urban areas in India has led to marginalisation and increasing health inequalities causing severe social, economic and environmental problems. This interdisciplinary project aimed to develop a new planning and policy framework for integrating the urban-peri-urban to promote resilience in Indian cities.
Power of partnership: Voices of residents and city planners as sources of innovation for sustainable urban governance (Bangladesh Goal 11).	This knowledge mobilisation project employed a deliberative method to integrate the lived experiences and views of urban populations as sources of innovation into planning processes for sustainability. It builds on an innovative approach that includes co-designed visual participatory and perspective-taking activities in Chattogram, a rapidly growing city in Bangladesh.
Age Friendly Cities in the Andean Region– Implementing and Monitoring the Protocol of Vancouver (Colombia, Peru and Bolivia, Goal 11).	This project in three countries in Latin America aimed to raise awareness about the importance of generating supportive urban environments for older residents through south-south knowledge exchange. The project included the delivery of a training course, piloting community assessments and change strategies, preparation of technical documents and the development of visibility activities to create age-friendly cities.
Strengthening Neighbourhood Level Research Capacities for Sustainable Communities in Fast Growing Nigerian Cities (Nigeria Goal 11).	This project aimed to strengthen early career researchers' capacity to undertake neighbourhood level research in Nigeria. Seminars, fieldwork and presentations were led by facilitators from research, local communities, government and civil society.

Between rural and urban: research to action in the peripheries of the Municipality of El Alto de La Paz (Bolivia Goal 11).	Within the framework of the 'Right to the City', this project carried out action research, with residents and leaders in multiple neighbourhood districts in El Alto, Bolivia.
Green Infrastructure for Health Promotion Within Informal Neighbourhoods in Lagos and Akure (Nigeria Goals 3 and 11).	This project dealt with health-related impacts of green infrastructure and how it can be collaboratively improved to reduce disease burdens within informal neighbourhoods in Lagos and Akure, Nigeria.
Towards more inclusive urban planning in Udon Thani and Nakuru (Thailand and Kenya, Goals 3 and 11).	Understanding the health and wellbeing penalties paid by poorer or vulnerable urban residents demands a deeper community-level study of their lived experiences of urban development and the impact of ordinary urban spaces on their health and well-being. This project undertook pilot research at the neighbourhood scale to identify these relationships using citizen science approaches to gather non-traditional data that could inform urban planning processes.
Transformation of agricultural land and waterbodies in rapidly urbanising Bangladesh: recognising the extent of sustainability concerns. (Bangladesh Goal 11).	This project used GIS-based analysis of remote sensing data to understand the extent, rate and pattern of changes in agricultural land and water bodies in the process of urbanisation in Bangladesh, and further informed how urbanisation is affecting food security and environmental sustainability in a rapidly-urbanising country.
How to improve understanding of sustainable and healthy neighbourhoods through youth participation in Kisenyi Slum, Kampala (Uganda Goal 4 and 11).	This study informed a community-based process on how to improve understanding of sustainable and healthy neighbourhoods through youth participation.
City occupied: A neighbourhood based comparison of informal land occupations in Bogota, Cape Town and Sao Paulo (Colombia, South Africa and Brazil, Goal 11).	This project employed a comparative neighbourhood framework to examine informal land occupations across different neighbourhoods in Bogota, Cape Town and Sao Paulo.

Healthy cities for adolescents: a participatory research in Gurugram, Haryana (India, Goal 3 and 11).	This participatory research aimed to improve adolescent health and to enhance their influence of adolescents themselves on health services in Gurugram, Haryana, India. The project incorporated the voices and perspectives of marginalised adolescents into the planning and designing of adolescent specific health policies and programmes.
Capacity-strengthening workshop for future research leaders in urban water governance in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania Goal 11).	This capacity-strengthening workshop provided training to urban water governance researchers in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
Raising Voices through Design Charrette: Contextualization of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) Terminals and Intermediate Bus Stops Stations by Neighbourhood Context and Needs (Tanzania Goals 3 and 11).	This project explored Tanzania's Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) terminals and intermediate bus stops stations by neighbourhood context and needs.
Promoting Inclusive Governance for Informal Workers in Cali (Colombia Goal, 11).	This project aimed to set up a participatory policy engagement process to facilitate political and economic inclusion for informal workers in Cali, Colombia, that could be replicated in other cities in the Global South to promote more inclusive urban governance.
The studio 'iv' module – Kigali (Rwanda, Goal 11).	The studio iv module introduces students to the importance of participatory urban design. The studio used a 'slum upgrading project' to introduce students to strategies for 'embracing informality', which characterises a significant proportion of Kigali's housing and the housing culture of Kigali city.
Local challenges, global imperatives: cities at the forefront to achieve Education 2030 (Bangladesh, Rwanda, Philippines, Goals 4 and 11).	Working with UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and their programme, *Local Challenges, Global Imperatives: Cities at the Forefront to Achieve the Education 2030 Agenda*, this project examines the ways cities conduct educational planning and management in three contexts: Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Rwanda to identify challenges and strategies to strengthen their effectiveness.

4. Capacity Strengthening and Knowledge Exchange Coming to Fruition

All projects were completed by 2022, though of course, the COVID-19 pandemic had a considerable impact on both the timelines of projects and on the methodologies being used. Earlier we referred to the UK's lofty position in committing to meeting UN recommended targets in overseas aid, and manifesto commitment of the ruling Conservative government. Despite these promises and their enshrinement in law, in 2020, citing the challenges of the epidemic and dealing with refugees coming to the UK, the government cut overseas aid to 0.5% of GNI as a 'temporary' measure[4]. This has had a knock-on effect in that the UKRI was compelled in an unprecedented manner to reduce the funding allocation that it was making to some GCRF projects by 70% for 2021-22. SHLC was not immune in that respect, though the centre managed to re-profile its activities without cutting any of the CDAF projects.

Projects that were funded in earlier rounds of CDAF have shared and disseminated their results, and others will follow. This has already provided evidence to post-project longer-term impact, which is key to the success of this work. For example, research findings from a participatory urban research project exploring the concept of 'liveability' in the cities of Mongla and Noapara (Bangladesh) (Centre for Sustainable, Healthy and Learning Cities and Neighbourouhoods 2020)[5] have been shared via local engagement events with local city officials and through less conventional street theatre performances with the community. The research has resulted in an enduring network of Bangladeshi early career researchers who have continued their research beyond this small project and have, in fact, secured more funding to apply their research approach to the COVID-19 context (Ruszczyk et al. 2021).

Another aspect of our work has been to build capacity by providing connectivity and access to programmes of research for academics in the global south with key international organisations. The clearest example of this is manifest is that the Centre used an element of the funding to support a new strand of re-

[4] The crisis in Ukraine has exacerbated this issue with, according to the Independent Commission for Aid Impact (ICAI 2023), around one-third of the already reduced overseas aid budget having been spent on housing refugees in 2022 by the UK's Home Office. Under international aid rules, it is permissible to allocate some of the first-year costs of supporting refugees and asylum seekers as an ODA contribution (so called 'in-donor refugee costs'), though somewhat controversial. It of course has had a further knock-on effect on responses to humanitarian crises elsewhere in the world. The 0.5% allocation of GNI was increased to 0.55% in November 2022 by the UK to limit the impact on overseas aid, but even so the ICAI points out that 'in-donor refugee support' is an expensive way to spend ODA, compared to supporting crisis-affected people in their own country or region. The UK is, therefore, able to use its ODA budget to help far fewer people. «It also runs counter to a key humanitarian principle that humanitarian action should give priority to the most urgent needs» (ICAI 2023, v).

[5] See <http://www.centreforsustainablecities.ac.uk/news/project-cdaf-liveable-regional-cities-bangladesh> (2023-07-01).

search with our existing partners in Bangladesh, the Philippines and Rwanda in collaboration with UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). The project has investigated the role of education in urban planning, and builds on two pieces of research undertaken in 2018-20 in a developed nation, France: a quantitative survey carried out by UNESCO's Institute for Lifelong Learning's Global Network of Learning Cities[6], and its cluster on educational planning and management; and qualitative research conducted by IIEP in four cities in France with its programme, Cities and Education 2030: Local challenges, global imperatives (UNESCO IIEP 2021)[7]. The central question of this work has been: how can cities ensure successful planning to achieve SDG 4 by 2030? This work in Manila and Kigali has already been reported to the city authorities during 2022 and 2023, and offers up a number of observations based on desk research, interviews and focus group discussions with key actors responsible for educational planning at city level, and visits to public schools to meet with other key players including headteachers, teachers, other school-level staff, and pupils. Despite many positive findings, there remain challenges in Manila related to socio-economic inequalities, an increasing school population, unequal representation of and insufficient communication among stakeholders, and no shared vision of education amongst those responsible for its delivery given the many varied interests and agendas. Further challenges include: a lack of continuity in planning and policymaking, unsynchronised budgeting and implementation, vulnerability to disasters and climate risks, and weak monitoring and evaluation. In Kigali the main challenge is that education is not recognised as a priority by the city and there is a lack of alignment between sectors responsible for education; furthermore, consultations do not include parents, teachers and non-teaching staff. A series of recommendations for development of the system has been made to local and national actors.

Overall, it is premature to present a comprehensive analysis of the impact of our various capacity strengthening work. However, this is being systematically analysed, and will be informed by the evaluation of GCRF programme as a whole (Barr et al. 2018) in the context of its *Theory of Change* model as shown in Fig. 1.

[6] See <https://uil.unesco.org/lifelong-learning/learning-cities> (2023-07-01).

[7] See <http://www.iiep.unesco.org/en/our-expertise/cities-and-education-2030-local-challenges-global-imperatives> (2023-07-01).

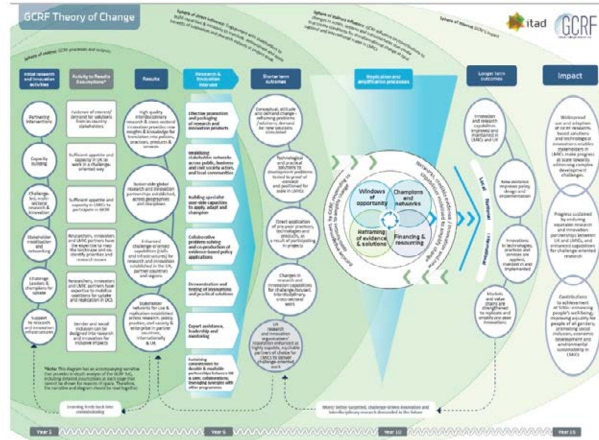

Figure 1 – GCRF *Theory of Change* (Barr et al. 2018, 2).

There are certainly pointers to the effectiveness of offering relatively small awards to early-career researchers to undertake work that widens the coverage of a larger core project, and thus creating an extensive network of researchers internationally working towards addressing a common challenge. Keeping these researchers connected to SHLC once its core funding and the funding of specific projects has been exhausted in a common problem. One way that this is happening is through the creation of new permanent structures within partner countries, such as the Centre for Neighbourhood Studies (CeNS) in the Philippines. This is an independent, non-government, non-profit organisation aimed at understanding, developing and promoting smarter and more sustainable neighbourhoods that has been developed by SHLC partners. The establishment of distinct brands with host organisations such as SHLC Bangladesh, SHLC Philippines, SHLC Rwanda and SHLC Tanzania, working under one SHLC umbrella with the University of Glasgow, and in the case of the Philippines and Bangladesh, the creation of PASCAL[8] Asia to complement PASCAL Europe hosted at Glasgow is a further pointer to sustainability. Another is the likely absorption of SHLC at the University of Glasgow into the International Development theme of its Advanced Research Centre (ARC), which has been at the heart of future inter-disciplinary working since its opening in 2022.

[8] The PASCAL (Place and Social Capital and Learning) Observatory is a global alliance of researchers, policy analysts, decision makers and locally engaged practitioners from government, higher education, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the private sector. It has its origins in a major conference organised by the OECD in Melbourne in 2002 on the importance of learning cities and regions for regional development. PASCAL's focus is on the development and renewal of place. It gives special emphasis to the role of social capital and lifelong learning in these processes, considering how sustainable economic, social and cultural development can be achieved to the benefit of the communities concerned.

In conclusion, we wonder how Lalage Bown would have responded to this dimension of the work of her university, which she continued to serve until her final days. She certainly would have been one of the first to challenge the cuts to ODA funding and the obfuscation of the UK government in its justifications for doing. We like to also think that the announcement in February 2022 that GCRF, alongside other development assistance programmes, the Newton Fund and the Fund for International Collaboration, would not be continuing in their current form would also have troubled her. So would the merger of the Department for International Development with the much smaller Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) to create the Foreign and Commonwealth Development Office (FCDO), which has been seen by some as akin to a 'hostile takeover' putting the needs of trade over aid. However, we hope that what we have achieved in SHLC and more widely in international development at the University of Glasgow in the past few years would have encouraged her to raise one more glass of whisky.

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CHAPTER 14

Learning in Later Years: Perspectives from Nigeria

Oluwayemisi Obashoro-John, Brian Findsen

Abstract:

This chapter explores learning in later life in the Nigerian context, highlighting research findings on the focus of learning among older persons, with special emphasis placed on adult and non-formal education programmes. Discussion includes allied concepts of ageing and learning, lifelong learning/education, policy developments in (older) adult education, patterns of Nigerian seniors' participation and intergenerational learning in this West African nation.

Keywords: Adult Education; Later Life Learning; Lifelong Learning; Nigeria; Non-Formal Education

Introduction

People all over the world are living longer with the resultant requirements for engagement, healthy living and long-term independence. The need for older persons to continue to learn and improve personal as well as professional competencies, knowledge and skills is gaining prominence, and becoming the focus of sustainable human development discussions globally. In the Nigerian adult education space, where Professor Lalage Bown worked for many years, emphasis on later years learning and education has been minimal, most probably as a result of age biases against older persons and the government's concentration on children's and youth education rather than adult education. Indeed, Nigeria's age structure is youthful in comparison with most nations – population aged 0-14 years: 43%; population aged 15-64 years: 54%; population aged 65+: 03% (UNPF 2023). Yet, this observation should not obscure the need to analyse the contribution of learning in later life to the overall phenomenon of lifelong learning.

This chapter will explore the essence and nuances of learning in later life highlighting research findings on the focus of learning among older persons with special emphasis placed on adult and non-formal education programmes in centres in Nigeria. The discourse will also consider the dimensions of allied concepts of ageing and learning, lifelong learning, policy developments in (older)

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Oluwayemisi Obashoro-John, Brian Findsen, *Learning in Later Years: Perspectives from Nigeria*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.21, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 191-205, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

adult education, patterns of seniors' participation and intergenerational learning in this West African context. The inclusion of intergenerational learning in this discussion is because it offers considerable potential to maximise benefits for all Nigerians.

1. Ageing and Learning in a Broad Context

Population ageing is named as one of the four global demographics 'megatrends' alongside population growth, international migration and urbanisation. Older people account for more than one fifth of the world's population, according to the United Nations (2019). This report states that in 2019, there were 703 million persons aged 65 years and over in the world. In their 2020 report, figures rose to 727 million (UN DESA, Population Division 2020). There are projections that the number will double to 1.5 billion in 2050 as life expectancy at age 65 will increase and the number of older persons will total more in number than youth.

Modern societies are heterogeneous across a range of dimensions including age, and there is great complexity in meeting the needs and demands of individuals, groups, communities and populations. There is the demand to continue to engage in learning as a life-wide activity especially as people are living longer. There is the urgency to ensure and encourage learning; knowledge and skill acquisition is vital to meet challenges and address disruptions from current and emerging trends. Demographic changes, increasing longevity, mobility among older persons, more diverse living arrangements, new modes of production, active consumption and increased earnings, sustaining of democratic values, technology improvements and challenges make adult learning imperative to address the threats posed (Slowey et al. 2020). Lifelong learning also potentially mitigates attendant negative effects on health, helps to promote well-being, citizenship, governance, employability, new work skills and sustainable living in communities throughout the world. These changes have implications for adult and lifelong education as they pertain to the dynamics of ageing, financing, consumption patterns, assets, work and functionality, and short and long-term care needs with associated dependency fears. These emerging trends in the economic, social, environmental and technological milieux suggest that skills and competencies acquired formally in school are no longer sufficient to navigate work and the lifecourse in general. There is on-going need for creativity, intergenerational adaptability, critical thinking, and life-wide learning.

Who is an older adult (senior) in Nigerian society? The commencement age for later life learning cannot readily be stated in terms of precise years or chronological definitions. However, Government proclamations provide some guide to who qualifies as an elder. The *National Policy on Ageing* (Federal Republic of Nigeria 2020) describes an elder, in terms of age, to be an individual who is 60 years and above. The document makes clear distinctions as 60-74 years, the young old; 75-79, the aged; 80 years and above, the oldest old (6, 9). Retirement age usually provides some benchmark too. Prior to 2012, mandatory retirement

age in Nigeria stood at 60 years for civil servants and non-academic staff in universities; 65 years for academic staff in universities and 70 years for judges, or calculated along the lines of 35 years in service (Obashoro 2016). Some of these have been reviewed upward – 65 years for non-academic staff and 70 years for academic staff in universities. Policy definition aside, the issue of individual differences in life circumstances, cognitive functions or decline and personal goals should be recognized in understanding who might be considered a senior and when later life learning may begin. Beyond 60 years, individuals may have more time to devote to learning new skills, gaining knowledge, engaging in new activities and exploring new interests to meet their personal, professional or community needs (Laslett 1989).

2. Learning: Its Varied Forms and Contexts

Learning is a multi-faceted concept occurring throughout individuals' lives and in many locations. Usually, at an individual level, learning may involve understanding ideas, making connections between old and new knowledge and transferring knowledge across contexts (Withnall 2010). There are diverse philosophical orientations that are used to seek a greater understanding of its character. According to Merriam and Bierema (2014), varied orientations include behaviourism, humanism, cognitivism, and constructivism. The relative emphasis tends to focus on the *location* of learning: external to the individual; internal; or a combination of both (changes in individual behaviour as a result of interaction with an environment). In adult learning contexts, the humanistic strand has tended to receive a more popular response from educators as it accentuates the locus of control within an individual and gives greater credence to how people change across different environments through social interaction. For instance, Jarvis (2001) posits that learning is about becoming a person in society; about transforming the experience of living into knowledge, skills and attitudes so that individuality might develop.

3. Learning and Its Alignment to Education

Learning needs to be differentiated from education. Learning is not the same as education. Lifelong learning (LLL) is not the same as lifelong education (LLE). While learning is usually closely linked to individual development, education «consists of learning which is both systematic and intentional, usually the outcome of deliberative policy at local, national and global levels» (Findsen and Formosa 2011, 22). When social-cultural structures in society influence the behaviour of (older adult) learners this is very much an education issue related to the historical development of society, as in Nigeria. Next, the demarcation of when learning becomes education is explained in terms of experiential/informal learning, formal education and non-formal education.

3.1 Informal and Experiential Learning

In the Nigerian context, learning in later years is primarily informal and experiential, built on the practice of the Indigenous/Traditional African Adult Education pattern. The Indigenous African Education system dwells on informal methods of learning facilitated by master craftsmen and in apprenticeship schemes. Informal learning takes place when there are neither conscious nor preplanned, deliberate learning efforts. It consists of day-to-day experiences of life in the family or community. It is unstructured, non-institutionalized learning activities that are related to work, family, community or leisure. It may involve learning from discussions, civic and social engagements, reading journals or books, taking tours, taking part in hobby groups; listening to radio broadcasts, watching television, reading newspapers or other forms of recreation (Bown and Tomori 1979; Findsen 2005). It is truly the life-long process whereby individuals acquire attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influences and resources in their environment – from family and neighbours, from work and play, from the marketplace, the library and the mass media (Okenimkpe 2003). It is learning from, and, in real-life situations while passing through the daily routines of human life. Other instances include the acquisition of skills like farming, fishing, welding, tailoring and a host of others. Acceptable societal conduct and values are learnt from cooperative groups, casual and sometimes organized discussions at family, age-grade locations, in religious practices as well as community venues.

3.2 Formal Education

At the other end of the continuum from informal learning, is formal education. This form of learning has been thoroughly institutionalised, most often provided by governments who have a responsibility to educate younger generations. It usually entails a graded system from early childhood to higher education. It does not occur through happenstance but is planned to socialise respective generations to the norms of society as in Nigeria. Hence, programme offerings are those available mainly for young people. Educational structures related to these programmes tend to legitimate credentials, especially at upper high school and university levels. There are few courses specifically directed at older adult learners, although the Open University and distance learning were implemented to attract older learners (Omolewa 2016). Features of the provision from the Open University, including more open access to studies away from stringent examination entry, is provided by Imhabekhai (2006). Some traditional adult learners who have acquired knowledge at the non-formal settings have the opportunity to mainstream into higher education. In the over 100 higher institutions in Nigeria, different degrees and diplomas courses offered are open to both young and older persons without bias. Options available include open and distance learning; regular university, college or polytechnic full-time or part-time degree and non-degree programmes. Yet, the absence of seniors in universities is stark.

3.3 Non-formal Education

In the mid-stream of a continuum between experiential/informal learning and formal education is non-formal education. The structures for learning are informal, but the learning is systematised and seldom credentialled. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and community-based centres constitute the majority of this provision. This is an alternate route to learning in later years available to adults in Nigeria accessible at different learning spaces across the country (Bown and Okedara 1981). These spaces as non-formal education centres can be found in all the States in the Federation managed by the Nigerian Mass Education Commission (NMEC) and financed by the federal government. Other agencies include the many centres run by private and commercial undertakings, non-governmental organisations, faith-based and philosophical organisations as well as community development and community-based associations. These agencies are located in both government and private school buildings (used out of school hours), village/town/community centres, market squares and worship structures. Training programmes comprise skills acquisition, learning new methods of doing things, learning to be self-reliant and learning to be more responsible in every situation (Omolewa 2016). Further, basic literacy, post-basic literacy, computer literacy, vocational and agricultural training are some additional offerings in the non-formal centres.

Non-formal education is consciously, deliberately and systematically implemented outside the formal education system. It entails organised educational activity planned by the provider, outside the established formal system – whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity – that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives (Okenimkpe 2003). As it is programmed to serve the needs of identified groups, it necessitates flexibility in its design and schemes of evaluation. It is often complementary to formal education in the context of lifelong learning. It covers programmes on life skills, work skills, generally out of school, for self, social, community or cultural development (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2023). It includes non-accredited workplace training, as well as education undertaken for personal development and empowerment.

A recent empirical study was carried out to assess learning in later years among older adults in non-formal education centres in Nigeria (Obashoro-John and Abdulazeez in press). A sample of 180 persons, who were 55 years and above, was drawn from the six geo-political zones of Nigeria. Findings revealed learning needs to be expressed in the following areas: learning for self-management and decision-making competency, learning for competence in literacy, learning for career promotion and learning for effective communication skills. It established that the ultimate goal of learning at any stage of life is to bring about the desired change in participation, whether in a vocational or recreational domain (e.g. personal growth and self-efficacy). Based on the findings of the study, recommendations were made for increased participation of older persons; expan-

sion of current provisions and offerings in the centres; more effective monitoring and supervision of their operations. These recommendations point to the importance of these instances of non-formal education to individuals' survival and their ultimate contribution to the progress of the nation.

4. Lifelong Learning/Education

Discussions concerning the character of lifelong learning (LLL) and lifelong education (LLE) abound in the international literature (e.g. Longworth and Keith Davis 1999; Osborne et al. 2007). Lifelong learning (LLL) finds its roots in integrating learning and living, and covers learning activities for people of all ages, in all life contexts and through a variety of modalities that meet a range of learning needs and demands. The differences between learning and education are echoed in the distinction between LLL and LLE. Lifelong learning is a much broader concept and is exemplified in the above experiential-informal education list of activities. Lifelong education provision is closely related to and dependent on governmental and providers' active support. The purposes of lifelong learning have been identified by Findsen and Formosa (2011) as follows:

The learning economy – This purpose gives precedence to the world of work where learning is channelled towards maximising positive outputs for the national/local economy. Unsurprisingly, governments around the globe are concerned that their economies are sufficiently buoyant to sustain a knowledgeable workforce where workers are adaptable and multi-skilled.

Personal fulfilment – The personal growth of individuals is given priority in this strand. An ideology of individualism prevails rather than the encouragement of a collectivist approach. In adult education, this approach is aligned to Knowles (1984) and is humanistically-inspired.

Active citizenship – In this conceptualisation of lifelong learning the focus is upon how to produce a citizen who is active and who is committed to democratic practices in a civil society. Such a citizen engages in communities, may volunteer services for the betterment of others and/or become a member of social movements and be critically reflective of what is occurring in society.

Social inclusion – Given the plethora of people who are removed from the mainstream because of age, gender, social class, sexuality, geographical location or disability (or combinations of these categories), this theme is concentrated upon getting people included in social interactions to improve their quality of life. In the case of educational provision, the invisibility of older people in the planning and implementation of older adult education is significant.

In the Nigerian context, varying forms of literacy training have been to the fore as an exemplar for lifelong learning. Arguably, all four above categories are encapsulated in this campaign. In particular, opportunities for older adults to increase their functional literacy enhances life chances and prospects for meaningful social interaction (social inclusion).

4.1 The Context of Nigerian Lifelong Learning/Education

Lifelong learning in the Nigerian context has always been primarily informal and non-formal and indeed, an everyday phenomenon (Bown and Okedara 1981). One begins to learn at birth and stops at death. It is the practice in which adults engage in self-directed activities in order to gain new forms of knowledge, skills, traditions, attitudes, customs or values.

There are structures and systems (some more formal) through which individuals learn throughout life. Learning continues to be carried out in the following domains: Environmental Education; Community Development; Social Work; Consumer Education; Citizenship Education; Peace and War Education; Preventive Education; Prison or Correctional Centre Education; Political Education; Family Life Education; Open and Distance Learning and Geriatric and Ageing Education (adapted from Obashoro-John 2013, 5). Such a diverse range of forms of education can fairly readily be incorporated into the four above thematic areas of lifelong learning.

The 2014 edition of the National Policy on Education and the National Blueprint for Adult and Non-Formal Education in Nigeria provides for adult and non-formal education as an instrument for lifelong education. Although there are other activities which can be termed adult education, the National Policy on Education identified mass literacy, remedial, continuing, vocational, aesthetic, cultural and civic education as the key components of adult and non-formal education in Nigeria.

There is no doubt that the National Policy for Mass Education and Literacy is built on the need to provide adult basic education for the high numbers of Nigerian youths and adults as expressed in the Universal Basic Education (UBE) goals and policy. The Nigerian Government operates and coordinates the activities of adult education through the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education (NMEC) established in 1990. However, the Nigerian National Council for Adult Education (NNCAE), an association of academics in the practice of Adult Education, plays an advocacy role for improving policy formulation and implementation as well as programme development and delivery.

4.2 Policy Related to Older Adult Learning/Education

Nigerian policy on education has experienced modifications over the years to accommodate seniors. The first edition of the National Policy on Education was published in 1977; the second and third editions were published in 1981 and 1993 respectively. The dynamics of social change, innovations and their demands on education informed the review of the third edition in 1998. The fourth edition was in 2004; the fifth edition was published in 2007 while the sixth edition compiled in 2013, was published in 2014. The sixth edition highlights the objectives of mass literacy, adult and non-formal education as follows:

> Mass literacy, adult and non-formal education encourages all forms of functional education given to youths and adults outside the formal school system, such as functional literacy, remedial and vocational education. The goals of Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal education shall be to:
> i) Provide functional literacy and continuing education for adults and youths who have never had the advantage of formal education or who did not complete their primary education. These include the nomads, migrant families, the disabled and other categories or groups, especially the disadvantaged gender.
> ii) Provide functional and remedial education to young people who did not complete secondary school.
> iii) Provide education for different categories of completers of the formal education system in order to integrate basic knowledge and skills.
> iv) Provide in-service, on-the-job, vocational and professional training for different categories of workers and professionals in order to improve their skills; and
> v) Give the adult citizens of the country necessary aesthetic, cultural and civic education for public enlightenment (FNR 2014, 19).

In line with these goals, the NMEC operates on the components of the Policy Guidelines to enable youths and adults acquire skills and knowledge in the spirit of lifelong learning and with the possibilities for mainstreaming into the formal sector. However, specific mention of older adults is missing in the above account. Perhaps «other categories or groups» may suggest connection to seniors. In the official discourse, programmes are designed to encourage flexibility, inclusiveness and equity, greater problem-solving ability, self-reliance and community participation. Programme offerings are generally in the areas of basic literacy, post literacy, functional literacy, vocational education, continuing education and workers' education (NMEC 2017).

5. Motivation and Participation in Nigerian later Life Learning

Seniors' participation in later life learning in Nigeria is motivated by human needs identified here and elsewhere (Withnall 2010; Merriam and Bierema 2014) to improve the general quality of life; earn a living in retirement, especially in situations where there are no pension packages; desire to respond to growing demands of life, especially social change, social media and technological expertise. Learning at this period is to acquire new knowledge and skills for more meaningful activities in later life. Participation of older adults in diverse activities (identified above) enables them to develop at a personal level, contribute as active citizens and to be less marginalised in day-to-day life (Desjardins 2011). For some, training and development in information technology places them more favourably for employment, whether for payment or voluntary.

In accord with the purposes of lifelong learning, later life learning/education can have many benefits be they physical, mental, social, emotional and economic, ranging from better health, sustained cognitive functioning, enhanced

personal well-being and as a protector against social marginalisation. It can support the functioning of democratic systems and provide greater opportunities for older adults to find new or better employment (Schuller and Watson 2009). It can encapsulate the idea that learning is a lifelong process and that it is never too early or too late to start learning new things. It may have a positive effect on young people through appropriate modelling and encourage them to continue learning throughout their lives. When aligned to active ageing, lifelong learning promotes engagement of older people in the activities of the mainstream of society, avoiding invisibility (Braun 2022).

Barriers to participation have been categorised in dispositional, institutional and situational (Cross 1981; Deggs and Boeren 2020). The more overt barriers reside in the latter two categories; for instance, institutions whose marketing is unresponsive to the needs of citizens, especially older people. Even within the institution, the methods for teaching and learning may be unattractive to elders.

Although learning in later life may be hindered by poor access to required education, lack of infrastructure, increasing displacement of people including older persons; diminishing social and economic activities with implications for intergenerational functioning, learning and relationships; poverty, disability, inequality and ageism, there is a need to eliminate these problems to give room for adequate and appropriate learning in later years. Aside from these mainly situational barriers, the dispositional barriers are typically the hardest to combat as they reflect attitudes and orientations to learning of older adults themselves ingrained across a lifetime, most of which are detrimental. Nigeria is no exception.

6. Ageing and Learning in a Nigerian Context

Ageing is a multifaceted process involving interlocking systems (physical, psychological, social, cultural). During this process, biological changes occur which may lead to decreases in physical and cognitive abilities. Despite the resultant physical changes, challenges and limitations of later years, it can still be a time of new learning, creativity and potential development (Obashoro 2007). The ability to learn continues throughout life and is strongly influenced by interests, activities, experiences and sources of information.

Social conditions identified at a much earlier time (Cowgill and Holmes 1972), remain relevant today. They are: older persons always constitute a minority within the total population; in an older population, females outnumber males; widows comprise a high proportion of an older population; in all societies some people are classified as 'old' and are treated differently because they are so classified; there is a widespread tendency for people defined as old to shift (either voluntarily or by coercion) to more sedentary, advisory or supervisory roles involving less physical exertion and they may become more concerned with group maintenance than with economic production. In most societies, older persons continue to act as political, judicial and civic leaders; cultural mores prescribe some mutual responsibility between old people and their adult children; and all societies value life and seek to prolong it even in old age. Given the more

than 50 years since the description by Cowgill and Holmes, some traditional roles and societal expectations have altered the Nigerian social landscape. As explored later in this chapter, family dynamics and expectations have changed dramatically (see under Intergenerational Learning).

With regard to training and lifelong learning, the Policy on Ageing has promised to

- build work capacities of older workers;
- provide public education;
- provide skills training for alternate employment and reduce the risk of exclusion or dependency in later life;
- ensure that older persons have access to continuous education, training, retraining as well as vocational guidance and placement;
- develop and strengthen strategies that encourage older persons' participation as educators and trainers;
- increase the understanding and awareness of ageing issues through education and training;
- ensure the full utilization of the potentials and expertise of all ages recognizing the benefits of increased experience with age;
- introduction of gerontology at all levels of education (FRN 2020, 36, 40-41).

Hence, the policy is supportive of all forms of learning related to the four thematic areas of lifelong learning. Some priority to gerontological issues is included in this list.

7. An External influence on Nigerian (Older Adult) Education

In the Nigerian context, learning in later years has always been guided by the considerations of the principles of andragogy in relation to learning. Malcolm Knowles popularised the concept andragogy as the central theory of adult learning in the 1970s by defining andragogy as «the art and science of helping adults learn» (1984, 6). In brief, the principles of andragogy are summarised as the need to learn; development of a learner self-concept; the role of the experience; readiness to learn; and orientation to learning. Further, Knowles is acknowledged for the design of an andragogical process (1984, 17-18) as follows:

- Climate setting for conducive learning;
- Involving learners in mutual planning;
- Involving participants in diagnosing their own needs for learning;
- Involving learners in formulating their learning objectives;
- Involving learners in designing learning plans;
- Helping learners carry out their learning plans;
- Helping learners in evaluating their learning.

These principles and processes were initially accepted in many countries based on their humanistic stance where the (older) adult learner took central stage, not the teacher. Subsequently, the limitations of this approach have become quite obvious. In particular, Knowles has erroneously assumed that there is a generic adult learner. In Nigeria, as elsewhere, older people live in specific conditions with both unique individual characteristics and personalities shaped by the over-riding socio-cultural context. Knowles shows little awareness of differential power and the notion that education can be controlling as well as liberating. Hence, using a Knowlesian approach to the teaching-learning dynamic is to be implemented with due caution.

Generally speaking, despite the knowledge of various theories on older adult learning, the practice of adult learning in Nigeria has been largely influenced by the thought and principles of andragogy. Personal experience of the Nigerian author points to pockets of the use of the Freirean approach for community development activities but this is hardly extensive (Freire 1984).

8. Intergenerational Learning

One of the sites for real hope in an ageist society such as Nigeria is the fostering of genuine intergenerational communication and learning. Intergenerational learning is the process that offers opportunities for people of different generations, ages and groups (multigenerational) to learn together and from one another. According to Sharma (2017), intergenerational learning is the learning of knowledge and skills by two generations for the benefit of each other as well as of society. It is not intra-generational learning where learning sessions are arranged for persons of comparable or similar age. It is a collective obligation which ensures learning access for everyone. Everyone can be both learner and teacher because it is built on collaborative inquiry, updating, co-learning and co-production with multiple mutual benefits. With intergenerational learning, people learn from situations that arise on daily basis, from the behaviour, expectations, questions, words and silences of all around; learning is possible from results, materials and facts (DVV International 2019). Intergenerational learning may occur between generations or people of two or more living generations. The target population for intergenerational learning may include all citizens irrespective of age, role, status, abilities and dispositions.

Intergenerational learning, as an important adjunct to lifelong learning, has multiple potential benefits. It denotes relevance of learning for seniors, encourages continuous learning, and helps avoid obsolescence; and it can help to interrogate current global events, legacies, past experiences, life histories of past generations required for future knowledge and skills. It allows us to understand and adopt new or emerging ideas and work through new challenges in changing environment, circumstances and exposures. It can be directed at significant stressors such as cognitive decline of older persons in the family, immigration, redundancy, and caregiving needs together with improved communications skills in relation to younger generations and other matters that may appear in

the course of life. In the domain of career journeys, intergenerational learning may reduce segregation or non-inclusiveness and support inclusivity (Schmidt-Hertha et al. 2014). Across generational communication, learning is necessary to upskill, acquire transferable skills (from one work environment to another), to encourage younger generations to acquire new skills and older generations to foster a positive approach to new career paths, adopt skills to late careers and take on new roles and career responsibilities (Beatty and Visser 2005). In its broadest conception, it can focus on building bridges across the generational divide, closing the gaps created by age segregation and engender learning experiences through collaborative everyday activities.

One major part of the Nigerian society is the extended family with well-defined social roles and responsibilities for different age groups. Parental care is given until adulthood when the adult child begins to care for older members in terms of livelihood. Older persons offer advice and ideas, give moral support, take care of children and teach values, skills as well as family/community folklores since they are regarded as the reservoir of wisdom in all cultural, historical and practical realms. This is expressed in the proverbs:

> the hand of the child cannot reach the shelf just as the hand of the elder cannot get through the neck of the gourd.
>
> an old hare suckles from the young (Yoruba, Nigeria proverbs).

These stress the expectation in terms of intergenerational exchange of roles.

Adult children had a strong sense of family responsibility for older family members as a sign of being grateful for earlier care received. As urbanisation and foreign migration – *Japa Syndrome* (a term for mass migration of individuals and families) – increase, the traditional family care for older persons continues to weaken. At the same time, the expected role in old age such as rearing grandchildren continues to decline just as obligations and filial piety continue to decrease; adult children devise new ways of handling those social roles performed by elders including childminding (Arber and Timonen 2012; Obashoro 2016).

Owing to the increasing numbers of older persons and the eroding extended family, kinship and other traditional support systems, the National Senior Citizens Centre Act, 2018 came into being in Nigeria. It promises to offer training packages and programmes in the context of lifelong learning; provide a fortified support system for the ageing population and recreational activities to enhance intergenerational interaction and cooperation.

9. Recommendations

Owing to the importance and benefits of learning in later years as well as ensuring that older adults have access to the support and resources they need to continue learning throughout their lives, in accord with international guidelines (UNESCO 2022), it is imperative for governments to:

- provide financial support for programmes and initiatives that organisations and educational institutions offer to promote later life learning opportunities. This can include support for adult education programmes, vocational training and other lifelong learning opportunities;
- create policies and regulations to promote later life learning such as discounted tuition fees, grants and subsidised education costs or participation fees; tax incentives for organisations/employers who engage in staff training and professional development for older workers;
- build and maintain infrastructures such as libraries, museums, community cultural and learning centres where older adults can access educational resources and activities.

Concluding Remarks

Learning in later years will, almost always, enhance the physical and mental well-being of older persons, shape healthy ageing and remove the feeling of isolation as a result of any intellectual disengagement and social isolation. Learning in later life should help to address significant social issues. These may include issues related to demographic transitions, social shifts, housing and living arrangements (independent living, varied living patterns, co-residence), employment, health care, social protection, transportation, intergenerational solidarity and family structures.

From an optimistic stance, learning in later adult years may build new roles in the family; allow for participation in childcare and contributions to family finances, civic engagement, volunteerism, and create a deeper sense of happiness and fulfilment.

It will be beneficial for Nigerian society to invest in adult learning and education (ALE), enhance lifelong learning (LLL) for skills acquisition required in the labour market and to foster continual mental and cognitive capacities, active and healthy ageing, and at a societal level for all generations to understand economic conditions associated with ageing. There is need to encourage the culture of learning in adult years for healthy lifestyles and promote the effective use of leisure which should reduce healthcare costs, enhance well-being and help societal resilience in the face of political, social and economic crises.

Recalling the four themes of lifelong learning, strengthening the notion that older adults can contribute effectively to the workforce where benefits accrue at both individual and societal spheres is an imperative. Fostering self-improvement and family/community interaction should heighten eagerness to acquire more knowledge, even in older age, enhance learning for the sake of learning or the refinement of knowledge already acquired. Discussion on social relations in the course of life should include 'learning to be and learning to live' together. In terms of civic responsibility, programmes should dwell on health rights, generational co-existence, environmental care, civil participation and age friendliness. Finally, but most importantly, the social inclusion of older adults in all facets of

societal development is crucial and would include on-going intergenerational communication and respect.

For these aspirations to be achieved in Nigeria, concerted and sustained efforts of government, institutions, civil society and individuals will be required to appropriately conceptualize, structure, organize, finance and deliver programmes in their entirety to and with persons in their later years.

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UNPF United Nations Population Fund. 2023. *World Population Dashboard, Nigeria*. <http://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population-dashboard>; <https://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population/NG> (2023-07-01).

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CHAPTER 15

Capturing Lifelong Learning Data through International Surveys and Novel Innovative Methods

Ellen Boeren, Catherine Lido

Abstract:

Previous literature has highlighted the predominant use of qualitative research methods within the field of adult education. While a wide range of opportunities to exploit and gather large scale quantitative data are available, these avenues remain underexplored. The aims of this chapter are twofold. First, it familiarises readers with a range of datasets gathered through international survey programmes managed by International Governmental Organisations. Examples include the European Commission's Adult Education Survey, the OECD's Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), UNESCO's Literacy and Assessment Programme (LAMP) and the World Bank's STEP Skills Measurement Programme. It links the existence of these survey programmes to a wider debate on the use of benchmarks and indicators underpinning data-driven policy approaches. Second, it discusses examples of the application of novel and innovative methods that have been used to capture lifelong learning data in real-world projects. It highlights the work undertaken by the University of Glasgow's Urban Big Data Centre, and zooms in on research undertaken within the Integrated Multimedia City Data (iMCD) project. Its work is being discussed against wider developments in relation to the use of 'big data' in the social sciences. Throughout the chapter, we reference the limitations of large survey and innovative data work, such as issues relating to privacy and the difficulties in including hard-to-reach groups. We focus on cooperative work in interdisciplinary teams with colleagues from varying methodological backgrounds who can contribute to projects underpinned by triangulation to provide comprehensive answers to relevant research questions.

Keywords: Big Data; Innovative Methods; International Governmental Organizations; Quantitative Methods; Survey Research

Introduction

This chapter discusses a range of methodologies and methods to collect and analyse data, informing the evidence-base for a wide variety of topics relevant to lifelong learning. While the methodological literature discusses the complexity of research approaches in relation to aspects of epistemology and ontology,

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Ellen Boeren, Catherine Lido, *Capturing Lifelong Learning Data through International Surveys and Novel Innovative Methods*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.22, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 207-219, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

they tend to be structured under the broad categories of quantitative, qualitative or mixed-methods designs. Previous research demonstrates that empirical research in the field of adult and lifelong learning tends to be predominantly qualitative in nature (Boeren 2018). Publications in leading academic journals are dominated by scholars from the Global North, specifically those working in the Anglophone world (Fejes and Nylander 2019). As a trailblazing leader of Adult Education and literacy work in the Global South, Professor Lalage Bown contributed to policy and practice in raising standards and aspirations surrounding adult literacy and lifelong learning engagement, especially for women in lower income countries (Bown 1990). Thus, this chapter contributes to the onward call for interdisciplinary metrics to assess and promote equitable and inclusive lifelong learning worldwide.

Despite a higher volume of published work drawing on qualitative research paradigms, opportunities to engage with quantitative data are presently widening with the push towards open and reusable datasets and the wider Open Science Framework (OSF)[1]. In recent decades, international governmental organisations, such as the Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD), UNESCO, the European Commission and the World Bank, have launched large-scale comparative survey programmes to influence lifelong learning policymaking through benchmarks and indicators, in a world increasingly dominated by metrics. At the same time, novel innovative methods have entered the research field, with our social and educational lives increasingly played out in real-time through social media, app-based services, and online and open learning platforms. The rapids shift to online learning due to the Covid-19 pandemic has increased policy, practice and debates around effective online andragogies for adult learners, as well as how best to capture engagement in and successful outcomes of formal, non-formal and informal online learning (UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning 2012). It is expected such learning offerings in less formal spaces, will continue to expand in the next few years. This ability to engage in and track such learning is already driven by Artificial Intelligence, alongside access to 'big data' from automated systems and platforms, including social media and data registers.

The aim of this chapter is to familiarise the reader with the opportunities available to researchers to engage with existing large-scale survey data, as well as a range of novel innovative data, often 'big data', occurring naturalistically which may offer further methods to lifelong learning research. We will discuss their benefits, potential limitations, and ethical implications. We start this chapter with the focus on large-scale surveys. We then zoom in on novel innovative methods. We conclude this chapter with reflections on ways to strengthen the research field through embracing the availability of triangulating diverse data and research approaches.

[1] <www.osf.io> (2023-07-01).

1. International Governmental Organisations and Their Survey Programmes

International governmental organisations are at the forefront of influencing adult and lifelong learning policies. Their histories and roles have been widely discussed in the international literature, debating the importance of key reports such as UNESCO's 1972 Faure's Report *Learning to Be* or the European Commission's 1996 Delors' Report *Learning: The Treasure within* (see Elfert and Rubenson 2023). Apart from their contribution to shape policy discourses and actions, they have taken an active role in producing data to stimulate evidence-based decision-making. The acceleration of these data-driven ways of influencing has been labelled as a 'governance by numbers' approach (Ball 2017). Data collected for these purposes are not only used for policy purposes but can also be accessed by researchers across the world. Nowadays, dominated by Open Access policies, ready-made spreadsheets can mostly be downloaded for free, although sometimes upon formal registration. The use of data collected by someone else for re-analysis is typically referred to as 'secondary data analysis' (Smith 2008). These data can also be qualitative in nature. For example, researchers can deposit interview transcripts for re-analysis by their colleagues.

The use of secondary data can come with several limitations (see Bell et al. 2019). There might be a mismatch between a researcher's variables of interest and the data available in certain datasets, limiting the useability of the data. Given the data have already been collected by someone else, the researcher has less control over its data quality. Data might be affected by measurement or sampling errors. Opponents of quantitative data approaches will question the idea of reducing social sciences subjects to numbers. However, re-analysing data for research purposes comes with several advantages. Large-scale comparative survey programmes come with a huge financial cost and are typically administered over several years. The same volume of data would be difficult to generate in an academic context. Most large-scale survey programmes come with detailed methodological manuals to provide transparency on research procedures. The availability of the data provides researchers with more time to analyse the data. Additionally, these databases can be used to engage in more advanced statistical modelling and to test theories empirically, contributing to the social sciences knowledge base. While each methodology or method comes with advantages and disadvantages, secondary data analysis does not have to be a standalone research approach. It can be used in combination with other methods, increasing the overall quality of the research through triangulation.

Below, we discuss examples of survey programmes relevant to adult and lifelong learning and provide links to their websites for further engagement. While a wide range of surveys are available, the leading ones are discussed here, structured according to the International Governmental Organization that is leading them.

European Commission – Since 2000, Europe has formulated benchmarks and indicators to stimulate progress in education and training (Holford et al. 2023). In relation to lifelong learning, the Commission wanted Member States

to achieve a benchmark of 12.5 percent participation among adults aged 25 to 64 by 2010. This benchmark increased to 15 percent to achieved by 2020. These percentages were modelled on a four weeks' reference period, based on the format of data collected with the quarterly *Labour Force Survey* (LFS). A new benchmark has now been defined to capture participation on a 12 months' basis. This reference period has now been included in LFS. While LFS remains the core survey to track participation across representative samples of the population, additional survey instruments were designed to delve deeper into aspects of adult education. The *Adult Education Survey* (AES) was initially undertaken by Eurostat in the period 2005-08 and is widely known as a pilot study (Boeren 2014). Additional AES rounds have been carried out in 2011 and 2016. A new survey is underway but was delayed because of the COVID-19 pandemic. The United Kingdom did not participate in this new survey given their departure from the European Union following the Brexit referendum. AES differs from LFS as it collects information on a wider range of relevant adult education variables. This includes detailed reasons to participate to measure adults' learning motivation and potential barriers preventing adults from participation. The AES also collects information on participation in activities that incorporate examples of informal learning. Several questions dig deeper into the cost of participation and who pays the tuition fees and other relevant costs. The questionnaire also zooms in on participation in socio-cultural activities. Respondents in the AES are of typical working age and samples are meant to be representative for the adult population in their countries. The survey is cross-sectional. This means that different adults take part in the various rounds and are thus not followed up over time.

While the focus of AES is thus on the individual, Eurostat collects data to measure the stimulation of participation in the workplace as part of the *Continuing Vocational Training Survey* (CVTS)[2]. Not the employees themselves, but their employers are asked to complete the survey (Wiseman and Parry 2017). CVTS is carried out in businesses with at least 10 employees. Questions collect information on the accessibility of learning opportunities for staff, the time that is foreseen for them to participate and what financial incentives are available to them. Like AES, CVTS is not carried out every single year. The latest CVTS round was also delayed because of the COVID-19 pandemic and does no longer include data for the United Kingdom.

OECD – The OECD is well-known for its testing of cognitive skills among 15-year-old pupils as part of PISA – the Programme for International Student Assessment. However, it has a similar tradition in testing adult skills. The International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) and the Adult Literacy and Life Skills

[2] Weblinks to surveys: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/microdata/adult-education-survey>; <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/microdata/european-union-labour-force-survey>; <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/microdata/continuing-vocational-training-survey> (2023-07-01).

Survey (ALL) were administered in 1994 and 1998 (IALS) and 2003 and 2007 (ALL). "PIAAC – the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies" – rolled out a first Cycle in 2012 with a second Cycle currently being administered (Valiente and Lee 2020). New data are expected to be released at the end of 2024. PIAAC includes young adults from the age of 16 onwards and focuses on adults of typical working age. Its main aim is to gather data to provide an evidence-base on the state-of-art in developing a strong human capital base for ongoing economic competitiveness. PIAAC country samples are meant to be representative. Data are collected across the world but feature countries in the Global North. The second Cycle of PIAAC is taking place in the following countries: Austria, Belgium (Flanders), Canada, Chile, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom (England), United States.

PIAAC is a valuable resource for researchers studying adult and lifelong learning and adds to insights from AES given its focus on the direct measurement of cognitive skills, more specifically literacy, numeracy and problem-solving in technology rich environments. These direct assessments are supplemented with a questionnaire as part of the Survey of Adult Skills. The background questionnaire collects data on typical socio-economic and socio-demographic variables but also on participation in adult learning. Like AES, further information is collected on reasons to participate and barriers preventing it. Apart from the direct measurement of skills, the survey asks respondents to indicate their use of skills relating to, for example, reading, writing and undertaking calculations at home and in the workplace. The new PIAAC cycle includes additional modules on psychosocial skills and has an optional employers' survey[3].

Apart from the availability of Public Use Files, the OECD has also prepared a standardised skills assessment tool for which colleagues can purchase access codes. This can be used for employers to assess their workforce but could also be used for researchers to test specific target groups whose numbers might be too small within the existing datasets.

World Bank – PIAAC is mainly carried out in countries in the Global North. The OECD rolled out a PISA for Development Programme to assess skills of pupils in the Global South. The World Bank organised the "STEP Skills Measurement Program" (STEP) to measure adult skills in low- and middle-income countries.[4] The design of the skills measurement component was modelled on PIAAC but limited to literacy skills (Liu et al. 2019). Additional survey modules included data collection on personality traits, skills use and socio-economic and socio-demographic background characteristics, including living standards.

[3] Weblink to PIAAC: <https://www.oecd.org/skills/piaac/> (2023-07-01).

[4] Weblink to STEP: <https://microdata.worldbank.org/index.php/collections/step> (2023-07-01).

STEP was run as a household survey between 2012 and 2017 but also included an employer survey to further assess aspects of labour market structures and practices such as hiring. It also contained modules on skills needs, aspects relating to training and details on the businesses' productivity. Sampling was undertaken with (young) adults between the ages of 15 to 64 in urban areas of the participating countries. Data are publicly available for Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bolivia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Colombia, Georgia, Ghana, Kenya, Kosovo, Lao PDR, Macedonia, Serbia, Sri Lanka, Ukraine, Vietnam, and the Yunnan Province in China.

UNESCO – UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) hosts a wide range of databases presented within wider themes relating to (1) Education & Literacy, (2) Science, Technology & Innovation, (3) Culture, (4) Communication & Information and (5) Demographic & Socio-Economic data. These databases are valuable resources in tracking countries' progress towards fulfilling the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). While UNESCO's headquarters are in Paris, the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL) is based in Hamburg. Data about the state-of-art of adult learning and education has been collected and analysed by them in a systematic way over the last 15 years. One of the outcomes of the CONFINTEA VI conference in Belem was to monitor aspects of the field at regular intervals and to report these results in Global Reports on Adult Learning and Education (GRALE) (Boeren and Rubenson 2022). This was done through surveys with UNESCO Member States' contact points and was largely structured around the five areas of the Belem Framework for Action (BFA): (1) Policy, (2) Governance, (3) Finance, (4) Participation, Equality and Inclusion, and (5) Quality. Unlike household surveys presented above, the GRALE survey contains one set of responses per country. Representatives are asked to indicate their opinions on progress made (or not) towards these five areas of the BFA. Additionally, some of the information is tailored towards the categorisation of adult learning provision as agreed as part of the Recommendation for Adult Learning and Education (RALE): (1) basic skills and literacy education, (2) continuing and vocational education and training and (3) popular, liberal and active citizenship education. Datasets are publicly available on the UIL website or available upon request and can be used for further research purposes. A renewed commitment to monitoring aspects of adult learning and education was formalised as part of the Marrakesh Framework for Action, signed as the outcome of CONFINTEA VII.

Another project of interest to researchers in adult education is "LAMP – the Literacy Assessment and Monitoring Programme"[5]. This programme was launched in 2003 (Guadalupe and Cardoso 2011). Assessment instruments were field tested in 10 countries and officially administered in four countries: Jordan, Mongolia, Palestine and Paraguay. Countries that took part in the field testing

[5] Weblinks to GRALE and LAMP: <https://uil.unesco.org/adult-education/global-report>; <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000217138> (2023-07-01).

were Afghanistan, Morocco, Lao PDR, Niger, El Salvador and Vietnam. While LAMP was thus launched 20 years ago, further work has been undertaken to develop mini-LAMP. This programme has been designed as a cost-effective tool to assess skills, using a ready-made test package with 15 literacy and numeracy test items.

Having introduced and briefly discussed core examples of leading surveys available for secondary data analysis, we now turn to examples of lifelong learning research that has used novel and innovative methods with a focus on work within the University of Glasgow, testament to foundations that Lalage Bown laid during her tenure as professor of adult education.

2. Novel Innovative Data and Methods

The Urban Big Data Centre was launched at the University of Glasgow in 2015 as part of the Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC) investment in 'big data', and it was specifically funded to promote the use of big and novel data, analysed using innovative research methods, with the aim to improve social, economic and environmental well-being in urban environments. The centre, now co-funded by the University of Glasgow, meets these social aims through various free and open services, including access to their data collections and services, promoting cutting edge data science teaching and researcher capacity building, and through evidencing world-leading, impactful Urban Research[6]. Within the centre, the Educational Disadvantage and Place team led by researchers within the Centre for Research and Development in Adult and Lifelong Learning (CR&DALL) has built on existing work exploring educational inequalities through a lifelong lens (e.g. Marmot et al. 2020), by evidencing associations of lifelong learning and place with Health, Economics, Sustainability, Engaged Citizenship, and Cultural Literacy & Education.

The team have published widely regarding blurring the lines between qualitative and quantitative data, particularly when using big and/or innovative data (Osborne and Lido 2015; Lido et al. 2020). We operationalise the concept of Big Data for educational purposes in line with Eynon's (2013) 'Various Vs'- Volume, Velocity and Variety, including emphasis on Value and Veracity. For instance when considering existing, naturalistic secondary data, such as Social Media data, we might suggest that Tweets are large in volume, quick in velocity, diverse in variety, but the extent to which they add value and veracity to the research question at hand may depend on the research questions and frameworks.

Nevertheless, such social media data may complement large-scale survey data often lodged in data archives. The social media example of Twitter data illustrates the line where harvesting large-scale tweets on a particular topic may be analysed even quantitatively but with an experiential or discursive interpretation (Lido et al. 2020). When data become large or are occurring in real-time,

[6] <www.ubdc.ac.uk> (2023-07-01).

the boundaries blur, and the methodological approach may move away from pre-approved statistical tests, such as those registered with OSF, to looking for patterns within patterns emerging naturally within the data, such as viewed using heat maps (see Fig. 1) or social network maps. Such triangulated data and visualisations can be seen in our VisNET project[7], which provided Virtual in Situ Networking to support early career women in academic STEM with their network and digital footprint growth, increasingly relevant to address growing gendered inequalities in a post-Covid world (Cebula et al. 2021). A divergent example might be the archived Tweets of Donald Trump[8], which offer both quantitative assessed metrics and social network maps, as well as rich discursive messages. Both of these themes around addressing gendered inequalities and wider political social justice concerns demonstrate themes Professor Bown dedicated her life to advancing in policy and practice.

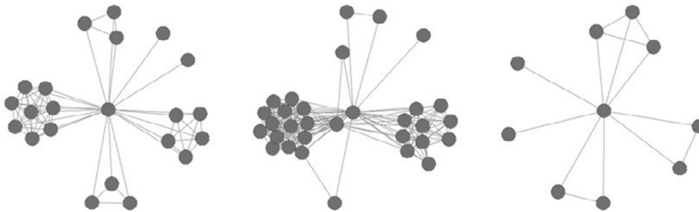

Figure 1 – VisNET Project- Early career researcher social network maps demostrating clustering in lab groups (EPSRC Inclusion Matters EP/S012079/1).

Researchers employing existing novel datasets to better inform lifelong learning policy and practice, after identifying the problem at hand, might next consider the types of learning metrics that might inform this issue- for instance when thinking about adult education inequalities, say gender inequalities in STEM we might search for existing data on formal (e.g. achievement on qualifications), non-formal (e.g. engagement on structured learning but not for qualification), and informal (self-directed learning, e.g. online unstructured or public-facing learning). From this, one can then consider the types of secondary data which may exist on this topic, starting with a search of national data archives (e.g. through the UK Data Service), which often hosts large-scale surveys and reusable qualitative data on a given topic. Moving from here, we could consider further whether there are any big naturally occurring data on the topic, specifi-

7 VisNET Project funding details <https://gow.epsrc.ukri.org/NGBOViewGrant.aspx?GrantRef=EP/S012079/1> (2023-07-01).

8 Trump Twitter Archive. <https://www.thetrumparchive.com/> (2023-07-01).

cally 'big' or novel data which meets the 'Various Vs' and includes a range from sensor/ tap card type data, to massive online open learning (MOOC) type data.

> Big Data may be numerically large or beyond the capacity of most relational database systems to manage. More significantly, it may be continuous (in real-time) with ongoing data collection, or it may be 'big' due to the complexity of the data themselves and the need for novel methods to capture, analyse, interpret and visualise. Data-sets are becoming bigger and more open, and it is important to tap into such resources to improve our knowledge of city-wide participation (Lido et al. 2016, 494).

3. IMCD: An Example of Innovative Data Strand Triangulation

Triangulation is the analytical process of comparing findings from more than one perspective, this could be multi-method, comparing data findings within a single paradigm (e.g. qualitative interpretivist), or mixed-methods, integrating diverse paradigms (e.g. combinging quantitative and qualitative findings (Bryman 2015). Common approaches may include a survey complemented by interview findings in a mixed-methods design, but increasingly secondary data can act as wider contextual data for triangulation, particularly for older learning and less formal learning undertaken in later stages of life which is more difficult to capture (Lido et al. 2016). The triangulation stage itself involves, looking for commonalities and divergences amongst the different methodological results, and this process can be taken further to look for patterns within patterns of diverse data strands such as advocated by Symphonic Social Science (Halford and Savage 2017).

As an exemplar, we offer the triangulated outputs of the Integrated Multimedia City Data (iMCD) project within UBDC, a 2015 project designed to provide an open access, multi-stranded dataset of urban life in the Greater Glasgow region (1.2m population). It integrated multi-modal data as pictured, including person-level self-reported surveys and travel diaries, alongside sensor data such as GPS tracks and lifelogging camera images, linkable to external data sources, including deprivation indices, greenspace metrics and social media capture. This was considered a big data capture given the variety and veracity of its linked data strands.

The survey itself used a tripartite approach (Ajzen and Fishbein 1975) to capturing attitudes, literacies and actual behaviours of citizens in the following domains: Education/skills, Sustainability, Transport, Cultural/civic activity and engagement with ICT/technology use. Lido et al. (2020) found, through analysing the survey in combination with linked (albeit imperfect) greenspace metrics, that learning engagement was more likely if you live near greenspace (OR=1.27–2.16), that is if one's household had greenspace access: within 10 min walk of e.g., parks, sports grounds, children's play areas. In addition, household survey, in combination with the Travel Diary and GPS tracks, demonstrated learning engaged people generally walk more often (OR=1.68, 5-7 days per

week), and for longer (21.4 vs 16.4 min), but not significantly so in greenspace. Finally, we explored the GPS tracks qualitatively and inferred , in addition to gendered patterns of mobilities (e.g. at night), learning-engaged (in any form of learning) older women appeared to walk less in greenspace, and more in the city centre, than the non-learning-engaged women, posting implications for 'silver citizen surfers' more educationally, physically, politically and digitally engaged through lifelong learning.

As regards, informal learning in the survey data, we analysed 'Lifewide Literacies', including knowledges beyond reading and maths, in Lido et al. (2016); namely, financial, social, eco and health literacies, as linked to wider socio-demographic data, such as area deprivation and greenspace. We found that all lifewide literacies assessed mediated positive life outcomes, but health literacy fully mediated the effects of social support on general health (Lido et al. 2016). Although all data strands triangulated were quantitative, such multi-method findings offer a holistic view for how less formal adult learning, such as knowledge and empowerment over one's health, can be linked statistically to better life outcomes, such as overall health. For example, Neundorf's (2019) European Research Council (ERC) consolidator grant illustrates pan-European research employing social media related to aspects of civic education, in the context of threats to democracy[9].

Conclusions

This chapter advocates further consideration of novel and innovative data, such as archival and secondary data, alongside creative data collection methods to address increasingly less formal and non-linear trajectories of adult learning. In the spirit of Bown (2000), we call for interdisciplinary approaches to lifelong learning, which blur qualitative and quantitative boundaries, and can better inform policy and practice by triangulating answers to the same adult learning dilemmas posed from multiple theoretical perspectives, particularly around educational inequalities and gendered leadership discourses (Bown 1999). The datasets discussed offer primary and secondary options to 'close the loop' from numbers to lived experiences, and ultimately to result in holistic pictures for policy and practice development. In sum, existing data- whether archival or naturally occurring- not only saves researcher time and money, they offer opportunities for triangulation using interdisciplinarity and diverse data strands, better able to achieve real-world impact.

We acknowledge the very real limitations, particularly of naturally occurring secondary data, such as digital footprints, individually held archive data and sensor data, including privacy tensions (e.g. General Data Protection Regulation). Additionally, policy-makers are increasingly calling for triangulated mixed-methods evidence to inform inclusive learning policy and practice. This has resulted in a push for open data, and more importantly a shift to researching **with**

9 <https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_763914_smxx.pdf> (2023-07-01).

rather than **on** citizens. Ultimately regions and nations need citizens to **want** to engage, to feel heard, and to be included in decision-making processes. The ongoing issue of the need to include hard-to-reach groups was recently recognised by the Economic and Social Research Council, who issued a specific call for proposals on this topic.

In the coming years, Inter-governmental organisations (IGOs) will keep on producing large scale data and new research projects will no doubt be carried out that will contain big data components. To fully profit from the data sources these organisations and projects will produce, the field will need researchers with strong analytical skills and a growing pool of colleagues who are ready to undertake the challenge of working with these data. One way to support this development is the stronger inclusion of methodological debates within special interest groups in learned societies. While conferences tend to be organised in thematic sessions, grouped around topics of interest, researchers could take the initiative to organise methodological symposia or workshops. Additionally, it will be important to work beyond the boundaries of the subject discipline and to cooperate with colleagues working in areas such as Artificial Intelligence and data visualisation. The triangulation of methodologies and methods is ideally be encouraged to provide more holistic answers to relevant research questions. Lifelong learning is a complex topic that can be studied from a wide range of angles. Answering complex questions might therefore profit from more sophisticated methodological approaches.

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PART IV

Fostering Excellence: Policy Development and Supporting Future Generations of Adult Educators

Co-ordinating Editor: Heribert Hinzen

CHAPTER 16

Developing Adult Educators as Professionals and Adult Education as a Profession: Experiences of DVV International throughout the World and within Several Decades

Maja Avramovska, Sonja Belete, Uwe Gartenschlaeger, Heribert Hinzen, Levan Kvatchadze

Abstract:

In its first part, the article will concentrate on the period when Lalage and DVV International worked almost in parallel in a number of countries with partners in Africa from the 1960s onwards. Both were involved in the professionalisation of adult education and the capacity building of adult educators. The second part looks at recent developments in the DVV International's portfolio with a more global perspective, but with relevance for Africa or deriving from experiences with African partners.

Keywords: Cooperation; Curricula; Institutionalisation; Professionalisation; Research

Prologue – Remembering Professor Lalage Bown

Lalage Bown could be called a mentor, supporter and friend for Heribert Hinzen. In her last letter to him she reminded that she first came to Germany in 1947, at the age of 20, as a member of a group of British university students to meet other students from all over Europe to think about peaceful co-existence with other nations on the continent. One could imagine the twinkle in her eyes mentioning that they worked day and night in a half-ruined hotel in Bonn-Bad Godesberg – where a decade earlier Chamberlain and Hitler had met.

Actually the exchange in this letter was about comparing the UK 100th year celebrations for the Adult Education Report of 1919 by the Ministry of Reconstruction, and the Volkshochschulen (vhs), community learning centers in Ger-

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Maja Avramovska, Sonja Belete, Uwe Gartenschlaeger, Heribert Hinzen, Levan Kvatchadze, *Developing Adult Educators as Professionals and Adult Education as a Profession: Experiences of DVV International throughout the World and within Several Decades*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.24, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 223-238, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

many that became a constitutional matter in 1919, when the Weimar Republic replaced the ousted emperor system (Field and Jenner 2019). Both had supported the anniversaries in their countries, she as a patron of the campaign in the UK speaking at many events, and while in Germany we had to combine it with the 50th anniversary of DVV International (Hinzen and Meilhammer 2022).

Lalage was an external examiner of the Department for Extra-Mural Studies when Heribert joined the University of Sierra Leone as Visiting Professor while he was Director of the DVV Office in Freetown in the 1980s. Paul Fordham followed on Lalage later, and it was a pleasure to work with both of them, drawing on their exceptional broad experiences dealing with students and the University administration, combining critical comments on dissertations with recommendations for further developments of the Department at large. Her experiences hailed back to the 1960s and 1970s, when Lalage served as Professor of Adult Education at several African Universities, including Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda. Together with Olu Tomori she edited *A Handbook of Adult Education for West Africa* (Bown and Tomori 1979), which certainly was a milestone for the adult education field. The wider dissemination was enabled by the DVV Africa Bureau in Accra.

Lalage was a close friend of Helmuth Dolff and DVV (Deutscher Volkshochschul Verband which is the German Adult Education Association). Helmuth served as Director General for 25 years and during that time, especially in the 1970s, they were most successful in building an international adult education movement. Together with Roby Kidd from Canada, Paul Mhaiki from Tanzania and Paul Bertelson from Denmark (seconded to UNESCO) they initiated the foundation of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) in 1973, and Lalage joined as Rapporteur General of the First ICAE World Assembly 1976 in Dar es Salaam (Bown 1976). At that time she was also Editor of *CONVERGENCE. An International Journal of Adult Education* which for many decades was the flagship publication for ICAE, and which is called to a new life by the UNESCO Chair on global adult education at the University of Malta in cooperation with ICAE in 2022 (Hinzen 2022).

Lalage continued to be an important partner for DVV – she joined a research consortium that looked into the university scholarship programme for universities in Africa (Fordham 1998) and she was an enlightening speaker at the BALID conferences (British Association for Literacy in Development) or the Uppingham Seminars which were welcome opportunities used by DVV International colleagues for professional exchange.

1. Early International Orientation of DVV

Reflections on the 100 years of vhs indicated that even as a local movement they were open to international contacts especially as cross-border exchanges or later within twin-city arrangements as part of reconciliation processes. Adult educators who had to emigrate during the Nazi-Regime came back after Second World War had ended. Dutch and Swedish folk high schools hosted the new gen-

eration of adult educators in Germany, and the Allies from the UK and US were engaged in intensive re-education programs, including for members of the vhs (Hinzen and Meilhammer 2022). Integration into an emerging European adult education was important. The European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA) was founded in 1953, and DVV became a strong supporter (Ebner 2019).

The early 1960s saw the end of colonialism in a number of African countries. Germany had lost its colonies already at the end of First World War while the Commonwealth of Nations kept Britain closer to the independence struggles and the new countries with their Governments. It was the time when different ways of international cooperation came up in the form of so-called development aid. In Germany a Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) was founded alongside the Foreign Office. Both Ministries invited DVV to help by providing professional services in adult education through literacy, community and rural development and the training of adult educators, facilitated through embassies and government officials (Hinzen 1994).

A major programme at the time was a joint initiative of the Ghörde residential vhs and DVV in the capacity building for more than 300 adult educators coming from some 20 African countries between 1962 and 1974. They joined a year-long diploma course which had a curriculum including language studies, methods and didactics, administration and management, study trips and placements at local centers (Hinzen and Thamm 2019). In parallel DVV had started country programmes in Ethiopia, Somalia and Zaire, later also Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia which engaged with governmental, civil society and university partners in policy development, production of teaching and learning materials, exchange of staff and infrastructural support. Planning conferences by DVV and its partners on the future of educational aid around 1975, guided by recommendations from several evaluations, were arguing for extensive changes (Hanf and Vierdag 1973). One of those was the closer cooperation with universities in Africa in the training of adult educators, and from 1985 onwards scholarship holders were supported at some ten universities.

2. Continuity and Innovation

The history of DVV International is well documented, especially through reflections when it came to anniversaries like the first 25 years (Hinzen 1994) or when 40 years had been reached (Samlowski 2009). An excellent overview on DVV International with many examples is provided in the commemorative book on *50 Years DVV International. Half a Century of Adult Education* (Hirsch et al. 2019)[1].

2.1 Countries and Projects

The African continent has been and continued to be a priority for cooperation of DVV International from the early 1960s till even today. The countries

[1] Available for free at <www.dvv-international.de> (2023-07-01).

changed and, in addition to those mentioned above, work was especially made in Angola, Madagascar, South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and also Guinea, Mali, Morocco and Malawi; these countries, in turn, were influential for DVV International and its development. Colleagues within DVV joined international debates on adult education for development. One such example was the article "Cooperating or Campaigning for Literacy: Let's Remove Doubtful Promises and Cope with the Practicable" (Horn et al. 1983) in the journal *Adult Education and Development*; it received a controversial but substantial feedback and helped sharpen the view which later was more in depth reflected in looking at multiple expressions of literacies.

One could argue that some of the contacts and project work of DVV International with African countries and partners go back to the last five decades, and experiences gained in adult learning and education (ALE) remained influential even for the work today. An interesting example for this perspective is looking back to 50 years of contacts with Tanzania in an article on "Tanzanian and German Cooperation in Adult Learning and Education for Development: A Historical Legacy of 50 Years Told Through the Roles of Programmes, Personalities and DVV International" (Heinze and Hinzen 2021). Starting contacts and bilateral cooperation in the 1970s with the Institute of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam, support to the Ministry of Education and their literacy campaigns, followed a break for some time, re-opening channels via the Regional Office in Addis Ababa and a new turn when the Regional Office moved to Dar es Salaam. The broader perspective of those 50 years of adult education experiences in Tanzania in policy and practice was extensively presented and discussed during the conference *Revitalising Adult Education for Sustainable Development* at the University of Dar es Salaam (Bhalalusesa et al. 2021).

2.2 Evaluations and Studies

During the late 1990s up to 2005 some far-reaching evaluations were initiated by DVV International, like those on decentralisation in Guinea (Lamin and Salah 2003); HIV/AIDS, learners and poverty reduction in South Africa (Pandy 2004); or the cooperation of partners in Sierra Leone (Thompson et al. 2004).

Paul Fordham was invited to take the lead for an evaluation with a team built from African and international experts which studied the scholarship programme of DVV International and cooperation with universities – up to 1997 some 11.000 students had benefitted. The research team consisted of Clarice Davies and Christiane Kayser for Southern Africa, Paul Fordham and Tilahun Workineh for East and Central Africa, and Lalage Bown with Alice Owango for West Africa. The recommendations guided in linking training with the practice of educating adults, the development of teaching and learning materials, the relevance of curricula, the recognitions of qualifications, and the academic training and staff development (Fordham 1998). The evaluation helped to shape the future of cooperation with African universities, and the focused use of scholarships for short- and long-term studies (Hildebrand 2001).

Those years saw also a deeper cooperation of DVV International with the Human Development Sector of the World Bank. Two examples should be mentioned: John Oxenham led the team consisting of Abdul Hamid Diallo, Anne Ruhweza Katahoire, Anna Petkova-Mwangi and Oumar Sall for a study on "Skills and Literacy Training for Better Livelihoods. A Review of Approaches and Experiences" (Oxenham et al. 2002). The comparison looked at livelihood programmes which were enriched by literacy and numeracy, and in turn at literacy-led programmes where livelihood components were added.

2.3 Conferences on Poverty and Training

The other area of cooperation was related to adult education and poverty reduction. The World Bank was trying to find convincing arguments for their country poverty reduction strategies, and their Human Development Department was looking at adult education as a potential area as discussed in "Engaging with Adults – The Case for Increased Support to Basic Adult Education in Sub-Saharan Africa" (Lauglo 2001). DVV International published a number of case studies on "Adult Education and Combating Poverty – Experiences from Development Cooperation" (Hinzen and Pollinger 2003) and co-organized a theme-related workshop during the CONFINTEA Mid-term Review in Bangkok in 2003. In 2004 the University of Botswana convened the conference on *Adult Education and Poverty Reduction – A Global Priority* in Gaborone in which more than 200 participants from some 45 countries debated the potentials of adult education and whether there is any evidence and proof of a causal relationship between adult education and poverty reduction (Duke 2004).

Only a year later another major conference on *Capacity Building and the Training of Adult Educators* was held in Capetown in 2005 (Hinzen and Schindele 2006). Presentations on the research studies that had been commissioned were presented by colleagues like Bernard Hagnonnou, Anthony Okech and Stanley Mpofu for Africa as well as Uwe Gartenschlaeger, Mandakini Pant, Chia Mun Onn and Heide Arnaudon for Asia and Pacific; the general report was written by John Aitchison. Frank Youngman in his keynote "Making a Difference: Development Agendas and the Training of Adult Educators" (2006) provided a critical perspective on the slow progress in placing adult education higher on the development agendas and he drew attention to the need for more and better trained adult educators if the far reaching visions could be achieved.

2.4 Publications, Journals and Series

In the early years of the new millennium DVV International supported major publications on adult education in Africa. The University of Namibia was in the lead of the book *The State of Adult and Continuing Education in Africa* (Indabawa et al. 2000) with a total of 21 important chapters like "Setting the Tone of Adult and Continuing Education in Africa" (Omolewa 2000) or "From Adult Education to Lifelong Learning in Southern Africa over the Last Twenty

Years" (Walters and Watters 2000). Those contributions helped tremendously to understand the past decades and provide ideas for the future, and thus serve its purpose even when looking through a lens of today.

The journal *Adult Education and Development* which DVV International published from 1973 till 2018 played also an important role for information and communication, dissemination and discussion. At its peak the journal was produced on the level of 25.000 copies in the languages of English, French and Spanish, with more than 10.000 subscribers in African countries. Its advantage was the free availability, its orientation towards the practice of adult education and the relevance of experiences discussed by practitioners. The databank behind the journal allows interested colleagues till today to search for relevant articles following the indexes of authors, keywords and topics[2]. The publication series International Perspectives in Adult Education was started by DVV International in 1990 and continues till today as a mechanism for global exchange like *Sharing the Fruits of Experience from Guinea and Mali. Adult Basic Education for Participatory and Sustainable Development* (Hildebrand 2009).

The development of the book series African Perspectives on Adult Learning was a joint venture of the UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning (UIL), DVV International and the University of Botswana with Pearson Education as publisher and a first volume in 2005. Frank Youngman served as the Series Managing Editor. The textbooks were written mainly by scholars from African universities and covered important themes like *Management of Adult Education Organisations in Africa* (Nafukho et al. 2011). The books are now available as an open resource[3]. It is an interesting notion and testimony that in the "Foreword" to the first issue the then Director of UIL Adama Ouane wrote:

> The present textbook series, African Perspectives on Adult Learning, represents the outcome of a venture initiated three decades ago by the Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (known by its German acronym as IIZ/DVV [now DVV International]). Bringing together non-governmental and civil society organisations, the DVV turned this venture into a creative partnership with academia, aimed at building the training and research capacities of African universities that serve the adult education community. It has become a means of fruitful cooperation with several leading African universities, all partners being concerned with providing textbooks for university departments and institutes of adult education relevant for the African context. The abiding interest, as well as growing financial support and substantive input of the IIZ/DVV, has provided a key ingredient for the success of this project, along with establishing its potential for expansion (2005, ix).

2 <https://www.dvv-international.de/en/adult-education-and-development/editions> (2023-07-01).

3 <https://uil.unesco.org/adult-education/foundations-adult-education-africa> (2023-07-01).

3. Current Priorities and Challenges

We shall now turn to more recent approaches of DVV International and its partners in the training of adult educators in Africa, and in a number of countries on other continents. In as much as the history and contexts for institutionalisation and professionalisation, especially in capacity building and training of adult educators differ there are still similarities which led DVV International in cooperation with a variety of partners to the development of practice-oriented instruments. Institutionalisation of ALE leads eventually to a stronger support to adult education centres (Avramovska et al. 2017) or community learning centres (CLC) as more widely used (Belete et al. 2022).

Today these instruments are gathered and provided through the ALE Toolbox, available free of cost for everybody globally through the DVV International website. These tools include the Curriculum globALE for the training of adult educators, the Curriculum institutionALE for organisational development, Curriculum interculturALE for the work with migrants and refugees, Curriculum managerALE for directors and coordinators, and the Gender in ALE Toolkit. ALESBA as the Adult Learning and Education System Building Approach is used in several African countries interested in strengthening adult education to play a similar role as other sub-sectors of the education system, including respective ALE policy, legislation and financing from national to local level. The importance of research and studies which provide robust data and statistics is discussed as a necessary component of such ALE development. Beyond the large number of national and regional partners the cooperation with UIL and ICAE is essential.

3.1 Curriculum globALE

The experiences made with the development of the Curriculum globALE (CG) showed that the quite ambitious idea of creating a global curriculum for the pre- and in-service training of adult educators met a certain demand. CG has five modules which deal with different approaches to ALE: adult learning and teaching; communication and group dynamics; methods; planning, organisation and evaluation; some varying topics are mentioned as potential electives. After successful testing and implementation in several countries DVV International decided to continue working in three directions.

First, enriching the existing CG by adding additional modules and materials: according to its concept CG is a competency-oriented framework that leaves it up to the respective implementing team to decide which methods and materials they want to use to implement the curriculum. This seems appropriate for a global tool that is intended to be used in a variety of contexts and cultures, including e.g. higher education institutions as well as local adult education providers. Nevertheless, many partners, especially from Eastern Europe, articulated the wish for additional materials that could be helpful in implementing the curriculum. Responding to this demand, the country office in Bosnia and Herzegovina developed manuals for the five modules. They contain methodological advice

as well as some materials that can facilitate implementation. Other materials to support the implementation are videos that illustrate and comment on the implementation of selected parts from each module as examples. They were produced in Central Asia. Experiences from several regions of the world show that the topic of 'digital education' is chosen very often. By now an additional module has been created on this topic.

Second, by developing more curricula for other target groups within ALE: the success of the CG led to the consideration whether it would make sense to develop such formats for other subject areas as well. As a result, three further curricula were developed and tested:

- Curriculum institutionALE is a framework for analysis and consultation of adult education institutions, with the help of which to plan and implement the organisational development;
- Curriculum interculturALE is a tailor-made intercultural-didactical training course for instructors and volunteer learning guides who work with refugees in low-threshold language courses. The training opens up space where adult educators can reflect on and learn how to tackle challenges like the increasing diversity in the classroom, distress and trauma, language barriers and differences in educational backgrounds of learners;
- The latest member of the family is Curriculum managerALE. It is aimed at executives and coordinators in adult education institutions. The starting point was the observation that the qualification of teachers and trainers often encounters the problem that those entrusted with the leadership and management of institutions also – and perhaps even more urgently – need core competence in both adult education and management. This applies to both state and civil society institutions.

Third, by ensuring that the materials are widely known and used: a platform was created on which all tools, materials and supplements were made centrally accessible, and called the 'ALE Toolbox'[4]. It forms a central platform on which all instruments developed or co-developed by DVV International can be accessed freely. Additionally, the cooperation with UIL provided the opportunity to significantly increase the outreach of the CG. Coordinated by UIL, it was carried out an editorial revision in close cooperation with DVV International, the German Institute for Adult Education (DIE) and ICAE. A group of adult education experts consisting of representatives from all continents provided technical support. As a result, the revised curriculum was recommended to member states for use as a recognised UNESCO instrument.

The achievements and impact of the various efforts in the field of global curriculum development are impressive. In Kyrgyzstan, for example, modules of CG are now being used in at least five universities for training in educational and

[4] <https://www.dvv-international.de/en/ale-toolbox> (2023-07-01).

psycho-social courses. In Laos, a training cycle has given rise to a long-lasting community of practice that not only disseminates andragogical knowledge, but also proves to be very effective in lobbying for the interests of adult education. In Ukraine, and now also in Palestine, the key performance indicators from the Curriculum institutionALE are used to analyse adult education institutions and to define necessary next steps in their further development.

3.2 Adult Learning and Education System Building Approach (ALESBA)

The ALESBA was born and developed out of the frustration of a group of stakeholders involved with ALE programmes in East Africa. The DVV International regional office and partner organisations in Ethiopia and Uganda started to ask questions such as:

- Considering the number and variety of adult and non-formal education programmes offered by governments and civil society, why do the illiteracy and poverty rates remain high in many African countries?
- Why does the ALE system seem unable to deliver quality adult education services and capacity building programmes to youth and adults?
- What constitutes an ALE system? What are the components and how do they relate to each other?
- Does the current work of DVV International and its partners in the East/Horn of Africa region contribute to a sustainable system that can deliver quality services?

Through a series of consultative workshops, analytical processes and meetings conducted with initially mainly our government partners, we realized that our efforts to support the more technical components of adult education in the form of curriculum and material development, training and capacity building, certification, etc. are insufficient and do not address the root causes for poor ALE services and programmes. The same could be said for having a policy or strategy in place. It seemed that our efforts only addressed the symptoms of a poor functioning ALE system (Belete 2020).

This introspective and analytical process started in 2014 and during the course of five years the workshops, training, peer reviews between countries, think tanks and testing of tools and processes culminated through a participatory action learning and research process into what is now known as the ALESBA. The approach was developed jointly by DVV International and partners from all spheres and different sectors of government, universities and civil society. It emanated from the East/Horn of Africa region but as the region and countries started to share experiences with neighbouring regions/countries, interest grew and led to an introductory workshop of the approach to ten African countries in 2019. This workshop provided an opportunity to further test the conceptual framework, phases and selected tools of the ALESBA with African countries from West, North and Southern Africa. The response convinced the DVV In-

ternational headquarter that the approach has to be documented since it can guide stakeholders in the complex and time consuming task of system building. At the same time the approach is open to continuous learning, adaptation and modification. This led to the writing and publication of a series of six booklets that covers an introduction to the approach with its conceptual framework and each of the five recommended phases for ALE system building. The booklets are available online in English, French, Arabic and Swahili[5].

A key challenge that many government and non-government adult education institutions face is the lack of a system to develop, fund, monitor and support ALE in the same way that primary, secondary, higher and sometime vocational education systems can. The ALESBA aims to ensure that different types and quality ALE services are delivered to youth and adults through relevant and accessible implementation modalities.

At the core of the approach is a conceptual framework that unpacks the ALE system. It identifies four system elements, each with five system building blocks which can be depicted as follows:

Table 1 – System elements.

Enabling Environment	**Institutional Arrangements**	**Management Processes**	**Technical Processes**
ALE Policy	ALE Implementation Structures	Participatory Planning Processes	Localised Curricula
ALE Strategy	Human Resources	Appropriate Budget and Resource Allocation	Clear ALE Programme Design & Methodology
ALE Programme Implementation Guidelines	Leadership & Management	M&E System	Capacity Development at all Implementation Levels
Qualifications Framework	Accountability Mechanisms	Management Information System	Material Development
Legal Framework	Partnership Structures between State/Non-state Actors	Coordination and Cooperation Processes	Learner Assessments

The conceptual framework is applied with practical and participatory tools through all the ALESBA implementation phases namely:

[5] <www.dvv-international.de/en/ale-toolbox> and <www.mojaafrica.net> (2023-07-01).

- Phase One emphasises the importance of consensus building among ALE stakeholders to develop a shared vision and plan to strengthen the ALE system and services;
- Phase Two supports ALE stakeholders to conduct a system assessment from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective, ideally by using a peer review approach that strengthens consensus building among stakeholders. The practical tools and scoring mechanism in phase two form part of the ALESBA's monitoring and evaluation system and can be conducted in the form of a baseline study, mid-term and end evaluation, depending on the stage of development of the system;
- Phase Three uses the information collected during Phase Two, to assist stakeholders in the process of considering different alternatives to design an improved ALE system;
- Phase Four elaborates the steps to implement and test the newly designed system in the form of a pilot phase/project;
- Phase Five takes stakeholders through the process of reviewing the tested system (during Phase Four), making the necessary adjustments from the lessons learned and developing plans to up-scale the system and the services it delivers to a bigger target group and geographical area with the ultimate aim of national level service delivery (Belete 2020).

Like all approaches and methodologies, the ALESBA requires capacity building of stakeholders that are interested in using the approach. DVV International supports this process through an online training programme on the MOJA Adult Education Africa platform. The current course is for participants from five Anglophone African countries. They come from national and local governments, universities, local and international NGOs. Meanwhile the approach has received interest from universities and some included the ALESBA in their curriculum. A seminar series for universities is planned and the ALESBA online course will expand to other interested countries/regions. Countries like Morocco, Tunisia, Uganda and Ethiopia progressed far in using the ALESBA as a guiding tool to assist policy makers, decision-makers, experts and academics in the task of building a sustainable ALE system while other African countries are starting the journey with capacity building and applying the first phase of the approach.

3.3 Importance of Monitoring and Evaluation, Research and Studies

Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) are integral parts of the work of DVV International in its development cooperation programs and projects in the field of adult learning and education. With support of the established M&E system DVV International and its partners worldwide can track and assess the performance and impact of the implemented program activities and initiatives. This systematic approach is essential to determine whether the programs and projects are achieving their intended results, whether they are relevant, effective, efficient, and contributing to establishing a sustainable adult learning and education system in the countries.

The programs of DVV International and its partners are developed with M&E frameworks which enable the measuring of the performance and progress towards the program and project goals and identifying areas for improvement. The M&E tools like monitoring system, baseline studies, logical frameworks, internal and external evaluations help DVV International and its partners to ensure that resources are being used effectively and transparently and enables them to track the outcomes and impact of the programs and measures. To be able to offer a high-quality M&E system that is constantly evolving, DVV International has an M&E unit at its headquarters in Bonn, which, together with employees of DVV International in the partner countries, ensures and continuously improves the quality of the system.

In addition to regularly conducting evaluations, baseline and feasibility studies, DVV International as part of its programs and projects conceives and conducts studies on ALE and lifelong learning topics. Very often, the results of such studies are used to create policies and strategies for the sector. Such an example is the regional project of DVV International in the region Caucasus and Southeast Europe, which carried out quantitative and qualitative studies in four countries of the region.

DVV International in cooperation with DIE started planning and implementing the project in 2019. The regional project aimed to analyse the state-of-the-art of ALE, and the participation of adults in education and training (formal, non-formal and informal learning) in four countries. The qualitative study was conducted in Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, and Kosovo (Avramovska et al. 2021a), and the quantitative study (AES – Adult Education Survey) was implemented in Armenia, Georgia, and Kosovo (Avramovska et al. 2021b).

The purpose of the complex project was to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the ALE sector, and to provide data that would be used when creating policy and legislation in ALE close to vocational education and training, employment, lifelong learning and other relevant areas. Closely following the AES which is a well-established international survey on adult learning, national specificities and information needs were identified in the coordination of the cooperation partners and through the involvement of national experts.

The AES-standard questionnaire was thus adapted to national circumstances and supplemented with additional questions on learning attitudes and motivation, as well as on educational and support needs in the face of massive changes on the labour market. Questions concerning access to education and (digital) learning during the pandemic were added at short notice in response to the Covid pandemic. The survey results answer a number of questions and provide information about the extent and quality of adult learning and education. How are learning and attitudes towards learning distributed in the adult population? Which groups are involved, and to what extent? Are particular forms of learning used by different groups? What role do socio-economic conditions play, e.g. the employment context or residence in rural or urban areas?

The qualitative country reports provide additional in-depth information on the specific national context of the education system, and on the position and

promotion of ALE, gathered in qualitative studies by a team of international and national experts according to a standard outline. Together, the two reports form an excellent basis for the participating countries to assess the current situation against the background of education policy objectives and to develop political strategies for improving the ALE and lifelong learning system. Since the studies were carried out in four countries according to a uniform scheme, the comparison offers additional possibilities for classifying the respective national situation. More and better comparative studies on ALE would further benefit our sub-sector (Egetenmeyer 2015).

The comprehensive analyses and studies and surveys in the ALE sector were conducted for the first time in all the countries involved in this project, and also with the intention that a number of governmental and non-governmental institutions and organisations in these four countries and beyond will use the data and knowledge obtained. Immediately after the study was published, the results were shared with several organisations and institutions engaged in the field of education and adult education. During the preparation process of strategic documents in 2021 and 2022 in Georgia and Armenia, many of the results and findings of the qualitative and quantitative studies in the respective countries were used.

4. Some Preliminary Conclusions

The further regionalisation of DVV International led to the establishment and operation of regional offices for North, West, Southern and East Africa which are in 2023 based in Tunis, Bamako, Lilongwe and Dar es Salaam, and each of them working in two or three countries of the region. In addition there is a Continental Africa project which looks at joint opportunities for policy development and capacity building, information and communication. The virtual platform called MOJA is a component which runs webinars, a journal, and collects resources for a growing data bank.

If one wants to draw a first interim conclusion from the recent experiences of DVV International in the areas of capacity building, curriculum development, research and development, the following points are probably central:

- It makes a lot of sense to develop global formats for the education and training of adult educators or the organisational development of institutions. While it is true that the framework conditions and needs are very different, at the same time it has been shown that there is a clearly recognisable pool of commonalities that can be served;
- In developing appropriate tools, it is central to engage multinational and multicultural teams that are able to bring different perspectives on an equal footing;
- The present global tools require a strong and courageous adaptation to local needs in their implementation. To this end, it seems indispensable that the implementation of the trainings takes place with the involvement of local trainers, who should also be included in the preparation;

- The existence of recognised global instruments for capacity building also generates increased attention for adult education, which is still highly marginalised in many places;
- Finally, research and development, M&E embedded in planning and development can be essential tools in quality management.

The CONFINTEA VII process and especially the Marrakech Framework for Action as the relevant outcome document show that we seem to be moving in the right direction. Government delegates adopted:

> We recognize the importance of strengthening ALE at the local level, as a strategic dimension for planning, design and implementation for learning programmes, and for supporting and (co)funding training and learning initiatives such as community learning centres to be well-resourced with qualified adult educators (UIL 2022, 6).

This understanding of the importance of institutionalisation and professionalisation was also in the statement *Adult Learning and Education – Because the Future Cannot Wait* of ICAE for the UNESCO Futures of Education initiative:

> strengthening the institutional structures (like community learning centres, for delivering ALE) and securing the role of ALE staff, improving in-service and pre-service education, further education, training, capacity building and employment conditions of adult educators (ICAE 2022, 13).

In this respect the initiatives and activities of both – Lalage Bown as well as DVV International – can be seen as milestones in the professionalisation of adult education. However there is more to learn from them and further comparative research on ALE will help (Slowey 2015; Reischmann 2021).

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CHAPTER 17

«Professors of the Street»: Cognitive Justice in Times of 'Crisis'

Shirley Walters

Abstract:

Arundati Roy (2020) states that historically pandemics have forced humans to break with the past and imagine their world anew. This chapter, set in the COVID-19 pandemic, centres the importance of cognitive justice which is an essential part of the struggles for justice against domination. Cognitive justice is used as a lens to explore the case story of Cape Town Together (CTT), which was a response to COVID-19. The social movement was built, bottom up, challenging the deep racial and class divides that are a signature of Cape Town. The concept of 'professors of the street' emerged as part of CTT. This concept is explored by locating it within the context of the pandemic and within CTT's learning/teaching/organising practices. It is argued that 'professors of the street' are a provocation to challenge the dominant knowledge hierarchies that prevail – it is a metaphor for the critical importance of grassroots, local knowledge in times of 'crisis'. The teaching/learning /organising ethos within CTT provided fertile soil for «professors of the street» to emerge as an example of the enactment of cognitive justice within a crisis. The case story offers insights for organising for social-ecological justice in various 'crisis' situations.

Keywords: Cognitive Justice; COVID-19; Crisis; Social Movement Learning; Socio-ecological Justice

Introduction

«We are professors of the street», the singers proclaim in a short Hip Hop video made in late 2020 by local community activists in Cape Town, South Africa. Through song and dance, activists are celebrating Cape Town Together (CTT) which was launched in response to COVID-19. They are asserting the importance of the roles and responsibilities of local community activists in response to the pandemic.

In this chapter, building on previous research (Walters 2022), I explore what is meant by «professors of the street» by locating the notion within the context of the pandemic and within the learning/teaching/organising practices within CTT. I analyse these using cognitive justice as an analytical lens in order to probe more deeply the insights this case may have for organising social-ecolog-

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Shirley Walters, *«Professors of the Street»: Cognitive Justice in Times of 'Crisis'*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.25, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 239-253, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

ical justice in various 'crisis' situations (I use 'crisis' in parenthesis as a 'crisis' for one may not be for another).

I start by situating myself in the story and by providing brief background to the research approach. I then present the case story of CTT within the socio-economic and political context of COVID-19 in South Africa, before analysing CTT teaching/learning/ organising practices. The question as to the meaning of «professors of the street», and its significance for responding to crises, threads through the text.

1. Research Approach

In presenting this case, I draw on my experience as an imbedded activist researcher in the CTT. Over two years I was co-convener of one of the Community Action Networks (CAN), the Newlands CAN, within CTT. In this capacity I not only participated in the specific CAN but also participated in the general CTT Administrative WhatsApp group and in various CTT general activities. Since CTT's formation, I have been collecting local media reports, reviewing literature (grey and otherwise), attending webinars, participating in local actions and debating with other scholar-activists, in order to deepen understandings of the COVID-19 crisis and CTT's responses to it. There has been an active Cape Town Together Facebook site which holds the history of much of the action and debates. This has been an important source of additional data as are conversations with key informants within CTT. I have analysed the CTT Admin WhatsApp conversations over a 2-month period to obtain a 'slice of life' of actions and concerns. The focused attention is particularly the first eighteen months of CTT's life from March 2020 to October 2021 when the immediate effects of the pandemic were most dramatic.

2. Civil Society Responds to COVID-19

In South Africa, as in many countries of the world, COVID-19 is a crisis on a crisis – it is a health crisis on top of existing social, economic, environmental and political crises. As a collective of health activists describe – every fault-line is exposed, for example, those with food security, and those who go hungry; those with jobs and the unemployed; those with water and sanitation and those without; those who drive cars and those in crowded public transport. As we said at the time, «we are all in the same storm but not in the same boat»!

On 27 March 2020, a hard lockdown was declared in South Africa to try to hold off the spread of the virus and with that, many people's lives were devastated. In less than a month, three million South Africans had lost their incomes and jobs, turning hunger from a problem to a crisis. Two of the three million who lost their livelihoods were women. Inequalities along traditional lines of race, gender, occupation, earnings, location and education have all grown significantly. COVID-19 made it even more difficult for poor and working-class women to feed their families. An unequal national situation had been made much worse.

Within a crisis, with the extent of injustices and inequalities being revealed for all to see, often a new social awareness arises. In response to the crisis, there are many examples of acts of human solidarity. As Mayo (2022) points out, there was phenomenal growth of mutual aid initiatives globally during COVID-19. This is both illustrative of the human spirit responding to hardships, and of the failure of market-led approaches to meeting people's needs. In such times, the voluntary and community sectors are propelled into action to fill the gaps between poor public services on the one hand and growing social need on the other.

Mutual aid has been located within the context of the failures of capitalism (Solnit 2020) and has a long history in anti-colonial and democratic struggles. In South Africa much has been written about the anti-apartheid movements, within which social solidarity initiatives flourished, for example, under the broad-based social movements of the United Democratic Front and the Black Consciousness Movement. Social solidarity initiatives strive to meet survival needs and to build shared understanding as the basis for addressing injustices. Some have also included pre-figurative initiatives where, for example, in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s many community organisations strove to achieve racial and gender justice through participatory democratic forms of organising within highly racialised, patriarchal, authoritarian conditions (Walters 1989).

Building on that history, an example of a solidarity initiative during the COVID-19 pandemic is CTT. It was formed as the COVID-19 pandemic was emerging in South Africa in mid-March 2020. A group of health practitioners, activists and community organisers identified the need for rapid, community-led mutual aid responses (van Ryneveld et al. 2020) – an organisational structure that would mirror the Coronavirus – adaptable, invasive, quick-footed. Like the virus it must bridge the «city's islands of wealth and poverty» (Mlungwana and Kramer 2020, 9). The envisioned structure had elements of the pre-figurative Gramscian notion of «building the new in the womb of the old» (Gramsci 1971, 207).

The group recognised that COVID-19, combined with the lockdown, would have serious impacts on every family in every community and that the most vulnerable people especially from poor and working-class homes would struggle. The group began by putting together an online toolkit encouraging people to organise into a network of autonomous, self-organised, neighbourhood-level Community Action Networks (CANs). The underlying premise was that many of the challenges arising from COVID-19 – both epidemiological and social – are responded to at the neighbourhood-level (van Ryneveld et al. 2020).

Within two months there were 160 self-organising CANs with 18.000 signed up members from across greater Cape Town as part of the network. The CANs existed across the range of Cape Town's extremely unequal neighbourhoods. As mentioned, CANs grew according to the different histories and conditions of their areas. In some cases, pre-existing neighbourhood structures such as street committees, faith-based groups, or residents' associations, worked alongside or together with the CAN. There were multiple opportunities for CANs to converge around specific nodes in the network offering spaces to share re-

sources, knowledge and to reflect and debrief on their experiences. There were also a number of thematic CANs working on resolving cross-cutting concerns like building sustainable food systems. There were logistical teams doing fact-checking of health information, and designing materials. These were posted on the Facebook site or shared on WhatsApp for general use.

The structure was de-centralised, non-hierarchical and self-organised and all parts of the structure were autonomous, while working within guiding principles (Cape Town Together 2020b). New thematic CANs grew organically in response to emerging needs, and old ones disintegrated as the energy of the group was needed elsewhere. There have been many challenges along the way with different CANs operating differently and sometimes with difficulty (van Ryneveld et al. 2020).

The CANs were encouraged to form partnerships across socio-economic areas so that middle- and working-class communities mutually supported one another. The underlying philosophy was that this was not individual charity but working together in social solidarity – it was in our collective interest to keep one another healthy. Much of the organising had to be virtual through the use of WhatsApp and other social media. Everyone worked on a voluntary basis. Besides learning how to fundraise, how to communicate within the CAN and across CANs, how to distribute the food and other goods, how to continually plan and adapt to changing conditions, there were opportunities organised by Cape Town Together co-learning coordinators for learning across the network through weekly co-learning events using Zoom software. The emphasis on individual and collective learning, both incidental and structured, was a feature of the network.

The first emergency actions by the CANs were to respond to water, food and health crises. They mobilised food parcels and community kitchens on a wide scale. They were able to respond more quickly and with more agility than government. They also provided hygiene products like hand sanitizers and masks to help protect communities. Newlands CAN, where I was a founding member, held various successful, virtual fundraisers in order to support our partner, Philippi CAN, in a working-class area about 20 km away. The community activists there arranged for distribution to the neediest families. While distributing food they would also convey information relating to COVID-19 and gender-based violence (GBV).

Before deepening discussion of the notion of «professors of the street» within the CTT teaching/learning/organising practices, I turn to the concept of cognitive justice as a lens to explore the questions more deeply.

3. Cognitive Justice: Recognizing Multiple Knowledges

Cognitive justice (Burt 2020) is an essential part of the struggles for justice against domination which recognises the validity of different ways of knowing. It is an ethical principle that equally values diverse sources of knowledge (knowers) without drawing conclusions about relative knowledge superiority. Cogni-

tive justice is not anti-science, as science is valid knowledge but it counters the idea that science has monopoly of valid knowledge. As Garlick (2017) states the notion of cognitive justice is a humanist concept but has been borrowed also to signify the importance of knowledge systems of other life forms.

Anthropocentric calls for including other knowledges from Indigenous, working-class people, in particular women, have long been part of bottom-up development discourses and community education (Chambers 1983). Capitalism (and colonialism) are built on alienations and hierarchical arrangements that are re-produced through separation, dispossession, divisions. Lange et al. (2021) describe Indigenous knowledge systems as profoundly relational across human and the more-than-human worlds. They argue that we need to move from the 'separation paradigm' which carries the techno-industrial values of Western Eurocentric culture, towards the 'relationality paradigm' that can take us beyond entrenched ways of thinking and being. Lange et al. are careful not to reinforce the dichotomy and argue that they do not see one paradigm replacing the other but there is a need for understandings «to be stretched toward deeper approaches that transform our very patterns of our thinking/being/doing» (2021, 25).

De Sousa Santos, informed by decolonial theory, highlights that the struggle for all forms of justice is inseparable from the struggle for cognitive justice and he introduces the idea of epistemicide, as «the murder of knowledge» (2014, 92) of 'the other', be it based on race, sex-gender, class, ethnicity, language, and so on. The ideology of science and technology has long dismissed other knowledges with women's embodied knowledge often referred to disparagingly as 'intuitive'.

De Sousa Santos (RIBOCA 2020) argues that COVID-19 pandemic has shown that the model of capitalist development is not sustainable. It marks a period which dramatizes the fragility and unsustainability of human life on the planet, particularly if the current model of development is maintained. De Sousa Santos points to paradigmatic shifts that are needed where the answer to this question changes diametrically: does nature belong to us or do we belong to nature? As he explains, ways of conceiving nature as an inert thing at humans' unconditional disposal is completely at odds with the conception of nature as the source of life, as the giver of life. The pandemic shows that the dominant conception of nature as a 'thing' is reaching a tipping point. There is an urgent need to shift fundamental beliefs that are woven tightly into the fabric of political social economic and cultural life which is placing the human species in jeopardy. As Nadeau (2023) argues, it's time to listen to the more-than-human world.

Cognitive justice is integral to decolonial struggles and an example of cognitive justice at work, is the move to reclaim *ubuntu* as important for the future. Ubuntu is an African worldview and philosophy – it is an African-wide ethical paradigm that expresses the obligation to look after one another and the environment – all our wellbeing is mutually contingent. Ubuntu literally means: a person is a person through other people. Historically ubuntu has been misappropriated and co-opted for opportunistic ventures; however, there are contemporary moves to tease out those tenets of ubuntu that could catalyze a project of radical transformation to a more ecologically just future. There is complemen-

tarity between ubuntu and Latin America's *buen vivir*. Both reject modernity's nature-society duality and regard restorative justice as the principal mechanism to achieve harmony with the cosmos (Terreblanche 2018).

Decolonising knowledge involves collective, systemic and systematic processes of dismantling the ways discourses and practices perpetuate cognitive injustices. The concept of cognitive justice illustrates how the legitimation of Western knowledge often involves an act of seizing power in the intellectual sphere by belittling or ignoring the knowledge held by diverse cultures and countries in the Global South – a form of epistemicide – central to the brutalising processes of colonisation (Ghosh 2021). The destruction of people went along with destruction of their knowledge. This seizing of intellectual power often includes the domination of mechanisms of knowledge generation such as the media, universities, internet resources, and professional institutions.

The quest for global justice, de Sousa Santos argues, must be premised upon the quest for global cognitive justice. One criticism of cognitive justice has been that, in its attempt to value local and Indigenous knowledge systems, all knowledge becomes viewed as relative or, alternatively, that Western science reduces the reality of Indigenous knowledge to a quaint pseudoscience. De Sousa Santos states that cognitive justice has nothing to do with relativism or with an anti-science stance. The centrality of social and cognitive justice calls for the centrality of the struggle against injustice since societies are structurally unjust. With this premise he has been developing the idea of the epistemologies of the south, epistemologies focused on validating knowledges born in struggle (de Sousa Santos 2014, 2018). All these knowledges are valid to the extent that they may also contribute to those struggles. This is a difficult point since it involves discussing epistemology as politics and politics as epistemology. But he invites us to have a deeper look into the reality that has been built on conceptions of neutral epistemologies. For centuries, the validity of science alone has been affirmed. This has led humans to the verge of an imminent, fatal ecological crisis and deepening inequalities.

Similar understandings are reflected in the praxis of ecofeminists who make a direct link between ecological degradation, capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy and racism. Cognitive justice is at the root of ecofeminism. They argue for the centrality of the knowledge and understandings of those people who are most marginalised and are on the front lines dealing with the fall-out of environmental destruction i.e., working class, poor, peasant and Indigenous women.

In pursuit of cognitive justice feminists highlight the importance of epistemology and methodology. They support participatory methodologies which acknowledge that learning is embodied and occurs through creativity in concert with intellectual, conceptually-based knowledge. Through visual arts, drama, photography, theatre, story-telling, people are helped to speak up and out. Feminists challenge dominant knowledge hierarchies which favor rational cognitive thought as epistemologically superior to embodied and experiential knowledge. Cooper (2020) extends discussion of the recognition of different knowledges by analyzing knowledge practices of trade unionists. She describes the braiding

together of contextual, experiential, and conceptual knowledges in trade union education which also challenge dominant knowledge hierarchies.

Similarly, learning within social movements occurs through the action which constitutes the movement. It occurs incidentally through participation and through intentional educational interventions. The educational and organisational practices are intertwined. As argued also by de Sousa Santos (2014), social movements are recognised for their cognitive praxis and are important generators of new knowledge and understandings. The presence of different knowledges is taken for granted where the scientific knowledge of, for example, biologists is brought together with the popular knowledge of communities. They form an ecology of knowledges where learning through activism can break down the invalid barrier between knowledge (the specialist) and ignorance (the non-specialist) (Walters and Burt 2022).

In summary, capitalism, colonialism, racism and patriarchy have been implicated in destroying other ways of knowing. Cognitive justice is an essential part of the struggles for justice against domination which recognises the validity of different ways of knowing, including epistemology and methodology. Cognitive justice is not anti-science, as science is valid knowledge but it counters the idea that science has monopoly of valid knowledge. Particularly through Indigenous people's influence, the humanist orientation of cognitive justice is expanded to include all life forms. We turn now to ask in what ways CTT is challenging dominant knowledge hierarchies and working for cognitive justice.

4. Teaching/Learning/Organising within CTT

CTT's heady ambition was to enable collective and adaptable responses to the pandemic while challenging the racialised, classed, sex-gendered ways in which the city was experienced by the majority – cognitive justice was an implicit value within the social movement. The organising had to be done, for the most part, virtually as COVID-19 had been contained through physical distancing, wearing masks, sanitising – for four months the hard lockdown meant the streets were empty and all organising was done remotely.

The first thing most members had to do, in order to participate, was learn to use WhatsApp more effectively and to use Zoom for virtual meetings and for teaching/learning. As data was expensive, ways were worked out early on to ensure funding for data was available for those who needed it. Learning was self-directed and through peer learning – those of us who were older were pleased to be assisted by younger members. There was constant exploration of more innovative ways to use the technologies which were also mutating. Learning/teaching/organising within times of COVID-19 embraced technologies to learn and organise in new ways.

Working with people across vast differences of experience, history, politics, economics, was possible because the immediacy of the local action was paramount. We were united around a common purpose i.e., a socio-economic and health crisis. Potential frictions around racialised, sex-gendered, or class identi-

ties, were absorbed, to be confronted later. Different members in the groups had different attributes – volunteers stepped forward to take the lead in areas where they were more experienced, others learnt by following the leader, whether it was setting up, making and distributing food in various ways; fundraising; or running a gender-based violence (GBV) campaign. We were learning through relational strategies and knowledge was imbedded within action.

Grappling with the notion of 'working in solidarity rather than for charity', challenged understandings of ways of working. In some instances, those from poorer communities were confident about what they needed and wanted and were able to articulate this to the more resourced partners; in other instances, these relationships were more fraught. In mainly middle-class communities, charity as a top-down form of assistance was perhaps more common than solidarity which was born out of a recreated sense of shared destiny – assessing how far CTT's approach has dented this reality requires further research.

The value of inclusivity was also carried through both in the responding to data inequality and in challenging contemporary knowledge hierarchies. This is demonstrated in the co-learning sessions, and in the leadership by CANs of different projects, including the regular collective writing of reflective articles in the media. As mentioned above, Cooper (2020, 71) very usefully analyses the knowledge practices within worker education. She highlights the importance of Gramsci's theorisation of the role of organic intellectuals in forging relationships between 'common sense' and 'good sense' – a process which helps transform popular knowledge (common sense) into 'good sense' where knowledge is systematised towards coherence and authority. These were roles that many of the CTT activists were performing.

Within CTT's the co-learning online events were structured around particular problems or issues with which CANs were concerned. CANs were encouraged to share their experiences and thinking about the particular issue. Another member (or an ally of the movement) with more 'epistemological authority' on the subject was invited to reflect back and add any additional perspectives. Through these processes new knowledge was co-constructed and fed back into the CANs and the movement as a whole. There was an ethos of knowledge democracy (Visvanathan 2005; Tandon et al. 2016). Individuals grew in confidence as they stepped forward to lead.

There was a practice of direct democracy which was both pragmatic and utopian. This occurred both through the experiences of horizontal, non-authoritarian ways of organising, and also through thinking deeply about alternatives. Deliberations on forward thinking issues like alternative food systems or the universal basic income grant (UBIG) were held through webinars and connecting with other movements – these encouraged members to follow Roy's (2020) injunction to use a pandemic as a gateway between one world and the next. COVID-19 illuminated how deeply implicated health, food, housing, energy, climate, economics, patriarchy and racism are with one another. Many community activists within the CANs took on roles of public educators and they gathered social data to provide local intelligence for the health system – they were referred to

as «professors of the street» (Whyle et al. 2020). They educated people about COVID-19, spreading updated information about the pandemic or about related issues like GBV. We turn now to probe this notion further.

5. «Professors of the Street»

The short video coordinated by community activists from different CANs is an example of collective learning/teaching/organising within CTT. Activists learn/teach/organise while making and disseminating the video and others learn through watching it. The video celebrates six months of CTT. It is a story of radical hope and imagination by a group of volunteers with little budget. They initiated the project and called on members of the different CANs to send video clips reflecting their activities. They edited and crafted it on behalf of all the CANs within CTT (Cape Town Together 2020a)[1].

The video shines a light on many of the complexities of the society i.e., the socio-economic inequalities, the diversity, the hope, the brutality – the «divided city». Through the video, the team is educating – they claim that «we are all professors of the street». They reinforce the health protocols of sanitizing hands, wearing masks, keeping physical distance from others and staying home. They do this in a seriously playful way to encourage all of us to continue to prevent the spread of the virus. They also show other struggles taking place within the crisis of the pandemic. People are losing their homes as they can no longer pay their rent; they occupy land illegally and police officers respond by demolishing their temporary shelter. Lives and livelihoods have been destroyed.

The words in the song register how the local context is inextricably linked to the global; how we are all in this together across social class and geographical distances. As they say, «none of us is safe unless we are all safe». They signal a need for social solidarity as «we are in this fight together, forever».

The activities of the CANs are portrayed with people in groups: digging and preparing food gardens; picking up garbage; dishing out food from large communal pots; delivering food parcels on bicycles and in wheel barrows; making posters and music to mobilise and educate; using social media to communicate and agitate.

Acknowledging the difficulties, the song also conveys a message of hope asserting the need to construct a new and different future through collective action: «Together we can build back better». They signal the need to dream, to imagine alternatives, and suggest that through collective action alternatives can be realised. Inferred in the video are both moral and political relationships of solidarity. With the video as a point of reference, what is understood by being «professors of the street»? University professors have expertise within particular areas of specialisation. A popular understanding is that they are at the apex of

[1] You can watch it on the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MTyacJioDsA> (2023-07-01).

a knowledge hierarchy. In this video clip the community activists are teaching about the Coronavirus and ways to mitigate the spread. They are gathering social data to deepen understandings of what is happening. They are demonstrating knowledge of organising and mobilising within their communities; they have a fine-grained understanding of the needs «on the street»; they are promoting social solidarity through caring for others; they are inspiring communities to dream of alternatives. They are taking leadership. They have specialist knowledge.

In an article in a local online newspaper (Whyle et al. 2020), there is a report on the ability of one of the leading South African epidemiologists to communicate highly complex material in ways the general public can understand. The article also acknowledges that like COVID-19, symptoms of hunger, joblessness, stigma and xenophobia, are at risk of spreading through communities like wildfire. Finding and extinguishing the sparks of stigma, xenophobia, hunger and poverty cannot be achieved through the collection of epidemiological data. Rather this requires social data, collected and reported by «professors of the street», based on real-world experience. One of their examples illustrates how fear, stigma and xenophobia had led a woman, who thought she was COVID-19 positive, to run away from an ambulance and go to her sister's where the neighbours threatened to burn down the house if she stayed. They believed she would spread the virus. Wherever she went in the next few days she was not welcome, partially because she was potentially infectious and partly because she was not South African. It demonstrated fear, ignorance, xenophobia at play. It needed more knowledgeable community activists who were on the spot to intervene.

The dominant public discourse during COVID was that of medical professionals, trying their best to explain a complex, ever-changing reality to the general population. There was some cursory acknowledgement that medical science was limited and that different perspectives of sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, educators, community workers etc., were also needed to throw light on the impact of the pandemic. How far this happened is uncertain – it wasn't common in South Africa. In addition, fine grained data on what was actually happening 'on the ground' was limited.

The ways countries were responding to the crisis primarily through the medical model, are being critiqued as reflecting western scientific, patriarchal mindsets that operate according to a particular hierarchy of knowledge (i.e., a particular way of gathering evidence is seen as better than others) and devalues or erases Indigenous health knowledge and ways of healing, leading to a form of epistemic injustice (Shannon et al. 2022).

The CANs, organising at local neighbourhood level, were generating some of this much-needed social data or community-level intelligence. In the national TV and radio broadcasts on the health crisis a question was posed, «Where are the professors and epidemiologists of the street, who can speak to the crucial truths of hunger, homelessness and precarity that this pandemic has laid bare?». In a small way, local knowledge of working-class activists was validated as being essential to understand and inform responses to the pandemic. National and provincial governments were urged to listen much more closely to these people.

It is, however, one thing to acknowledge their importance but an entirely different matter to ensure that 'really useful knowledge' from «professors of the street» is validated and supported over time.

The gendered nature of «professors of the street» is also an important dimension. Women make up the majority. This is not unexpected – as ecofeminist scholars, Breunig and Russell (2020, 704) argue, women have internalised the sense of responsibility to 'do their bit' for their community and have taken up the duties left by gaps in social services, willingly and publicly. To understand this phenomenon, they emphasise the intersection of patriarchy (a hierarchical system that privileges men and maintains gender inequity) and neoliberalism which encourages individualised and privatised solutions to public problems. Both emphasise the gendered nature of unpaid caring work, whether for the family or community, that is expected of women and leaves them and others in their circle emotionally and physically exhausted.

«Professors of the street» are gendered, raced and classed – the marginalisation of women's knowledge and that of all black, poor and working-class people, is being highlighted through the provocative, serious, playful, ironic use of the concept, «professors of the street». The concept may be interpreted as urban-centric as most rural areas have tracks and paths, rarely streets! It can be seen as a cry from those whose knowledge is regularly dismissed and undervalued, to get validation for their knowledge and insights.

In summary, the notion of «professors of the street» challenges the idea that it is only scientists whose knowledge has value – it calls out cognitive injustice by asserting the value of community-based knowledge, particularly that of women, black and working-class people in general. «Professors of the street» are knowledgeable about local conditions and are able to inform understandings of the intended and unintended consequences of policies and practices. They are the monitors of the impact of intersecting crises that are playing out simultaneously. They are also acting collectively both to mitigate the risks and to encourage dreams about alternative socially just futures. However, as Astrid von Kotze, in conversation with the author, cautioned, language matters. While «professors of the street» is used with a great degree of irony and playfulness, if the language took root, it could have unintended consequences to reinforce elitism of professors!

6. Cognitive Justice in Times of 'Crisis'

Community health scholars in an analysis of five case studies from different geographical locations, including South Africa, highlighted intersections of racism, xenophobia, and discrimination with other systems of oppression, how it affects health and what can be done about it (Shannon et al. 2022). They show that in the context of COVID-19, pre-existing forms of marginalisation and injustice have sharpened dramatically.

The Health CAN concurs:

> [...] what became heartbreakingly clear in the past three weeks, the consequences of this epidemic are not simply epidemiological. The people of South Africa are suffering not only symptoms of Covid-19, but also, and arguably to an even greater extent, from the symptoms of hunger, joblessness, stigma, and xenophobia. And just like the coronavirus, these pathologies are at risk of spreading through our communities like wildfire (Cape Town Together 2020b).

What both Shannon et al. (2022) and the Health CAN (Cape Town Together 2020b) agree is the central importance of drawing on community-level knowledge to better understand how intersecting forms of oppression play out at the hyper-local level and the best strategies to mitigate them. The sparks of unrest and injustice, of fear and anxiety, and poverty and despair, that turn neighbours into strangers and communities into bubbling cauldrons waiting to boil over, must be collected and reported by «professors of the street» based on real-world experience.

Every crisis has unintended or unexpected consequences and the job of every government official, politician or bureaucrat must be to minimise their impacts as far as possible. This can only be achieved if they listen to, and take seriously, stories of grassroots people. They can learn so much from just listening to people's experiences, paying attention to community-level intelligence being generated by those organising at the neighbourhood level. It's imperative that space is made for bottom-up intelligence to inform responses to crises.

Validation of multiple knowledges are of course not only critically important for the crisis response, but for 'using every crisis as an opportunity' for transformative action towards greater justice for the majority. The CTT was a crisis response strategy which used the moment to identify alternative bottom-up ways of organising within intersectional crises of health, hunger, homelessness, gender-based violence, stigma, xenophobia.

Neoliberal, patriarchal, racial capitalism is the dominant order which privileges men and white people, while encouraging individualised and privatised solutions to public problems. During the pandemic, a top-down, elitist, Western medical model dominated. The community-led responses to COVID-19 through CTT, was a counterpoint which used relational organisational strategies which were feminist, collectivist, intersectional, decentralised. Cognitive injustice was understood to be the norm, therefore organisational strategies which strove for cognitive justice were embraced. These shaped the organisational culture which enabled 'professors of the street' to emerge.

To summarise, important elements within this strategy were:

- Emphasis on solidarity rather than charity;
- Horizontal participatory democratic forms of organising;
- Acknowledging that it is in action that different knowledges are assumed as people with diverse backgrounds respond to particular issues;
- Expert knowledge is drawn on across the network – epistemological authority moves depending on the need;

- Learning/teaching is consciously placed at the centre through planned interventions and experientially, everyone learns, everyone teaches;
- Information flow is open and accessible;
- Organising includes political actions to oppose certain government decisions;
- Imagining alternative, hopeful futures;
- Organisational, political and pedagogical work are intertwined.

Cognitive justice which embraces multiple knowledges is essential in response to crises of all kinds. The question is, within neo-liberal capitalism, where individual competitive behaviour is rewarded and state support shrinks, how are community-level facilitators, mediators, educators, «professors of the street» to be validated and supported? The danger is that even if their work is seen as essential, it can translate into another layer of unpaid, women's care work. At a recent gathering, a community activist asked «will we give our knowledge for free, in a world which has commodified knowledge for profit?». This is an important, cautionary note given the widespread exploitation of knowledge for profit and power.

We are at a time when interrelated social, economic, health and ecological crises are coming at us thick and fast – whether drought, bushfires, heat, floods, hurricanes, food insecurity, gender-based violence, or health pandemics. Learning how to mitigate these crises in the interests of the majority, to minimise the fallout and build alternatives, is essential. Cognitive justice is concerned with both epistemology and methodology. The notion of «professors of the street» which emerged within Cape Town Together is a metaphor for turning hierarchies of knowledge upside down. It is a concept that Lalage Bown would have supported wholeheartedly. It raises questions about whose and what knowledge is central in a given time and place. It affirms the importance of de Sousa Santos' idea of an ecology of knowledges. It is a radical act which embraces a way of being that respects Life, meaning all life forms and processes (Lange 2023).

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CHAPTER 18

Challenges and Opportunities for Lifelong Learning in Universities Resulting from Ukrainian Migration

Ievgeniia Dragomirova, Rob Mark

Abstract:

The current political conflict in Ukraine has led to a surge in forcibly displaced migrants across Europe. This chapter sets out to look at the meaning of the term 'forced migrant' and the challenges faced in integrating migrants into the labour market. The movement of people has included many skilled professionals, including staff and students from Ukrainian universities. This chapter examines some issues in integrating such groups into the workforce. It also looks at some of the schemes set up to enable displaced researchers to continue with their research and the potential benefits which this offers for participants.

Keywords: Forced Migration; Integration; Researches; Ukraine

Introduction

It is estimated that there are currently over 100 million forcibly displaced migrants across the world, representing 1% of the global population. This number includes refugees and asylum seekers as well as the 53.2 million people displaced inside their borders by conflict (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR 2022).

The recent conflict in Ukraine has led to a surge in population movements across Europe and has become one of the most influential drivers worldwide. Currently, four million people from Ukraine are thought to benefit from a temporary protection mechanism in the European Union (European Council 2023) and 169,300 Ukrainian refugees have arrived in the UK as of 28 March 2023 (UK National Statistics 2023). It could be argued that the Ukrainian war has resulted from the inability of educated people in Europe to negotiate peace and stability based on sustainable development. Certainly, the conflict has also brought new challenges for the provision of adult and lifelong learning for those

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)

FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Ievgeniia Dragomirova, Rob Mark, *Challenges and Opportunities for Lifelong Learning in Universities Resulting from Ukrainian Migration*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.26, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 255-268, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

who have fled the war and has shown a readiness in the receiving countries to respond to new circumstances.

Many highly skilled Ukrainian professionals, including staff and students from Ukrainian universities, have been forced to leave and continue with their research and study in new learning environments. Universities across Europe have accepted a great many academics and students from Ukrainian universities who have become forced migrants. Consequently, these individuals had to learn to operate in new ways within very different administrative and management systems as well as research and teaching environments. The path for migrants to make an effective contribution to the education system in the host country is therefore time-consuming, though it can in time make a significant contribution to the goals of the university.

In this chapter, we examine who these academic and student migrants are and what we understand of them. We look at the flow of migrants forced out of Ukraine to other European countries and the level of skills and experience they possess. We discuss various issues affecting the integration of Ukrainian migrants in universities showing how the European academic community is enabling Ukrainian migrants to engage with European universities, providing hope for future post-war revival in Ukrainian universities.

This chapter is offered in memory of Lalage Bown, who was an outstanding adult educator who devoted her life to the promotion of university lifelong learning and the development of research and practice in her field. Her life and work brought her to many countries where she inspired many.

Lalage Bown was first and foremost an adult educator committed to the idea of a need to train those to work in the field of lifelong learning. She was not afraid of conflict or war and much of her life was spent engaging with others in the development of opportunities and platforms for the promotion of lifelong learning.

As a young woman, she was one of the first adult educators to arrive in Germany after the Second World War to assist with redevelopment through the promotion of adult learning. She later spent many years assisting with the development of lifelong learning in African universities, encouraging many students to study in Europe and bring back much-needed knowledge and skills useful for the development of adult education. She was above all a good communicator with the ability to motivate people to make an effective contribution to their field of practice. She was committed to useful research that could widen participation both in the university and in the broad field of lifelong learning. Above all, she was committed to helping those in greatest need.

One of us (Rob Mark) had the privilege to know Lalage as a research supervisor, teacher, and mentor, and later as a colleague and friend over a 40-year period, including in Northern Ireland, where she visited many times, assisting and contributing to the development of highly successful programmes in the field of adult and community education delivered during turbulent periods. She would indeed have been a keen supporter of the European research programmes for Ukrainian researchers discussed in this chapter, which offers the possibility to bring back new knowledge and skills for the future reconstruction of Ukraine.

Perhaps worth noting is Lalage's own Christian commitment and values which quietly yet confidently underpinned her work. It is also important to recognise that she sought to promote learning which would promote mutual understanding and peace-building in an ever-changing world.

Lalage Bown's life and work could be said to combine a commitment to internationalism with a pursuit of social justice. Social Justice, adult education and lifelong learning are closely interconnected concepts which focus on issues of equity, access and empowerment within education aiming to ensure that individuals regardless of their background or circumstances have equal opportunities to learn, grow and participate fully in society.

Hamilton (2022, 75) notes that Lalage Bown dedicated her life's work to improving education for the disadvantaged, and in particular women, seeking to bring university opportunities to a wider section of society. He also argues that Lalage Bown was immersed in a tradition which regarded adult education as a catalyst for significant social change. Her ideas were informed by a post-Second World War world in which many believed that the kind of injustices suffered under colonial rule had to end. But, beyond this, in her radical way, she also saw the need to develop new inclusive, post-colonial approaches to education, including the reform of university curricula. This chapter reports on an international response to providing opportunities for the engagement of adults, particularly women, fleeing from war-torn Ukraine to engage in ongoing education and learning. It focuses on examining a movement of researchers coming to European universities to continue with their research and develop new skills and knowledge to bring back to Ukraine and in so doing empower them to create social change.

1. What Do We Mean by the Term Migrant and When Should the Term Forced Migrant Apply?

While there is no formal legal definition of an international migrant, most experts agree that this is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status. Generally, a distinction is made between short-term or temporary migration, covering movements with a duration between three and 12 months, and long-term or permanent migration, referring to a change of country of residence for a duration of one year or more.

'Forced migration' refers to individuals or groups of people who are compelled to leave their homes or countries due to various factors, such as conflict, persecution, natural disasters, or human rights violations. Forced migration can occur within a country (internally displaced persons) or across international borders (refugees). The term 'forced migrant' is often used to encompass both refugees and internally displaced persons.

Refugees are individuals who are forced to flee their countries due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on factors like their race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. They seek safety

and protection in another country, often applying for refugee status and receiving international legal protection.

Forced migrants face numerous difficulties and vulnerabilities, including the loss of their homes, separation from family members, trauma, limited access to essential services, and the need to rebuild their lives in unfamiliar environments. International organizations, governments, and humanitarian agencies play vital roles in providing assistance, protection, and support to forced migrants through initiatives such as humanitarian aid, refugee resettlement programmes, and efforts to address the root causes of forced displacement.

In studying forced or involuntary migration – sometimes referred to as forced or involuntary displacement – a distinction is often made between conflict-induced and disaster-induced displacement. Displacement induced by conflict is typically referred to as that caused by humans, whereas natural causes typically underlay displacement caused by disasters. The definitions of these concepts are useful, but the lines between them may be blurred in practice because conflicts may arise due to disputes over natural resources and human activity may trigger natural disasters such as landslides.

According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), forced migration is a migratory movement which, although the drivers can be diverse, involves force, compulsion, or coercion. The definition includes a note which clarifies that:

> While not an international legal concept, this term has been used to describe the movements of refugees, displaced persons (including those displaced by disasters or development projects), and, in some instances, victims of trafficking. At the international level, the use of this term is debated because of the widespread recognition that a continuum of agency exists rather than a voluntary/forced dichotomy and that it might undermine the existing legal international protection regime (2019, 77).

The European Commission suggests that a forced migrant is

> a person subject to a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g., movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects) (European Migration Network).

2. The Movement of Ukrainian Citizens across Europe

Following the world financial crisis of 2008, the Eurozone financial crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic, the war in Ukraine could be said to be another shock for the European Union and the Western Alliance. The huge movement of Ukrainian migrants across Europe has given rise to new challenges as policymakers have had to create new strategies and programmes for migrants. In ad-

dition, governments across Europe have had to provide leadership and develop national policies which respond to the challenges of migration.

Ukraine is one of the larger countries in Europe with around 40 million people. Following the outbreak of hostilities, Ukrainian migrants moved firstly to the border countries of Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Slovakia and then onto Germany which has now the largest intake of Ukrainian migrants, standing at more than 1 million people (Fig. 1).

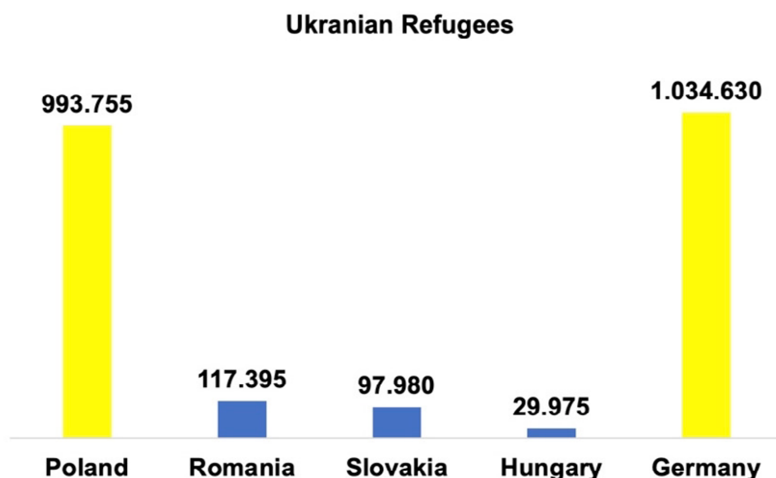

Figure 1 – Refugees from Ukraine who benefit from temporary protection in the countries bordering Ukraine and in Germany (from European Council 2023).

Ukrainians have also been able to leverage existing social networks in host countries as there has been a large existing Ukrainian diaspora in receiving countries. At the end of 2021, according to Eurostat, 1.57 million Ukrainian citizens held a valid residence permit in the EU, representing the third biggest group of non-EU citizens behind citizens of Morocco and Turkey. The most popular host countries were Poland, Italy, the Czech Republic and Spain (Stick and Hou 2022).

While Germany and Ukraine do not share a common border, there have been historical ties between the two countries since the ninth Century. These ties were affected by geopolitics, particularly because of the centuries-old domination of Ukraine by Poland and Russia (Zhukovsky 1995). The Second World War led to cooperation between Ukraine and Germany, at the same time defending Ukrainian national identity and protecting its territories.

The movement of Ukrainian migrants into the UK included 169,300 arrivals with 24,593 extensions granted under the Ukraine Family Scheme and Ukraine Extension Scheme to the end of March 2023. Adult females aged 18 to 64 accounted for almost half (48%) of the people who have arrived from Ukraine since the schemes began, children (aged 17 and under) accounted for 29%, and

adult males aged 18 to 64 accounted for 18%. Only 6% of total number of arrivals were 65 years or older (UK National Statistics 2023). Many women had dependents (mostly children and parents) who needed care and support, and this affected the migrants' ability to engage in education and training.

3. Integrating Migrants into the Labour Market

From one author's (Ievgeniia Dragomirova) perspective, it was easier to join the academic family in Glasgow given her experience taking part in international projects such as those of the European Commission's Erasmus+ programme. As Director of the Third Age University for more than six years at Donetsk University of Economics, she found herself moving to the UK as a Ukrainian forced migrant researcher, but didn't face any difficulties in socialisation or receiving support from colleagues at the University of Glasgow.

However, from her experience working with Ukrainian migrants, the psychological burden resulting from a forced change of residence, and the need to go through a procedure of qualification recognition (which has time and cost implications), can become a barrier to integration as can caring for children and older family members. Despite these problems, many of the migrants feel the need to find a secure long-term job a high priority.

Historically, however, it has often taken up to 10 years to reach an employment rate of 50% for refugees and up to 20 years to have a similar employment rate as the native-born. Bringing refugee women into employment has been particularly challenging in many OECD countries, as female refugees on average have lower activity (57% compared to 77%) and employment rates (45% compared to 62%) than refugee male (European Commission and OECD 2016).

There are also other challenges for refugee women's integration, including lower host country language levels, higher prevalence of health problems, greater likelihood of social isolation and limited social networks (Liebig and Tronstad 2018). Addressing these challenges effectively is essential for host countries as poor integration outcomes among migrant women not only have long-lasting consequences on their own outcomes but also on their children's outcomes in host societies (OECD 2020b).

Furthermore, Scheve and Slaughter (2001) and Mayda (2006) have highlighted that local people with a lower level of skills feel threatened by the competition in the labour market that arises from immigration.

The European Union Agency for Asylum (EUAA) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) found that 74% of Ukrainian refugees in the European Union hold a bachelor's or master's degree and 76% were previously employed in Ukraine. Relative to other refugees, the OECD has concluded that the Ukrainian refugees' educational profile along with co-existing social networks can enable relatively easy access to employment which in turn can facilitate greater integration. However, with women and children comprising up to 90% of Ukrainian refugees, there are specific challenges, such as schooling for children, childcare, and emotional and psychological support,

especially for children. However, given the need to provide services for women with families, formal education for older migrants (40+) hasn't been a priority. These older migrants often can't speak the language of the host country, attend language classes, and sometimes take on part-time employment outside class hours where they also receive on-the-job training for their work contribution.

In a similar way, as mentioned in the UK's *Draft Refugee Integration Strategy (2022-2027)*[1], migrants have different experiences of social inclusion and integration which can be «intergenerational and takes place at multiple levels including the individual, family and the community and incorporates all aspects of life» (Executive Office 2022, 12).

Older migrants (60+) often look to family members, mostly younger people aged 14-16, to assist them with language and skills for living in the host country. While there are some work programmes specific to the needs of older adults, they do not assist the older generation to find work. The expectation to engage in work to a later age (in the case of Ukraine many older adults have already retired by 60), can also lead to problems of psychological adjustment. There is therefore a need to find ways to deal with the economic integration and socialisation of older migrants in the host country.

To conclude, given the university's expertise in teaching and learning and in developing their third mission, they might in the future play a greater role in providing support for the involvement of the older generation who wish to acquire the knowledge necessary for socialization and employment. Professionals from both the host country and Ukraine could work together to support greater integration of older migrants. A synthesis of intergenerational interaction, formal and non-formal education, and the involvement of employers could bring much-needed knowledge and skills and assist in making older migrants feel valued and more integrated with the local community and help them to reach their full potential.

4. The EU Erasmus+ Programme and Horizon 2020 Programmes: Forerunners of International Academic Solidarity with Ukraine

The Bologna process, which modernised higher education, and participation in various European Commission (EC) programmes over a period, has enabled Ukrainian academics and researchers to bring skills and knowledge already gained to the European Union and the wider European area. A particular EC programme, Erasmus+[2] (Erasmus+ 2023), is the framework for cooperation in the field of education, youth and sports. The idea underlying the programme is to jointly develop quality reforms of education systems, increase the productivity of higher and vocational education institutions, and provide quality higher education and training to meet the needs of the European labour market. Erasmus+ has brought many opportunities for the higher education system of Ukraine (Fig. 2). More

[1] See <https://www.executiveoffice-ni.gov.uk/consultations/draft-refugee-integration-strategy> (2023-07-01).

[2] See <https://erasmus-plus.ec.europa.eu> (2023-07-01).

than 200 higher education institutions and more than 3000 public organizations in Ukraine have taken part in programmes and established cooperation with international partners since 2014[3] (Mission of Ukraine to the European Union 2021).

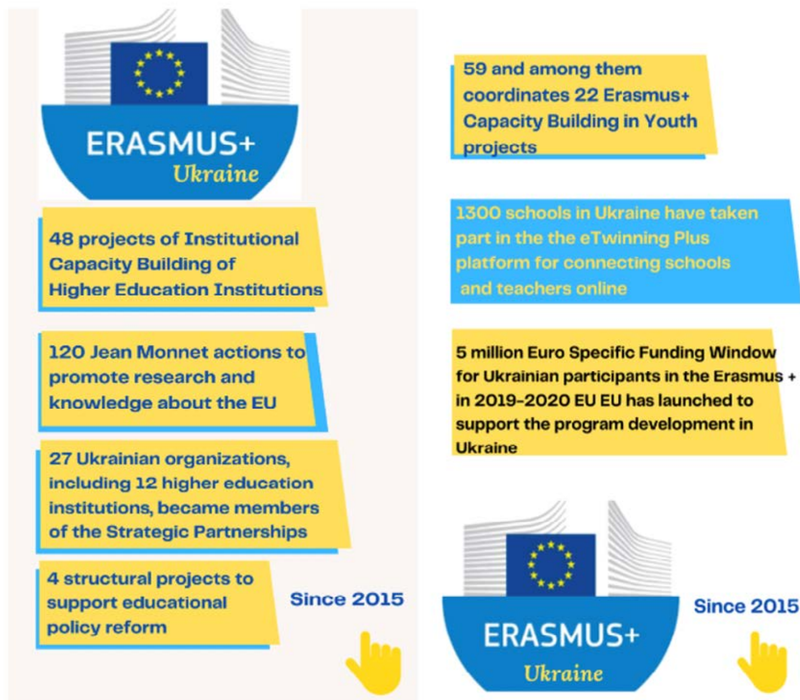

Figure 2 – Erasmus+ activities supported in Ukraine since 2015 (processing from Erasmus+ 2023).

Ukraine's has participated not only in the Erasmus+ programme, but also the Horizon 2020 programme of research of the EC since 2016. The EC reports that

> Since 2016, Ukraine was fully associated to the EU's Horizon 2020 and EURATOM Research and Training (2014-2020) programmes. Under Horizon 2020, Ukraine participated in 230 projects, involving 323 participants, for a total funding request of €45.5m. Ukraine has been particularly strong in researchers' mobility (MSCA), energy, climate and transport[4] (European Commission 2023a).

[3] See <https://ukraine-eu.mfa.gov.ua/en/2633-relations/galuzeve-spivrobitnictvo/klyuchovi-tendenciyi-politiki-yes-u-sferi-osviti-ta-kulturi-programa-yes-erazmus> (2023-07-01).

[4] See <https://research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/strategy/strategy-2020-2024/europe-world/international-cooperation/association-horizon-europe/ukraine_en> (2023-07-01).

Since 2022 there has been an agreement for Ukraine to accede to the successor Horizon Europe programme which runs until 2027. These programmes collectively have enabled Ukrainian researchers and students to move to other countries for study and research purposes, as well as to collaborate in research and innovation projects from home.

It is of note that from the first large migratory flows across the Mediterranean Sea and the Balkans in 2015 and early 2016, academic expertise and insights have become much sought-after. Rigo reports that migration «has become a tool of knowledge and expertise production» (2018, 507). New funding opportunities have emerged for research relevant to policymakers who can use the research findings for designing or implementing policies (Scholten 2018).

The academic environment in host countries has become a supportive community for the most vulnerable groups of forced migrants – women and children, who wanted to develop their careers and continue with their studies. At this point, however, there are no official statistics on the total number of teachers and students who have gone abroad and whether they continue their activities remotely.

Looking at universities as a home for migrants, a considerable number of Ukrainian representatives of the university's academic area obtained the researcher status in European universities. According to the survey undertaken by Maryl et al. (2022), of 619 responses from the target group of the study, those who were employed by a scientific institution in Ukraine as of 24 February 2022 and left Ukraine as a result of the Russian invasion on or after that date, 27.3% moved to Poland and to 22.1% to Germany with a notable numbers found in other countries such as Czech Republic (8.1%), Austria (5 %), Switzerland (5.2%), UK (3.5%)[5], and France (3.2%) and located mostly in larger urban areas (61%).

The skills and knowledge which Ukrainian scholars and researchers are currently developing in host countries are extensive. As they become more familiar with the research culture of European and UK Universities, they will be well-placed to take back the new skills and competencies they have developed. This new knowledge should in turn prove useful in the rebuilding of the higher education system of Ukraine and in the reconstruction of towns and cities across its territories in the future.

5. The Recognition of Ukrainian Qualifications

Due to problems with recognition of qualifications, skills and work experience, many refugees and migrants end up unemployed or underemployed. Many highly skilled refugees and migrants are working in low-skilled, temporary, and badly paid jobs. This a loss not only for the affected persons but also for the host societies and their economies.

[5] These numbers will have swollen in the UK subsequent to 2022 as a result of the British Academy, Researchers at Risk scheme reported later in this chapter.

Challenges persist regarding the movement of migrant workers across borders, as highlighted by OECD, not all migrants have access to recognition procedures: eligibility may depend on (1) the migrant's legal status, (2) «the type of qualifications», or (3) «the country» in which the qualifications were obtained (OECD 2020a, 2020b).

Many resources can support the recognition of qualifications held by refugees and displaced people by the European Commission, the ENIC-NARIC centres, and through initiatives such as the European Qualifications Passport for Refugees. The Ukrainian Ministry of Education and Science also has an open-access state database, the Unified State Electronic Database on Education (USEDE), which is used to verify documents and retrieve information on studies for applicants with incomplete documentation. All these procedures are aimed at reducing the difficulties of forced migrants and helping them adapt to new conditions while reducing the level of costs for the maintenance of migrants through their employment.

The assistance in barrier-free employment and continuation of work in places of migration is provided by professional institutions and, in the case of Ukrainian migrants, by universities, academies and NGO's and various foundations.

6. Support Schemes for Ukrainian Researchers in the EU and UK

In 2022 there were 42 damaged or completely destroyed higher education institutions in Ukraine, including 33 universities that operate as relocated educational institutions.

In European universities, the development of fellowship schemes is making an important contribution to the upskilling of Ukrainian academics, supporting colleagues in Ukraine and in enabling them to continue with ongoing research.

In the European Union, a new dedicated fellowship scheme – MSCA4Ukraine (part of the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions announced by European Commission) – was established to provide support for displaced researchers from Ukraine. This support will enable displaced researchers to continue their work at academic and non-academic organisations in EU Member States and in Horizon Europe Associated Countries and at the same time maintaining their connections to research and innovation communities in Ukraine. The scheme can also facilitate researchers' reintegration in Ukraine if conditions for safe return are met, to prevent permanent brain drain and to contribute to strengthening the Ukrainian university and research sector and its collaboration and exchange with the international research community.

The MSCA4Ukraine Programme is implemented by a consortium comprised of Scholars at Risk in Europe hosted at Maynooth University, Ireland (the Project Coordinator), the German Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the European University Association, the French national PAUSE programme hosted by the College de France, and with the Global Scholars at Risk Network participating as associate partners.

The MSCA4Ukraine scheme first opened for applications in October 2022. In February 2023, fellowship awards were issued to 124 researchers in 21 host countries (European Commission 2023b)[6].

Ukrainian researchers gave preference to taking up work through research grants (59.4%) and internships (51.3%), with over one-third opting for permanent (38.3%) or temporary positions (37.7%). This tells us something not only about personal survival strategies but also about the opportunity provided for professional growth and the education of researcher migrants. It is further evidence of the university's unique role in providing opportunities for Ukrainian researcher migrants' professional development.

According to a survey *Beyond Resilience: Professional Challenges, Preferences, and Plans of Ukrainian Researchers Abroad* (Maryl et al. 2022), the majority of researchers are between 40-49 years (62%), and are senior researchers who received a doctoral degree seven or more years ago, and 34.7% are working remotely at Ukrainian institutions. More than half are attached to foreign institutions, through a scholarship scheme (28.9%), through temporary employment (22.6%), or through a permanent position (3.0%). 5.0% have found non-academic jobs abroad and 7.2% are attached to a social assistance programme.

Research findings (Maryl et al. 2022) also show almost 70% (417) of the researchers had accompanying family members. The majority reported having dependent children (55%) and 18% were accompanied by a mother and 14% by a spouse. Other combinations included father (5.7%), siblings (3.2%) and partner (0.5%).

In the UK, the British Academy, with support from the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, the Council for At-Risk Academics (CARA), the Nuffield Foundation, the Academy of Medical Sciences, the Royal Academy of Engineering and the Royal Society, have together recently established a 'Researchers at Risk' Fellowships Programme.

This programme seeks to assist Ukrainian researchers and academics to continue their work in host UK institutions which currently include the British Museum, the Courtauld Institute of Art, the UK Centre for Ecology and Hydrology, the University of Glasgow, the University of Strathclyde, Queens University Belfast, and Cardiff University Central School of Speech and Drama[7] (Bonner 2023).

Management support for academics rests with non-government organisations such as the Council for At-Risk Academics (CARA) which provides urgently needed help to those in immediate danger, those forced into exile, and the many

[6] See "European Commission Announces Support for 124 Researchers who Fled the War through MSCA4Ukraine" <https://marie-sklodowska-curie-actions.ec.europa.eu/news/european-commission-announces-support-for-124-researchers-who-fled-the-war-through-msca4ukraine> (2023-07-01).

[7] See "Academy Celebrates Scheme for Refuge of Ukrainian Academics" <https://www.researchprofessionalnews.com/rr-news-uk-charities-and-societies-2023-4-academy-celebrates-scheme-for-refuge-of-ukrainian-academics> (2023-07-01).

who choose to work in their home countries despite serious risks. CARA also supports higher education institutions whose work is at risk or compromised[8].

Forty Fellows (32 of whom are Ukrainian and 8 Russian) impacted by the war in Ukraine have started their placements in the UK.

Ukrainian researchers are gaining an understanding of research and research culture in the host country. As a part of the international academic family Ukrainian scholars are establishing a new wave of international cooperation between European and Ukrainian universities. They have access to new research infrastructure, modern equipment, and it facilities which Ukrainian universities could develop with support from international donors.

The international practice of mentoring is already being transferred from displaced researchers to Ukrainian universities and is supporting the development of internationalisation. It is directly supporting the higher education system in Ukraine despite the high level of brain drain. The experience gained from researcher fellowships can overcome obstacles such as a lack of sufficient infrastructure for good research and professional deficiencies such as a poor command of English and a low level of esteem.

Support from the academic professional community in the field of science and education has made it possible to support many scientists from Ukraine with their professional development and lifelong learning strategies. Ukrainian scientists are continuing to support Ukrainian universities, implementing new European experiences, and maintaining the optimism of a new round of revival of Ukrainian Science with solidarity from the world scientific community.

Conclusion

European countries have stood in solidarity with Ukraine and its people. In response to an invasion of its territory, the EU has shown unity and strength and has provided Ukraine with coordinated humanitarian, political, financial, and material support. By encouraging and supporting work with migrants, universities will strengthen and expand their third mission, acquiring new Ukrainian partner universities, which can lead to positive transformation. The engagement of scholars and researchers in European Universities will also have a role to play in the dissemination of good practices in Ukrainian universities. Lifelong learning will also have an important role to play in supporting Ukraine to build the new resilient cities and communities of the future.

[8] During the last 10 years since 2013, CARA has seen significant growth in staffing (6 vs 22), Network members (74 vs 135), Income (£682,896 vs ca £8m in 2022), Fellowship Programme Fellows (24 vs 145) & Cara's voluntary annual subscriptions scheme for universities (£109,000 vs £561,450 in 2021/22 included several one-off top-ups because of the Ukraine crisis).

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CHAPTER 19

Tracing Longitudinal Impact of Professor Lalage Bown: International Master in Adult Education for Social Change

Bonnie Slade, Preeti Dagar

Abstract:

Adult education is recognised globally as a critical element in addressing challenges pertaining to climate justice, migration, employment, education and inequality. This chapter will explore the development, delivery, and impact of the International Master in Adult Education for Social Change (IMAESC n.d.), a European-funded joint master's degree, that can proudly trace its lineage to the work of Prof. Bown at the University of Glasgow. IMAESC is jointly delivered by the Universities of Glasgow, Malta, Maynooth, Tallinn and the Open University of Cyprus. Students complete three mandatory mobility periods and choose between two study tracks 'Community Engagement and Education' or 'Critical Issues, Policy and Curriculum'. Additionally, this two-year programme has a summer school in Malaysia (Universiti Sains Malaysia) focused on sustainability and peace studies. The first cohort of IMAESC students started in 2016 and there have been 118 graduates over the past seven years from over 60 countries. Adult Education takes place in many different sites – Vocational Education and Training (VET) institutions, higher education, community-based, workplace, and political struggle – and our students' experiences reflect that diversity. We examine what impact IMAESC graduates have made nationally and internationally, drawing from an empirical qualitative research project, 'Decolonising Higher Education: A case study of Erasmus Mundus master's programme IMAESC', undertaken in 2021-22. This research included interviews with 19 IMAESC graduates from the Global South. Through critical engagement with theory, policy and action, graduates have contributed to improving their communities, cities, civil society, nations, and international relations.

Keywords: Adult Education for Social Change; Decolonising Curriculum; EU Higher Education; Graduate Impact; Lalage Bown

Introduction: IMAESC Programme Stemming from Lalage's Legacy

Adult education is recognised globally as a critical element in addressing challenges pertaining to climate justice, migration, employment, education, and inequality. This chapter will explore the development, delivery, and impact of the International Master in Adult Education for Social Change (IMAESC),

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Bonnie Slade, Preeti Dagar, *Tracing Longitudinal Impact of Professor Lalage Bown: International Master in Adult Education for Social Change*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.27, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 269-279, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

a European-funded joint master's degree, that can proudly trace its lineage to the work of Prof. Lalage Bown at the University of Glasgow (Hamilton 2022; Pherali and Buckler 2022). According to Hamilton (2022):

> In 1981 Lalage was appointed to the Department of Adult and Continuing Education at the University of Glasgow as Director and titular professor. All of those who had the chance to work with Lalage in Glasgow were privileged in a directly personal way. Under her leadership in the 1980s Glasgow University had the widest subject range of all continuing education departments in the UK, and the 5th highest enrolment figures.

Lalage was inducted into the International Adult and Continuing Education Hall of Fame in 2009 in recognition of her significant contributions to the field. They summarise her approach to adult and continuing education as international, interdisciplinary, and inclusive: «extending to and integrating with economics, ecology, health education, literacy, religious and linguistic traditions. She has shown on many occasions her capacity in planning and participating in the decision-making process, whereby she succeeded in giving adult and continuing education a recognized profile as a major field of education policy in Europe and Africa» (IACE Hall of Fame n.d., paragraph 7).

The International Master in Adult Education for Social Change (IMAESC), an Erasmus Mundus Joint Master's Degree programme, was developed out of programmes initiated by Lalage in the 1980s. As is the case with all Erasmus Mundus Master's Degrees[1], it is delivered through a consortium of universities, in this case co-ordinated by the University of Glasgow in collaboration with the University of Malta, Maynooth University, the Open University of Cyprus, Tallin University, and University Sains Malaysia (USM). The consortium has worked collectively since 2014 in designing and running this master's course with a unique focus on Adult Education (AE) for Social Change in a global context. IMAESC is based on the values of equity, justice, human rights, and freedom; these values are integrated within the consortium and throughout the whole student experience. These are some of the morals and ethics that Lalage upheld throughout her life. Building on these values, the programme underscores the political foundations of education and its potential for creating critical thinkers who can work to create societies based on social justice principles. The course engages with and responds to key issues of our time, such as social inequality, migration, intercultural cooperation, employability, and sustainable development.

[1] Erasmus Mundus Joint Masters programmes are distinguished by being offered by multiple institutions over several countries and are promoted by the European Education and Culture Executive Agency (EECEA) as a benchmark for excellence. They are available to applicants from all countries in the world, and most offer scholarships provided by the EC. The current catalogue shows 193 programmes, and the University of Glasgow has been notable in being involved in 11 of the 33 that have UK partners, and co-ordinating 10 of these (see <https://www.eacea.ec.europa.eu/scholarships/erasmus-mundus-catalogue_en> [2023-07-01]).

A distinctive feature of this programme is the focus on the interconnections between theory and practice, gained through mandatory teaching placements in every mobility. Students undertake three focused credit bearing teaching placements, focused seminars and online courses developed specifically for IMAESC by the Open University of Cyprus, opportunities for three different summer internships, a summer school at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), a world-leader in sustainability and peace studies. There is also an annual research forum in Malta where students across cohorts present their research and interact with alumni. IMAESC specifically addresses the potential of adult education as a tool for genuine sustainable social change. Students emerge with a grounded analysis that allows them to improve their communities, cities, societies, nations, and international relations. The programme reflects the fact that adult education takes place in many different sites – Vocational Education and Training institutions, higher education, community-based, workplace, and political struggle – across the whole of people's lives, and has been recognised as having the potential to transform societies from the ground up.

This innovative collaborative programme has been funded twice by the European Commission (Erasmus Mundus Joint Master's Degree) from 2015-20 for 57 scholarships, and from 2018-23 for an additional 79 scholarships. In total we have had EU funding for seven cohorts. The programme has also attracted a significant number of self-funded students. IMAESC has accreditation from the Estonian Adult Educators Association (ANDRAS), the only formal accreditation system for recognising adult educators in Europe. Through an in-depth study of policy, practice, research, and theory, IMAESC aims to offer a coherent programme of in-depth study of adult education for social change, based on the specialised knowledge of the Consortium's academics, settings, and community partners, using a variety of teaching and assessment methods. IMAESC provides students with ongoing professional development and transferable skills training including the opportunity to acquire key employability skills through credited work placements.

There is strong international interest in the programme. We began the recruitment process in September 2015. For the 2016-18 cohort we had 168 viable scholarship applications (33 from the EU or neighbouring EU countries and 135 international) and we awarded 23 scholarships. The first cohort started in September 2016, consisting of 24 students from 19 countries. For the 2017-19 cohort we received 225 viable scholarship applications (42 from EU or neighbouring EU countries and 183 international) for 19 scholarships. For the 2018-20 cohort we received 349 viable scholarship applications (47 from EU or neighbouring EU countries and 302 international) for 17 scholarships. In the first three years of the programme, we awarded 57 scholarships and attracted 18 self-funded students; the 75 students across the three cohorts were from 35 different countries. Interest continues to grow in the programme and competition increases; for the 2022-24 cohort there were 751 applications for 17 scholarships.

1. Decolonising Higher Education: A Case Study of Erasmus Mundus Master's Programme IMAESC Project Overview

To understand the impact of the IMAESC programme, and better support the graduates in achieving their goal of social justice, we undertook a qualitative research study that analysed the graduates' reflections on the curriculum, pedagogy, and informal learning. The study explored to what extent this critical adult education programme was successful in providing an experience of decolonised higher education, and what challenges were faced by the participants from the Global South. We invited participants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America that had either completed or were enrolled in the IMAESC programme at the time of the study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 19 participants: nine from Asia, eight from Latin America, and two from Africa. The interviews were conducted online using Zoom between April and August 2021. Ethical approval was received from the University of Glasgow. All names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

In the next section of the chapter, we present vignettes of four of these students coming from Asia, Africa, South Asia, and Latin America. The stories of these participants showcase the impact of IMAESC students in the world through their contribution to governmental organisational, multilateral institutions, non-governmental organisations and within academia.

1.1 IMAESC Participants' Vignettes

1.1.1 Bauna: Working with a Governmental Organisation

«The title of the programme attracted me», said Bauna, who works with the Ministry of Education in Indonesia. At the time of the interview, she was working on a project regarding disabled learners: «I feel there is more attention paid to these issues there (implying Global North)», speaking from her experience of IMAESC, where she developed an understanding of educational and learning programmes in different countries. She resonated with the theory and philosophy of IMAESC. After starting her work with the Ministry of Education, she worked on a campaign to make people aware of their rights through learning, something she learned in IMAESC through an introduction to Paulo Freire. Bauna also supported the ministry in developing teacher training programmes and digital and non-digital courses. She maintained that IMAESC has profoundly affected her professional life. Adapting to three different countries, working with people from all around the world and accommodating to a new culture every six months resulted in her seeing multiple perspectives for every issue.

Bauna pointed out that IMAESC helped her develop an international network of educators and trainers working towards a common goal of social change. She recalled working on a teacher development programme and contacting her classmates from the Republic of Korea and the United States to understand

how such programmes are designed and operated in those countries. Bauna once attended a workshop where participants shared about formal and informal educational structures in their home countries and how that shapes their way of viewing the world. Bauna completed a placement in the innovation centre of the University of Tallinn, where she designed a website to improve some of their online programmes. Such work experiences and exposure assist her in her current work, and she often reflects on her learning within the classroom of IMAESC courses and her practical experience in the placements.

1.1.2 Nahome: Employed at an International Organisation

Nahome joined the programme from Ethiopia, where he was working as a consultant and trainer with a local organisation. After completing the IMAESC course, Nahome started working with the World Bank in Ethiopia in Human Resource Development. While discussing the programme, he stressed that he learnt much more than academic knowledge and developed different life skills, especially cultural ones. In his words, «my cultural competencies were boosted». He recalled his experiences of working with classmates, lecturers and broader community members in Glasgow, Malta, and Tallinn. Nahome maintained that he got the opportunity for non-formal interaction during this programme through training, presentations, seminars, placement, and other activities, which is not common in his country. He stated that he learned via «meeting people from different geographical areas, different identities, different expertise and interest». Nahome claimed that he established strong ties with community members during his placement in all three countries and developed socio-emotional skills, soft skills and other skills that will help him throughout his life. He particularly enjoyed his placement in Malta, where he worked with migrants and refugees who were entering Malta in hopes of finding asylum in Europe.

Talking about his position in an international organisation, he said that the theoretical and practical aspects of the IMAESC course assist him in designing policies and curricula. The class material and discussions have made him question the social barriers back home. Nahome appreciated the multidisciplinary nature of IMAESC, which made him aware and encouraged him to think deeply about social and cultural issues. He developed an understanding of accommodating the diversity of opinions while designing training programmes and developing theories for human development.

1.1.3 Rajendra: Working with a Non-governmental Organisation

«I started thinking from learner's perspective», Rajendra remarked. The activity has to be productive for the participant, Rajendra added, who was talking about the activities in the local communities of his Himalayan country, Nepal. Rajendra is employed at an NGO where he works with the local community youth groups and women's groups in his country. IMAESC had shifted his perspective about learning from what knowledge the instructor wants to impart to

what learner's wish to learn. Remembering the principles of Jane Vella (2000), which he learnt in the first semester in Glasgow, he explained that the knowledge has to be useful to the participants, so before designing our programmes, we now ask these youth and women's groups about what would be they want to learn – «We discuss issues with the groups and come up with practical solutions or activities». Rajendra believed this change in his perspective is a great achievement he has gained through his IMAESC journey. He asserted that he became more receptive and open to learning and diversity after meeting people from different geographies.

Going out of his country and getting an education in an old, reputed institution was a dream come true for Rajendra. At the beginning of the course, he was anxious that he would be judged for his accent or appearance, and what would happen if he wanted to contribute to the class, but words did not come to him at that time, and the moment passed. Although, some of these issues were resolved when he met his twenty-four classmates from nineteen countries, who all looked different and had different accents. He stressed how IMAESC was a good platform to learn from each other's life experiences within and outside the classrooms. Rajendra stated that all three institutions at Glasgow, Malta, and Tallinn had different sets of teaching and learning practices based on different cultural contexts and settings. In his home country, he had a different learning experience where teachers are seen as repositories of learning, and students sit silently in the class to learn from teachers. Throughout his experience in all three institutions, he moved from teacher-centred to student-centred learning, from «being an object to being a subject». While talking about all of his experiences, he reminded us that he has worked with adults and as part of different NGOs before attending the master's in Adult Education. Therefore, he was reasonably confident that he knew how to work and collaborate with adults. However, he called his learning «a transformation of a lifetime». He described the fond memories of the time in IMAESC with people coming with a similar purpose (of social change) from different backgrounds and bringing all knowledge and experiences of the Globe in a single classroom or forum.

1.1.4 Pedro: Pursuing a PhD

Pedro was appreciative of the scholarship that he received to study IMAESC, and exclaimed, «I would not be able to do a masters in the UK if not for the scholarship». He rated his experience as exceptional both in academic and personal terms. Pedro is pursuing his PhD in Sociology at a university in the UK. His IMAESC degree helped him on his trajectory to pursue a PhD, where he is exploring the role of critical education in his home country context. Pedro talked about his learning at the IMAESC and explored critical pedagogy and sustainable development education. He also mentioned learning more about the theorists such as Paulo Freire and Henry Giroux. Through studying in the IMAESC programme he realised that he had a strong academic inclination: «I really liked research methods and academic writing courses» Pedro stated. In

addition, like many of his classmates, he enjoyed the non-formal and informal part of the course, where he met people from different cultures, races, and religions. Pedro talked about the placement aspect of the IMAESC and pointed out that the practical experience he gained through placement has helped him connect his theoretical knowledge to ground reality. For Pedro, IMAESC was instrumental in developing his interest in social research and enhancing his research skills. Coming from a Global South country with limited financial resources to pursue studies in Global North, Pedro is grateful to have had an opportunity through the Erasmus scholarship to study at some institutions in the UK and Europe.

2. Discussion: The (Emerging) Impact of IMAESC Programme

The testimonies in this paper highlight the importance of learning from different communities, societies, and cultures. The graduates of IMAESC programmes stress that the most valuable learning for them is through connecting with local communities in Glasgow, Malta, Estonia, Ireland, and Malaysia. Most of the students of this course have appreciated the placement aspect of the programme, where they had an opportunity to go to the local communities and neighbourhoods and learn good adult education practices in three different national contexts. Nahome appreciated his experiences working with migrants and asylum seekers in Malta. Student placements in Malta have provided lasting contributions to the community in the form of projects (Foundation for Shelter and Support to Migrants) as well as the CampusFM series of 34 programmes (Malta University Broadcasting n.d.), and video journalism with the African Media Association.

A concern about social inequality and a belief that adult educators can contribute to social change based on smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth is the driving force behind the creation of the IMAESC. Through the framework of the joint Master's degree the programme guarantees the transferability of the curriculum of six different universities. Beyond the university setting, however, certain progressive structures and practices will transfer between sites. The narratives of Bauna and Rajendra demonstrate the application of adult education practices in their work with government and grassroots-level organisations. Students have been involved in campaigns focusing on reproductive rights, in helping with accreditation of an adult education site and in evaluating a migrant integration strategy and programme. We have a growing number of publications from academics in the Consortium and student and graduates themselves. This paper is an example of collaborative work between graduates and IMAESC Consortium members. IMAESC graduates have published monographs based on their dissertation research (Joksimovic 2020) and in leading journals (Sa'ad et al. 2018; Dagar 2019, 2021, 2022; Bogossian 2020; Sonne 2020). Drawing on a conceptualisation of impact as complex and nuanced allows us to begin thinking of the potential impact of the IMAESC programme.

Haggis suggests that in using a complexity perspective in relation to a study of learning in higher education it is necessary to look «across multiple levels and systems simultaneously» (2011, 192). She suggests a «subtly different» approach to cause and effect, which recognises «a relationship between conditions and emergent properties does not attempt to define any of the causalities involved» (2011, 192). It is this not simple to estimate the impact of IMAESC; the global impact of this programme will be felt through the graduates' actions throughout their lives (Haggis 2011; Fox and Slade 2014).

In addition, almost all of the participants of our study have acknowledged that they feel part of a larger global network of adult educators working in different parts of the world and striving towards reducing inequality and creating more equitable societies. IMAESC builds from each learner's interest in adult education to deepen and broaden their knowledge and understanding of adult education in a globalizing world. It is designed for students with diverse prior knowledge and develops their understanding of adult education from an international perspective with a focus on social justice. Students receive a theoretical grounding in adult education, as well as intercultural and practical skills development through work-based learning placements, focused seminars, and online courses. In this way IMAESC is an open learning space, welcoming students from all disciplines – education, engineering, business, and the arts. It is developing future generations of practitioners across a diverse range of professions globally.

Despite austerity policies throughout Europe that are devastating adult education programmes in many member states, the European Commission has provided IMAESC through its Erasmus Mundus Joint Master's Degree programme with more than 5 million euros. IMAESC has made an impact in two ways. First, the programme has enabled progressive students from all over the world to connect and work collectively for social change with students and staff in the IMAESC Consortium and broader networks. IMAESC presents a sustainable model that hopefully will have long-lasting effects. IMAESC has built on the existing deep teaching and research connections between the IMAESC Consortium members, and between the partners and the wider adult education community. A high level of cooperation has been established between partners through membership of key international institutions as European Union (EU) and local associations and research networks such as: the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning, the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA), the Institute for International Cooperation of the German AE Association (DVV International), the International Council for AE (ICAE), Asia-Europe Education and Research Hub for Lifelong Learning (ASEM LLL), Place and Social Capital and Learning (PASCAL) International Observatory, Canadian Association for Studies in AE (CASAE), Standing Committee on the University Teaching Research and Education of Adults (SCUTREA) and the University Association for Lifelong Learning (UALL). Much of this connectivity stems for the existence within the co-ordinating organisation, the School of Education of the University of Glasgow of the Centre for Research and Development on Adult Lifelong Learning (CR&DALL). The centre not only has strong relationships with

all of the aforementioned organisation, but also situates the programme within a strong adult education research infrastructure. By engaging with these networks, IMAESC has enabled students, staff, and partners to access and engage in international dialogues through established research networks in the field.

Secondly, the programme has enhanced the profile of adult education within the UK and EU higher education sector, and globally. IMAESC is active in shaping international AE and social change policy and practice. Team members have actively contributed to UNESCO processes, such as the Global Report on Adult Learning and Education, the Futures of Education initiative, CONFINTEA and the development of new programmes by UNESCO institutes. They have also worked with a host of other organisations, including the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the EU and national governments globally.

Since 2016 IMAESC has presented papers at academic conferences (European Society for Research on the Education of Adults Policy Studies 2017; ESREA Research Network on Adult Educators, Trainers and Professional Development 2017, 2019; Comparative Education Society in Europe 2018; International Society for Comparative AE Conference 2017; ESREA Triennial Conference 2019; ESREA Research Network for Adult Educators, Trainers and their Professionalisation 2021; Adult Education in Global Times Conference 2021). IMAESC graduates presented their research at European and International Conferences (Networked Learning Forum 2021; SCUTREA Lifelong Learning for Inclusion and Sustainability Conference 2022), and students are encouraged to organise, present, and facilitate events that promote IMAESC values. There has been much interest in IMAESC from global social justice networks and we are poised to increase our voice in critical debates on social inequality and AE.

Working collaboratively across national borders and institutional contexts has enabled the IMAESC Consortium to highlight the importance of adult education for social change and help contribute to the work on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals for 2030. Although IMAESC was developed more than two decades after Prof. Bown left the University of Glasgow it is clearly part of her legacy. In 2000, Lalage wrote:

> Lifelong education at the end of the twenty-first century will certainly comprise these curricular elements. How they will be delivered and what resources will be available is material for science fiction, but one hopes that any policy context, nationally and internationally, will be based on some underlying principle of social justice (Bown 2000, 350).

Similar to Lalage, IMAESC graduates are driven by an innate desire to contribute towards a just and equitable society. These graduates are making their mark in policy and practice through their work in different parts of the world. In this chapter, we draw on the experiences of four of these graduates, but they are not alone in their fight to create better policies and practices for adult education. With the continuous growth of the IMAESC network, we hope to invite, train, and develop several other practitioners in adult education who will work towards the goal of social justice.

Lalage met several IMAESC graduates in 2018 at the celebration of her 90th birthday in Glasgow. We are proud to trace IMAESC back to the work of Prof. Bown. May IMAESC live long and prosper.

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CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

CHAPTER 20

Lalage Bown: The Enduring Legacy. A Personal Reflection

Richard Taylor

Abstract:

This personal reflection of Lalage Bown focuses upon her professional contributions internationally to the field of progressive adult and continuing education, and her remarkable personality and charisma. Although the contexts for her work varied considerably over her many decades of activism and leadership, the values underpinning her approach remained constant. The chapter begins by outlining the nature of these guiding principles, and then considers her intellectual achievements, as exemplified in her 1994 Lecture on Radical Social Purpose Adult Education. Lalage had, by common consent, a memorable 'presence' as a public speaker, and this rare talent is discussed and some examples given. The chapter concludes with some personal reminiscences, which try to give a flavour of her unforgettable character; and some suggestions about some (realistic) policy priorities which Lalage might be campaigning for in the 2020s.

Keywords: Adult Education; Charisma; Personality; Principles; Social Purpose

Introduction

The impressive range of Lalage Bown's professional life and achievements, over many years, has been well described and analysed by other contributors in this book. Even more important than the range, however, are the moral and political values that shine through in all Lalage's work. The contexts may, indeed do, change radically: but the values remain constant.

This final, brief, chapter should begin with a personal 'semi-disclaimer': I knew Lalage over many years, and liked, respected and admired her, both as an influential and committed adult educator and, latterly, as a friend. But I was not a *close* friend or confidante. My reflections here are thus those of someone in her world but not in her immediate, intimate circle.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. I begin with an attempt to delineate the central values that constituted Lalage's commitment to adult education. I then discuss her considerable achievements as an academic, with reference to one particular publication with which I was personally, albeit marginally, involved: her 1994 Albert Mansbridge Memorial Lecture, delivered at the University of

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Richard Taylor, *Lalage Bown: The Enduring Legacy. A Personal Reflection*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4.28, in Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, pp. 283-292, 2023, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

Leeds, where I was then Director of Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning. This nicely demonstrates Lalage's erudition, applied to specific policy issues, with typically measured but uncompromising radicalism.

The greatest impact Lalage had, however, was through her abilities as a motivational speaker. Nobody in our field had a greater 'presence' or a more intuitive, emotional connection with her audience – whether that be of adult students (both in the UK and Africa) or of fellow Senators at the University of Glasgow. After attempting to crystallise this striking aspect of Lalage's persona, I recall a couple of personal recollections, which seem to me to typify her style and personality. In conclusion, I suggest some lines of future policy development for adult education, which I hope build upon the values that Lalage held so dear.

1. Values

The core values of radical, social purpose adult education, of which Lalage was such a notable exponent and practitioner, are arguably based on four interrelated principles. Firstly, there is an *a priori* belief in a participative, informed democracy as being the foundation of the 'good society'. Such democracy, certainly in its currently extant form anywhere in the real world of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, is a deeply flawed system – and there is much truth, in my view, in the caveats advanced by left socialists about 'bourgeois democracy' (Miliband 1982, 1994). Nevertheless, it needs emphasising that, imperfect though it is as a political and social system, there is no viable alternative. The sorry history of the Marxist-Leninist experiment bears eloquent testament to the dangers of 'vanguardist' attempts at a 'short cut' (Benn 1981).

Secondly, any democracy worth the name has to have commitments to both the principles of 'equality' and 'fellowship' (Tawney 1952[1]; Taylor and Steele 2011; Goldman 2013). For a vibrant, participative democracy a much greater equalisation of wealth and income, to be achieved largely through redistributive taxation, is essential – and the importance of taxing wealth as well as income is key in the modern context, given its unprecedented concentration in the richest 5% to 10% of the population in capitalist societies (Picketty 2013). «Equality», as Tawney explained, should not be construed as «equality of opportunity»: this, he noted, in effect means «merely equal opportunities to be unequal». On the contrary, he argued, socialists should aim to «effect a complete divorce between differences of pecuniary income and differences in respect of health, security, amenity of environment, culture, social status and esteem»

[1] R.H. Tawney was a well-known, and greatly respected, social and economic historian of modern Britain. He was a lifelong advocate and practitioner of liberal adult education, especially as practised through the Workers Educational Association (WEA). He wrote several influential books and was a leading member of many Government Royal Commissions. He was a lifelong socialist and an active Christian in the Church of England (the biography, by Lawrence Goldman, provides reliable detail and analysis of Tawney's contributions to adult education and his intellectual perspectives generally).

(Tawney 1952 [1931], 178-79). The commitment to 'fellowship' was equally important. Human beings are social animals. Despite the dominance of individualist culture, the increasingly isolating society of the 'internet age', and, in the educational context, the overwhelming emphasis upon crudely instrumental, vocational provision, the fundamental need and desire for collective, mutually supportive, and collegial educational experience remains foundational to the adult education culture.

Thirdly, as Richard Hoggart has observed, «open democracies must have critically-literate citizens» (1992, 5). It is here that we move away from the generic, political values of the radical educator, which apply to the wider society, to values which focus specifically upon the role of adult education *per se* in the context of developing a vibrant, inclusive, and participative democracy. Absolutely central to this perspective is the belief that critical adult education, engaged in and with a large proportion of the population, has the potential to challenge and, at the very least, ameliorate the manifest injustices and unfairness that characterise contemporary liberal democratic societies.

All questions are open questions, and arguments from all ideological perspectives must be explored, analysed and contested (radical adult educators would do well to bear in mind Karl Marx's favourite motto: «Doubt everything»). Moreover, it is of crucial importance that adult education should not degenerate into hectoring polemic and political propaganda. Whilst adult educators should always be constructively critical of the prevailing norms and ideological assumptions of society, this should never have the objective of 'converting' adult students to a particular ideological belief, whether religious or political. Rather, the task should be seen as enabling adult students to find their own way to their own conclusions. This must involve, *inter alia*, providing students with the methodological tools to enable them to identify well-grounded evidence, as opposed to ill-informed prejudice; and to ensure that relevant sources are identified which are from ideological perspectives which differ from both the students' and tutor's own. At times this may, indeed should, be 'uncomfortable'; but that is, it is argued, the only way to arrive at an informed set of opinions which, however firmly held, encompass an understanding and tolerance of differing perspectives.

A final, foundational value, which flows from the latter and was of particular importance in Lalage's life and work, is the role of adult education in countering the predilections towards prejudicial attitudes in Western societies, whether this be of racist or ethnic perspectives, or sexist and especially misogynistic positions. There are of course many ways to try to eradicate these damaging and irrational beliefs. Political mobilisation and demonstration is one such, and at times the most appropriate and effective. But, in the end, it is education that provides the only long term solution. In times of political or economic crisis, it is all too easy for extremists, especially right-wing extremists, to 'scapegoat' minorities by appealing to innate prejudices against 'the other'. The classic, and most horrific, example is of course the persecution and mass murder of Europe's Jewish population by the Nazi regime in the 1930s and 1940s. But it also applies to

the long and variegated history of the legacy of European (and later, American) colonialism and the racism that was one of its primary characteristics. It was in this latter context – specifically British colonial rule in Africa and its aftermath – that Lalage played such an important and prominent role, as other authors in this book have described and illustrated.

All such prejudiced attitudes are based upon irrational and uninformed emotions, which result from feelings of alienation, disempowerment, and consequently of being culturally threatened. This applies as much to homophobia, misogyny and Islamophobia (or for that matter, eugenics) as it does to racist or ethnic prejudice. To repeat the point made above: the solution is always the inculcation of more informed, tolerant perspectives through engagement with evidence-based counter arguments and open-ended discussion. In many contexts, including the colonial and post-colonial environments in which Lalage spent so much of her professional life, this entails introducing adult students to arguments, perspectives and sources, which are counter-cultural. In the specific context of Africa in the latter half of the twentieth century, this meant enabling students to have access to radical, anti-colonial, narratives and the evidence upon which these were based.

Moreover, as Amia Srinivasan has noted, there is «a robust sociological finding that the more education a person receives, the likelier they are to lean left; by the same token, less education is correlated with political conservatism and thus to the prejudicial attitudes referred to» (2023, 6); this goes a long way to explaining the funding initiatives for universities in the USA by such explicitly right-wing bodies as the Koch Foundation, in order to ensure that universities appoint predominantly conservative presidents and trustees.

This characteristic of radical adult education is also closely related to the more general Mansbridgean principle of 'education for education's sake': the sheer joy of learning. Enabling adult students to experience and appreciate the finest achievements of human culture – whether of literature, art, the sciences, or music – is one of the most worthwhile, enjoyable, and satisfying aspects of adult education provision.

2. Research and Publication

In the British context, the priority for radical adult educators has rightly been the devising and delivery of high quality, sensitively designed and innovative curricula for widely divergent communities of adult students. Lalage, committed as she was to adult education as a means of transformative enlightenment at both the individual and societal levels, was no exception to this generalisation.

However, it should be emphasised that many of the best radical adult educators were also active and effective in the field of research and publication. The extensive references throughout this book to publications by 'Bown, L.' provide eloquent testimony to her status as an accomplished scholar. However, running through all her research work is the imperative of seeing the primary purpose of academic research as providing the basis for meaningful educational – and by

implication, social and political – change. Abstract theorising was not for her. Rather, the primary questions were always 'what use is it, for both the individual and the wider society?'; 'how will it enhance good practice?'; and 'what are the positive policy implications?'

Here, I focus upon just one of Lalage's publications, which I believe illustrates both her scholarship and her commitment to the principles underlying radical adult education. In November 1994, she delivered, at the University of Leeds, the fifteenth Albert Mansbridge Lecture, entitled *Learning, Liberty and Social Purpose: A Reminder of Our Radical Liberal Inheritance in Adult Education and Some Thoughts on Its Future* (Bown 1995). Her objectives in this lecture were threefold: «to review the concept of the relation of learning to democracy; to renew the debate about the role of voluntary learning organisations within a democratic country, and to suggest how we might build on the Mansbridge and WEA inheritance for the twenty-first century» (1995, 1).

Lalage begins by reminding us of Mansbridge's vision for the WEA[2], and his belief in the necessary connections between a viable democracy and «access to knowledge, and to habits of critical thought», and equality and freedom of association, all in the context of his commitment to «voluntarism». She goes on to emphasise that, whilst we «have to shape our own vision [...] we need to draw on our inheritance [...] to learn about the issues of our time and to judge them on the basis of logic and articulated principles, rather than prejudice» (1995, 2-3).

At the heart of Lalage's lecture is an extended and erudite discussion of the importance of John Milton to this radical inheritance. As Lalage notes, Milton's immense reputation as one of England's greatest poets, sometimes obscures his considerable role as a republican, radical and libertarian activist and writer. She draws attention to his belief that: «'where there is much to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making'» (1995, 4).

Milton focused attention not only on the importance of 'freedom' *per se* but foreshadowed later twentieth-century discussion of the crucial distinction between 'freedom *from*' and 'freedom *to*', emphasising the importance of the 'social contract' implied by the latter (see Berlin 1958, for the classic modern discussion of this issue).

The two principles of Milton's *Areopagitica* on which Lalage concentrates, have particular purchase upon the principles and practice of contemporary radical adult education. Milton advocates the widest possible access to knowledge

[2] The WEA (Workers' Educational Association) was founded in 1903 in the UK, by Albert Mansbridge, as a voluntary body whose purpose was to enable working class men and women to have access to the full range of educational opportunities, with a particular focus upon the arts, humanities and social studies. It was, and remains, characterised by a local branch structure, with many thousands of learners and Branch members, supported by a small cohort of professional full-time adult educators. During the twentieth century, the WEA spread to Australia and Canada.

and that «it should not be shut away from the people [...]. Only by the opportunity to exercise judgements can learners develop discrimination» (Bown 1995, 4). Secondly, Milton advocates an unrestricted curriculum. As he puts it: «'Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolised and traded by tickets and statutes and standards'» (1995, 5). Today's university managers, and the bureaucracies responsible for Inspection and Quality Assurance, would do well to heed his strictures!

Lalage contrasts Milton's refreshingly open-ended and challenging perspective with the 'restrictiveness' of the current institutional and national structures for adult education and the 'unpalatibility', for many adult learners, of such an approach.

In typical Lalage fashion, she concludes with a telling reference to Wordsworth's famous sonnet:

> Milton, thou shouldst be living at this hour
> England hath need of thee: she is a fen
> Of stagnant waters ... (1995, 7)

If this was true in 1994-95, how much more it is the case in 2023. Moreover, if the richer countries of the developed world are unable to fulfil these essential educational objectives, how much more difficult is the task in the Global South?

Lalage emphasises the intrinsic, democratic benefits of voluntarism in adult education, in a variety of contexts, including the importance of 'sociability' of «coming together to learn in common, with the motive of meeting others, gaining a sense of affiliation» (1995, 9), thus countering the tendencies in modern societies to social atomisation and alienation.

Drawing on her experience of varied adult education contexts in Africa and Asia, Lalage argues that, although modern mass media (to which we must add in the twenty-first century, 'social media') may offer «sophisticated and often highly attractive» documentaries and the like, only the collective, mutually supportive, adult education group «can mobilise people for change» (1995, 11).

What then is missing in adult education in the contemporary world? Lalage's view is clear: «We have a sad lack still [...] of *political* education on any scale» (1995, 12). She cites other comparable developed societies where national governments provide financial support for (non-partisan) such education – Germany and Denmark, for example. Perhaps, Lalage suggests, this could lead in the UK to the creation of an enlarged Adult Education Forum, «with authenticity as representative of adult learners [...] [with] a strong remit for educational change [...]» (1995, 12-13).

Reminding us of the importance of seeing adult education always as a *movement*, Lalage makes in conclusion a series of radical, but practical, recommendations for policy initiatives. First, echoing Raymond Williams, Lalage stresses that education is about constant enquiry, and we should be «questioning the orthodoxies of our day» (1995, 14). Citing August Bebel, Lalage notes that

«the free market is just 'the free fox in the hen-run'» (1995, 14). Moreover, in the mid-1990s as now, the UK spent a significantly smaller proportion of its GDP per capita upon education (and indeed on health) than almost all comparable developed societies. Secondly, adult education should be linked more to community development. 'Good practice' examples – of adult education with unemployed people, with ethnic minority communities and with a range of disadvantaged sections of the wider society – should be built upon and extended. Thirdly, and clearly dear to Lalage's heart, adult education should be «reaching out internationally» (1995, 15), making the best use, *inter alia*, of the opportunities offered by the dissemination of IT. And, finally, linked to this, Lalage recommends that, in the internet age, we should institute «a whole new adult curriculum of critical appraisal of national and international communication, using as a starting-point the work done in some universities in media studies» (1995, 16). This would involve, amongst other issues, rigorous analysis of the ideological implications of the restricted ownership structures of such mass media outlets (re-reading this almost thirty years later, its prescience and contemporary applicability are striking).

In conclusion, Lalage brings us back to the inspiring Miltonic ideal of 'free and open learning for all' and 'the Mansbridge ideal of learning for a social purpose'.

The combination in this Lecture of erudition that is highly relevant to the radical case that is being argued, with well-founded, radical and realistic policy recommendations, typifies in my view Lalage's talents as both a committed professional and an attractive warm persona. Other examples of her work could of course be given: but I hope that enough is evident here to demonstrate Lalage's scholarly status and her commitment to ensuring that research had a real world, radical effect.

3. Personal Impact

No-one who has had the privilege of hearing Lalage speak in a public forum can ever forget her 'presence', her gift for inspiring oratory or the hard-headed but appealing commitment to her deeply held principles. It is, however, notoriously difficult to convey such qualities through the written word. Although Lalage necessarily played upon a smaller, more focused, stage, her qualities in this context bear comparison with such luminaries as Aneurin Bevan, Martin Luther King Junior, and Maya Angelou. The very few people who have such talents somehow 'hold' their audience: there is a magnetism, akin to that of a great actor in the theatre. This is an elusive, and precious, quality: and Lalage had it in abundance – and in a variety of contexts. For example, several colleagues have recalled the standing ovation that Lalage received from Glasgow University's Senate (as detailed in an earlier chapter). Similarly, I have been present at several national adult education conferences and seminars when Lalage's contribution was received with unusual acclamation. 'Charisma' is a greatly overused word: but, without doubt, Lalage had it – once heard, never forgotten.

4. Personal Recollections

As I said earlier, I was a longstanding colleague, and latterly a friend, of Lalage Bown. Here, I recall just two of many memories – one professional, the other, personal – of my interactions with Lalage.

The first can be quite briefly described. I was giving a paper at a well-attended adult education conference in Oxford, in, I think, the early 1990s. The topic of my paper was (as perhaps too often!) radical social purpose adult education. The first contribution to the subsequent discussion was from Lalage. She began by expressing general agreement with the position taken; but then forcefully (and accurately) pointed to the dangers of arrogating to adult education alone the radical ideology that underpinned our perspective. This was not only erroneous but dangerous, she maintained. We needed to be aware, and to acknowledge, our debts to a range of intellectual and political forebears: Milton, J.S. Mill, numerous socialists and social movement activists and so on. She was absolutely right: and I appreciated her forthright, informed but collegial corrective; and it was 'a lesson' that I hope I have never forgotten.

The personal recollection is from a much later period, when Lalage was in her 80s and not in the best of health. Lalage came, by train, to visit my partner and me in our lake District home. As it happened, my partner, a much closer friend of Lalage's, was called away to a meeting in London. So I collected Lalage from the railway station in the late afternoon. It transpired that she had had to stand for much of the lengthy journey. I was concerned for her health and, after the short drive home, I asked her if she would like a rest («No thanks»); perhaps a cup of tea? («No thanks»). Maybe a glass of one of her favourite whiskies («Yes, please!»). Conversation flowed: the state of adult education; the dire state of British national politics; some personal/professional 'gossip'; and much else. A memorable evening. The next day, after my partner returned, Lalage revealed that she had done her local research, and asked whether we might visit a Church, some 15 miles away. There, she informed us, a notable artist, Ann Macbeth, originally from the Glasgow School of Art, where she had studied in the early 1900s, who had moved in middle age to the Lakes, had designed a series of very striking embroidered hangings for the church. We spent a fascinating hour or two admiring these and learning about the artist and her work. Yet another example of Lalage's seeking out fulfilling learning at every opportunity[3].

[3] Ann Macbeth (1875-1948), who attended Glasgow School of Art, graduating in 1901, was a distinguished embroiderer. Her 'Good Shepherd' hangs opposite a printed reproduction of her 'Patterdale Nativity' in St.Patrick's Church, Patterdale. She was a supporter and campaigner for the Women's Suffrage movement in the early twentieth century and her designs were used for several of the Suffragette banners. This whole episode is indicative of Lalage's determination – even when she was approaching 90 years of age – to enlist two professors as 'adult education students'!

Concluding Observations: 'What Would Lalage Do?'

What policy lessons, then, can we learn from this remarkable and much loved adult educator? As noted at the outset, the contexts change in fundamental ways in different eras, but the values remain constant. In our present, frankly dire, times what policy options, realistically, would Lalage advocate?

Two obvious objectives can be asserted without any doubt. First, the catastrophic destruction over recent decades of adult education in the UK – in Further Education (FE) even more than in Higher Education (HE) – *has* to be reversed. The policies of the Conservative governments, in the adult education context as in much else, have been inexcusable and deeply damaging and destructive. This is hardly any longer a party political point: most sensible Conservatives acknowledge this, at least 'off the record'. Secondly, the reduction of what remains of adult education provision to crudely instrumental vocationalism, in the context of an increasingly marketised FE and HE system, also has to be reversed, and quickly.

Important though these are, they are essentially remedial. What of the radical adult education that Lalage (and many of the rest of us) advocated? Three (realistic) recommendations, in Lalage's 'tradition', might be hazarded. Firstly, and quite simply, there should be a recognition that adult education needs *dedicated funding* (this applies in Britain to both the FE and HE sectors: but is also an international problem). Without this, it will disappear altogether with incalculable negative effects upon the democratic polity, in Britain as elsewhere. Secondly, the drift to an exclusive concentration upon instrumental vocational education has to be broadened to include centrally Lalage's suggestion for imaginative, democratic and relevant, open-ended political education. The central contribution of critical liberal adult education to the democratic polity has to be foregrounded – and institutionally and financially recognised. Thirdly, the international dimension of adult education, which Lalage did so much to prioritise, has to be again brought to the fore, especially in the xenophobic post-Brexit world of the early twenty-first century.

In these difficult times, Lalage's life, professional and personal commitments, and sheer moral example, will continue to inspire adult educators and many others in the UK, in Africa, and in many other parts of the world.

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FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)
Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, © 2023 Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

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FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)
Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, © 2023 Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

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FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Maria Slowey, Heribert Hinzen, Michael Omolewa, Michael Osborne (edited by), *Adult Education and Social Justice: International Perspectives*, © 2023 Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4

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ISSN 2704-596X (print)
ISSN 2704-5781 (online)
ISBN 979-12-215-0252-7 (Print)
ISBN 979-12-215-0253-4 (PDF)
ISBN 979-12-215-0254-1 (XML)
DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0253-4
www.fupress.com