

Part six
Roots and Roads in the Evolution of
Andragogy

Modern Conceptions of Andragogy: A European Framework

Any scientific discipline claiming to have its own identity will attempt to indicate and shed light on its path of development. There are no valid reasons why andragogy should not do the same. The importance of this exercise is all the greater if we know, on the basis of comparative studies, that there exist different approaches to andragogy, both as a discipline and as a university subject. In the professional literature, individuals have brought up the issue of who is the 'father' of andragogy, while others consider themselves 'inventors' of andragogy. This would never have occurred had andragogy explored the roots and roads of its own evolution. Over the last few decades, ideological barriers have stood in the way of a global approach to andragogy, dividing it into 'bourgeois' and 'socialist'. Time has shown that this division could not withstand the test of history.

The comparative study of the conception of andragogy within a European framework constitutes a scientific challenge and thus warrants our attention. Studies of this kind can contribute towards forming a more complete picture of the roots and evolution of andragogy and its identity as a science. The fundamental methodological approaches are historical and comparative, supplemented by an analysis of the substance of relevant sources. The only right approach to the study of andragogy seems to be the holistic one, particularly when we are dealing with syntheses of a general theoretical nature. The history of considerably older sciences bears witness to the fact that much time is needed for a science to come into existence. Hence, the search for the roots of andragogy, the shaping of its history, may well contribute to its scientific foundation. In this study, andragogy implies a scientific discipline examining problems of adult education and learning in all of its manifestations and expressions, whether formal or informal, organised or self-guided.

Roots and Roads in the Evolution of Andragogy

The ideas of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and the Sophists reflect thoughts and views about the need of learning throughout life, about the particularities and manners of acquiring knowledge in different phases of life, about the moral and aesthetic impact. Similar views can be found in Ancient Rome and in the epochs of humanism and the renaissance. This prompted thinkers in the 19th century to

urge that andragogy become a discipline concerned with the study of adult education and learning. But insistence on a specific approach to adult education and learning can be noted much earlier, in the work of J.A. Comenius, in the 17th century. Comenius's conceptual heritage gives us grounds for regarding him as the founder of andragogy although as far as we know it was not the term he used. In *Panpedia*, the text of which was only found in 1934, Comenius drew equal lines for man's 'life and for his learning'. Comenius expressed his vision of the comprehensiveness of education and learning in the following terms:

Our primary wish is not to seek to develop to the full degree of humaneness only individuals or only some or several people but rather one and all, young and old, known and unknown, men and women, in a word, all those who were fated to be born as man so that ultimately the whole human race would find culture, regardless of age, class, sex and nationality.¹

Comenius urged the establishment of special institutions, forms, means, methods and teachers for work with adults, which in fact is at the root of the modern concept of andragogy.

The practice of adult education and learning is deep-rooted in the evolution of societies, but scientifically speaking, it had not been differentiated from social practice. The institutional basis for adult education was formed in the late 18th and early 19th century. Britain witnessed the emergence of Mechanics' Institutes, workers' colleges, university extensions, board schools providing instruction for adults. In other countries, people's universities, forms of correspondence education, workers' educational associations and the like appeared in the 19th century. The institutional basis of adult education stems from the workers' movement as an economic, political and educational factor of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. Efforts were directed at finding more appropriate solutions for adult education and learning than those which the schools of the time attended by children had to offer. Consequently, adult education acted as a fairly autochthonous and independent educational and cultural movement which served as a sound basis for the emergence of a scientific discipline dealing with the study of the dynamic and diverse practice of adult education and learning. Theoretical solutions were sought for various problems inherent in this particular organisational form of educational practice. Institutional and organisational foundations of adult education and learning were not linked up with pedagogical theory. Andragogy has evolved on totally different postulates. It stemmed from a workers' education movement which later grew into an overall movement for adult education and learning. In addition, individuals urging for its recognition, have also contributed to its emergence and foundation.

The notion of 'andragogy', appeared in Germany in the first decades of the 19th century and may be related to the name of Alexander Kapp who used this term to describe education and learning in the adult age in his study *Platons Erziehungslehre* (1833).² J.F. Herbart, a renowned philosopher and educationist of the time, was opposed to Kapp's ideas on andragogy. Herbart felt that it would be wrong to accept the term and conception of andragogy. He believed that the process of education and guided learning only applied to the young. In Herbart's view, if the conception of andragogy were to be approved, the outcome would be 'a general state of being a minor'.³ Although Kapp's ideas had not been accepted, the quest for naming the discipline which focused on the educational work evolving outside the schools attended by children was pursued. Thus, A.W. Diesterweg put forth the thesis about 'social pedagogy' (Socialpädagogik) which would deal with all educational activity taking place outside school, including the education of adults who had lost their first educational opportunity. The term 'social pedagogy' found deeper roots in German literature in the 19th century. It found acceptance with other European countries (Holland, Poland) and outside Europe (Japan and India) under the term of 'social education'.⁴ Social pedagogy has remained a subject taught at some German universities.

Historical research shows that in the 19th century in Germany endeavours had been made to find a name for the discipline dealing with the education and learning of adults. These efforts were pursued in the first few decades of the 20th century. The term andragogy came to be used once again. In Austria, this was done by Ludo Moritz Hartman in the first decade of the 20th century, while in Germany a series of authors (Franz Pöggeler, K.G. Fischer, W. Flitner, C.A. Werner, W. Picht, R. von Edberg, E. Rosenstock) attempted to lay the foundations of the concept of andragogy. Following the First World War, adult education spread particularly with reference to the workers' movement. In Germany, the concept of andragogy had taken shape thanks to the rich traditions of German philosophical thought, the spreading of education within the workers' movement and the forming of organisational foundations for adult education. Some authors were particularly in favour of establishing andragogy as a science (W. Picht, R. von Edberg, and E. Rosenstock). Rosenstock draws a sharp line between pedagogy and andragogy, on the one hand, and demagogy and andragogy, on the other. To his mind, pedagogy is a method by means of which children are taught, demagogy is a method (means) by which adults are intellectually led astray, whereas andragogy is the true method of teaching adults.⁵ Rosenstock clearly distinguishes between the education of youth and the education and learning of adults. Yet he does not refer to andragogy as a science but rather as a method, a view shared by Edberg who considered that adult education could not rely on pedagogical methods and thus urged the development of andragogy.⁶

During the Weimar Republic (1919-1933), two currents of adult education existed in Germany: workers' education (Arbeiterbildung) and adult education (Erwachsenenbildung). Andragogy as a concept sprang from workers' education. Within the University in Frankfurt, a Work Academy was formed with the aim of preparing workers for trade union activity. Rosenstock was assigned the task of shaping the methods of workers' education. He insisted on workers' education having a separate philosophy, methods and special teachers.

A. Kapp's attempt at constituting andragogy in 19th century Germany was not an isolated one. The German experience had repercussions elsewhere, particularly in Poland and Russia. In Poland, in the period between the two world wars, Helen Radlinska and a whole circle of intellectuals further developed the different aspects of adult education and learning (Konewka, K. Kornilowiz, M.B. Godecki, E. Novicki, N.B. Bobrowski, B. Suchodolski and others). Radlinska used the term andragogy in her work, considering it to be far more suitable than the term 'adult pedagogy'.

As far as we know, the first to use the term andragogy in Russian literature was M. Olesnicki, professor at Kiev University in 1885. It is our view that Olesnicki encountered the idea of andragogy through the German literature with which he was very familiar. He speaks of the developmental concept of education. It is realised within a person's period of development: childhood, youth, maturity and older (old) age. Educational means need to be chosen in accordance with the state of the learner. Olesnicki has an optimistic approach to human development and believed it can continue throughout life. While physical strength may decline with age, the rigour of intellectual life in mature and older age may be compared with the energy of youth. Every period in life has its particularities and educational means need to be applied accordingly. Olesnicki worked out a conceptual basis for andragogy, underlining the importance of the developmental principle.⁷

In Russia, E.N. Medinski set forth the theoretical foundations of andragogy in the first decades of the 20th century. The scope of this work does not allow us to give a detailed account of Medinski's concept of andragogy, although his ideas were most interesting. The customary term appearing in Russia in the first decades of the 20th century was 'extra-curricular education'. Medinski developed the theory of extra-curricular education even before the October revolution and outlined clearly the nature and characteristics of adult education and learning. It is a part of the theory of people's education. Yet, he does not refer to this theory as pedagogy but rather as *anthropogogy* – the science of teaching people. Anthropogogy covers two scientific areas: pedagogy and andragogy. He drew a distinct line between pedagogy and andragogy. He expounded his conceptions in a number of works, and more especially in the *Encyclopedia of Extra-Curricular*

Education.⁸ In terms of his ideas, he was in advance of his times. He left behind a significant piece of work, thus contributing to the establishment of adult education and learning as a scientific discipline. However, his work has not even yet been adequately investigated and properly assessed.

Besides N.K. Krupska, a large number of theoreticians tried to relate education to politics. A.V. Lunačarski in particular used the term andragogy in his works.⁹ In the middle of the 1930s, ideology and politics took the upper hand over science. Adult education became a part of ideological work in which there was no room for scientific research and theoretical work. This state of affairs continued until the mid-sixties when the discussion about the discipline concerned with adult education and learning was re-launched.

To our knowledge, the term andragogy did not appear in Britain either in the latter part of the 19th or in the first decades of the 20th century. On the other hand, in Britain social premises and institutional foundations were created for the emergence of the theory of adult education. The well-known 1919 Report had a significant effect on the concept of adult education and learning. It set out the social foundations of adult education, drawing from the philosophy of life-long education. It was in Britain that the idea of a world movement for adult education was born and took root with the formation in 1919 of the World Association for Adult Education, based in London. The Association organised conferences, initiated research work and visits to other countries, and by publishing work in its Bulletin helped draw attention to carefully collected data and descriptions of educational practice. In the early twenties, the theory of adult education became an academic subject taught at the University of Nottingham. It was at that time that discussion began focusing on the possibilities of adult learning, on the impact of experience on learning, and attempts were made to apply general pedagogical principles to the sphere of adult education. Some authors, in particular R. Peers, pointed to the specifications of adult education and learning and strongly criticised the 'theory of plasticity' according to which education and learning were possible up to the limits of anatomical-physiological maturity. Although this theory had been put forward, it was *a priori* rooted in the conceptions of British pedagogues and psychologists.¹⁰ Peers's views will not be dealt with in greater detail as space is limited but suffice it to say that they withstood the historical test. Historians of andragogy will not be able to disregard Peers's assumptions, notwithstanding the fact that he did not use that term. Thanks to the British experience, many ideas concerning adult education and learning reached not only the European continent but also countries overseas. In much the same way, many ideas from other countries were cross-fertilised and compared with those emanating from British soil. All these processes, the ups and downs of which regrettably are not sufficiently well-

known to professional andragogues, are recorded in the history of andragogical ideas. Without such a history, the foundations of andragogy cannot be validly laid down.

The roots of andragogy should not be sought in the use of the term alone but rather in the overall fund of knowledge relevant to adult education and learning. Until the Second World War there were two terms in common use referring to the discipline studying adult education and learning – andragogy and adult pedagogy. There were also attempts at introducing other terms (social pedagogy, adultology, theory of extra-curricular education, anthropogogy) which failed to become firmly rooted. Comparative research indicates that a scientific discipline cannot be constituted on the basis of individual wishes alone but involves a long-term process in which relevant facts and data are collected, critically reviewed and appraised and sometimes, if necessary, totally rejected. This is not an isolated phenomenon occurring in one or two countries but rather scientific processes and endeavours which assume international proportions. As far as andragogy is concerned, this process has not come to an end. There is a growing interest in the modern conceptions of andragogy. This interest has been particularly aroused by historical and comparative research and the increasingly professionalised sphere of adult education and learning.

Modern Concepts of Andragogy: a Critical Consideration

In the period following the Second World War, education generally underwent a process of profound democratisation. Thanks to the activities carried on by UNESCO, the philosophy of lifelong education came to be accepted and it was on that conceptual basis that the system of education underwent a reform. In most of the European countries, adult education became an integral part of the educational system and new educational strategies came into existence, like recurrent education, community education, education at a distance. The most appropriate ways of meeting the educational needs of adults were being sought. A greater degree of professionalisation of adult education had been attained and to this end, the universities played a noteworthy part where andragogy was included in university programmes and professional training.

As a result of this progress, the situation for the constitution of andragogy as a science became favourable. Over the last few decades, the sources of andragogy, the possibility of its constitution as a scientific discipline, the sources concerning its concept and subject, scientific structure, methodological foundations and so forth, multiplied considerably. It may be concluded on the basis of comparative research that in Europe following the Second World War several

conceptions of andragogy were shaped, which need to be critically reviewed and scientifically appraised. None of these conceptions appeared in their 'pure' form. Unfortunately, the scope of this paper does not allow us to expound on these conceptions in detail and therefore we shall have to submit them in an extremely succinct form, fully aware of the limitations of such an approach. The conceptions will be described one after the other whereupon we shall set about seeking similarities and differences among them, applying for this purpose, the technique of juxtaposition.

1. The German Conception of Andragogy

Even in the post-Second-World-War period, Germany played a crucial role in laying the foundations of andragogy. The German conception of andragogy had a fundamental bearing on the countries of continental Europe. F. Pöggeler was the first to attempt to endow andragogy with scientific foundations, considering its task to be the study of all systematic forms of adult education and learning. He tried to set up an entire andragogical system, viewing andragogy in a far broader light than his predecessors.¹¹ By launching a whole series of theoretical works in the area of andragogy he made a substantial contribution to constituting andragogy as a science in Germany. Other authors (such as G. Humm and K. G. Fischer) also supported andragogy.

The conception of andragogy in Germany is not a homogeneous one. There emerged other schools of thought and terminological diversity. From the historical point of view, the notion of 'people's education' (Volksbildung) applied to free, neutral education. The term that corresponded to it was 'people's pedagogy' (Volkspädagogik) denoting a discipline aimed at studying the ways of popularising science and art.¹² In the years following the Second World War the term 'adult education' (Erwachsenenbildung) was also used in Germany. For a number of German authors, the discipline studying adult education was 'adult pedagogy' (Erwachsenenpädagogik). Thus J. Knoll spoke of adult pedagogy as a subdiscipline of the science of education. Frequently the compound term 'science of adult education' was employed, though within the framework of general pedagogy (Gesamtpädagogik). Another term encountered is that of 'vocational pedagogy' (Berufspädagogik), understood as being part of adult pedagogy. We also come across the term 'college pedagogy' (Hochschulpädagogik) as being a sub-discipline of adult pedagogy.

Analyses have shown that there exist in the German sources diverse approaches to the discipline of adult education and learning. We find the conception of 'andragogy', then the conception of 'adult pedagogy', and in some authors, the compound term 'science of adult education'. German authors are inclined to

attach an importance to this scientific area, regarding it as a part of the 'science of education'. In German sources, the need to establish a scientific discipline focusing on adult education and learning is not disputed. Several authors enlarged the scope of research of andragogy/adult pedagogy, pointing to its subdisciplines – pedagogy of occupation, college pedagogy, didactics of adult education and so on.¹³ While the German conception of andragogy is indeed an interesting one, it has not been accepted by all authors. Moreover, we find a terminological vagueness and an ambiguous situation with regard to the scientific area to which this discipline should belong.

There is also a Swiss variant of the German conception of andragogy. H. Hanselmann tried to found andragogy in Switzerland.¹⁴ His approach was a psychiatric one: he used the notion of andragogy as a non-medical treatment, relating to the counselling of adults with a view to re-educating them. Hanselmann refutes school forms of adult education in which knowledge is systematically acquired. It stands to reason that this approach to andragogy is a restricted one. P. Furter advocated a more radical conception of andragogy.¹⁵ He suggests that the term pedagogy be replaced by the term andragogy and that the universities should recognise this as the science of education within the framework of life continuity. This conception appeared under the impact of the philosophy of lifelong education. P. Furter's proposal remained only an attempt to find a new name for the science of education. This search had been going on for several decades.

2. *The French Conception of Andragogy*

The notion of andragogy has entered French dictionaries and encyclopedias devoted to education. The term andragogy may be found in the works of several French authors (B. Schwartz, P. Goguelin, P. Besnard). P. Goguelin draws a distinction between pedagogy and andragogy. In his view, the difference stems from the difference of subject under study. Andragogy takes account of facts that are quite different from the facts with which pedagogy deals.¹⁶ Goguelin made noteworthy attempts at identifying the particularities of pedagogy and andragogy, particularly given the fact that some authors tend to emphasise that the sources and processes of acquiring knowledge are the same for young people and adults. P. Besnard poses the question of whether andragogy is at all possible?¹⁷

There are also other terms used in France to indicate a discipline that studies adult education and learning: psycho-pedagogy of adults (Psycho-pédagogie des adultes), socio-pedagogy of adults (Socio-pédagogie des adultes), as well as sociology of adult education (Sociologie de l'éducation des adultes). In their en-

deavour to establish a discipline concerned with the study of adult education and learning, some French authors either draw on psychology or sociology or simply consider that education and learning are the objects of study of sociology. There is a tradition in France only to recognise those disciplines that are able to rely on already-constituted sciences. There seems to have been an absence of effort to constitute a comparatively independent science whose object would be the study of adult education and learning. The traditional break-down of disciplines studying education and learning generally does not include andragogy/adult pedagogy but pedagogy is extended to encompass research problems relative to adult education and learning. The prevailing concept in France is that of pedagogical education of adults which is not, of course, a modern approach.

3. *The Dutch Conception of Andragogy*

The conception of andragogy which appeared in the Netherlands is in many ways a unique one. It has been shaped by Ten Have, Ger van Enckervort, Bastiaan van Gent, Barry J. Hake and their associates. Ten Have is the founder of social pedagogy and the establisher of andragogy in the Netherlands. He worked out the andrological conception and used the term 'Social agogy' in the sense of a 'general notion for the forming, guiding, helping of social happenings, social behaviour, interpersonal relationships, life in groups and so forth.'¹⁸

The Dutch concept of andragogy (andragogie) covers overall agogic work with adults, including their education. Ten Have believed that there was no reason for the term 'andr-agogy' to confine itself to educational work alone as 'agogy' had a considerably broader meaning. He viewed andragogy as a sort of integrative science which not only studies the educational process but also social work and other forms of direction and guidance. Ten Have compared agology to medicine. When he adopted the term andragogy in the sixties his wish had been to differentiate between the skill of guidance and the discipline focusing on that process. He makes a distinction between 'andragogy', 'andragogics' and 'andragology'. Andragogy implies the intentional and professional conducting of any activity designed to change the personality. This represents an art skill (techne/andragogike). Andragogics represent a sum of knowledge, experience and principles of rules governing andragogical activity. It is a normative theory of practice and a number of such theories are known today. According to Ten Have, andragology investigates both andragogy and andragogics from the scientific point of view. It is the 'logos' the scientific analysis of andragogy in much the same way that psychology is the 'logos' for the scientific study of 'the psychic'.¹⁹

The conception of andragogy that had been adopted in the Netherlands in the mid-sixties did not survive. There are numerous reasons for this: the conception was excessively diffuse in nature, andragology failed to provide a true theoretical basis. There were no valid reasons to draw a distinction between andragogy and andragogics, the study of adult education and learning remained on the margins of andragology, tensions among the disciplines were created because psychology and sociology, as well as other disciplines did not wish to relinquish their own identity and integrate with andragology. In the Netherlands, today, andragogy has been confined to the study of adult education and learning in all of its manifestations, while other activities such as social work and social guidance have been left to other sciences. Now, the Dutch authors are reverting to the concept of andragogy such as it exists in many other European countries.

4. The British Conception of Andragogy

British sources reveal the least amount of data on andragogy. The reasons for this may be sought in the traditional conception of teaching. Even so, British scholars have made a noteworthy contribution to the study of the historical and comparative aspects of adult education and learning. In Britain, a substantial amount of knowledge about the psychological and didactic aspects of adult education and learning has been accumulating. Prerequisites have been provided for andragogy to become a science in that country.

In the early sixties, J.A. Simpson drew attention to andragogy. In writing about andragogy, he pointed to the specific features of teaching adults compared to those of teaching children and demanded that these particularities be made known. He was concerned about finding generalised methods applicable to all situations of adult education and learning rather than only to techniques capable of being applied in the instruction of individual subjects.²⁰

Towards the end of the seventies, interest in andragogy began to spread in Great Britain. At the University of Nottingham, a group was set up with the task of studying the concept of andragogy, under the influence of certain American thinkers, especially M. Knowles. The group was inclined to disagree with Knowles in some respects, preferring to rely on P. Freire's ideas and regarding andragogy as being a function of helping adults to become the driving force behind their own thoughts and feelings. The group, as Brookfield pointed out, identified twelve features of the andragogical process: non-prescriptive views, a programme geared to problems, emphasis on problems, practice, permanent verification, sharing responsibility for learning, value process, dialogue, equality, openness, mutual respect and integrative opinion and learning.²¹ The andragogical group in Nottingham takes a far broader view of the andragogical

process, starting from the recruitment of pupils to evaluation which must be an integrative and continuing activity in all phases of the andragogical process and underlines that it must include all participants in an equal manner.²²

C. Titmus also made a contribution towards the understanding of andragogy. Together with his associates, he prepared a publication on the *Terminology of Adult Education* within the framework of UNESCO. Although the definition of andragogy is a typically American one, it is significant in that it enables a comparison of terminology in different languages.²³ Discussion that centred around andragogy failed to bear fruit, particularly in the USA. This prompted some British authors to comment on the numerous debates going on regarding terms in the field of adult education and their sterility. The arguments set forth by individual authors on the subject of andragogy appear groundless. However, in the early eighties, the number of articles dealing with andragogy multiplied. Thus, C. Griffin describes andragogy as a theory of adult learning, a theory of practice. In his view, in order to formulate the principles governing practice, the theory of education draws on the knowledge of other sciences.²⁴ This has caused it to move away from scientific theory. In Griffin's opinion, the scientific elements of andragogy are virtually exclusively contained in the psychology of learning. Beyond this, only prescriptions exist which reduce andragogy to principles, methods and techniques, without going into the substance of problems relating to adult education. Griffin spotted the drawbacks of the conception of andragogy as defended by Knowles, but, viewed comparatively, this conception is not a prevailing one in the international context. There are conceptions of andragogy in some of the European countries which can be approximated to Griffin's demands.

P. Jarvis also elucidated his conception of andragogy, as a reaction to Knowles's conception. Jarvis suggested that andragogy was, in fact, an inadequately formulated theory of the romantic programme of the sixties. It had, therefore, been accepted as a 'sign of the times' by adult educationists. According to Jarvis, andragogy is an incomplete theory of the adult education programme.²⁵ Jarvis has put forward the view that knowledge about adult education and learning derives from a synthesis of knowledge deriving from other disciplines. That is why, for Jarvis, andragogy is 'an integration of parts of disciplines rather than a discipline in its own right'.²⁶ Jarvis's idea of andragogy is based on Knowles's conceptions of andragogy, and these conceptions tend to reduce andragogy to its didactic aspects, to the problem of programmes, methods and procedures to be followed by teachers in the teaching process, which is indeed a rather restrictive approach.

British authors appreciate that the conception of andragogy had a crucial impact on the writings about problems of adult education and learning. Among

these authors, there are those who strongly oppose the very term as well as the conception of andragogy. Some authors attempted to lay the conceptual foundations of andragogy with a view to avoiding 'epistemological vandalism'.²⁷ There is in fact room for criticising andragogy for uncritically taking over terms from other disciplines.

Sources have shown that there has been a growing interest in the conception of andragogy. The number of studies in Britain dealing with the diverse aspects of adult education and learning (philosophical, social, psychological, comparative, didactic) has multiplied over the last decades. These are good signs that andragogy will be constituted in Britain. Those authors who accept andragogy consider it to be a theory of adult education and learning, while those who dispute it consider it a special kind of ideology. We are far from the situation in which andragogy would be fully accepted as a discipline by individuals and universities in Britain, but a trend in that direction is perceptible. A particularly important contribution to that process has been made by SCUTREA, the organisation concerned with research work and university teaching in the area of adult education. The British conception of andragogy cannot be fully understood unless the American conception is understood. Due to the lack of space, we are unable to discuss the latter in any greater detail.

5. The Finnish Conception of Andragogy

Of all the Nordic countries, Finland has gone the farthest in conceptualising the science of adult education and learning. Finland has a long tradition in this respect. The Finnish authors have attempted to find answers to some key issues which relate to the constitution of andragogy as a science: what are the relations between andragogy and other sciences of education, how is the science dealing with adult education and learning understood, what is the scientific structure of andragogy, what are common elements between pedagogy and andragogy and so on.²⁸ Alanen believes that adult education as a scientific area draws on the general theory of education but is clearly different from pedagogy which focuses on the education of young people. The theory of adult education belongs to the group of specialised social sciences which are practically-oriented. Alanen rightly stresses that andragogy cannot be an accumulation of knowledge acquired by other sciences to which knowledge deriving from practical work is added. According to Alanen, the crucial aspects of adult education are the processes of learning and development. The evolution of knowledge in this area requires that the essence, goals and possibilities of adult education be clarified by means of a close cooperation between philosophical study and empirical research. The Finnish authors argue that andragogy constitutes one of the sciences

of education but that adult education cannot evolve on the basis of school didactics but calls for its own didactic theory, its own empirical research grounded in its own experiments. Moreover, andragogical didactics (adult didactics) must rest on a central philosophy of adult education. The Finnish authors have a critical attitude to positivistic domination in research work on adult education and learning and point to the deficiencies in theoretical syntheses deriving from empirical research. Investigations aiming for a description of phenomena without theory and history contribute little to the constitution of andragogy. The lack of general theoretical interests leads to the fragmentation of individual areas of andragogy because they are not theoretically interrelated. Hence, the importance of a scientific synthesis in andragogy for ensuring an overall theoretical framework for its different fields.

The Finnish conception is a substantial contribution towards founding this science within a European framework. The Finnish authors have tried to determine the position of andragogy in the system of social sciences. They shed light on the relationship of pedagogy and andragogy to the general science of education, and point to the differences that exist between children's education and learning and adult education and learning. The prevailing position of the Finnish authors is as follows: pedagogy and andragogy are but parts of general educational science. The theoretical foundations of general educational science have only begun to be created. Pedagogy and andragogy differ from each other in terms of the research area, research orientation and problems deriving from the latter orientation. The Finnish authors allow for the possibility that once the conception of lifelong education materialises, pedagogy and andragogy will move closer to each other through the emergence of an integrative educational science. However, regardless of a possible evolution in that direction, it is unlikely that andragogy will disappear.

6. The Soviet Conception of Andragogy

In the Soviet Union, the conception that has taken root is that of adult pedagogy which is considered to be a part of pedagogy as the comprehensive science of education. This is the traditional approach to adult education and learning. Yet, even as an approach of this kind, it is much broader and all embracing in the scientific sense than the approach prevailing in some countries whereby the possibility of establishing pedagogy and andragogy as a science has been rejected. Until more recent times, adult pedagogy had been profoundly marked by ideology. For a long time, the Soviet authors were reluctant to approve the conception of andragogy owing to ideological prejudices, since the conception of andragogy had developed in the 'opposite ideological camp'.

Several Soviet authors have helped constitute the discipline concerned with the study of adult education and learning. The most prominent among them was A. Darinski. He considered that adult pedagogy was an integral part of pedagogy as the integral educational science. He pointed to the specificities of adult pedagogy which are above all reflected in the object of education, instruction and training.²⁹ Darinski has a very broad view of adult pedagogy and of its scientific structure. The scope of research covered by adult pedagogy is much wider than that on children's education. Other Soviet authors have also concerned themselves with problems involved in the study of adult education and learning.³⁰

In the mid-seventies, N.K. Goncharov set forth his conception of andragogy. He recognised that andragogy is a synonym of adult pedagogy.

In the present times, adult pedagogy is being developed throughout the world and has been named 'andragogics'. It investigates the problems pertinent to adult education and learning within the specific context of their life activities. This is a theory, the scientific foundations underlying adult education without which educational practice cannot be correctly established; without theory, practice would become something which returns.³¹

As president of the Academy of Pedagogical Science, Goncharov acknowledges that the theoretical foundations underlying adult education and learning 'are being worked out far too slowly', but why this is so is something which he does not attempt to answer.

Although the Soviet authors tend to place adult pedagogy within the frameworks of general pedagogy, they have nevertheless developed a whole series of subdisciplines. They believe that the theory of higher level education is only a part of adult pedagogy. Some authors have set about classifying these subdisciplines in the following manner: sociology of adult education, psychology of growing old and pedagogical psychology of adults, adult didactics, instructional methods for individual subjects, night school pedagogy, production pedagogy, pedagogy of socio-cultural work, pedagogy of raising skills.³² Without going into the criteria behind such a classification of andragogy, it is important to note that the Soviet authors have considerably broadened the framework. However the problem lies in the conception which assigns all these disciplines to the category of pedagogy as the general science of education.

The greatest impetus for constituting andragogy as a science in the Soviet Union can be attributed to B.G. Anan'ev and his associates of the well-known Leningrad school. They urged the constitution of a theory of adult education and learning. Anan'ev's contribution to the establishment of andragogy in the Soviet Union can be compared to E.L. Thorndike's role in setting up a science of adult education and learning in the US in the period between the two world wars. Anan'ev indicates that the theory of adult education did not, until recently, pro-

vide even the most approximative data on changes occurring in people as a result of age at different stages of maturity.³³ As a result, the possibility for psychologically grounding forms and methods of adult education and of exercising their psycho-physical qualities has been excluded. Research carried on by Anan'ev and his associates is crucial for the constitution of andragogy. It provides fresh information about intellectual development and may serve as a basis for the restructuring of existing learning theories.

7. The Czecho-Slovak Conception of Andragogy

In the period following the Second World War, pedagogical conception of adult education made headway; in other words, the Soviet view according to which pedagogy constituted an integral science of education and adult pedagogy was but a part of the latter. Some authors were openly opposed to the conception of andragogy as it had been developing in some European countries. However, although Skalka had opted for adult pedagogy, he worked out a whole system of its subdisciplines.³⁴ Similar views were shared by K. Shkoda who envisages adult pedagogy as being part of general pedagogy. K. Shkoda thought that the theory of adult education was not merely an applied science but also was a philosophical science.³⁵

Not all Czecho-Slovak authors favoured the term adult pedagogy. There are those who advocate the conception of andragogy and use the term andragogy in their work.³⁶ These authors argue that andragogy appeared as the result of pedagogy's one-sided orientation. Other authors, on the other hand, view andragogy from a far broader angle, indicating the importance of a philosophical approach to adult education and learning.³⁷

The Czecho-Slovak conception of the science which studies adult education and learning has a long tradition. Two conceptions have in fact taken root. First, the view shared by those authors who define this discipline as adult pedagogy and who were very much influenced by Soviet pedagogical experience and thought, and second, the conception according to which this discipline is termed andragogy. Both conceptions tend to place this discipline within the framework of pedagogy as an integrative science of education and assign it the task of studying all aspects of adult education and learning, ranging from the system of adult education, to the problem of instruction, the social and philosophical foundations to the problem of self-education. The Czecho-Slovak authors do not refer to andragogy as a practical discipline and warn, in no uncertain terms, that it should not repeat the errors of pedagogy with regard to normativism and prescriptions. They insist on its theoretical foundations as a prerequisite for its further development. There is a need to thoroughly review the path of development

this discipline has covered so far, a greater degree of openness towards the experience of others, regardless of the social environment from which they have emanated. Sound institutional bases have been provided in Czechoslovakia for this discipline to make strides forward.

8. *The Polish Conception of Andragogy*

A specific conception of andragogy developed after the Second World War in Poland. It derived from the tradition existing in Poland in the interwar years. Theoretical work was pursued in the field of adult education and learning. Following the example of H. Radlinska, a number of authors used the term andragogy in their works. The Polish authors consider andragogy a scientific discipline focusing on the study of all problems relating to adult education and learning. L. Turowski made a substantial contribution to defining the concept of andragogy in Poland. He places andragogy within the system of pedagogical disciplines and assigns its special tasks.³⁸ Turowski describes in detail the origins and evolution of andragogy, its research and methodological problems, the place of andragogy within the framework of the humanistic sciences, the interrelatedness between andragogy and other sciences and its scientific structure. However, he advocates the comparative independence of andragogy.

Some Polish authors rightly stress that andragogy is not a question of 'name alone' but rather of its corresponding theory and methods which are much more complex and complicated than in the area of school pedagogy in which the system of classroom teaching and the common programme of knowledge coupled with methods and sanctions should assure didactic success.³⁹ Siemieniowski refers to the strategy of infantilising andragogy when subjects and methods designed for children are transferred to the process of adult education and learning. In response to the question of the difference between andragogy and pedagogy, Siemieniowski's views are categorical: everything in fact is different 'both the subject and object of education, substance and methods, institutions and means, goals and possibilities, family, professional social, and political tasks and functions'. Of all parts of the discipline engaged in the study of adult education and learning the area which has the strongest theoretical foundations is andragogical didactics. The renowned Polish theoretician F. Urbanezyk played a key role in the constitution of this subdiscipline of andragogy. He defined andragogical didactics as a theory of teaching to which is added the theory of self-education.⁴⁰

The Polish authors have developed the scientific structure underlying andragogy in a far broader sense than in other milieux: they scrutinised its methodological foundation and defined its place among the humanistic sciences. Andragogy has a long tradition in Poland, even though its constitution did not run

smoothly. Besides the term 'andragogy', some authors used the term 'adult pedagogy' synonymously. Studies indicate that pedagogical traditions cannot be easily overcome. The Polish researchers and theoreticians of andragogy will in future have to make a critical appraisal of the road covered and proceed to a creative synthesis of the theoretical heritage. Even in the earlier times, the Polish conception of andragogy had been open to foreign experience but now needs to adopt a critical attitude to politics and ideology. This by no means implies that andragogy can develop in any country without reflecting the social conditions there. What matters is that an institutional and professional basis has been provided in that country for the development of andragogy.

9. *The Hungarian Conception of Andragogy*

The conception of andragogy has become quite firmly embedded in Hungary. It has emerged as one of the scientific disciplines on anthropogogy as an integral science of education. The second part of that integral science is pedagogy. These definitions of anthropogogy, pedagogy and andragogy may be found in pedagogical lexicons.⁴¹ The Hungarian authors appear to have adopted E.N. Medinski's conception of anthropogogy and its division into pedagogy and andragogy. In accepting the term andragogy, the Hungarian authors expressed the desire to differentiate this discipline from pedagogy which was considered to be a science dealing with the education of children. The prevailing view in Hungary is that adult education and learning is distinct from the education and learning of children and this had to be reflected in the theoretical sense as well, thus andragogy gained an independent status. The second reason why andragogy became an independent discipline was because pedagogy had not, either in the past or in the present times, been regarded as a single theory of education.

In Hungary, andragogy is considered a science which studies the overall problems of in-school and out-of-school education of adults. It also deals with questions of cultural work and cultural and artistic amateurism. The Hungarian authors uphold the view that the term 'andragogy' is a far more suitable term than 'adult pedagogy'. A contributive factor to the spreading of such views has been the professional periodical *Andragogy* which began appearing in the Hungarian language in 1984 under the auspices of the Committee for Education of the Hungarian Academy of Science. In theoretical and research terms, andragogy has developed in Hungary within two well-known university centres: Budapest and Debrecen. A whole series of theoreticians and researchers (M. Durko, G. Gzoma, A. Maroti, P. Soos, R. Mandoki, J. Galos and others) have encouraged, through their discourses, the constitution of andragogy.

The notion of andragogy had already been present in Yugoslav sources in the period between the two world wars. Following the Second World War, particularly since the mid-fifties, the debate on the conception of andragogy and the relationship between pedagogy and andragogy began to take shape in professional reviews. Two schools of thought emerged from these discussions. The first advocated the view that there existed one subdiscipline of pedagogy termed andragogy or adult pedagogy. In this view, pedagogy also covered the sphere of adult education and learning. The second school included authors who see pedagogy as a parallel with andragogy, though within the framework of the general science of education. The founding father of the conception of andragogy in the post-Second World War period was M. Ogrizović who set forth the view that there existed a general science of education consisting of two parts: pedagogy and andragogy.⁴² This idea is not a new one. We come across it in the first decades of the 20th century. The problem is that a general science of education is, as Ogrizović recognises, 'a sort of abstraction', and a science of this kind cannot rest on abstraction but rather on concrete results which are obtained through research work.

In addition B. Samolovčev also contributed to clarifying the notion and object of andragogy. He too was inclined to place andragogy within the frameworks of a general science of education. As far as Samolovčev was concerned, andragogy was a comparatively independent science with its own scope of research, its methodology, its laws and with sound theoretical results.⁴³ He is in favour of the adoption of the term 'andragogy' which in his view is more appropriate than the term 'adult pedagogy'. There are a number of outstanding issues and controversial problems, even in respect of the scientific foundations underlying andragogy and its scientific structure. Such inherent clashes are present in other sciences as well. All this could favour the development of a science, provided there is valid scientific criticism.

Since the early seventies, the conception of andragogy has gained ultimate acceptance in Yugoslavia. As a result, the Yugoslav universities were able to include andragogy in their plans and curricula and guarantee professional and scientific degrees in those subjects. Andragogy in Yugoslav sources is regarded as a science studying overall adult education and learning and consisting of a number of subdisciplines. This approach by no means places andragogy within the scope of pedagogy but rather places it in a parallel position with pedagogy. Notwithstanding its weak points and shortcomings, Yugoslav andragogical thought has experienced an intensive development over the last fifteen years. Post-graduate and doctoral studies in that field have largely contributed to this development.

We are fully aware of the vastness of the topic under review and the difficulties standing in the way of its more thorough examination in the limited space we have at our disposal. We decided to outline contemporary ideas concerning andragogy based on examples from ten European countries. In so doing, we have endeavoured to strike an appropriate balance. Five of the countries we analysed belong to the Western social systems, while five countries had social systems that were until recently different from the orders prevailing in the former. This division is an arbitrary one. Comparative research has shown that scientific thought concerning adult education and learning cannot be enclosed within individual social milieux, nor can it be restricted by rigid ideological frameworks in a manner that had been attempted in the period following the Second World War.

Historical and comparative research has indicated that in Europe andragogy has common roots. These roots are European culture, ranging from Ancient Greece to the present times. An important characteristic common to all countries covered by our research is the acceptance of the philosophy of lifelong education in which adult education and learning occupies a place of primary importance. Adult education has become increasingly professionalised. Andragogy has, under different names, found its place in universities, in research programmes and some science academies. There are growing numbers of young researchers who have been showing an interest in this area of work and an ever larger number of periodicals and professional publications in different languages have contributed to founding andragogy as a scientific discipline. Professional organisations have been formed on both national and regional levels which have helped to disseminate findings and useful ideas by means of scientific gatherings and other channels. Each country, through its own endeavours (both theoretical and investigative), has attempted to make a contribution to the common fund of knowledge about adult education and learning.

Underlining these common points in no way implies that the conception of andragogy within the European framework is a homogeneous one. Historical and comparative studies have shown that there exist several schools of thought in connection with andragogy. We have established that the conception of adult education and learning is present in several countries of central and east Europe. Andragogy in those countries is regarded as one of the disciplines of pedagogy, whereas pedagogy is considered as an integrating science of education. We come across such ideas in some authors in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union and also in some authors in Yugoslavia. A variant of that conception is the idea that andragogy does not form part of pedagogy but that pedagogy

and andragogy are part of a general science of education. These views are encountered among some authors in Germany, Finland, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

The second school of thought which is marked by a comprehensive approach emerged in the Netherlands and has been termed 'agological'. Agology is understood as a sort of integrative science which not only studied the process of education and learning but also other forms of guidance and orientation. This conception did not withstand the test of history since adult education and learning were pushed to the margins of research and theoretical work. New attempts have been made to re-introduce andragogy and to limit it once more to the study of adult education and learning in all its aspects, while other areas of agological activity have been left to other sciences.

The third conception of andragogy may be defined as prescriptive in nature. Basically, andragogy prescribes how teachers and students should behave in educational and learning situations. It emerged under the impact of the American school of andragogy which we have only touched upon. This conception is in essence a pragmatic and practicist one and lacks broader social and philosophical foundations.

The fourth school of thought is one which refutes the possibility of founding andragogy as a science. The advocates of this school of thought are to be found in Britain and in France as well as in some other countries, particularly in the USA. They are of the opinion that adult education and learning is an area of research belonging to sciences that have been constituted earlier (sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics and so on). The exponents of these conceptions usually come from other areas of science and have not the necessary degree of professional preparation to deal with the field of andragogy.

The fifth school of thought has endeavoured to found andragogy as a fairly independent scientific discipline. This conception has been gaining widespread support in central and eastern Europe. The champions of that conception are to be found in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the Netherlands. Those in favour of this conception want to constitute andragogy as an integral science of adult education and learning which has its own scientific structure and system of subdisciplines, the subject of which is to study individual areas of adult education and learning which differ one from the other.

Conclusion

Adult education and learning can play a major role in creating a new European identity. Consequently, the constitution and further development of the discipline which studies these processes can aid the comprehension of adult education

and learning as a progressive phenomenon. This explains efforts to shed light on the roots and development of andragogy in Europe which would consolidate the identity of andragogy and the development of andragogy as a new profession. Although differences in the conceptions of andragogy exist, many European countries feature a holistic approach. It is necessary to create the conditions for the dissemination of scientific information and the possibility to learn from others and with others. The scientific system of andragogy has not reached its conclusion: it remains open to future areas of research. Therefore, it is particularly important that every country develops its own approach to andragogy. The intensity of research and the further professionalisation of adult education and learning will have a major impact in that regard. The dynamics of research will depend on the involvement of young researchers in this field of endeavour. The future of andragogy in Europe will largely depend on them and their contribution to research.

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Understanding Andragogy in Europe and America: Comparing and Contrasting

The Problem

The aim of our research was to establish the origin and development of andragogy as a discipline, the subject of which is study of education and learning of adults in all its forms of expression. The research was a challenge and at the same time an intellectual adventure. A challenge due to the fact that the problem escaped deeper study in both Europe and America so that search for new data was rewarding whether this new data was explored in the historical or contemporary context. On the other hand, the research was an intellectual adventure of sorts that had to be embarked on and problems faced up to ranging from a lack of sources to difficulties in coming by such sources as have been created by generations of researchers past and present.

It was our aim to study the different concepts of andragogy, the different understanding of andragogy appearing on the European and American soil and to search in this way for similarities, for that which is common and characteristic and which makes andragogy a scientific discipline and an integral part of university studies. At the same time, we have endeavoured to counterpose different concepts of andragogy, to assess their validity, their social and scientific context, their origin and development and their significance in the contemporary development of social sciences.

Europe is the cradle of many sciences (natural and social). The ideas conceived in European civilisation were transferred to the American soil, accepted in their original or modified form and meaning, and then returned to their sources enriched or deteriorated. This was also the case with andragogy, its understanding and theoretical scope. Different historical, social and cultural frameworks have had a bearing on the development and emergence of andragogy as a scientific discipline. Andragogy is not a product of sheer intellectual curiosity of individuals, regardless of how positively one values the contribution of the latter, but stems from social changes, and especially changes in the area of knowledge and its role in the social, cultural and individual emancipation of some nations, and in this context, of classes and segments of population. This process did not occur abruptly. It had its path of development, its history characterized by ups and downs, depending on the development of society, as well science and culture. For this reason we have included in the study of the under-

standing of andragogy the historical dimensions and modern trends and their manifestations in Europe and North America.

Framework of Study

It is of singular importance to define the framework of study when carrying out a comparative study, and this is the case with any other study. We have opted for two areas in many ways specific for our subject of study: the European and the North American. The selected areas offer ample space and possibility to contrast different understanding about andragogy, the understanding of andragogy, different schools of thought appearing in time boundaries to the excess of hundred and fifty years. Clearly, human civilization is not situated merely in these two geographically marked areas. There are also experiences of Eastern civilizations when speaking about education and learning of adults, as in the historical so also in the modern times, but we were governed by numerous reason to narrow the territory of research beginning from the nature of the subject of study and scope to the possibility of gaining access to the sources to perform a substantive analysis of the studied phenomena. Even within this framework, it was necessary to narrow the study to a certain number of social units. Thus, we divided the study units in Europe into two groups. The first group was made up of the study units which could tentatively be placed into West Europe: Germany, France, Britain, Holland, Finland and East Europe: Russia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and former Yugoslavia. This choice of study units seemed to us appropriate in terms of the specific nature of our study. North America made up one study unit, because the ideas on understanding andragogy, if not identical, then to a greater measure were similar in the U.S.A. and Canada. We proceeded on the assumption that there was not among any one study unit a homogenous understanding of andragogy, neither in its historical nor contemporary context so that comparisons were unavoidable not only between selects units but also within certain units which rendered research considerably more complex. Apart from that, the understanding of andragogy likens more that between certain geographically more distant units than is the case with geographically more close units. Thus, for example, there is more similarity regarding understanding andragogy in Britain and North America, than between understanding andragogy in Britain and Germany. The reason for this may be found in the historical philosophical, cultural and linguistic context.

Methodological Approach to the Research

The basic methodological approach in our research of understanding andragogy is historical and comparative. To this we have added also the analysis of the content of available sources using induction and deduction. Thus, a number of factors have exerted influence on our methodological approach. First, there is the fact that the andragogical studies hitherto have in the majority of cases been ahistorical, that contributions of predecessors have been neglected, that that which has been in existence fifty or a hundred years ago is being declared a novelty. An evident example of this is the appearance and understanding of andragogy as a concept, term and a scientific discipline. In the course of development of science, including andragogy, we rely on predecessors. Study of education and learning of adults has three important dimensions; the past, the present and the future. It is inter-dependence of these three dimensions that we can come by the most reliable answers to different problems in connection with the constitution of andragogy and further laying ground for it. The historical approach, not only secures for us facts and data about the ideas and concepts of andragogy, a more fuller understanding of andragogy, but also significantly contributes to andragogy's identity and identification by both researchers and practitioners with andragogy as an area of research and with education and learning of adults as a process and domain of practical activity. Historical research brings to light not only forgotten ideas and concepts, but activates also those unknown ideas and in this way establishes continuity and professional identity, which is an important pre-requisite to the development of scientific thought in any field. In this way, those professionally interested are afforded knowledge that andragogy has its "roots", its logic and course of development, its binding tissue, which, among other things, makes it a scientific discipline. Historical study plainly shows just how hard and arduous is the process and path to constituting andragogy. Such study tells us that andragogy cannot be constituted on the basis of good wishes of individuals, but that enormous research efforts of collective and individual nature are needed to acquire the sum of relevant knowledge which comes for the structure of andragogy. Historical research also shows that it takes sometimes decades for a science to be constituted, to be entered into the system of sciences and to become firmly established there, to re-affirm or deny its hypotheses. Hastiness and impatience in this process yield no positive contribution. On the other hand, historical research of andragogical phenomena shows how findings, concepts, understanding can be surpassed by new facts and data on the basis of which new concepts and new theories are propounded. Without historical insight into the problems of origin and development of the andragogical thought we could not perceive its essence, its intricate dialectics and the conditional charac-

ter of its origin and development which depends on numerous factors of social and individual nature. It also shows us the many and elaborate ties between the education and learning of adults and other facts of man's social and individual life. On the other hand, historical research points to the points of contact but also to the points of demarcation with other sciences studying man as a social and individual being. It helps us to delimit the research space of andragogy and more fully designate its subject and goal. This is not love for historicism and "defunct" knowledge, but the necessity to gain insight into the historical development of andragogy, into the incentives and barriers confronting this development. Historical research affords not only establishing continuity, but also reaching the syntheses aspiring to theoretical values. There have been no great figures in the development of andragogy, as was the case also with the development of other social sciences which relied on the figures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so that we could lean on their systems of thought in connection with education and learning of adults. In the course of the modern development of social sciences, the appearance of such figures was virtually impossible. This is why collecting facts, data, critical attitude towards certain theories is capable of making up for the systems of thought of the individuals we come across in the previous centuries. The methodology of collecting data, their finding, classification and generalization has changed and become more diverse. The new methodology in particular recognizes historical research, because it sheds light on and contributes to a new way of interpretation of contemporary phenomena of education and learning of adults. Unfortunately, there is a serious deficit in historical research in andragogy, and this could have negative effect on its scientific establishment.

The second methodological approach we applied in the course of our study was the comparative approach. Major efforts have been invested and directed towards comparing European and American understanding of andragogy. We proceeded from the standpoint that comparison is not only a method of research but also a way of thinking, a research context in which a number of research methods and procedures is applied. The weaknesses of earlier research reflected in the understanding that comparison was just a method, thereby narrowing the basis of research. Although comparative studies are of a more recent date, comparative andragogy has its "roots", its history, which regrettably, was not to date thoroughly studied and researched. Whether accidentally or not, but the first doctoral theses in the area of education and learning of adults were of a comparative nature and belonged to the realm of thought of comparative andragogy (J.F. Burger, 1926, M. Hansome, 1931).

Comparative study in andragogy, by comparing different ideas, schools, thoughts, concepts contribute not only to scientific establishing of andragogy,

but also to creating its scientific identity, as well as creating professional identity of those who work in the areas of education and learning of adults. Comparing that which occurs in other countries with one's own experience and theoretical concepts, provides for the possibility to consolidate one's own knowledge, to, if need be, correct it or totally dispose of it. Comparative research creates the conditions to enrich the knowledge which becomes part of andragogy. Comparative study means not to transfer uncritically knowledge and experience, but on the contrary, their rigorous criticism and taking on only that which has passed the historical test. To apply such a research approach it is necessary to seriously train andragogy researchers in terms of methodology.

In our research we have applied the procedure which is described in comparative research as juxtaposition. Its essence is in that data, ideas, understanding, classification is singled out compared and ultimately conclusions drawn on the similarities and differences within the studied phenomenon. Contemporary authors rightly criticize remaining at just juxtaposition and point out to subjectivity in comparative studies (C.J. Titmus, 1989, P. Jarvis, 1991). It should be noted that in these procedures the intellectual operations of analysis and synthesis and induction and deduction are used. In our studies, the phenomenon of understanding andragogy was followed as a whole, as a phenomenon of civilization, and later separated and divided according to the respective countries of the given region, that is, according to the schools of thought representing the strong-points for perceiving the development and understanding of andragogy in its historical and contemporary framework. In the last phase, we determined the similarities and differences in understanding andragogy in Europe and America. It goes without saying that we inevitably touched upon the social-philosophical groundwork of education and learning of adults and within this groundwork we placed also andragogy as a discipline and the andragogical process as practice. We have made it a point to be aware of the inter-dependence of the theoretical and practical points of departure, taking care not to confuse scientific knowledge with practical achievements in which andragogical literature so abounds in.

The third methodological approach pertained to the analysis of content of the selected sources. A significant number of sources appeared over the past few decades devoted to andragogy, its development and constitution into a scientific discipline. These sources belong to different schools of thought, different philosophical currents and ideological orientations. The sources came into being in different linguistic areas: English French, German, Spanish, Russian and other Slav languages as well as the languages of other European nations, subsequently translated into one of the world languages. Such an approach required caution in interpretation of the concepts with different meanings in various social environments. It also required linguistic adjustments which would enable valid conclu-

sions. Our research clearly show that the scientific language in andragogy is underdeveloped, that there is semantic confusion, even in those sources where it was not expected. It is known from the history of other sciences that the development of a scientific language is one of the essential pre-requisites of maturing of a science. We may also come across uncritical lending and application of a conceptual apparatus of other sciences which need not always be appropriate in interpretation of andragogical phenomena. It would take much research effort to overcome the semantic confusion which reigns in andragogy. We are aware that this is a process of some length and the ensuing problems would be resolved to the measure to which andragogy is establishing itself as a science.

The aforementioned approaches were supplemented with direct interviews, exchange of views and debates we conducted on different occasions at scientific meetings and conferences, in personal communication in Europe and America. Such contacts have beyond doubt helped us to more fully comprehend not only certain concepts and schools of thought and their orientations developed on the European and American soil, but also to obtain a more complete picture about andragogy as a discipline and a subject taught at university. This type of knowledge represents a supplement to the earlier mentioned methodological instruments applied in studying understanding andragogy in Europe and North America. The described approaches in no way preclude the existence of limitations, including those of methodological nature. We have not had the opportunity to make use of all the methodological instruments available to andragology and other social sciences, especially those relative to acquiring empirical data in designated environments. It should be left to the future researchers to continue such research.

Findings and Discussion

1. Development of Pedagogy and its Relation to Andragogy

Prior to setting out different concepts of and understanding andragogy, we were compelled to consider the problems of pedagogy, the path of its development, understanding of pedagogy as a science and its relations to andragogy. The reason for this is that a number of authors sets forth the thesis that andragogy has sprung from pedagogy, whereas some authors even say that andragogy is nothing other than pedagogy. As there is controversy in Europe and America about what is andragogy, whether andragogy is a pedagogical discipline, even whether pedagogy is a science at all or is education a crossroad other sciences "intersect", it was necessary to elaborate the position of pedagogy, the influences of philoso-

phy on the development of pedagogy, the influences of social sciences on the development of pedagogy, the influences of the German school of pedagogical thought on the countries of continental Europe and the turns in the development of pedagogy in the English-speaking countries. We have singled out several schools of pedagogical thought: the German, French, Russian, Anglo-American with variants and sub-variants. Due to limited space, we will concisely sketch their characteristics.

Our historical and comparative research shows that the roots of pedagogy as a theory of education of children is to be found in the 17th and the 18th century. It is understood that the ideas about education are to be found also in the philosophical systems of ancient thinkers, albeit not as a separate theoretical system, but as an integral part of philosophical thought. The process of constitution of pedagogy did not run at equal pace in all countries, but bore the marks of the given philosophy and culture. This, however, by no means meant that there were no common elements in these different appearances and expressions.

The roots of German pedagogy we find in the German classical philosophy, the major proponent of which is I. Kant. The concept about pedagogy as a theoretical and practical science is derived from Kant. The roots of the theory of plasticity, as well, are found in Kant's philosophy and pedagogical thought. From Kant comes also the idea about the philosophical foundations of pedagogy. At Kant's time, pedagogy has nevertheless become a discipline taught at university. He, himself, taught pedagogy. J.F. Herbart, who inherited the philosophy department from Kant follows in the steps of his predecessor. Both Kant and Herbart designate pedagogy as a science on education of children (for fuller account E.F. Buchner, 1904).

In the debates on pedagogy and its scientific foundations in Germany of the 19th century, three schools of thought have crystallized: the first school of thought advocated the thesis that pedagogy should remain a philosophical discipline; the second insisted pedagogy be established as an empirical discipline, whereas the third school of thought denied any possibility of establishing pedagogy as a science. All three schools of thought have representatives and followers.

A distinct development of pedagogy may be seen in the French cultural milieu. A central influence on the development of pedagogy in France was that of E. Durkheim. He viewed the problem of pedagogy from the standpoint of sociology. In his view, education is nothing other than socialization (E. Durkheim, 1981). According to Durkheim, pedagogy is practical theory, whereas science on education is part of sociology whose task it is to study education by applying scientific methods. Apart from pedagogy, he introduced the concept of educational science. Separating the educational science and pedagogy as practical the-

ory exerted influence on the understanding of individuals in some countries, and apparently this influence was strongest in the U.S.A. where sociology recorded rapid development.

The concept of pedagogy as developed by J. Dewey in the U.S.A. acknowledged to a greater degree the German experience, especially that of the school of thought which wanted to establish pedagogy as based on empirical research (J. Dewey, 1896). Universities and colleges for education began guaranteeing professional and academic degrees in the area of pedagogy. The critical moments in the development of pedagogy in the U.S.A. came in the first and second decades of the 20th century. The development of psychology and sociology picked up abruptly. Pedagogy was criticized for its narrow direction towards the elementary school. It lost the battle as regards the very term (pedagogy) as well. The term "education" as more "scientific" and comprehensive is being adopted (P. Monroe, 1913). In the late 1920s there was a disintegration of the educational science. The disciplines from the group of the so-called fundamental sciences took over the role of pedagogy. Much the same thing happened with the British concept of pedagogy. In Britain, pedagogy was never taken seriously, although there have been attempts to establish it in the 19th century under the influence of Herbart's pedagogical thought (A. Bein, 1990).

The German concept of pedagogy exerted influence on establishing pedagogy in the Slav countries. This is natural as the cultural and educational ties have been more intense with the German in comparison to the Anglo-American educational experience. A significant number of pedagogical writers and researchers in the late 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century attended German universities where pedagogy was established as a theory as well as a subject taught at universities.

In Russia in the first years after the October revolution there have been serious endeavours to scientifically establish pedagogy. Pedagogy was dwelled upon and its subject matter expanded. The best terms for its name were explored as well as a rational relation to other sciences and an institutional basis for its development as a discipline and subject taught at university was created. Animated debates on expansion of the subject matter of pedagogy failed to coincide with the interests of the ruling party, which placed all social and educational processes within ideological work, and there was no place for science there. As of mid-1930s, pedagogy assumed a tighter relation with politics and ideology of the ruling party. What ensued was a period of dogmatization of pedagogy (as well as other social sciences) which lasted for several decades (A.G. Kalashnikov, 1924, M.M. Pistark, 1934).

In the period after World War II, several schools of thought or currents have been constituted in pedagogy of which the most important were: Anglo-

American, German and Soviet with its variants and sub-variants. Each of these concepts has its own characteristics which emerged in certain cultural-historical frameworks, but they all had a series of common characteristics. These common elements are to be found in the following: the search for a name and identity of pedagogy as a science, its methodological orientation (in which positivism prevailed for the most part), its relation to other sciences, its scientific structure, range of study etc. This by no means meant that the mentioned concepts did not have a number of characteristics, but that, due to lack of space, we would not be elaborating on them in this work.

The attempts in some social environments to proclaim pedagogy a general science on education lacks scientific foundation. The optimal solution is the one found in France. Its essence is in the concept of educational sciences in which not one of these sciences would be a general or fundamental. This concept alone could yield a significant synthesis of knowledge about the problems of education (G. Mialaret, 1985). Pedagogy would be yet another in the family of educational sciences.

The thesis about andragogy having been derived from pedagogy may be denied with very valid data and facts. Pedagogy developed from philosophy. Its path of constitution was deductive, whereas the main path of constitution of andragogy was inductive and empirical. Pedagogy is the offspring of the German classical philosophy, whereas andragogy is the product of the workers' movement and the workers' educational associations of the 19th and first decades of the 20th century. Historical and comparative research show that pedagogy was and remained a science of educating children. Attempts at having pedagogy expand in subject of research lack scientifically relevant arguments. Declaratory urging to this effect, a situation we had in the Soviet Union and some other countries of East Europe, lacked the strength of scientific proof. The relation between pedagogy and andragogy causes numerous controversies in various social environments. For this reason, fuller understanding of andragogy requires understanding of the origin and development of pedagogy, understanding of its subject and scope of research.

2. Appearance and Development of Andragogy

In this contribution, due to limited space, we will very concisely outline the appearance and development of andragogy on European soil. We have already written about this matter (D. Savicevic, 1989, 1991, and earlier in this book). Without belittling the significance of the earlier expounded ideas about the characteristics of education and learning of adults, comparative research shows that the thought about andragogy germinated in 19th century Germany. The German

philosophical thought and the German pedagogical thought were a fertile ground for the emergence of andragogy. This by no means means, as already set out, that andragogy originated from pedagogy. Rather, it is better said that andragogy derived from the clash with pedagogy and, also, with pedagogical psychology. The German concept of andragogy was initiated in the educational institutions of the workers' movement and was an expression of the search for a new approach to education and learning of adults, which differed from the one practised in schools in which children were educated. The whole idea was based on the premises of life experiences, training to cope with the problems life brings, on the struggle of different views and confrontations and on the training for the new roles in society and organized life. Proceeding from these premises, andragogy was taken as a method offering improved way out of life's problems and situations compared to pedagogy as a method of teaching children. German authors of this period made mistakes not because they backed andragogy, but because they reduced andragogy to a method of learning and education of adults, in which way they considerably narrowed its subject and weakened its theoretical foundations. This limited approach to andragogy will have a negative bearing, especially on some American authors of the second half of the 20th century.

German ideas and influences on andragogy were especially significant in the countries of continental parts of Europe. This influence was felt also in Russia in the late 19th and the first decades of the 20th century. A whole series of authors in Russia were trying to solve the concept of andragogy, searched for the best name for this discipline, carried out historical, theoretical and comparative research. A large number of authors believe andragogy does not come from pedagogy, but from anthropology as a science of education of man in general (E.N. Medinski, 1923).

It would appear that German understanding of andragogy had no marked influence on the British thought of education of adults. However, one must not overlook the British contribution to understanding social dimensions of education of adults and the creating of conditions for its comparative research. In the early 1920s, the theory on education of adults became an academic discipline. This was the time when in these countries debates had been conducted about the possibility of teaching adults, about the influences of experience on learning and the time when the application of general pedagogical principles in the area of education of adults was strived for. Certain British authors point out the characteristics of education and learning of adults and strongly criticize the "theory of plasticity" which was enrooted in the concepts of British psychologists and pedagogues (R. Peers, 1926).

The German concept of andragogy had a stronger influence on some authors in the U.S.A. in the 1920s. They visited Germany and studied experience in edu-

cation, first of all, of the workers' movement and its educational institutions, or conducted comparative research and in this way established contact with the German concept of andragogy. These American authors produced nothing new, nothing original but simply transferred the German understanding and experience (M. Anderson, E.C. Lindeman 1927). Andragogy as a term failed to take deeper root in the American thought on education of adults of the 1920s and the 1930s. However, one should not forget that the scientific foundations of andragogy were established in the U.S.A. in the period between the two World Wars thanks to theoretical and empirical research. The results of research of the American authors definitively refuted the "theory of plasticity" as regards possibility of education and learning of adults. A simple conclusion was drawn: no one should excuse himself/herself for not learning because of advanced age (E.L. Thorndike, 1928). Empirical research of American authors in the period between the two World Wars embraced the questions of aptitude for learning in adult age, the problems of motivation, interest, influence of the environmental factors, the method of teaching etc. A certain volume of knowledge has been amassed which enabled the opening of postgraduate studies in this area. The roots of andragogy should not be looked for merely in using the terms, but in the overall fund of knowledge created about education and learning of adults.

Until World War II, two terms entered common use for the name of the discipline which studies education and learning of adults. This "andragogy" and "pedagogy of adults". There had been attempts to initiate other terms: social pedagogy, adultology, anthropogogy, the theory of out of school education, but in the scientific sense they failed to take root. The constitution of a discipline is a lengthy process of collecting relevant facts and data, creating a sum of knowledge through research, re-evaluation or full rejection. This is a continual process of searching and critical re-examination. As regards andragogy, this process is still not completed.

3. Development of Andragogy in the Second Half of the 20th Century

In the period following World War II, and especially since the 1960s, favorable conditions were created for the development of andragogy. Institutional conditions were created for research and theoretical development of andragogy. There was also a marked tendency towards professionalization of education of adults both in Europe and in North America. The search for the name of the discipline continued: andragogy, pedagogy of adults, out of school pedagogy or simply education of adults. Efforts were directed towards proving the existence of a difference in the characteristics in education and learning of adults. Such tendencies may be monitored in all the countries this study embraces.

As we have written in the aforementioned contribution (D. Savicevic, 1991) about the development of andragogy in Europe, we will briefly outline here the course this development took in North America. Debates on andragogy began in the U.S.A. in the 1970s. In 1966 the author informed M. Knowles of the European concept of andragogy. Until that time Knowles had no knowledge about the term andragogy. The whole idea about andragogy seemed attractive to Knowles. In 1968, Knowles published a treatise "Andragogy, not Pedagogy" in which he set out the concept of andragogy (M. Knowles, 1968). Knowles set out his concepts of andragogy most fully in his book "The Modern Practice of Adult Education – Andragogy versus Pedagogy", subtitled "Farewell Pedagogy" (M. Knowles, 1970). No doubt M. Knowles has contributed most to the popularization of andragogy, in both the positive and negative sense. Andragogy has entered professional literature in the U.S.A. We meet most followers of andragogy among the young generations of researchers. Debates have been opened on andragogy in professional literature. These debates, taken on the whole, lack sufficient historical, comparative and theoretical rounds. American authors for the most part rely on the sources that appeared in English language.

Knowles's inconsistency in determining andragogy has caused much confusion and misunderstanding. Where did Knowles go wrong? In our view, the first mistake pertains to the definition of andragogy as a "science and art". He followed the traditional school of thought that pedagogy, as defined by J. Dewey, is "science and art". The second mistake of Knowles has to do with the fact that he defines andragogy as science and art of "helping adults to learn". In this way andragogy is being reduced to prescription, that is, to issuing recipes how a teacher should behave in the process of education and learning of adults. The third mistake of Knowles is that he declared andragogy a "model" for teaching that can be applied even in pre-school institutions. In this way, confusion was increased as regards andragogy. By adopting such stands, Knowles moved away from the original stand on andragogy as "science and art". The fourth mistake Knowles made was in the fact that he directed andragogy only towards the problems of learning thus neglecting other dimensions (social and philosophical) without which learning could neither be studied nor understood successfully. The fifth mistake is to be found in his individualistic approach to education and learning of adults by glorifying the "self-directed learner" and the teachers as "facilitators of learning", without linking this to existent circumstances, the level of education, the nature of contents and other factors on which education and learning of adults depended. Knowles's sixth mistake has to do with insufficient, incomplete study of the historical roots of andragogy, as in the American so also in European, literature. Such attitude towards historical data has prompted him to conclude that he is the "first" to use the term andragogy in the American literature.

During the 1980s in the U.S.A., three schools have crystallized as regards andragogy. The first is the one Knowles and his followers belong to, the second is the one denying both andragogy and pedagogy and urging a general science on education and learning – humanology, which is neither an original nor a new idea, and the third urges a separate scientific discipline to study education and learning of adults without spending too much energy on finding the best term for its name. A substantial number of authors in the U.S.A. rightly point out that understanding andragogy is not only a question of semantics, but cuts into the core of the discipline which has as its subject education and learning of adults. This essence includes the goals of education and learning of adults, the special and psychological framework, the understanding of the position of a grown person in the process of education. Moreover, it dwells upon the question of determining the educational needs and courses open to meeting them, the choice of contents. This has philosophical and ethical dimensions, all the way to discharging and professional administration of education and learning and the forms and procedures of its evaluation.

The discipline which studies education and learning of adults in the U.S.A. has borrowed knowledge from other disciplines. In the right are those authors who demand that "dressing in another's clothes" must stop and ask that efforts be invested towards creating one's own sum of knowledge which would make up the foundation of such a discipline (D.R. Boyd, W.J. Apps, 1984). The reasons for such a situation are many. Among them a special place is held by the atheoretical approach to the problems of education and learning of adults, by viewing this area as a domain for research of other disciplines which are older and scientifically better established, by insufficient professional orientation in this area, by pragmatic and practical in research, by squandering the sum of acquired knowledge on other disciplines, insufficient historical and comparative establishment of education and learning of adults etc. This situation can be overcome by investing individual and collective efforts towards scientifically establishing andragogy, by introducing more serious post graduate and doctoral programs in this area and raising them to such a level that the young generation of researchers would find attractive. Above all are needed scientific syntheses of historical, comparative and theoretical nature, as well as generating new knowledge to be gained through rigorous research methodology.

4. Similarities and Differences in Understanding Andragogy

In the period after World War II, as shown by comparative research, several schools appeared in Europe and America, in connection with andragogy, schools which could be described as specific. However, it may just as convincingly be

proven that none of them is autochthonous, bereft of any elements of the ideas originating in other environments, without any intermingling with other ideas. This is natural, because this course is followed also by other sciences. The debates which were conducted in Europe and America about andragogy brought to light several pivotal issues such as the criteria for constitution of the discipline, the subject and territory of its study, the historical and comparative establishment, its phenomenological basis, methodological rigor etc. No doubt the advance recorded in the methodology of other related sciences has facilitated the constitution of andragogy, but comparative research shows that research often lacks the historical and theoretical foundations, which speaks of the subsequent deficiencies of M.A. and doctoral studies.

The European and American experience shows just how long and arduous is the road to constituting andragogy. Moreover, this is a process of permanent re-examining of the concept, re-defining of its subject and terminology, re-examining of theories and their outgrowing through gaining new knowledge and new data based in valid research. This is the dialectics of development of every science. From comparative research of understanding andragogy in Europe and America it appears that several schools of thought were formed in the period since the 1960s pertaining to andragogy as a discipline, the possibility of its constitution its subject and position it takes up in the system of sciences. Study shows that in certain countries understanding of andragogy is not coherent, but that several courses which emerged as a result of critical debates conducted on the subject itself could be outlined. After all, this does not necessarily mean its is a negative trait. By contrasting views, by critical re-examination one comes to optimal approaches and conclusions.

Historical and comparative research shows that andragogy enjoys common roots in all the countries encompassed by our study. These roots are European culture, beginning from the ancient Greek culture to the present times. The other common characteristic is accepting the philosophy of lifelong education in which education and learning of adults is of primary importance. The third common trait is an increasing professionalization of the education of adults. Andragogy, under different names, has found its place in universities as a scientific discipline as well as a subject taught. The fourth common property is the emergence of professional organizations. The number of young researchers evincing interest in research of andragogical phenomena is on the constant rise. On the rise is also the number of professional publications in different languages. This helps the establishment of andragogy. All these are common elements relevant to the countries included by our study.

To point out these common elements does not mean, viewed comparatively, to understand andragogy uniformly or homogeneously. We have determined that

different schools of thought have been formed in connection with andragogy. We do come across differences also within certain countries. In connection with andragogy we have defined the following concepts: the pedagogical, agogical, prescriptive, andragogical and the concept of negating andragogy as a science. Due to lack of space we cannot go into describing them. Their essence was briefly outlined in the mentioned work (D. Savicevic, 1991). We have defined also the application of different terms regarding the name of this discipline: andragogy, pedagogy of adults, practical pedagogy, theory of education of adults, psycho-pedagogy of adults, socio-pedagogy of adults, humanogogy, matethics, out of school pedagogy or simply education of adults, depending on the development of the philosophical and scientific thought as well as the cultural framework of certain environments. Many terms we cited remained only recorded in professional literature and enjoyed no broader application or influence. For the most part, two terms: andragogy and pedagogy of adults were settled for, whereas in Britain and the U.S.A simply "Adult Education". The essence of this discipline is not only in the term, but also in its scientific structure.

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Andragogy Faced with New Tasks

In the course of work on the project "*Adult Education and Social Changes*" which was launched by the Council of Europe questions relating to the scientific approach to adult education and learning were often touched upon and linked to this, issues concerning the position and meaning of andragogy, the need to lay the scientific foundations for the education of unemployed persons as a relatively new group in the area of adult education. Participants in the network of projects devoted to the role of adult education in reducing longterm unemployment advocated a new approach to the conception of learning, to forming learning environments in which individuals are able to help one another, and were also in favour of new approaches to programming, to programme application and evaluation, of a new teacher-student relationship in the process of education and learning. Andragogy is a study of all these complex processes and is, as such, encountered with increasing frequency in the plans and programmes of numerous European universities. Despite the considerable amount of knowledge about adult education and learning gained through research work, there still remain uncertainties, controversial issues, a lack of understanding of the notion and subject of andragogy and of its scientific structure. This may be attributed to the variety of cultural and historical frameworks within which the idea of adult education and learning emerged. As space is limited, some problems will merely be indicated. More complete information may be found in other source published in English (D. Savićević, 1989, 1991).

It would seem appropriate to speak of the factors which caused the need of building andragogy on scientific foundations. Indeed, there are several of them but here we shall only mention the democratization of education which has been developing perceptibly ever since the fifties and which has applied above all to the adult population. Thanks to the practice we have acquired in the field of adult education, many countries have accepted the philosophy of life-long education. In this respect, UNESCO and the European Council have had a major impact. They urged their member countries to reform their systems of education in the light of the life-long education conception. Adult education has become an integral part of the newly-shaped systems of education, while in some countries the term "the second road to education" or that of formal and informal education, have come into existence, new educational strategies have appeared such as, for instance, recurrent education, communal education, education at a distance, all

with the aim of finding the most appropriate means of meeting the educational needs of the adult people. At the same time there has been a greater professionalization of adult education to which the universities have contributed to a large extent by including andragogy – of course, referred to in different terms – in their teaching plans and programmes: andragogy, pedagogy of adults, theory of adult education or simply adult education which is usually the case with the English-speaking countries. Programmes for the professional training of andragogues on the graduate and post-graduate levels have been extended and the institutional and material bases of research work in the field of adult education and learning have also been enlarged.

These and other factors as well have brought about an increase in the sources of andragogy, the possibilities of constituting it as a scientific discipline, of its notion and subject of study, scientific structure, of its relation with other sciences, its methodological orientation etc. Comparative and historical research have shown that the period following World War II witnessed the emergence of several conceptions of andragogy which need to be considered critically and evaluated scientifically. None of these conceptions appear in a "pure" form without elements and the influence of conceptions from other midsts. Europe is the cradle of andragogy. Its roots may be traced back to the 17th Century and found in the thoughts of J.A. Comenius. We are able to observe the evolution of andragogy throughout the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century. However a description of this evolution would go beyond the frameworks of this work.

While the term is increasingly gaining ground in professional literature on adult education and learning, it is still not sufficiently well-known in all the languages and cultures of Europe. We shall make a brief sketch of the interpretation of the notion of "andragogy". Andragogy is a fairly recent compound word of the Greek word *aner*, genitive *andrós* (in the compound word andro-) and the word *agogia*. The word *aner*, *andrós* has as its basic meaning "man" and as its meaning became wider it assumed the notion of *man* as a species. Another specific meaning of this word is *adult man* as distinct from a youth.

The word *agogia* signifies guidance, direction > spiritual guidance, spiritual direction > education. From the linguistic point of view, the meaning of the notion of andragogy is perfectly clear. Those who have a good command of the Greek language say that the word *aner*, *andrós*, the basic meaning of which is "man" tended to become broader thus evolving into the meaning of "man" as a species and encompassing both men and women because women also belong to the same species. There is no justification in the claims that the term "andragogy" is unsuitable because it excludes women who are widely involved in the forms and programmes of adult education and learning. This objection fails to

take into account that the meaning of the notion *aner*, *andrós*; has spread, nor its other meaning such as its specific meaning of "adult man" as opposed to a young person. Consequently, by assuming a broader meaning this term covers persons of both sexes (men and women).

A similar situation occurs with the word *agogia* which has also acquired a broader meaning and come to signify *spiritual guidance*, *spiritual direction*, *education*. Hence, there are no grounds in the argument that *agogia* in its sense of guidance is more suitable in the case of children than in the case of adults who do not wish to be "guided". Such objections pay no heed to the broader meaning which the word *agogia* has assumed nor to the idea of spiritual guidance it conveys, its notion of spiritual direction and education. The word *agogia* has enlarged its meaning to cover the meaning of man's intellectual activity, i.e. the activity of education. From this we can conclude that the word *aner*, *andrós* and the word *agogia* have by broadening their meaning acquired new definitions thus endowing the term of andragogy with a semantic meaning. Andragogy is defined as a scientific discipline which deals with problems relating to adult education and learning in all of its manifestations and expressions whether formal or informal organized or self-guided. In university plans other terms are also used to define this discipline. However the scope of this work does not allow us to describe the flaws of such an approach.

Comparative research has shown that there is some controversy as to the subject of andragogy. According to certain views, it is limited to "helping adults to learn", to the art and skill of teachers and students in the process of education and learning, to the technology of teaching. These conceptions do not contribute to laying the scientific foundations of andragogy. There is general agreement that the object of andragogy is adult education and learning. Opinions tend to differ when it comes to determining when adulthood begins which emanates from the social and cultural context. Most European countries considers that one is an adult at the age of eighteen. Of course the chronological (age) criteria is not the only consideration. Social and work criteria, the period when one enters the world of work and assumes the role performed by adults in family, working, and social life are taken into consideration as well.

Contemporary authors consider higher education as an area and subject of andragogy. In future, andragogy will have to direct its research efforts to the field of higher education as well, which will enlarge its subject considerably. The scope of research of andragogy covers the greater part of man's life, starting from his period of adolescence until the end of his life. As a result, its subject is both of a far-reaching and complex nature and therefore some authors are inclined to classify it as one of the most complex contemporary sciences. Its complexity does not only relate to the chronological age of the subjects concerned

but also to the problems involving the substance underlying the subject studied by andragogy. Andragogy deals with problems of adult education and learning on all levels of formal education: elementary, secondary and university. Its subject of study also includes post-school permanent education linked up with one's profession and complete performance of professional tasks which society has entrusted man. Andragogy studies moreover that type of education required by man for performing roles outside the realm of labour: within the family, in social life and in leisure time. Andragogy gears its research efforts to problems of culture as well. The impact of culture on man's aesthetic, moral and intellectual life has not been sufficiently studied. Establishments of culture outside the formal system of education have had, throughout history, a very notable role. Andragogy concerns itself both with social and philosophical frameworks of adult education and learning. Its interest does not focus only on problems of "knowing how" but also of "knowing why". The answer to the question of "knowing how" not only covers educational goals but also the question of values and value orientations, the question of the choice of contents which is not merely of a didactic but essentially an ethical question. The choice of contents reflects a diversity of philosophical schools of thought: the liberal philosophy of adult education, the progressivist, behaviourist, humanistic, radical and analytical philosophy of adult education. Andragogy considers and evaluates critically all these various schools of thought, their positive sides and limitations and thus contributes to founding the overall field of adult education and learning on a theoretical basis. In advocating the need of studying the historical and comparative dimensions of adult education, of studying the current practice of adult education by no way means neglecting the study of its future evolution. The thought of adult education can only be ground in firmer foundations if three premisses are met: the past, present and future. This approach calls for a scientific synthesis and systematization without which andragogy would remain on the level of prescriptiveness, guided and limited by narrow didactic and methodical frameworks.

In some European countries special attention is given to shaping the scientific structure of andragogy. Over the last few decades, the broad scope covered by andragogy has been broken up into a whole series of subdisciplines of andragogy which investigate individual areas of adult education and learning. The scope of this work does not, however, allow us to expound on the structure of the subdisciplines of andragogy. Still, it should be mentioned that the scientific structure of andragogy has not been completely formed. It is a system open to new fields of knowledge which will be generated by research work. Moreover, neither has the process of differentiation in the area of andragogy been completed. Andragogy has nevertheless reached the level of development where differentiation should turn towards integration. A crucial task of andragogy will be

to form a synthesis of scientific knowledge leading to an integration of all the knowledge generated in the specific areas or subdisciplines of andragogy. In this way, conditions would be provided for the emergence of general theories, paradigms applicable to all areas of adult education and learning. Efforts in favour of andragogy becoming a unified science in no way implies that the evolution of its specific areas, subdisciplines should be neglected.

Authors in a number of countries draw attention to the relation between andragogy and other sciences. Some authors are inclined to favour the idea of borrowing knowledge from other sciences. To "wear the clothes of others" would not take andragogy very far. The only right approach would be to generate one's own knowledge through valid research work. This does not mean that andragogy should not collaborate with other sciences which study man as a natural and social being. Cooperation is a two-way process of both borrowing and giving, making available one's own research findings. The area covered by adult education and learning is very vast indeed and lends itself to interdisciplinary research and to consideration from a wider philosophical, social and psychological context. However, the interdisciplinary approach does not relieve andragogy of shaping its own theoretical foundations and of engaging in its own fundamental research activity. It is only in this way that andragogy is able to cooperate in a creative manner with other sciences.

There are differing views on which science andragogy belongs to. This depends on the different philosophical positions and conceptions of various authors. In our view, it does not belong to any individual science nor is it a "branch" of any science. It is simply an integral part of the family of sciences engaged in the study of learning and education without any subordination or superiority. In this way, andragogy demonstrates its adherence to the family of sciences concerned with education while maintaining its scientific autonomy and position vis-à-vis other sciences of education and those sciences whose main focal point of study is not education.

The main preconditions for the further development of andragogy are the extension of scientific research and the further professionalization of adult education and learning. In this respect, andragogy faces new tasks and the need to pursue theoretical and empirical research. Theoretical research will have to center around the creation of fundamental theoretical bases. Andragogy will have to turn its attention to the study of crucial problems underlying an adult's personality, to making a thorough investigation of the goals of adult education and learning, of the particularities of individual phases of life from the point of view of education and learning, of values and value orientations. In other words andragogy will have to shape its philosophical basis. The future evolution of adult education and learning will increasingly guide andragogy along the path of in-

novative approaches to adult education and learning and direct its activity to the problem of preparing man for a rational choice between the alternatives he is offered, to the problem of preparing man to shape his own future as well as that of the society in which he lives. Its orientation to the future does not imply that it will disregard the past and the present. We may say that for the future development of andragogy the following aspects are of a major importance: historical and comparative research, the need to create a synthesis of knowledge based on the historical experience and contemporary creative practice emerging from different social environments.

The research scope which andragogy is called upon to cover is extremely complex and requires a specific methodological approach. The most optimal solution would be a rational interaction between historical, theoretical and empirical research. The future evolution of andragogy will be geared to the investigation of andragogical ideas and phenomena to personality development perceived within the framework of education and learning, to education and learning as they related to economic and social development, to the specificities of education and learning in individual periods of life, to priority groups (the group of unemployed is one of the priority groups), to the relationship between education and work, to comparative dimensions etc.

As we have already emphasized, the future evolution of andragogy will depend on the adequate training of experts and scientific personnel. Comparative research has shown that the levels of training of andragogical personnel tend to differ: basic four-year study courses leading to the professional title of bachelor of andragogical science, post-graduate specialised and master degree studies, studies geared to other professions and continued professional training. The professionalization of adult education implies that additional efforts need to be made to ensure the future of andragogy.

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Part seven

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