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No. 14/1970

PERMANENT EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

by


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DECS 3/DECS 6

STRASBOURG, MAY 1970

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Preface

When I was asked to contribute to the series on permanent education issued by the Council of Europe, I was left at liberty to develop my own views on the subject. This is not unreasonable since permanent education still remains an idea for the future rather than being a reality in the present.

In reply to this request I have elaborated an earlier paper read at a national conference on adult and permanent education in Oosterbeek, 1969. In the resulting study the discussions and conclusions of this conference have been applied where needed.

Moreover, I have taken those examples that seemed to be relevant from the Dutch situation. Similarly a good deal of Dutch experience with the various forms of education is implicitly present in this study, showing perhaps an emphasis on the theory and practice of adult education. It is difficult, however, to forget one's own profession. Whether the outcome is representative of the present thoughts and activities with respect to permanent education in the Netherlands will be left to my colleagues to decide.

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1.1. Challenge and mystification

The pioneers of new education would be pleased to see that their original ideas are now rapidly gaining acceptance. An increasing number of people nowadays seem to share their view that education, both in and out of school, must be more than a mere transmission of knowledge and skills. Instead, it should help young people to acquire the habit of learning, stirring their sense of curiosity and imagination, strengthening their motivation for continued learning and so prepare them for the process of life-long learning.

Besides, these pioneers firmly believed that education could and should function as a change agent for the individual as well as for society. These views, too, are increasingly forwarded by the present proponents of permanent education. The mutual relationship between educational innovation and socio-cultural change is a common platitude in most of the official statements concerning the need for a permanent education.

It is gratifying, indeed, to notice that all of a sudden so much importance is being attributed to education, whether permanent or not. However, these tokens of affection are largely left unspecified. After a careful and critical reading of the host of official reports and papers, one is bound to discover that permanent education serves as a common denominator for a great many vastly different things. In fact it seems to be thought of as a cure for all the ills that are caused by whatever change we care to think of.

The optimistic plans that are being proposed today - probably including those of the present writer - seem to fit Malinowski's definition of magic: "Wishful thinking and overhopeful behaviour". In its present unspecified state permanent education remains a nice though harmless dream, a kind of secular heaven, too good to be true. If kept removed from reality it represents an ideology, serving as an escape from the unpleasant and troubling realities of everyday life without much intending to change the existing situation at all. Indeed, it seems to be a sort of educational wonderland, a futuristic fairy-world of its own. A certain degree of mystification, maintained unconsciously or deliberately, appears to characterise the present concept.

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1.2. Different motifs

There is something unrealistic in many of the plans that are proposed with respect to permanent education today. Authorities of different quarters, obviously having opposing aims and ends in mind, are to a surprising extent in agreement on the desirability of this educational innovation in general. In the Netherlands, for example, the Minister of Education and Sciences in his explanatory statements on the National Budgets for 1969 and 1970 indicated the need for a permanent education aimed at giving man the opportunity of continuous development. To this end he drew a distinction between fundamental and continuing education. He referred, however, to formal or school education.

His colleague, the Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, stated in her explanation to the 1970 Budget that permanent education is needed as a response to the continuous challenge resulting from the rapid changes in our society. It is meant to create the optimum conditions for the individual education and reorientation required to meet this challenge. Indicating the significance of the close co-operation between the non-governmental organisations in adult education and the various departments of her ministry, she announced a round-table conference on the subject of permanent education. This conference, which took place in November 1969, was meant to stimulate the co-ordination and integration of educational activities and to start the discussion on the design of overall structures needed to this end.

At the same time, the Dutch section of the World Education Fellowship held a national conference on "Education and Change" in which permanent education represented the wider frame of reference for reform in school education, relating schools with social change (1). Earlier that year a hundred adult educators, representing the various types of work, came together in Oosterbeek in a two-day conference to exchange views on permanent education (2). Both conferences showed that we are ourselves only at the beginning of understanding what we mean by the concept of permanent education. They also indicated the integrative and differentiating nature of the concept once it has been worked out for the purpose of both school education and out-of-school education.

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A fairly neutral conclusion was reached in the recently published report on the function and future of adult education in the Netherlands - a study resembling the German "Gutachten" in significance and intent. In its recommendations the principle of permanent education, defined as a principle of cultural policy, is recognised as being of great value. Its purpose should be the constitution of an interrelated well-integrated and flexible structure, serving man throughout his life with individually oriented opportunities for the satisfaction of his educational, social and cultural needs, according to his aptitudes. Thus it must enable him to develop his personality through both work and leisure, for his own benefit and that of the community to which he belongs. Next to the challenge of social and cultural change, the social requirements of economic development are mentioned as the causes for the development of these educational provisions (3).

1.3. Cognitive versus affective motifs

The foregoing statements illustrate the vagueness of the concept of permanent education in our present thinking. In this unspecified form the real reasons for fundamental disagreement on the aims, content and methods have not yet emerged. If one looks more closely, however, the different motifs among those in favour of it become apparent. It then appears that there is more than one type of permanent education.

Some protagonists, coming from the world of formal education, regard it as a necessary supplement for updating the knowledge acquired earlier at school. Even if they want to change the school as well, they still prefer to think in terms of predominantly cognitive learning. To others permanent education represents just the opposite. Questioning the absolute value of factual knowledge they prefer to concentrate on encouraging the learning of skills and the change of attitudes and mentality.

Such a difference of opinion and approach is reflected in the pluralistic interpretation of the concept of education in the Netherlands. Here the single term "education" embraces three different concepts and related practices. The first is "opvoeding", meaning upbringing or nurture. Its institutional setting is, as elsewhere, the family and the home. It is the concern of pedagogy as an art which in the context of the corresponding university discipline is increasingly developing into a science.

The second meaning is "onderwijs", or schooling and instruction. Its institutional setting is the school and the university, or similar institutions. The new discipline of "onderwijskunde" deals with it as a subject of university teaching and research.

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"Vormingswerk" is the third. It covers part of what is known in England as adult education, accentuating, however, the affective aspects of personality formation rather than cognitive learning. Its institutional setting varies from local evening classes and settlement houses or community centres to regional colleges for short-term residential adult education. The correlated university discipline is now known as "andragogiek". Together with "onderwijskunde" and "opvoedkunde" it belongs to the sub-faculty of pedagogics which itself is a part of the faculty of social sciences.

This threefold interpretation of education has its own consequences when it comes to developing the idea of permanent education. Each of them has its own good reasons for welcoming the increased scope it seems to offer. They each have their own historically developed institutional setting with related differences in scientific approach, following independent courses of development.

At the same time, however, the three fields of education are becoming aware of the interrelation with each other. School education is consciously extended to fields of non-cognitive learning. Adult education is paying more attention to cognition. The changing educational scene requires further education of parents and teachers, which is now becoming a recognised subject of pedagogics. In fact, the processes of reorientation taking place in all three fields point to a general trend which converges into a comprehensive view of education. In this view it is a lifelong process serving the integrated care of cognitive and affective learning.

An awareness of this development can be observed among the authorities and experts in the respective fields. Many practitioners in education, not to mention the general public, are still far from grasping the consequences of such views. Teachers and other educators are usually so preoccupied with the immediate problems of educational activities in a rapidly changing environment that they tend to stay within the limitations of their own respective fields. We must not underestimate the problems and obstacles to be overcome before the idea of permanent education is accepted by them as a help rather than an extra burden. The idea has to prove its value to them. Meanwhile the differences of opinion and of practice will outweigh the forces of integration, at least in the Netherlands.

1.4. External reasons for differentiation

Such differences of preference and orientation relate to education itself. They are eclipsed, however, by those of a wider significance external to education. Industry, for instance, is in favour of permanent education because knowledge and skills are rapidly outdated owing to the speed of present technological development. The electronics industry, moreover, wants us to buy its new machinery, pointing out the inadequacy of our educational tools. Economists indicate the value of more and better education for economic growth. Commerce, having discovered the profitable value of leisure time, wholeheartedly supports the idea of its use for continued learning.

Together they seem to suggest that permanent education is needed to bring people into line with the requirements of a world dominated by economic and technological change. Is this kind of new education meant to be a superior instrument for moulding people in such a way as to make them conform to these developments? If so, permanent education will remain a technical means for dealing with technological innovation, in terms of both industrial and social technology. Its use will reinforce the established social order, rightly or wrongly, controlling and manipulating the destiny of whole populations.

There is an alternative view, however, in which permanent education serves as a change agent in the opposite direction. In this view it should encourage people to oppose the above-mentioned development and so free themselves from its effects. Man must try to find ways to escape external, technological domination and the oppressive obligations of a consumer economy and mass society. We should now be using our ingenuity and creativity to improve our society and the world in which we live.

Such views were elaborated in a recent report by the Netherlands Students Council. Permanent education, it says, is the right of everybody to educate himself on a lifelong basis. This right must be realised within the context of the individuals own life and work situation. The education involved should enable people to learn from their experience and encourage them to discover their personal responsibility in their thinking and acting towards the changing community. The report warns its readers, though, against the dangers of a permanent education that represented a kind of repressive tolerance so offering the establishment a chance to increase its grip on its citizens. The development of man as a creative social being, which should be the ultimate aim of any permanent education, would be seriously endangered by such an approach (4).

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This requires a sense of political awareness combined with openings for political action. Change implies a learning process, requiring critical information, aptitude for independent thought and action, and a mentality of critical awareness and flexibility. Continuous change calls for continuous learning. Such a permanent education is not task-oriented but student-oriented. By its aims, content and methods it is essentially an instrument for democratisation (5).

1.5. The political nature of permanent education

In what direction do we want to move? What changes are we aiming at, and which priorities do we want to establish? The answer to such questions will decide the development of permanent education. It will be clear that these aims and the education related to them represent as many political issues. This becomes even more evident if the question is raised as to who is to decide? In other words, what power will steer and regulate the new educational provisions? Those who are in charge dispose of an immense influence over the lives of others. Who are they? Will permanent education be left to the free play of corporate enterprise? Will it reflect the political diversity of temporary government and parliament? Or is it up to the specialists in educational planning and technology to decide? In which ways will the public be given a say in the matter?

Recognition of the political question has been slow. In the Netherlands the early recognition of rights of religious denominations in all three kinds of education, resulting in a rule of equal subsidies for free and state institutions of education, seems to contradict this statement. However, the present political interests at stake in questions of permanent education no longer coincide with the earlier denominational differences in the Netherlands. They tend to cut right across the differences between the Protestant, the Roman Catholic or the non-denominational views on man, society and culture.

Perhaps the real political aspect remains hidden because of the apolitical nature which used to be connected with the actual content of education in former days, when it was taken for granted that education served the vested interests of a given society. Education for change, however, has added a new dimension, causing a fundamental mutation in its very structure, as H. Janne has explained in his study (x). It necessitates a reorientation of the system, of the people serving it and of those being served. How painful these processes are is demonstrated by the struggles going on in our universities.

(x) H. Janne, Permanent Education, an agent of change in the present education system (Council of Europe series No. 6/1969).

1.6. The example of the universities

What is happening in the universities is undoubtedly a fore-runner of what may also be expected in the course of development of permanent education. We can observe at least three different kinds of argument. The first deals with the needs of organisational and technological change. For purely technical reasons better methods are thought to be needed, including discussion techniques, but also programmed instruction and audio-visual means. For the improvement of the institutional structure a reorganisation is pleaded. There is, however, the tacit assumption that the existing aims and their political foundation will remain outside the discussion.

Secondly there are people, usually a much smaller group than the former, who are of the opinion that the need for educational change is the result of a changing society. Their argument is that education is a political factor in society, and that it should become aware of this. To that end they want to make the aims of university education themselves the subject of discussion, and, in so doing, uncover the tacitly assumed political issues of the establishment which until now dominate the university. They fear any technical or organisational improvement not preceded by the discussion of aims.

The third group is even smaller though of considerable qualitative importance. According to their view a revision of aims and means will be impossible within the existing society. Political awareness is not enough, for it presupposes the possibility of the equal value of conflicting political views, whereas they want to replace the existing social order by a radically different one. The university is for them the trigger with which to set off the social revolution. Education is regarded as an effective instrument to counteract the technical improvement of the old order and to accelerate the emergence of a totally new society.

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Now it is remarkable to observe that each of these arguments presupposes the former. Almost everybody nowadays is in favour of some technical or didactic improvement. A number of these people will be satisfied if it leads to a better organised and more smoothly running educational system. Their main criterion is that of optimum efficiency. Others, however, are motivated by more profound considerations. To them education, including university education, implies interaction with society and social change. On the basis of extended educational aims they demand better learning methods and a different approach in which both society and the individual learner are given their proper value, contrary to the present education with its emphasis on subject-matter. Finally, a still smaller group desires a total structural change of society and related changes in individual mentality. The university, and education in general, should be instrumental in this, necessitating fundamental, structural, technical and didactic alterations.

The adherents of such different views must not be confused with one another, despite the seeming resemblance in the technical aspects of their demands. Balancing the arguments my preference is still with the second motivation, subordinating the first as a technical matter of functional significance, and anticipating the third if the authorities responsible for the education involved would prefer to continue the use of the tacitly assumed and untested aims of the past.

The crisis of the universities will repeat itself with respect to permanent education, as can be observed in several schools and institutions for adult education in the Netherlands. Similar evidence is found in the recent demands of young workers in this country. To the educators the above analysis implies that the political nature of education and change can not be ignored. Even if we do so,

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because we take it to be contrary to our scientific obligations as experts, we will find at the end that we have nevertheless played a political role, without knowing it. And we might wake up to discover that our help has been used for purposes contrary to our convictions.

2.1. Education as an interactional process

The two opposing views on permanent education each have their own focus of interest and specific point of departure. The one, while stressing the importance of technological change and economic growth, presents to education a number of needs and aims derived from the existing socio-cultural system in a state of change. They are essentially social needs which the individual must fit in with in one way or another. Besides the development and transfer of new knowledge and skills, a continuous adaptation of behaviour and mental attitudes is required. From the point of view of the individual these needs come from the outside.

The other, emphasising individual growth and personal enrichment, desires the creation of conditions for the optimum satisfaction of individual drives and their development. Their focus is primarily on personality formation. The development of personal values and of the creative faculties of imagination and their expression in play and the arts occupy the central position in this view on education. Derived from it is the need for certain skills as well as knowledge in terms of information. From the point of view of society these needs come from the individual himself. They may or may not coincide with the former social needs.

Education is a process of interaction between the two kinds of need, in which the personality of the individual clashes or is made to harmonise with the culture of that society in which he happens to grow up. In societies of relatively little change the development of the personality and its individual needs are subjected to and conditioned by the requirements and limitations of that culture. In societies like ours, culture itself is in a state of flux. Therefore the interactional process leaves more room for individually expressed and deviant behaviour. The social needs resulting from a changing culture can no longer be forced automatically on the individual. In an atmosphere of increasing doubt about the common concepts of life, the scene is set for experiments by individuals or small groups with alternative ways of life in which the development of personal and common happiness is the target. In my opinion this kind of experimental permanent education, with its concomittant critical elaboration of the emerging social needs, is of greater value and significance than the technologically and economically motivated type of permanent education which is now forced upon us.

2.2. Some individual needs

Now that new and effective ways of social pressure have been developed extra attention is required at the other end of the process, i.e. the individual capacities and their development. We can be more, and do more, than our fellow-men and our culture permit. We should try to regain what has been lost or was never developed in us. Such a view is eagerly accepted by young people today. This is not surprising for they themselves are at a stage of life that represents a breaking point similar to, and coinciding with, the present social revolution. In their search for social identity they meet with a society searching for the same.

2.2.1. Self-expression

A most apparent need is that for self-expression. Young children are capable of it spontaneously. In most cases it is unlearned through education in later life. As Andrew Laing has said in his "Politics of Experience": "Society educates children to lose themselves and to become absurd, and thus be normal" (6). In the new education ways should be devised to keep and develop the creative capacities of self-expression with which we are gifted in various measures and different fields. The encouragement of such expression in language, gestures and materials, and the creation of optimum conditions for their development should be an essential part of permanent education.

2.2.2. Communication

Related to the former is the need for communication. Isolation and alienation are well known characteristics of modern life. The demand for courses teaching discussion methods is indicative of a need experienced by a growing number of people. Yet the teaching is often of little help. Many people, having spent a life of listening to others and obeying orders, experience the invitation to speak up as exhilarating and frightening at first. This is often followed, however, by an acute sense of disappointment. For listening and understanding appear to be two different things. The course in discussion methods should, therefore, help people to improve their listening by providing them with a better insight into the functioning of the communication process.

Such improved courses must be a normal part of the fundamental education of all children. The methods learned should be used in all further education, in and out of school. They should be practiced in everyday life. If not, we are left with the problem of something having been learned that is not to be used in life itself. In a democracy, encouraging individual participation in the various fields of life, the art of communication is too important to be left at that.

2.2.3. Emotional relations

However important discussion methods are, they have the drawback of being mainly verbal and rational. It is the lack of proper means to establish emotional relations which is the more urgent need. Sensitivity training and residential courses in tactile communication and dramatics may have a remedial value for adults who want to learn what they have unlearned or failed to learn in this respect. However, the development of meaningful emotional relations with others should be a normal part of all education, especially in the early years.

2.2.4. Knowing oneself and understanding others

Finally there is the need to know oneself and understand others. It has been demonstrated time and again that the two are closely related. Our perception of others, and theirs of us, is coloured by our self-image. Notably social psychology has uncovered the functioning of such interactional processes. The vital question is how to apply this knowledge to the practice of everyday life. Can we learn to act accordingly and so increase our understanding of others and ourselves?

In terms of educational methods it means that we should not treat this kind of perception as an emotional stumbling-block in the learning process. For it represents an entrance to the deeper layers of the personality, closely related to personal identity. It is a guide to the selective and interpretational aspect of the learning process, and a key to the motives and motivations on which this process depends. Present education is discovering the implications of such views. It is still struggling though with the problem of their application in the planning and reorganisation of educational activities and institutions.

2.3. Some needs for social change

A permanent education which is to fulfil the above requirements can do very little and will have only a small chance of being realised if our society remains as it is. Instead a society is required that offers opportunities to encourage and stimulate self-expression and communication with others in personal relationships of emotional significance in work and leisure. This implies, among other things, that the present focus on performance and competition should be changed by the development of a complementary ethos of co-operation and solidarity.

It means that instead of emphasising the values of personal excellence and group superiority we will have to concentrate our efforts on a revaluation of care for others and the common

good. This gives us an indication of the broader context in which individual needs must be situated. For if the latter are left to their own development the increasing inability for social or communal life would be reinforced. What is to be the common purpose directing the satisfaction of individual needs? Obviously we will need new ways, new structures of communal life.

It is here that important links exist between permanent education, on the one hand, and social work and community development, on the other. If permanent education is meant to fulfil individual needs in relation to new social ends, it must find ways of coming closer to people's lives. It must be anchored in the home, the neighbourhood, in work and leisure groups.

Education, with respect to both its content and methods, cannot be treated separately from the conditions of modern society. In the thirties of the century Karl Mannheim already observed the trend of social change towards the organised society and the mass public. The breakdown and consequent disintegration of the traditional organic social structures meant the liberation of individuals and groups from the static positions they formerly occupied, with their fixed rights and duties(7).

However, the social changes involved have tied down the individual once more, this time to the structures of organised society. In many respects life in this modern society ignores or annihilates the personal freedom we are being told we have acquired. People are free in name, but wherever they go they meet with complicated regulations, with rights and duties of an impersonal character. With regard to the rules of modern organised society all people are alike, as they are before the law. This treatment results in the formation of a mass public. Communication media such as radio and television fit in with this development and serve the system accordingly. The new permanent education should, for obvious reasons, counteract this movement.

2.4. The concept of culture

Individual needs cannot be dissociated from the social context in which they are to be realised. Similarly the still wider context of culture is needed to understand and to situate the processes of social change in relation to individual education. First, however, we have to explain what we mean by "culture" - a concept as equally vague and elusive as that of permanent education.

As permanent education aims at educating for change, the classical idea of culture is inadequate. Its forms and content are fixed and static and hence change-resisting. Historically they were the privileged possession of a social élite. In the past hundred years education, adult education in particular, has been used to introduce outsiders, the majority of people, to this privilege. However, by the very nature of its content, related to an unfamiliar past and a socially uncomfortable present, classical culture has remained a foreign element in their lives. It tends to be associated with a level of quality of which it is uncertain for the giver how deep he has to bow and for the receiver how high he has to reach. It seems to be out of touch with the realities of life today.

Belonging to these realities are the facts of technological and economic change and their impact on present social life. Classical culture, however, is preoccupied with spiritual values in their explicit traditional forms and content. Defending continuity, it is hostile to change. Therefore it does not provide the broader context we need for the elaboration of permanent education. Nevertheless there remains the conflicting relationship between the material conditions of life and the more explicit value orientations governing individual and social action. Moreover, there is the issue of change versus continuity. We need another concept to integrate these notions. This, in my view, we can find in the concept of culture developed by cultural anthropology.

Including technology, economy and social organisation, as well as the arts, science and religion, it is described as the way of life of a people. In Melville Herskovits' concise definition it is "the man-made part of the environment"(8). As its continuation and its transmission depend on processes of learning rather than biological inheritance, culture is a social heritage. With regard to personality formation and education it represents the formative environment we have in common, as a society, a group or a generation.

In cultural anthropology the culture concept is used to describe the way of life, the institutions, the traditions and behaviour of small societies in particular. It will be hard to achieve the same for the complexities of Dutch society or Western society at large. So when I suggest the use of this concept it is for its heuristic rather than for its descriptive qualities. It may help us to illuminate and understand some basic issues of permanent education.

2.5. Culture and technology

Comparative studies have shown that technology represents a relatively marginal aspect of culture. It is that part that can be changed and learned most easily. This remains so even

if its application and results are highly valued, as they are in our culture. Modern technology does not belong specifically to European, American, Russian or Japanese culture.

The social use and significance of technology depends, however, on the value-attitude systems of a particular culture. The latter occupies a central position in the cultural configuration. Values and attitudes and their expressive forms are related to our common and individual identity. This central position explains why the classical concept of culture still finds so many adherents. Dealing with values in particular it is thought to be the culture "par excellence". However, it also explains why change in this field is such a painful process. Attacking the heart of the matter it undermines the emotional basis of our way of life, socially and individually.

Nevertheless, even values and related attitudes are changing, if slowly and painfully. One of the trends visible today is the breakdown of the more explicit normative systems of the past. They are reduced to their basic human components like those underlying my earlier remarks on the individual needs and social ends of permanent education. The newer value orientation assumes its own forms in experimental activities and social action, where it is put to the test of the ever-changing experience from practice. Often modern technological change and its effects are taken as of topical interest. Attempts are thus made to achieve a critical reconsideration of the technological aspects of our culture in view of its central value orientation. This does not signify a fight between technology and culture. Instead it deals with a rethinking of the relation between central and marginal aspects of our culture, represented by values and technology respectively. This, to my opinion, should be the orientation of the permanent education we are thinking of.

2.6. Continuity and change

Culture is an ambivalent concept. As a social heritage it provides society and hence the individual with continuity and security. It is man-made, however, and therefore open to change, as we have seen. Its dependence on the learning process, both for continuity and change, reveals the crucial importance of education. In former days the latter merely served the purpose of changing unformed persons to make them conform to the continuities of the culture in which they were growing up. Nowadays education must be an agent of change operating at three different levels of the individual, society and culture. Change of such a magnitude is a novel phenomenon. It is therefore not surprising that we are only at the beginning of our understanding of the processes involved. Consequently our

educational methods for effecting social and cultural change are crude and highly intuitive. The modern science of planned change, developed in the USA and now being introduced in European countries, might help us in this respect. A technical aid from quite different quarters might come from the non-western developing countries. Owing to the enforced acculturation of the first half of this century they dispose of vast experience in rapid and far-reaching cultural change. But perhaps its enforced character runs counter to the free change we have in mind. In that case their example might have its use as an illustration of the nightmare we are risking if we let change of such magnitude be forced upon us.

How much change will we be able to stand? In our personal life this means: To what extent will we be able to integrate new experiences with those previously acquired, without losing our sense of identity? How much insecurity can people stand? For society it means: How shall we integrate the marginal and the fundamental innovations with the need for continuity and common security. Processes of disruption and disintegration, of social anomy, of alienation and isolation, between people and within ourselves are showing through. The demand for change is activating a search for continuity. Even in the writings of such prophets as Marcuse the almost atavistic longing for that sense of continuity can be noticed. Permanent education should not only help people with problems of change. Even more so it must aid them in the search for continuity.

Chapter 3. A PLURALISTIC MODEL OF PERMANENT EDUCATION

3.1. The basic requirements for the model

By bringing together trends and developments, translating theory into practice, we might construct a new educational reality. The previous chapters contain a number of conclusions indicating the requirements and conditions for a model of permanent education which will help us to envisage the desired educational reality of the future. To start with it should represent a comprehensive view of education, elaborating in its aims, content and methods the converging developments which were noticed in the consideration of the three interpretations of the concept of education. Serving the purpose of integration it must differentiate at the same time according to criteria of cognitive versus affective learning, of instrumental versus expressive learning, while recognising the significance of differences of age or stages in human development. Hence it will have to be a pluralistic model.

The political nature of permanent education implies that its organisation and methods must offer safeguards against manipulation and indoctrination. After due recognition of the impact of social change and the needs resulting from it, the model must take individual needs as its starting point. Education as an activity is the deliberate contribution to the interaction between individuals and society. As a process it takes place within the individual, by communication with others and within the frame of reference of a particular culture.

The individual needs involved are those of self-expression, communication, the establishing of emotional relations with others, and the fostering of self-knowledge and understanding of others. The model should provide ways of acquiring and exercising the personal values and attitudes, the skills and knowledge which are needed to reach these ends.

The model does not immediately relate to existing society. On the contrary, it assumes a critical distance to it. At the same time, together with social work and community development, permanent education will include social action, i.e. it must be an active force in social change. With respect to culture the contents of this permanent education must aim at the development of a critical attitude towards technology, in its industrial, social and educational use. Besides dealing with change the model should pay due attention to the problem of continuity, as indicated in this new type of education being qualified as "permanent".

3.2. The local model

3.2.1. Beginning with people

The starting point should be the individual and the small group in which people can actually communicate and co-operate.

It is in their own local surroundings that we find the people for whom the permanent education is meant. Despite rapidly increasing mobility the local group will continue to be the centre for educational provision of the more immediate kind. The new institutions based on this principle will replace the schools, universities and institutions of further learning, including the community centres of the present.

According to their focus of interest, varying from cognition and instrumental learning (9) to exercises and experiments with imagination and creativity related to expressive learning, there will be a division of tasks among these institutions when it comes to the application of the concept of comprehensive education. Essentially the various institutions will have to reflect the same principles, applied differently in view of the specific aims, methods and content desired in each case. Their integration should not be left to national educational systems but must be effected at the local level as well. It represents the concept of the education network, i.e. a comprehensive system of locally and functionally interrelated educational provision.

3.2.2. The education of young people

When permanent education is meant to serve the young as well as the old it does not mean that one and the same kind of method will serve them all. Young people up to the age of adolescence will need the personal care of tutors or supervisors, replacing the present teachers, and the communal care of working groups, replacing the present classes or forms. The latter will disappear because it is becoming apparant that age alone is too crude a criterion in comparison with individual differences in capacity and aptitude, interest and developmental rate. In the new education the use of superior means for cognition will allow the student to study at his own pace and to measure by himself the progress he has made. In connection with the increased opportunities for self-study the tutor will be available for individual help.

In those cases where the class is more than just a necessary evil but serves the need for group activity, it will be replaced by working groups which are essentially activity centred. They will consist of students who are more or less matched in their interests, intellectual and other capacities and developmental stage. As they become older the students will be given more independence with respect to their responsibility for the activities and the leadership of the working-groups to which they have chosen to belong or have been allotted. Consequently the tutor will gradually withdraw into the role of counsellor. This development is thought to aid the students in their preparation for adulthood.

3.2.3. Adult education

Compulsory education, representing a social obligation and an individual right to education, will probably be extended to the age of eighteen. If the present trend of lowering the voting age continues, school-leaving age will coincide with the minimal age of franchise. Beyond it education would no longer be compulsory, though people must retain the right to continue their education if they want to. Society will have the duty to provide them with the opportunities and facilities. Without such provision permanent education would remain an empty phrase.

Ideally adult education is a free continuation of the preparatory or fundamental education in the younger years. Its emphasis will be on individual and group learning. Its content and its methods must make allowance for the developmental stage of the adult student and the significance of his past experience. This might imply the need for learning things that can only be learned in the maturity of adulthood, as for instance the finishing touch of the education for being a parent. In the context of change it also means a good deal of unlearning and relearning. This applies especially to the present and to the near future when school education has not yet been replaced by the newer provisions. And let us be certain: even if the latter were to start right now it would take at least twelve years before adult education could experience its beneficial effect. The new situation can be expected at the earliest by 1982.

3.2.4. Educational methods

The new education, however extended may be its scope, will increasingly be characterised by internal integration. It should apply to this end the multi-media approach, combining a differentiation of methods with an integration of content. In practice this means the use of projects. Their programming will make use of the insights of modern pedagogy and those of developmental psychology if young people are involved. The projects will recognise the differentiation and integration of task-oriented and socio-emotional aspects. In their elaboration they must carefully distinguish between individual and group learning. If education for change is the primary target the methods of problem-solving learning will be of central significance.

Such procedures will strengthen and develop the motivation and incentives of the individual learner. They are of the greatest importance in the eventual realisation of the permanent education we have in mind. The changeability of the learners depends on their willingness to continue the process of learning. This they will do, and then with any effect,

only if the meaning of such continuous learning can be related to their personal interests and desires. If we do not succeed in translating general needs into personal needs, and vice versa, our idea of permanent education will remain an unrealistic mental construct.

When we do succeed, however, the methods used to this end might be turned against the learners as a form of superior manipulation, an example of the engineering of human instincts (Marcuse) (10). For this reason the emphasis on the significance of the motivation of the individual learner must be combined with built-in guarantees giving the students a right of self-determination. It means that they must have a vote in the matter of deciding aims and procedures. The weight of this right varies with the age of the students and the kind of educational activity involved. It implies, however, the democratisation of the educational institutions. And education of this kind should start early.

3.2.5. Institutions

The local education centres replacing the present schools, evening institutes, community and art centres must be designed or reconditioned for multi-purpose usage. Instead of fixed accommodation they should become flexible utilities, leaving maximum freedom for a great variety of activities. They must be open to communal use and at the same time provide a number of secluded rooms to which working groups can withdraw. These rooms should be well lit, preferably air-conditioned and anyway sound-isolated. Movable furniture should allow smooth and informal groupwork. Closed-circuit television and video recorders, language laboratories, teaching machines, and connections with information centres or data-banks, will be a normal equipment.

Central facilities in the institutions, open to general use, will be a library, a theatre, workshops for creative work, and sports facilities. A restaurant with meals services, and possibly dormitories for regional institutions, must be regarded as normal provisions. Such institutions will be veritable educational centres, serving a neighbourhood in town or a rural district. In both cases transport facilities must be provided. The institutions should be used day and night, four terms a year. In the daytime they will be open for young people, housewives and shift-workers. At night, and during weekends and holidays they will serve the needs of other adult students.

3.2.6. Personnel

The professional workers engaged in permanent education are represented by those people we now know as teachers at the various levels of formal education, and as tutors, counsellors or "animateurs" in adult education and other forms of out-of-school activity. In the new situation these two main categories will come to resemble one another, with the role and function of the tutor serving as the example.

The transmission of knowledge and information will no longer be their main task. They can now concentrate on the task of stimulating and, if necessary, supervising the learning process, giving support to individual students and counselling group projects. As well as specialists in certain fields of subject matter acting as advisers and co-ordinators in their respective fields, there will be specialists in groupwork methods.

This new perspective of the professional in education will certainly imply the need for retraining most of the present teachers. It will revolutionalise the theory and practice of present teacher training, at any rate in the Netherlands. The reformed teacher training should follow the principles of permanent education itself, i.e. it must provide opportunities for regular in-service retraining of the teachers.

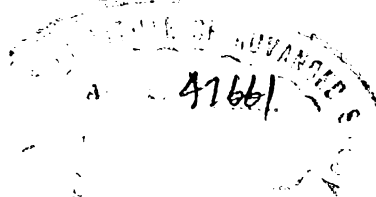
3.3. The extended model

3.3.1. Information and the need for centralised provision

Although the emphasis of the permanent education we have in mind must be on local activities and institutions, the latter will require a number of facilities which are commonly needed by the local networks. This applies especially to the production of information and teaching materials. They will be produced by multi-disciplinary teams consisting of specialists in programmed learning, problem-solving learning, text-production, audio-visual presentation and groupwork application. Besides, the teams must include specialists in the subject matter and content of the field of education involved. Furthermore the teamwork implies the presence of generalists, co-ordinating the specialist contributions and taking care of the general aspects of the projects.

Next to them we will need centres for information and documentation. Public libraries, to be changed into mediatheques, are the beginning of that provision. So are the museums. It is interesting to note that at the end of the 18th century, when encyclopedias and museums started to emerge, the National Convention of the French Republic ordered that each "département" of the new republic should have a museum, containing a limited number of scientific objects of the fine arts and of the "arts mécaniques", with an additional library and a botanical garden with economically useful plants (11).

Now, at the end of the 20th century, we are again flooded by new facts and ideas to be disseminated among an enlarged public. The contemporary and future information centres, however, will be provided with the technical means of this era, i.e. cybernetics and computers, and the application of



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communications technology. These national or maybe even international data banks will have local or regional terminals. In due time it will be possible for any educational institution or private person to dial a number and be connected with the nearest terminal. Feeding in the question for information the answer will be secured with only a brief delay.

3.3.2. The development of information networks

It is to be expected that in the future the need for centralised provision in the field of education will be increasingly met by centrally guided multi-media networks, combining written material with radio and television productions, and serving individual students and local groups. They will be the elaboration of what is now known as the open university in England or TELEAC in the Netherlands, to give only two examples.

3.3.2.1. Written material

The written material will include information, instruction and other teaching material. It will be centrally produced and locally distributed. In the case of teaching material it will be organised along the principles of programmed learning. According to some systems and communications engineers it might be used in combination with teaching machines at home (12).

Thus the network **will** make use of correspondence courses as an integral part of the system. It raises the question which also applies to the network as a whole whether these materials will be state-provided, as is the case with state schools, or will they remain the object of private enterprise? Similarly the network will require close co-operation with book publishers. Or it might decide to start its own press, as some universities have already done. Finally, it will probably activate collaboration with the local libraries.

3.3.2.2. Radio and television

There are at least five methods available for the distribution of sound and audio-visual presentations. Firstly, there is the closed-circuit communication of radio and television. Using cable links it provides a network for internal use in educational institutions or local educational networks. With the increasing demand for broadcasting frequencies, still more institutional networks will have to go underground.

Secondly, there is the short-range open network of local significance. Local stations, like those found in the USA, will be spreading around in Europe soon. In the Netherlands such a trend can be observed, in which the educational use of the station is often put forward as an argument. Such networks may be integrated with the local educational **sý**stem (13).

Thirdly, regional networks are being developed in some countries, including the Netherlands. In European perspectives the present national networks will become of more regional significance in time. This will be reinforced by the fourth development: the introduction of communications satellites. We are told that in the seventies a European satellite will be situated over the equator at longitude five degrees east. From there it will cover most of Europe and all of Africa.

This satellite will have two channels for colour television, with twenty sound channels each. It will need twelve ground stations for the distribution of the signal through the national networks. In the eighties, however, there will be a more powerful satellite available, the signal of which may be received by home receivers without the intervention of ground relay stations.

Fifthly, radio and television programmes might be distributed without being broadcast at all. Instead of using the public or open network, they will be sent around by post, in the form of either records or tapes, or as films and videotapes. In this respect the new system of electronic video recording offers interesting possibilities. The advantage of this type of distribution is that it allows the individual student or group of students to use this material at times of individual convenience without having to bother about the fixed and often ill-announced timetables of public broadcasting. It also solves the present problem of re-issuing existing programmes. At the moment most educational television is an incidental happening. The interested student, if he misses the course, may wait a lifetime before he has another chance. If television is to play a serious part in education its contribution must be regular instead of remaining an incidental occurrence.

3.3.3. A critical appraisal of the extended model

3.3.3.1. The question of aims

Who sets the aims of the education provided by the multi-media networks? Evidently this is up to the board and staff of the organisation itself. In the case of TELEAC they are aided in this vital part of their work by an advisory council representing the interests of the occupational (i.e. industry and trade unions) and the educational (i.e. formal education and adult education) worlds. The organisation is a private foundation. Formal responsibility for its broadcasts belongs to the Dutch Broadcasting Foundation (NOS) which is itself ultimately responsible to the Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Welfare.

It means that the students benefitting from the programmes or courses have no say in the matter of deciding the aims of the education involved. This is done by other people. The public is left with only one decision: they either take it or leave it. In terms of needs such programmes tend to serve more or less recognised social needs. Whether they will coincide with relevant individual needs depends in the present situation on the intuition of those responsible for the institution. Research might replace this intuition by more factual knowledge. It does not alter, however, the one-sided attribution of power with respect to the settlement of aims.

3.3.3.2. The question of content

The same problems exist with regard to the content and subject-matter of these educational programmes. They are aggravated, however, by the issue of the information centres. In our previous outline of data banks and information centres we simply stated that they will store and redistribute information. But who decides what the content and the nature of this information will be? Will it contain everything that is known at that moment? Will it include also those facts which are now classified as dangerous, and therefore confidential, by the ruling political power?

The selective use of information, governing its dissemination or suppression, is the corner-stone of the present exercise of political power. Many politicians and administrators consider the free flow of information, i.e. the indiscriminate availability of facts, a serious risk to the continuation of their policies. The recent troubles at our universities have proved the tenacity with which they cling to secrecy in matters of information. At the same time the example has shown the unreality of this position. In the Dutch universities the authorities had to give way and accept the rights and duties of free information in matters pertaining to policy and administration. It has necessitated, however, a reorganisation representing a redistribution of power.

The indiscriminate storage of facts and the free flow of information will be essential for the proper functioning of a system of permanent education in which the rights of the individual are guaranteed. It implies the opening up of politics. Secrecy in matters of information, or the selective use of openness, must stop and be replaced by making available objectively reliable facts, regardless of their beneficial or deleterious nature from the point of view of the political powers of the moment. The provision of such data will continue to be a major task of scientific research.

3.3.3.3. The question of methods

The modern teaching and learning methods characteristic of the multi-media approach are highly efficient. However, next to their benefits they constitute a serious threat. For errors made are just as effective as the good things learned. In the hands of a small group of dedicated though socially ignorant people they represent a risky power. And let us remind ourselves, the students are wholly subjected to their application. They have no vote whatsoever to influence the policy with respect to the aims and content of these educational facilities. They can only be heard post festum by means of relevant audience research. And even then their opinion is made the subject of a consequently improved policy which is decided, however, by other people.

These methods, and their effective organisation by means of large-scale and highly centralised networks, represent the easiest way for the further development of educational technology. Consequently they might receive the major share of attention in the planning and reorientation necessitated by the development of permanent education. This would be to the disadvantage of the local facilities, which in our view must remain the primary focus of attention. The examples of such an unbalanced development can be noticed in the present trends with respect to the growth of educational television.

To counteract these trends, without unnecessarily hindering the growth of the extended model, ways should be devised to stimulate especially the facilities of the local model, and to develop the interrelation between the two models.

3.3.3.4. Interaction between the local and the extended model

Starting with the implementation of the local model means the organisation of the local study groups and tutors for which the centralised facilities are meant to function. It is through the former that the latter must be governed as to their aims, content and methods. This implies an organisational pattern which must give the individual students a chance to voice their opinion while giving the programme-makers the opportunity to obtain feedback. A considerable improvement in communication will be the result. Simultaneously, however, precautions should be taken to institute the **students'** power of influence - a problem which is already recognised by the open university. The right of influence might be organised by means of representative local, regional and national education councils, entrusted with decisive powers of advice.

For the purpose of organising feedback a group of specialists will be needed. Their task will be to establish and look after the relationship between the students and the

producers, relating the former's demands to the latter's supply. They work as a team, connected at various points with the production teams. Along with specialists in the fields of organisation and communications the team must comprise experts in the economy and the sociology of education.

4.1. Innovation and planned change

In the first chapter the general desirability of permanent education in relation to individual and social change was explored, stressing its political implications. The second chapter presented some general comments with regard to individual needs, social requirements and the cultural perspective which were thought of importance to the new education. In the third chapter two models were developed which might help us to envisage the possible realisation of such ideas. However, this specification alone will remain insufficient when it comes to the actual effectuation of the necessary innovations.

If this is to be the target we find ourselves confronted with a task the magnitude of which overshadows anything we have done so far. For it means that instead of convincing closed circles of educationalists and politicians of the need for change and educational innovations, we shall have to develop an awareness among the general public of the urgency of this need. Moreover, as well as operationalising our objectives in terms of models, we shall have to invent ways of comparing them with the multitude of existing educational facilities and of testing their feasibility in actual practice. Finally, instead of continuing our present daydreaming we must reorient our activities towards the development of strategies for innovation, and so prepare the way for the multiform modifications that are needed if we are to change the present educational practice and its organisation. It will have to result in a more flexible structure than the one we have known up to now. Its continuous evaluation should be a regular feature of the new educational system.

Such considerations represent the steps of a procedure of deliberate innovation or planned change. Innovation it is when we think of the relevant changes in the educational system itself. Planned change we call it when referring to the wider socio-cultural setting in a situation of deliberate change, characterised by mutual goal-setting and a fifty-fifty power ratio between the parties involved (14). Extensive studies on the subject have shown that such processes of change are of a cyclical nature and follow a fixed order of steps or stages:

- Determining and developing the need for change;
- Defining operational objectives;
- Determining a strategy;

- Effectuating change;
- Evaluation and reconsideration of needs for further change.

It is of essential significance that planned change is treated as a complex whole in which all the stages are to be considered simultaneously and continuously (15).

This sequence represents a model for social action, dealing with the dynamics of change itself. It is an indispensable supplement to the former two models which deal with the possible structures of permanent education. It is not my intention to elaborate at this moment the possibilities and implications of these thoughts. We might use the planned change model, however, as a guide to measure our achievements so far. If we do so it appears that our activities regarding permanent education have been largely limited to the first two stages. In other words, most of our effort has been spent on determining the need for change and defining some operational objectives. And even there the public is still very little involved.

4.2. The importance of a strategy

How can we make permanent education a public issue? If we ask people what they want their replies usually contain little information, unless we can present to them a number of alternatives as concrete and real as the existing educational facilities. It means that the best way to determine the need for change is by developing such needs in the people themselves. But then the process of planned change is already on its way. In fact what has happened is the preliminary formulation of operational objectives, the second step of the model. This itself is part of a strategy which is derived from comparing the changes to be effectuated with the existing situation. It proves that while the model as a mental construct starts with the first step leading to the next and so on, as a procedure for action it works the other way round, beginning with the end which is then projected ahead until a sequence of activities results.

In politics this is not an uncommon procedure in which aims, means and ends are brought to bear on each other in a series of deliberate acts which aim at their gradual convergence. In official political life in the Netherlands, i.e. in parliament and government, the application of this procedure to the problems of change and education is hardly noticeable. Permanent education is still far from occupying the central position it should have. On the other hand we find, however, a growing amount of extra-parliamentary political action aimed at social change and educational innovation. This is of great interest and promise for our subject.

It started with the Provo movement which was followed by the protest action of Dutch students. At the moment their successors, having learned from this action, display a great variety of objectives, from a renaissance of the suffragettes to action for new forms of better housing and living, the fight against water and air pollution, experiments with anti-authoritarian child education and alternative forms of social life. Already they have managed to cause an increased awareness among the general public of the need for change in a great many fields. This we might call their first educational effect.

4.3. The strategy of social action

The strategy and tactics used in these movements are especially worth studying. Contrary to the practices of official planning, which start at the top, the pressures arise from below, from small groups of people. Their aims are usually far reaching and of a general nature. At the same time their goals are direct and very realistic bearing immediately on the issues of everyday life common to all people. Their strategy consists of translating these aims and goals into purposeful imaginative action which must demonstrate to the general public and to the authorities responsible the inadequacy of existing situations.

In a recent demonstration, for instance, a group of young Amsterdam activists started planting trees in the city. Consistently applying the principles of the International Nature Year 1970 they wanted to demonstrate the need for more green in this traffic-infested town. In so doing they forced the authorities to take action. Consequently the police came to pull out the trees from the pavement and so made fools of themselves. The outbreak of violence on the part of the police made the whole thing even more ludicrous in comparison with the non-violent and friendly nature of the demonstration. The effect of the demonstration, however, might be considerable as it was reported on television.

Another example, again in Amsterdam, was the deliberate and illegal occupation of uninhabited houses by people who were either poorly housed themselves or had no place to live at all. The demonstration served to show that in this country, despite its rising prosperity, there is still a serious housing shortage of which an increasing group of people are the victims. The authorities are obviously unable to cure this illness. The population continued to accept the inconvenience and injustice. Until it was demonstrated, in front of television and the press, that large numbers of houses stood empty, sometimes for years, and that nevertheless people who needed them and therefore took them, were forcefully removed. Again an educational effect, stirring discussion on a vital social issue in the perspectives of change.

4.4. Activating the demand for permanent education

This example is all the more interesting since a 1969 public opinion poll in the Netherlands showed that only two per cent of the sample regarded the increase of education a priority, whereas the improvement of housing conditions was backed by thirty-four per cent. It might lead to the conclusion that if we try to foster permanent education in purely educational terms public interest will be disappointingly small. If, however, we succeed in relating education to specific social issues which occupy public attention an acceleration of the demand for more and better education might be expected. For it is then made to function in the lives of the people involved.

The experiments with the new strategies for social action illustrate a number of points relevant to the practice of activating the demand for permanent education. Firstly they demonstrate the importance of action itself. Dewey's principle of learning by doing, when put in this context, offers promising rewards. Secondly they illustrate the significance of translating general issues into personal interests. Education should be brought to bear on life itself. This has been said many times before. We now have evidence, however, that it can be done. Thirdly educating for change also implies a translation of what is into what might be, and vice versa. Imagination and creative thought and action, such as displayed in the present demonstrations, are then indispensable. Fourthly, the learning involved is necessarily of the problem-solving type. In fact our model of planned change closely resembles this kind of learning. Fifthly, this type of action and learning makes a functional use of conflict, between the existing and the potential, between power and interest. Conflict and change are inseparably connected, as are unlearning and learning. Sixthly, new awareness always starts in small groups acting as change agents. Whether other people will learn from them depends on the availability of means to communicate with the larger public. Public demonstrations and preferably radio and television are therefore of essential strategic importance.

It is precisely the latter point, dealing with the transfer of the individual or group action to social change in general, which will give us the greatest problems. The step from the micro-social to the macro-social reality implies a change of dimension which cannot be ignored. The laws of the small group with its face-to-face relations are different from those governing the anonymous society at large. Earlier movements for change and the education or learning related to it, have often failed because they failed to recognise such differences. It seems, however, that the present experiments are breaking through the wall at times, by generalising the effect of small group action with the aid of modern communications media. However, even then the small group is needed for the elaboration of the new facts and ideas and the changes of attitude resulting.

NOTES

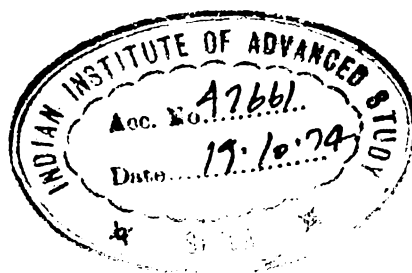
1. For an evaluation of this conference see: Mededelingenblad No. 16, February 1970, by the "Centrale werkgroep van de Werkgemeenschap voor Vernieuwing van Opvoeding en Onderwijs".
2. A report of this conference has been published under the title of "Education permanente", N.V.N. Bulletin Nr. 2, 1969.
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5. *ibid.* p. 35.
6. R.D. Laing: "The Politics of Experience", London, 1967, p. 24.
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9. For the difference between instrumental learning (utility directed) and expressive learning (self-directed) see also: R.J. Havighurst: "Changing Status and Roles during the Adult Life Cycle", in: R.W. Burns: "Sociological Backgrounds of Adult Education", CSLEA, Chicago, 1964.
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12. See for instance J.L. Jankovich: "Technological change in Europe in the next twenty years relevant to satellite application for education and culture", Council of Europe, June 1969 (CCC/ACV (69) 41).
13. In the Netherlands this is intended by the ACRO (Academische Radio Omroep).
14. For this definition of planned change, in comparison with interactional, indoctrinational and technocratic change, see: W.G. Benne, p. 154, in: Bennis, Benne and Chin: "The planning of Change", New York, 1966 (1st ed.).
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