

university adult education and community work

approaches to the provision of university adult education for the less privileged sections of the population

ROBERT M TOBIAS

"WHO ARE THE PARTICIPANTS?"

The recognition that education is to-day playing a significant role in the lives of an increasing number of adults in our society prompts the question: who are these adult participants? Probably the most comprehensive survey was that undertaken by the National Opinion Research Centre in the USA in 1961. (J W C Johnstone & R J Rivera, 1965.) Age, place of residence, education, occupation and income, all correlated significantly with adult education participation. Thus participants were younger than non-participants, the rates of participation were greater in urban than in rural areas, and within urban areas rates of participation were greater in suburban than in inner-city areas.

One of the outstanding features of the adult education participant, they found, was that he/she had received more years of formal education than the average adult. Participants had attended schools for an average of 12.2 years, as against 11.5 for all adults in the sample. Even more significant, however, is the low rate of participation by those with the least formal schooling as against the relatively high rate by those with the most formal education. Thus four per cent of those with no formal schooling participated in adult education during the year in which the survey was undertaken, as against 47 per cent of those who had received more than 16 years.

In addition the effects of occupational and income differences on participation were considerable. Participants were more likely to hold white-collar than blue-collar jobs, and they had a median family income almost US 1 200 dollars higher than that of the average American adult.

With regard to education, occupation and income, Johnstone & Rivera (1965, p 7)

conclude that "... the impact of all three factors was enormous because a person who made more than \$7 000 a year was about six times more likely to have been engaged in learning pursuits during the previous year than a person who had never gone beyond grade school, who worked in a blue-collar occupation and whose family income was less than \$4 000 a year."

Numerous other studies in the USA (J London, et al, 1963; J London, 1970; Coolie Verner, et al, 1965), Canada (D S Goard and G Dickinson, 1971; G Dickinson & C Verner, 1971), Britain (NIAE, 1970; J M Trenaman, 1967; Norman Dees and David Parsons — undated), New Zealand (R R Boshier, 1970 & 1971) and other countries have confirmed the general findings of Johnstone & Rivera, whilst at the same time serving to focus attention on the different participation patterns in different societies and in different kinds of adult education programmes.

Thus, for example, whereas in America Coolie Verner states that "the most significant determinant of participation seems to be the amount of earlier formal school experience" (Coolie Verner, et al, 1965), in England Trenaman concludes that "... socio-occupational rating is likely to be a better predictor of attitudes to education in adult life than is the age of completing full-time education" (J M Trenaman, 1967).

Despite these differences, however, there are certain generalisations which appear to hold for most societies. Thus invariably young men predominate in vocationally oriented programmes and in credit programmes, while non-credit programmes attract more people, especially women in the 30-50 age-group. More important from the point of view of this paper, however, is to stress the very general impact of the level of formal education, occupation and in-

come on participation. Adult education in most countries — far from being a democratising force and far from providing an effective second chance for those who for whatever reason received an inadequate education during childhood — is in fact contributing to widening the gap between well-educated and poorly-educated, between white-collar and blue-collar worker, between rich and poor, between White and Black, and even between the relatively young and the elderly.

South Africa is manifestly no exception to this general rule, and although no comprehensive studies of the participants have been done, the preliminary results of a survey of adult education programmes in Cape Town being undertaken at present by the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies suggest that there are many features of these programmes that make it unlikely that they will attract large numbers of the poor and those with little formal education. Thus, despite the fact that 51,8 per cent of Africans over 15 years and 23,6 per cent of Coloured people over 15 years throughout the country have received no schooling whatsoever (Calculated on the basis of 1970 census returns by F E Auerbach in *The Star*, 13 May 1973), there is a far greater range of educational facilities available for Whites, notably through the Cape College for Advanced Technical Education, than for the other population groups. Until recently it has been Government policy "... to make night-schools and continuation classes self-supporting" (A L Behr, 1970, p 89). However, the Department of Bantu Education has recently announced its intention of greatly expanding its adult education programme (*The Argus*, 24 November 1975, p 8).

As far as the Coloured people are concerned the Administration of Coloured Affairs includes an Adult Education Section. Night-schools and continuation classes are offered at selected schools in each area. However the small though growing programme offered for Coloured people by the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education cannot yet begin to compare with that provided for Whites by

the Cape College for Advanced Technical Education in Parow and Fish Hoek.

Moreover even when attention is focussed on adult education programmes designed to serve the White section of the population it would appear that there is a bias in the direction of serving the more élite groups. As far as "vocational" adult education is concerned the majority of programmes appear to be designed for professional people, technologists and technicians at a highly skilled or semi-professional level, and managers and senior personnel in commerce and industry. As far as "non-vocational" adult education is concerned, despite the evidence of studies such as that by J D Gould (1959) which demonstrated the "white-collar bias" of centralised city classes and despite the more tentative evidence from our own experience at the University of Cape Town in offering decentralised extension lectures it would appear that the vast majority of the programmes are still centralised in the city. Finally, fees are relatively high, few bursaries are available, and no facilities for "paying-off" the fees are generally allowed. Once again there is evidence from Britain the effects of fee structure upon participation. Alan Childs, for example, concludes that: "The cumulative effect (of increasing fees and the down-payment required for class registration) was an increase of 14 per cent in enrolments from homes in the upper range of rateable value and a decrease of 57 per cent from those in the lower range" (Alan Childs, 1973, p 6).

As far as the characteristics of the participants in the programmes of the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Cape Town are concerned; in 1973 a survey was undertaken by means of a questionnaire and the following data are based upon a 50 per cent response rate to these questions:— **Age:** 39 per cent were 35 years or under; 24 per cent were between 36 and 50 years; and 37 per cent were over 50; **Educational qualifications:** 11 per cent were JC or lower; 30 per cent had a Senior Certificate or its equivalent; 40 per cent had University degree or College Certificate or Diploma; and 19 per cent had postgraduate qualifications; **Oc-**

cupation: 42 per cent of the occupations listed were categorised as "medium to high status" occupations; 10 per cent were categorised as "medium to low status" occupations; 35 per cent were Housewives; eight per cent were students; and five per cent retired people. Manual workers were virtually unrepresented in the sample.

Family income: 39 per cent received a family income of less than R5 000 p.a.; 35 per cent had family incomes from R5 000 to R10 000 p.a.; and 26 per cent had family incomes exceeding R10 000.

In summary, although a small proportion of people of low incomes and with low educational qualifications do participate in the Centre's programmes, its clientele consists overwhelmingly of an élite educational, occupational and income group in society.

THE CHALLENGE

What if anything can and should the universities do about this situation? I do not intend to examine here the philosophical and moral "issues" involved. They have been discussed elsewhere (Cf. Centre for Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cape Town, 1974). I shall rather focus on questions of method, and shall attempt to suggest ways in which universities may appropriately allocate resources to serve the poor and the least educated without departing from their central concern with scholarship and the advancement of knowledge.

In the first place (and I shall deal with this very briefly here) I believe that the kinds of extra-mural programmes that are currently being offered at a number of South African universities should be maintained and extended. There is ample evidence from our experience at the University of Cape Town that these open courses are mutually enriching both to the academic staff who teach them and to the participants with their wide range of educational backgrounds.

In the second place, and of greater importance for the purpose of this paper, I believe that university resources should be allocated for a major attempt to understand the problems confronting all educa-

tional agencies in their efforts to reach the poorest sections of the population. Rather than stand aside, it may be argued that it is in the universities' own long-range interests as well as that of society's to begin to investigate these problems systematically. Much of this investigation can be undertaken without the universities themselves providing adult education programmes. Thus there is a need for much basic research in fields such as the sociology and psychology of adult education. In addition there is a place for further fact-finding surveys which could assist in determining more precisely the nature, size and scope of the problems. Thirdly, certain forms of research on methodology may be undertaken within the context of other institutions' programmes.

However, there remains a final area from which it is difficult for the universities to escape responsibility. It is the thesis of this paper that certain crucial aspects of the overall problem do not lend themselves to "pure" research. If they are to be investigated effectively they require a greater degree of integration between action and research and a greater degree of involvement by the universities in the community than is perhaps customary.

A H Halsey (1972, pp 165-179) has undertaken an analysis of action-research within the context of the Educational Priority Areas in Britain. In defining action-research he suggests: "We may begin with a conventional definition, namely, small-scale intervention in the functioning of the real world, usually in administrative systems, and the close examination of the effects of such intervention" (p 165). He then suggests that there are various types of action-research or various contexts or perspectives from which it is possible to view action-research programmes.

(1) Social planning provides one context. "The outcome looked for in the planning approach to action-research is a set of field-tested proposals for action on a wide scale" (pp 165-166).

(2) Social science research provides a second perspective. From the point of view of the social scientist action-research pro-

vides a context for the development of theoretical knowledge.

(3) A third possible perspective is provided by those who perceive that the objective of action-research "...is to 'get something done' in response to a recognised social problem. The emphasis here is again action. We may call this the political approach. The tactics are to keep the issue in the public eye, both to enlist support for further large-scale action, and as a holding operation until further funds become available" (Halsey, *op. cit.*, p 166).

(4) "From a different point of view, however, such a project could qualify as a fourth type, the 'diversionary approach'. Here the project serves as an opiate to placate political pressure for more radical change; the major assumption is that one knows what should be done, but one cannot or will not do it at the moment" (166-167).

(5) "A fifth approach may be identified which combines a number of elements from the other four; unlike the planning model it seeks to use the social context of the project to increase its own effect; though the resource inputs are small-scale, it is anticipated that the outcomes could be substantial, if attitudes are changed and participants mobilised for wider action. It may be termed the 'multiplier' approach. The function of research here will be largely a search for likely 'multiplier' effects, and an attempt to identify the outcomes that occur" (167).

Action-research, especially that associated with the American "war on poverty" in the 1960s, has been severely criticised (see D P Moynihan, 1969; P Marris & M Rein, 1974; and Doris Chertow, 1974), and may in general be related to the number of contexts and perspectives described above. Here it must suffice to mention but two forms of criticism.

In the first place, in retrospect it is easy to recognise that in many cases the expectations that were raised by these programmes were totally unrealistic and overoptimistic. There was conceptual controversy

between those who adopted a situational view of social change and those who emphasised the cultural obstacles and psychological deficiencies that had to be overcome (Doris Chertow, 1974, pp 187/8). Basil Bernstein remarks: "I do not understand how we can talk about offering compensatory education to children who, in the first place, have as yet not been offered an adequate educational environment" (1973, p 215). And this remark may be applied even more forcibly to attempts to provide compensatory adult education. K Coates and R Silburn (1970) have drawn attention to the fact that "Education, in itself, will not solve the problem of poverty". Nor indeed, can "educational provision alone... solve even the problem of educational poverty, if only because in this sphere there are **no** purely educational problems". It is therefore salutary to recognise the limitations inherent in any action-research project in the field of adult education. However broadly education may be defined, education in itself can never solve problems that are fundamentally political or economic. It is, however, the thesis of this paper that education can indeed contribute to the search for solutions to these problems.

In the second place, from the research perspective, expectations were equally unrealistic initially. The linking of research with action imposes severe limitations on the extent to which theoretical knowledge may be tested and developed. Marris & Rein draw attention to some of the elements in the conflict between research and action.

"Research requires a clear and constant purpose, which both defines and precedes the choice of means; that the means be exactly and consistently followed; and that no revision takes place until the sequence of steps is completed. Action is tentative, non-committal and adaptive. It concentrates upon the next step, breaking the sequence into discreet, manageable decisions. It casts events in a fundamentally different perspective, evolving the future out of present opportunities, where research perceives the present in the con-

text of the final outcome. Research cannot interpret the present until it knows the answers to its ultimate questions. Action cannot foresee what questions to ask until it has interpreted the present. Action attempts to comprehend all the factors relevant to an immediate problem whose nature continually changes as events proceed, where research abstracts one or two factors for attention, and holds to a constant definition of the problem until the experiment is concluded" (pp 258-9).

They therefore conclude that the principles of action and research are so different and so often mutually exclusive that attempts to link the two processes in a single project are likely to produce internal conflict or the subordination of one element to another. Once again the lesson to be learned is a salutary one. The restrictions imposed by the action-requirements upon certain kinds of research are prohibitive. Nevertheless Halsey concludes optimistically:

"The traditional separation of action and research as separate activities with their own ideologies is in part responsible for the confusion over the nature of action-research. Obviously there is no automatic identity of interest between the two spheres though it may be that the differences have been overemphasised. There has been a tendency to see facts and values as different social objects with different procedures of investigation necessary to each one. This approach cannot be sustained: social science which is to be significant must be value based. It cannot be a value-free collection of facts. The action-research context exposes this truth — perhaps unpleasantly.

A realistic view of both action and research reduces the difference between them and casts doubt on the validity of the pure models of the planning or the research approach" (p 178).

SOME ACTION-RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES

The balance of this paper is devoted to an attempt to identify and analyse briefly a limited number of action-research ap-

proaches to the problem of providing adult education programmes for the poor. In the course of this analysis use will be made of some of the insights derived from the field of community work.

The Calouste Gulbenkian Study Group on Training (1968) suggested that community work "... typically consists of work with groups of local people who have come into existence because they want to change something or do something that concerns them. Community work also embraces attempts to relate the activities of social agencies more closely to the needs of the people they serve. This may include inter-agency co-operation, study and planning, as well as similar action over wider geographic areas or aspects of social policy". Following this line of thought three alternative approaches or foci may be suggested.

One possible approach is to focus directly upon the university itself and to investigate whether the university does not have to adapt its procedures and establish new mechanisms so that its resources may be related more directly to meet the needs and interests of traditionally non-participant groups. To some extent the establishment and development of our Centre for Extra-Mural Studies may be seen as an on-going action-research project. It was created within an experimental framework.

The Principal, Dr T B Davie, wrote in May 1949, in an address to the Chairman and members of the Board of Extra-Mural Studies on its inception: "We should go out into the highways and byways and find out what the public wants and needs and then take steps to provide it... we should be able to learn what educational activities can and should be provided by the University" (Board of Extra-Mural Studies, Minutes). The programmes and procedures have been subjected to systematic evaluation. As the programmes have grown they have done so by means of tentative exploration, experimentation and research, as well as by means of extensive informal consultation. A considerable measure of flexibility in programme planning has been maintained within the overall guidelines es-

established by the University. We have had our successes — success in reaching out to individuals and groups of wide-ranging interests in the community; we have also had our failures — we have failed thus far to reach large numbers of those of low income and minimal educational qualifications. Hence further experimentation and research is necessary. Tom Lovett and others have stressed that flexibility and a community orientation are not enough. Moreover he suggests that viewing the problem as one of reaching the “disadvantaged” or “deprived” is inadequate. It must rather be recognised “...that the ‘deprived’ might have something to offer adult education (and) that sweeping changes are needed in the attitudes and approach of the adult educator to the whole issue of education, culture and social change” (1975, p 142).

Nevertheless flexibility is important and Shannon and Schoenfeld have drawn the distinction between “chronological extension” in which normal university courses are offered to the general public, and “functional extension” which “...represents the adaptation of university resources to the needs and interests of off-campus youth and adult, without regard to age, sex, religion, or previous academic experience”. (1965, pp 4-5) It has been suggested that such an approach may endanger academic standards. (See for example R & W Peterson, 1960). However, the examples provided by a number of British universities which since the mid-1950s have offered substantial programmes of work-based adult education for trade unionists, together with that of the University of Keele which since 1971 has been experimenting with courses on a community basis in several working-class townships in Staffordshire, confirms what we have learned, namely that it is possible to involve a wide variety of people in planning their own educational programmes in consultation with university staff whilst at the same time retaining an emphasis on systematic study of the highest quality.

At Keele for example individual canvassing was undertaken and public meetings were arranged in a local neighbourhood before

any courses were established. (R Shaw & L West, 1972.) One of the interesting aspects of the experience of Keele is the emphasis upon relating educational programmes to the culture of working people. W Parkinson (1974) states that educational projects should “...make it possible for students from one culture to study another; transforming, without destroying their own cultural experience. ... We must avoid presenting programmes to the people in which they, their life styles and values appear vulgar, stupid and crude. Programmes which do this contribute to the creation of cultural inauthenticity and a cultural inferiority complex which both Fanon and Freire speak about. Any project which attempts to involve working people and which is blind to this problem — or which is based on assumptions about the cultural and linguistic deprivation of working people, is predicting its own failure”. A consequence of this approach has been the active attempt to recover elements of the working-class culture and the establishment of a number of educational-cum-research groups of working people which focus upon various facets of cultural life. One of the long-term aims of the project is thus to demonstrate the feasibility of creating, in the words of Paulo Freire, a “Cultural synthesis (which) does not deny the differences between the two views; indeed it is based on these differences. It does deny the invasion of one culture by another, but offers the undeniable support each should give the other, to the enrichment of both”.

A second possible approach is related to the first, but instead of focusing upon the university itself and its relationship with the community, the focus shifts to an analysis of the possibilities and problems associated with the fostering of co-operative arrangements and the open exchange of information, ideas and resources between various agencies and between these agencies and “grassroots” groups in the community. W C Hallenback, an American educationist, has suggested that “An adult educator whose operational horizon is his own institution is bound to be frustrated” (1962, p 27), and the conceptual frame-

works of Donald Schon (1971) and Ivan Illich (1972) may be used to investigate the development of information and educational networks between institutions and groups.

This kind of project may be undertaken at different levels ranging from the national to the regional, and from the city-wide to the local neighbourhood. Keith Jackson, referring to the British situation, suggests that "The experience of community development indicates that the best results in securing co-operation to match resources to needs are not produced by large-scale national administrative arrangements nor by formally recognised joint committees with general and vague terms of reference and no teeth. It is best to concentrate on a particular area of need, geographical or otherwise. The problem needs to be examined thoroughly. Considerable fact-finding is required . . . adult education students and potential students must be given the opportunity of joining professionals in trying to define the problems of adequate provision" (1971, p 175).

Inevitably within this framework formal adult education may play a relatively minor role. Thus Paul Fordham in discussing a project which is being undertaken by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Southampton in a bad working-class area notes that: "It seemed likely that the experimental strategies would not necessarily be confined in the first instance to activities which could clearly and unequivocally be labelled 'education'. For example, discussions might reveal issues on which local people had strong feelings (e.g. a new road, lack of recreational facilities, poor public transport). The project might help with advice on how a residents' group might be organised . . . which in turn could lead to the need for better information and perhaps to a more systematic course of study" (1974, p 6).

Here in South Africa, although the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Cape Town has not had the resources to undertake the kind of project designed to involve working people on the local

community level, brief mention of two projects undertaken on a city-wide basis in recent years will illustrate the application of this approach to our situation. During 1969 and 1970 an extended series of meetings and seminars was held under the patronage of the Mayor, with the purpose of examining "cultural deprivation" and poverty in Cape Town with a view to establishing action and educational programmes. These meetings were attended by academics from all three Universities in the Western Cape, professionals concerned with the issues, representatives of agencies and Government Departments and community leaders from all sections of the population. The result of these meetings was the foundation in 1971 of a new community organisation, Project Grass-roots, with a focus upon increasing the range and quality of facilities and services provided for the benefit of the pre-school child.

Secondly during the latter half of 1974 a number of meetings were held with individuals and representatives of agencies involved in community work on the Cape Flats. At the major meeting in August, 65 people from 32 agencies and organisations came together to exchange information, to make contact with one another and to identify common areas of interest, common concerns and common problems. A number of issues for further discussion, and a number of suggestions for future action emerged from these meetings. Unfortunately it has not been possible to follow up on many of those proposals. It is, however, anticipated that a regular seminar on community work will commence early in 1976. In addition an indirect result has been the formation of the Cape Flats Committee on Interim Accommodation which, over the past six months has undertaken a thorough investigation of aspects of the housing problem on the Cape Flats, with special reference to the squatters, and has made representations to the Department of Community Development and the Local Authorities.

A third possible approach, which once again relates to the previous two, is to

focus neither on the university itself nor upon the methods of co-operation between agencies and groups, but upon the role of the adult educator in bringing resources to bear upon the concerns and interests of the groups concerned. A great deal of attention has been given in recent years in various parts of the world to defining the role of the "animateur" and community worker. Less attention has been paid to the role of the adult educator, tutor or organiser working within a working-class area. Tom Lovett (1975, pp 127-138) has, however, applied the network approach suggested by Schon and Illich to an analysis of his work as a WEA tutor in the Liverpool Educational Priority Area. He has identified four different roles: (i) The "Network agent" who is responsible for setting up the network of contacts within his designated work area; (ii) the "Resources agent" who is responsible for setting up a network of contacts with individuals and organisations that might provide educational resources to meet the needs of the groups and individuals with whom contact is established; (iii) the "Educational guide", responsible for educational advice in peer group learning situations and for providing information concerning more formal educational opportunities; and (iv) the role of the "Teacher" responsible occasionally for imparting knowledge or skills in a more traditional teacher-pupil situation. In view of the great emphasis upon personal relationships with people in the area, Lovett suggests that it is desirable in many cases for the individual to combine these roles, while at the same time making the fullest possible use of other teaching and information resources. Indeed he suggests that the roles may be forced upon the field worker rather than deliberately decided upon. The question of role definition thus requires further investigation within the South African situation, as does the question of alternative methods and techniques which may be used by the adult educator or tutor.

These are three possible foci for action-research projects in the field of adult education. It should not, however, be assumed that this represents an exhaustive list of

possibilities. Numerous additional questions and issues may be raised for investigation. For example, having used the concept "community" extensively in this paper it is appropriate to note that the concept has been severely criticised as applied, especially to urban society.

In the sphere of action it has thus been suggested that community development and community work may divert goals from the larger political arena in the futile pursuit of an ill-defined sense of community, and in the sphere of education it has been suggested similarly that a focus on community or locality may narrow educational goals and divert attention from the broader issues and ideals of larger interest groups and of society. To what extent can we avoid in our programmes the pitfalls indicated?

In our South African society is there a legitimate place for planning adult education programmes in specific localities of poverty in the cities or should we plan on a broader basis to meet the needs and requirements of specific interest groups? It is probable that there is no general answer to these questions. It is likely that in some areas where local instrumental goals can be clearly identified and in certain situations with certain groups of people a local community approach may be more effective. Further investigation should enable us to identify with increased precision the relevant factors to be considered in determining the most appropriate strategies.

The seemingly immense potential for work-based programmes also requires investigation, as does the possibility of expanding the general adult education content within programmes offered by religious institutions such as the Churches' Urban Planning Commission on the Cape Flats.

In addition investigation is required into the possibilities of linking adult education programmes with recreational activities such as film, drama, sport, and closed- and open-circuit television, and also into the possibilities of basing educational programmes within institutions, such as hospitals and day-hospitals.

CONCLUSION

The range of possibilities is immense, and the task is not an easy one. Clearly the needs are greater in the Black areas of our country than they are in the White areas, and one of the most urgent requirements, if the kinds of action-research projects which have been outlined in this paper are to get off the ground, is for Black and White Universities to come together to seek ways and means of co-operating and assisting one another in the field of adult education. We at the University of Cape Town are actively seeking to establish such co-operative links with the University of the Western Cape and I am hopeful that these links will develop and grow. Despite my belief, however, that the Black areas constitute the first priority in adult education, I trust that my remarks earlier in the paper have made it clear that I believe that a major task still remains to be done in the White areas as well.

In conclusion I should like to stress that the kinds of action-research projects proposed in this paper should not result in an ever-increasing commitment by the universities to ever-larger programmes of adult education. The goal should rather

be to seek A H Halsey's "multiplier effect", referred to earlier, and to seek to develop new programmes, methods and ideas which should then be taken out of the university and adopted by other educational institutions or by other community organisations and groups. In this way the universities may more effectively stimulate educational innovation throughout the wider community.

APPENDIX: THE GROWTH OF ADULT EDUCATION

Recent decades have witnessed a remarkable growth in the participation by adults in educational activities. Whilst this fact is frequently acknowledged, its extent is less frequently recognised. In a study undertaken at Syracuse University in New York a distinction was drawn between the educational **Core** "... the sequential ladder of educational progression ranging from kindergarten through graduate and professional schools ... (and) the **Periphery** — educational activities ranging from vocationally oriented programmes available through regular Core institutions, religious education, television, correspondence courses and private associations". (Stanley Moses, 1971, p 3.)

TABLE I*

The Educational Periphery: Enrolments in the USA (millions)

The Educational Periphery	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	(Projected) 1975
1. Organisational	8,2	10,2	10,9	13,0	14,5	21,7	27,4
2. Proprietary	2,5	3,5	3,5	4,0	7,8	9,6	18,1
3. Anti-poverty	—	—	—	—	2,8	5,1	7,0
4. Correspondence ...	2,7	3,4	3,5	4,5	5,0	5,7	6,7
5. Television	—	—	—	,01	5,0	7,5	10,5
6. Other adult	3,9	4,8	5,1	6,6	9,1	10,7	13,2
Total	17,3	21,9	23,0	28,3	44,2	60,3	82,4

* Source Stanley Moses, 1971, p 19.

Table I indicates the growth in the "educational periphery" in the USA between 1940 and 1975, and although the definition of the "periphery" is broader than that usually applied to the field of adult education, similar evidence of this remarkable growth is provided by other studies. The United States Census Bureau, adopting a more conservative definition of adult edu-

cation, estimated that 8 300 000 or 7,8 per cent of the adults in the USA participated in adult education classes during 1956-57. This figure had grown to 15 750 000 or 12,5 per cent of the adult population in 1972-73. This latter figure is nearly double the number of college students working for degrees, and 600 000 more than the number of pupils in the final four years of sec-

ondary school. (Stanley Moses, 1971, p 17, and **The Times Higher Education Supplement**, 10 October 1975, p 12.) Few such comprehensive studies have been done in other countries. However, data from several smaller studies confirm the general trend. For example a sample study undertaken by the National Institute for Adult Education in England produced evidence of a 56 per cent increase between 1963 and 1968 in enrolment by students aged 21 or over in the Local Education Authorities' adult education programmes (NIAE, 1970, p 40), while Table II presents the figures for the growth in the number of courses and total enrolments at British University Extra-Mural Departments between 1964 and 1971.

TABLE II*

Total Number of Courses and Enrolments at British University Extra-Mural Departments, 1964-1971

Year	No. of Courses	Total Enrolments
1964-65	6 256	137 808
1965-66	6 564	146 899

TABLE III*

Number of Part-time Students Enrolled for Credit-free Courses or Subjects at White Colleges in South Africa, 1969-73.

Year	Colleges for Advanced Technical Education	Technical Colleges, Technical Institutes, Training Colleges and Colleges of Art	Total Enrolments
1969	23 277	8 782	32 059
1970	25 099	7 744	32 843
1971	24 649	9 971	34 620
1972	21 224	11 958	33 182
1973	28 290	11 822	40 112

* **Source:** Annual Reports, Department of National Education, Pretoria, 1970-74.

TABLE IV*

Number of Adult Education Programmes and Meetings of the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cape Town, with Registration and Average Attendance Figures, 1968-74.

Year	No. of Courses, Conferences and Lecture-series	No. of Registrations	No. of Meetings	Average Attendances
1968	17	167	1 526	143
1969	19	295	1 924	145
1970	35	435	3 968	106
1971	49	838	3 790	54
1972	72	995	6 941	70
1973	68	1 111	7 591	77
1974	82	1 032	7 506	73

* **Source:** Annual Reports, Centre for Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cape Town.

1966-67	7 067	158 766
1967-68	7 488	169 270
1968-69	7 958	184 024
1969-70	8 062	182 904
1970-71	8 556	192 024

* **Source** G W Harrison, 1973, p 51.

For South Africa no overall statistics are available on the participation in adult education. However, Table III presents a picture of the recent growth in the enrolments of part-time college students for courses or subjects for which a certificate or diploma is not issued by a recognised examining body, and Table IV indicates the growth in the adult education programme offered by the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Cape Town. In addition the enrolment at the University of South Africa has grown from 13 211 in 1963 to a remarkable 32 100 in 1973 — an increase of 143 per cent over 10 years. (Annual Reports, Department of Education, Arts & Sciences, 1946, and Department of National Education, 1974.)

REFERENCES

- Behr, A L, "Bantu Education" in **Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa**, Vol. 2, Nasou, Cape Town, 1970.
- Bernstein, Basil, **Class, Codes and Control**, Paladin, 1973.
- Boshier, R, "A Clientele Analysis of Three New Zealand Adult Education Institutions" (Parts 1 & 2), **Australian Journal of Adult Education**, Vol. X, No. 3, 1970, and Vol. XI, No. 1, 1971.
- Chertow, Doris, "Literature Review: Participation of the Poor in The War on Poverty", **Adult Education (USA)**, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, 1974.
- Childs, Alan, **Social Patterns of Enrolment**, National Institute of Adult Education, London, 1973.
- Dees, Norman & Parsons, David, **Teachers and Taught**, Department of Extra-Mural Education, University of Glasgow (Undated).
- Dickinson, Gary & Verner, Coolie, **Community Structure and Participation in Adult Education**, Ministry of Regional Economic Expansion, Ottawa, Canada, 1971.
- Department of Education & Science (UK), **Adult Education: A Plan for Development** (The Russell Report), HMSO, London, 1973.
- Extra-Mural Studies, Centre for, **Proceedings of the Universities Seminar on Adult Education, September 1973**, University of Cape Town, 1974.
- Fordham, Paul, et.al., **Involving the Non-Participants in Adult Education**, duplicated paper prepared for publication by OECD, 1974.
- Freire, Paulo, **Pedagogy of the Oppressed**, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1972.
- Goard, Dean S & Dickinson, Gary, **The Influence of Education and Age on Participation in Rural Adult Education**, Ministry of Regional Economic Expansion, Ottawa, Canada, 1971.
- Gould, J D, **The Recruitment of Adult Students**, Vaughan College Papers, Number 5, Department of Adult Education, University of Leicester, 1959.
- Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Community Work Study Group, **Current Issues in Community Work**, Routledge & Keegan, Paul, London, 1973.
- Hallenbeck, W C, et.al., **Community and Adult Education**, Adult Education Association of the USA, Washington, DC, 1962.
- Halsey, H A (Ed.), **Educational Priority — Volume I: EPA Problems and Policies**, HMSO, London, 1972.
- Harrison, G W, **University Adult Education — A study of selected aspects of University Adult Education in Britain and North America and its development in South Africa**, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Natal, 1973.
- Illich, Ivan D, **Deschooling Society**, Calder & Boyars, London, 1971.
- Jackson, Keith, "Adult Education and Community Development", **Studies in Adult Education**, 1971.
- Johnstone, J W C, & Rivera, R J, **Volunteers for Learning**, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1965.
- London, J, Wenckert, R, & Hagstrom, W O, **Adult Education & Social Class**, Survey Research Centre, University of California, Berkeley, 1963.
- London, J, "Influence of Social Class Behaviour upon Adult Education Participation", **Adult Education (USA)**, Vol. XX, No. 3, 1970.
- Lovett, Tom, **Adult Education, Community Development and the Working Class**, Ward Lock Educational, London, 1975.
- Marris, Pete, & Rein, Martin, **Dilemmas of Social Reform** (2nd Edition), Penguin, 1974.
- Moses, Stanley, **The Learning Force — A More Comprehensive Framework for Educational Policy**, Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, New York, 1971.
- Moynihan, Daniel P, **Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding**, Free Press, New York, 1969.
- National Institute of Adult Education, **Adequacy of Provision**, London, 1971.
- Parkinson, W, **Adult Education & Working Class Culture**, Unpublished paper, Department of Adult Education, University of Keele, 1974.
- Peterson, R & W, **University Adult Education: a guide to policy**, Harper & Bros, New York, 1960.
- Schon, D, **Beyond the Stable State**, Temple Smith, London, 1971.
- Shannon, Theodore J, & Schoenfeld, Clarence A, **University Extension**, Centre for Applied Research in Education, New York, 1965.
- Shaw, Roy, & West, Linden, "Class Dismissed?" **Adult Education (UK)**, Vol. 44, No. 6, March, 1972.
- Trenaman, J M, **Communication and Comprehension**, Longmans, London, 1967.
- Verner, Coolie, Newberry (jnr), John S et.al., **Participants in Adult Education**, Adult Education Association of the USA, Washington, DC, 1965.