NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

STATE IDEOLOGY, PUBLIC POLICY AND ADULT EDUCATORS' PERCEPTIONS IN CANADA AND MEXICO

BY

DANIEL SCHUGURENSKY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1990

ISBN 0-315-60135-3

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Daniel Schugurensky

TITLE OF THESIS: State Ideology, Public Policy and Adult Educators' Perceptions in Mexico and in Canada.

DEGREE: Master of Education

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1990

DANIEL SCHUGURENSKY

Permanent Address:

#312 8604 103 st.
Edmonton, Alberta

DATE: April 12, 1990

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

THE UNDERSIGNED CERTIFY THEY HAVE READ, AND RECOMMEND TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH FOR ACCEPTANCE, A THESIS ENTITLED "STATE IDEOLOGY, PUBLIC POLICY AND ADULT EDUCATORS' PERCEPTIONS IN CANADA AND MEXICO", SUBMITTED BY DANIEL SCHUGURENSKY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION.

DR. CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES

DR. GRACE MALICKY

DR. RAJ PANNU

DATE:

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study has been twofold. First, it explored the differences and similarities in cultural capital, perceptions, attitudes, values and expectations of adult educators in two different societies, namely Mexico and Alberta. It was the intention of the study to relate such perceptions and values with the respective set of educational policies and with the prevailing ideology of the State. Secondly, teachers' opinions were analyzed taking into account the program in which they participate, namely academic upgrading programs and skill upgrading programs. An instrument combining a questionnaire and an in-depth interview was applied to 105 adult educators (49 in Alberta and 56 in Mexico) who were working in the major public institutions of adult education in each society. Although certain differences in teachers' answers by gender, age, region and SES were found, the main contrasts appeared when the data was analyzed by country and by program.

In each country, teachers' world views are closely related to the prevailing ideology in each society and to the form of organization of the State. Indeed, the study shows that Mexican corporatism and Canadian liberalism strongly shape teachers' perceptions. The 1910 Revolution and the Welfare State have also had an impact in the development of adult education systems in Mexico and in Canada, respectively. As a result of it, a political rationale prevails in the Mexican system while in Canada the economic approach is dominant. Mexican teachers emphasize social goals, whereas Canadian teachers focus on personal development. These rationales are characterized in this thesis as a "social solidarity" model and an "individual-deficit" model, respectively.

The study suggests that in Mexico the populist and nationalistic ideologies, in the context of a corporatist state. have contributed to the development of a

massive model based on the notions of social solidarity and second opportunity. It is suggested that this model, which was built for clear political purposes, focuses on quantitative outcomes and lies on recruitment strategies. The Canadian model, under the rationale of the Welfare state and the prevalence of a liberal individualistic ideology, follows a different pattern. In this case, the adult education system assumes the form of a clinical-oriented model oriented towards the professional attention of what is considered a "dysfunctional" individual.

Although teachers' perceptions are greatly influenced by these two different societal and educational models, they are also permeated by the program in which they work. Teachers from academic upgrading programs (generally young and females) emphasized the notions of "self-improvement", "second chance", "better citizens" and psychological benefits and general goals. Skill upgrading teachers (generally older and males) stressed the notions of "skilled manpower", employability, economic development, occupational benefits and very specific goals. A two-track system (a cultural-oriented education and a market-oriented education) within adult education was found. Consistent with the philosophy of "train the best and forget the rest" prevailing in the eighties, the screening seems to favour skill upgrading programs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to express my gratitude to all who helped me during the preparation of this thesis.

To Dr. C.A. Torres, my advisor, for his generous assistance, encouragement and guidance throughout the study.

To Dr. R. Pannu and Dr. G. Malicky, committee members, for their valuable contributions and helpful suggestions.

To the professors, students and staff from the Faculty of Education, for their intellectual stimulation and constructive cooperation.

To Carmen, for her love and for her invaluable patience and tolerance at home.

To the different institutions -in Mexico and in Canada- which contributed in different ways to the implementation of this research project.

Above all, to the teachers who enthusiastically participated in the study, thereby making it possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY

"It doesn't matter what the program is. I am the program" (a Canadian teacher).

"I like to socialize and to serve the community" (a Mexican teacher).

Overview and purposes of the study

The present study is part of a larger comparative and international research project on adult education public policy [1]. That research explores the process of formulation and implementation of adult education policies and programs in three countries, taking into account key main actors in adult education: policy makers, teachers and students. Being a section of that research, this study deals with two countries (Mexico and Canada) and focuses on teachers. Since the analysis concentrates on public policies [2], only Governmental programs have been taken into account. Two main intentionalities can be found in this study. On the one hand, it attempts to examine the perceptions, values, aspirations and expectations of teachers in order to see how these are related to adult education policies and to the overall ideology of the state. On the other hand, knowledge of the teachers' opinions on the program and their appreciation of the students' needs provides a good basis for understanding the institution's performance. The relevance of this exploratory study lies in the fact that it fills in two gaps in the literature on adult education. The first one corresponds to the scarcity of empirical research dealing with the personnel of adult education programs. The second is related to the scarcity of cross-national comparative analyses in the field of adult education. The comparison of adult education systems by country was oriented to explore the idea that policies, modes of implementation and perceptions of the actors are historically rooted in the prevailing model of development in a given nation, and are closely related to the character of the state and to the dominant ideologies in society.

Adult education. In search of a definition

Adult Education (AE) is often a vague term, and its meaning is neither clear nor universally accepted. In fact, Adult Education does not lend itself to easy definition or measurement. A variety of reasons account for the difficulties and discrepancies in defining Adult Education. To begin with, in some countries the clientele is conceptualized under a chronological criterion and therefore includes every adult, even those who are enrolled in higher education. In other countries the chronological criterion is combined with educational factors, and thus adult education is understood as a service for adults who did not complete their basic education. Second, its subject matter encompasses a broad range of topics from technical training to literacy, basic education, handicrafts, citizenship, agriculture production and distribution, health habits, recreation, environment, community development, etc. Sometimes the content addresses the specific needs of a given group, such as Natives, women, aged, youth, immigrants, unions, peasants, etc. Third, its methods include traditional-structured courses, discussion "circles" or groups, individualized attention, etc. The techniques mostly involve the direct presence of a teacher, but TV, radio, computers and correspondence are also utilized. Fourth, the aims and goals of adult education programs include the development of positive attitudes towards co-operation, work, community and national development and further learning, the teaching of functional literacy and numeracy, the acquisition of a scientific approach toward health, agriculture, the provision of functional knowledge and skills in order to prepare individuals to enter or re-enter the labour market or to strengthen their current occupational position, the promotion of civic participation, etc. (Coombs et al, 1973). Fifth, the sponsoring agencies may be educational institutions and industries, as well as religious, ethnic, community and political organizations. Sixth, the duration of Adult Education activities may last from a few days to several years. In short, Adult Education includes a great variety of organizational structures, purposes, participants and methods.

In an attempt to organize this broad range of practices, a brief historical review of the most important trends of adult education may be useful. Adult Education activities have been conducted throughout the history of Western Civilization, but the recent proliferation of programs has been startling. As a matter of fact, adult education, as an extensively organized practice, started its development a short time after the end of the Second World War. Since then, a growing interest in Adult Education issues has been present all around the world. As evidence of this trend, as of 1985 the number of participating member states at the UNESCO world conferences on the subject have quadrupled since the first meeting in Elsinor in 1949. During the same period, a gigantic increase of non-governmental organizations involved in adult education also occurred.[3]

But not only the number of governments, private organizations and individuals interested in the area has increased, but also the type of activities related to adult education, such as planning, program-operation, materials production, evaluation and research. Moreover, in the cultural, political and philosophical arena different approaches were also developed. The very meaning of "literacy" is a good indicator to observe the development of different andragogical conceptions during recent decades. Taking into account the conceptions over literacy since the second world war, Sjostrom & Sjostrom (1983) distinguish three time periods: a) traditional literacy, or literacy as consumption; b) modern -or functional- literacy, and c) contemporary -or liberatory- literacy. The traditional approach to literacy, which simply signifies "the ability to read and write as an end in itself" (Faure et al, 1972), dominated the scene for many years, but it was gradually more and more criticized for overlooking practical applications and of viewing literacy merely as a commodity for consumption (UNESCO, 1970, Gillete, 1973).

In the context of such criticisms, literacy began to be perceived in the context of the needs of the illiterate population. As early as 1951, UNESCO considered literacy as the capacity to read and write a simple statement related to everyday life. From this it was possible to arrive to the concept of "modern literacy", which is highly connected to

the notion of functionality. Expressed in simple terms, modern literacy connotes the practical application of reading and writing, and incorporates mathematics into the sphere of literacy, especially in relation to daily money transactions or agricultural production. The notion of productivity-oriented functional literacy has gradually changed into a broader view, encompassing economic growth as well as social, political and cultural change. Freire has warned against a restricted functional literacy -which overlooks the learner's need for political awareness- and was one of the first to reject the widespread perception of literacy programs as politically neutral. Therefore, by the middle of the seventies, the economic-work oriented interpretation of functional literacy had been broadened into a more comprehensive concept. Neither reading and writing per se, nor a narrow economic functionalism, was regarded as sufficient. Literacy was rather envisioned as an agent for development both in economic and humanistic terms (Sjostrom & Sjostrom,1983). Changes in literacy work were closely related to changes in the overall conception of adult education. In this vein, it is possible to identify at least five major trends in the recent history of adult education: fundamental education, functional education, continuing (lifelong) education, education for liberation and popular education. Though it is possible to observe a sequence in the development of these trends, some of them may co-exist at the same time. Some of these currents originated in international institutions such as UNESCO, which proclaimed them as policies in its general meetings. Others had originated in developing countries, in attempts to relate educational practices to the needs and interests of local people.

Available definitions of Adult Education cannot address all the above elements in a single paragraph. In fact, there are a variety of factors involved in the organization and structure of adult education, from explicit/implicit goals to contents, from methodology to policy formation. However, perhaps two of the most comprehensive and well known definitions were provided by UNESCO. In the famous report Learning to Be, Faure et al. (1972:205) stated that many possible definitions of adult education exist:

> For a very large number of adults in the world today, it is a substitute for the basic education they missed. For the many individuals who received only a very incomplete education, it is the complement to elementary or professional education. For those whom it helps respond to new demands which their environment makes on them, it is the prolongation of education. It offers further education to those who have already received high-level training. And it is a means of individual development for everybody .

Four years later, during the Unesco Conference in Nairobi, it was stated that Adult Education...

> denotes the entire body of educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons, regarded as adult by the society to which they belong, develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behavior in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development (General Conference of UNESCO, 19th Session, Nairobi, 1976.)

This definition is so general that, according to Titmus (1989) it is doubtful whether it has any functional value at all. Moreover, the great variety of goals, activities, type of programs, clienteles, operative agencies and rationales also create a confusion over terminology. In fact, an increasing number of terms (such as "adult education", "non-formal education", "life-long education", "community development", "literacy programs", "distance education", "open education", extra-schooling education", "recurrent education", "popular education", "vocational education", "compensatory education", etc) are used to refer to the same phenomenon, thereby creating overlaps and disorder.

Delimitation of the field of study

Such variety of programs, modalities, approaches and clienteles creates obstacles in providing a working definition. In the context of this research, it seems clear that any discussion of adult education in a comparative perspective among different societies is constrained by the lack of a universally accepted definition. Therefore, a working definition was developed, taking into account two factors: the clientele and the type of programs. Firstly, in order to operationalize the definition of adult education for comparative purposes it was necessary to delimit the clientele. In Mexico adult education

is synonymous with education for low-income individuals who generally are early dropouts from the regular system, whereas in Canada adult education includes higher education. In the first approach the criterion is years of schooling, while in the second it is years of life. The inclusion of higher education into the category "adult education" could generate problems in comparative educational research in this field. In fact, although chronologically or legally all individuals older than a specified age (12,15,16, 17, 20, etc., depending upon national laws) can be assimilated, in terms of the analysis of their social and educational realities, it is very difficult to put into the same "bag" an illiterate adult learning to read and write and a University graduate student pursuing a professional degree. It is also difficult to assimilate (both for planning as well as for research purposes) literacy programs with university studies, because they constitute very different educational and social phenomena. Therefore, the higher education clientele was excluded from this particular research, which considered instead only adults who did not complete their basic education. Two questions arise at this point: what is an 'adult'? and what does 'basic education' mean?

Interestingly, there is no simple, universal and definitive answer for these questions. Regarding age, the above UNESCO definition recognized that this is a social concept by saying that an adult is somebody who is regarded as such by the society to which they belong. Overlapings between chronological and social criteria are visible in the difficult task of determining the border between childhood and adulthood. Generally the concept "adult" is closely related to work, to familial responsibilities and to what can be labelled as "life experience". However, both in developed and developing countries it is possible to observe persons below chronological adulthood working, taking care of younger brothers and/or living in the streets. Conversely, the concept of "child" is easily linked to the world of study and the absence of work or familial duties. Again, both in developing and developed societies it is possible to see chronological adults who remain studying and living at parents' homes. These considerations indicate that the distinction between children and adults varies according to variables such as social formation,

culture, region, social class, etc. (Infante, 1983; Torres, 1987). Acknowledging the difficulty of clearly defining an adult, H. Long (1980:4) indicated that adult education is any planned learning activity engaged in by "anyone who possesses the biological, civil, and cultural characteristic of an adult". In adult education systems, the concept "adult" is derived from the amount of years of basic, compulsory schooling, which in turn is related to the minimum age to be legally accepted into adult education programs. In Mexico it corresponds to 15 years of age, and in Canada to 15 or 17 years of age, depending on the source [4]. However, since this is a regulation not always linked to social reality[5], for this particular research any client of adult education programs is an adult, regardless the age.

The second question (what is 'basic education') was answered by the specific educational policies of each country: 9 years in Mexico and 12 years in Canada. Therefore, those educational practices involving people who did not finish this level are part of adult education. Indeed, for operational purposes in this study adult education was considered as *all public educational services addressed to those individuals who have not completed their basic education (9 years in the case of Mexico, 12 years in the case of Canada) and are out of the regular (formal) educational system.* As the reader can note, such a definition excludes higher education and any other type of post-secondary education from the analysis. Moreover, since in this research the focus is on Public Adult Education, it also excludes all types of adult education carried out by non-governmental institutions. In other words, in terms of the clientele, Adult Education programs will be considered in this project as those directed to those persons (regardless their age) who abandoned school before completing the compulsory cycle of basic education.

This delimitation of the study -distinguishing who will be considered an adult learner from those who will not- must be accompanied by an explicit statement on what types of programs within adult education are the focus of this study. London et al. (1963) distinguished three main types of subjects in adult education: **manual skills**

(auto repair, roofing, TV and radio repair, carpentry, etc), **white collar skills** (accounting, advertising art, typing, management skills, etc) and **liberal arts** (citizenship, academic subjects, performing arts, moral-religion and recreation). Titmus (1976) proposed a typology of AE programs according to the main purpose intended for the learner, distinguishing the following types: 1) **second chance education** (which offers the possibility of obtaining the kind and level of education normally achieved during the continuous cycle of education commenced in childhood); 2) **role education** (spouse, parent, citizen, member of an association, etc.); 3) **vocational education** (skills required in paid employment); and 4) **personal enrichment education** (intellectual, cultural, spiritual, emotional and physical development of the individual). Titmus points out that the four types are not mutually exclusive. For example, whatever the primary purpose may be, all AE programs contain an element of personal enrichment.

Although the former typologies could be useful for analytical purposes, in studying public adult education it appeared more appropriate to adjust to the two major types of programs offered by governmental institutions: **academic upgrading** (including literacy programs and adult basic education) and **skill upgrading** (including all sorts of trades, blue collar as well as white collar). Juxtaposing this classification with that of Titmus, it is possible to observe that academic upgrading (3 R's [6], and its continuation in a form of basic education) constitutes what Titmus calls "second chance" education. On the other hand, skill upgrading programs represent what Titmus identifies as "vocational" programs. With respect to the other two types, it is possible to assume that "role education" (mainly the roles of "good citizen" and "good employee") and "personal enrichment" are included in both programs. The reasons why governments concentrate on the first two areas seem to be related to economic priorities, as was noted by Jamison Gilder, who proposed a model for policy frameworks (The National Centre for Research in Vocational Education, 1979:15). This model, which is not bound to any instructional strategy, and is neither age specific nor institution

specific, distinguishes three type of needs: a) basic core needs, b) occupational-vocational-technical-professional needs, and c) existential needs. In relation to the third type, Gilder states that "until the learning needs of areas one and two are met, area three should not be supported [by the state]".

In summary, in this research the wide scope of adult education was confined to a specific practice taking into account three factors. First, the clientele was defined as any person -regardless the chronological age- who is out of the regular system, is involved in an educational program, and whose schooling is lower than basic-compulsory education (9 years in Mexico, 12 years in Canada). Second, in terms of the provider of the service, the research only considered governmental agencies. Finally, the study concentrated on the two main programs of adult education offered by both the Mexican and the Canadian governments: academic upgrading and skill upgrading.

Major questions to be explored

Since this was an exploratory study, no hypotheses were advanced. However, some general questions operated as guidelines for the study. Among them were the following: 1) what is the profile of the teachers, in terms of educational background, socio-economic status and working conditions?; 2) what are their main values, aspirations and expectations?; 3) what are their opinions about the relevance of the program and its economic and social returns?; 4) what are their perceptions on the students?; 5) what is their professional and political culture?; 6) what is their opinion about training?; 6) what is their role in the formulation of policies and programs?; 7) for all of the above, is there a difference by country or by program?; 6) if so, how can such differences be explained?

The answer to these questions would help in answering a more general question: what are the main differences and convergences between the countries analyzed in the philosophy, development, and current operation of adult education systems?

Methodology and instruments

In order to develop a quantitative and a qualitative analysis, a combination of a questionnaire and in-depth interview was applied. The instrument included closed and open questions, and its flexibility allowed the interviewer to maintain a dialogue with the interviewee exploring topics which were not originally foreseen. The quantitative analysis of the data was mainly used to explore the differences and similarities between basic cultural capital, expectations and interests of the actors in both countries and both programs. Frequency and percentage distributions, as well as statistical tests such as chi square and Pearson correlation coefficient were used. The qualitative analysis was based on teachers' answers to the open questions, as well as from their comments on different issues related with adult education. A copy of the instrument is attached as an Appendix.

Characteristics of the sample

During the spring and summer of 1988, 49 adult educators were interviewed in the province of Alberta and 56 in Mexico. The Canadian sample was restricted to Northern Alberta, where six locations were selected: Edmonton, Grouard, Lac La Biche, Slave Lake, Atikameg and Gift Lake. The first three are AVC's, and the last three are CVC's.[7] In Mexico the field research was conducted in Mexico City, Hidalgo, Tlaxcala, Morelos, Mexico State and Puebla, including five institutions: INEA, IMSS, ICATI, BETA and ICA [8]. Samples in both countries were randomly selected, searching for a balance in terms of program, gender and region (urban-rural). Such balance was not always possible to achieve. In terms of program, 57% of the sample Canadian sample worked in academic upgrading programs (literacy and adult basic education) while the remaining 43% worked in skill upgrading programs (for the job training). In Mexico, the proportions were 70% and 30%, respectively. Regarding gender, in Canada the proportion was practically even, while in Mexico there was a higher presence of female teachers. Regarding age, the Canadian teachers were a little older than their Mexican counterparts: the average age was ten years higher. In Canada, about

half of the sample was in the range 40-50 years old, while in Mexico 60% of the sample was 30 years old or younger. Closely related to their age differences, in Canada the majority of interviewees (73.5%) were married or equivalent (common law), while in Mexico most of them (59%) were single. In academic upgrading, roughly one quarter of the sample does not teach any specific grade but they teach a subject matter (such as math, English, life skills, early childhood, etc) in different levels, sometimes in all of them. Several interviewed were not classroom teachers at the time of the study but given their teaching background, the type of work they were developing and their proximity to the teachers' tasks the research team considered it appropriate to have their opinions. They were senior instructors, program coordinators, adult basic education directors or learning resource center personnel. The rest of the sample worked in different grades. In skill upgrading, teachers were involved in the transitional-vocational programs (basic trade skills for mentally handicapped or people with learning disabilities), business-related careers, food preparation, pre-trade, health-related careers, social work, clerical and secretarial programs, surveying, forestry, automechanics, building (janitorial) services, tourism, agriculture, electricity, etc.

Table 1-1: Characteristics of the sample (by country)

	CANADA	MEXICO
No. of Cases	49	56
Gender		
Males	51%	37.5%
Females	49%	62.5%
Age		
X Age	40 years old	29.5 years old
Youngest Age	27 years old	14 years old
Oldest Age	65 years old	69 years old
Region		
Rural	55%	43%
Urban	45%	57%
Birthplace		
Rural	52.1%	52%
Urban	47.9%	48%

Marital Status		
Single	10.2%	59.0%
Married	73.5%	32.0%
Divorced	12.2%	3.6%
Widow	4.1%	5.4%
Program		
Academic Upgrading	57.0%	69.6%
Skill Upgrading	43.0%	30.4%

Organization of the thesis

The thesis is organized in six chapters. The present one consisted of an overview of the research. The second chapter offers an analysis of adult education from the perspective of the political economy; it explores the relationships between education, labour markets, social classes and the state, as well as the contradictions between discourse and reality in public adult education. The third chapter provides the framework to analyze the main philosophy of the state in each country. It relates such philosophy with the historical development of adult education systems in the context of concrete political and economic rationales. The fourth chapter presents an overview of the main features of adult education systems in Mexico and Alberta, in the context of the current social, economic and political situation. Chapters five and six describe the main findings for Canada and Mexico, respectively. Finally, the last chapter offers a summary and the conclusions of the work.

Endnotes

[1] Such research project is sponsored by IDRC and coordinated by Dr. Carlos Torres. The three countries involved are Canada (specifically the Province of Alberta), Mexico and Tanzania. I would like to thank all the researchers involved with this project for making available data for this thesis.

[2] In this study, educational policies are understood as distributive policies. Smith (1975) distinguishes between distributive and redistributive policies. According to him, distributive policies provide benefits to certain individuals or groups in a way that avoids any feelings that others have lost something; policy problems are cut up into small pieces and "solved" by distributing benefits to particular individual or groups. Redistributive policies involve taking away something from one group to benefit another; they are commonly class conflict issues, and can be resolved only at the highest level of government or by large scale social upheaval. Both in Mexico and Canada, it can be suggested that current adult education policies may be analyzed as distributive policies. In both countries, formal education policies provide the conditions for the success of higher income groups (Porter, 1976; Muñoz Izquierdo, 1982); simultaneously, through adult, second chance education, the system makes a serious attempt to ameliorate the feeling of loss of lower income groups.

3 In fact, in 1949, in Elsinor, only 29 countries were represented; in 1970, in Montreal, there were 52 countries; in 1972, in Tokyo, there were 82, and in 1985, in Paris, the number of countries represented reached 122.

4 Most teachers interviewed referred to 17 years as the minimum age to enroll in adult education programs. Nevertheless, other sources (Canadian Year Book, 1988:4-12) mention 15 years of age.

5 Although basic education is theoretically compulsory, thousands of people drop out every year in Mexico and as well as in Canada. Accepting this fact, in the day to day operation both AE systems accept individuals whose age is lower than what is specified. In recent times more and more governments are acknowledging that many children and youngsters are not in school, and this recognition is reflected in their statistics on illiteracy and in the target clientele of their literacy campaigns. In both cases it is increasingly frequent to find the expression "10 years and more" or "12 years and more" (see for example the cases of Brazil, Nicaragua and Ecuador).

6 Reading, writing and arithmetics.

7 The enrolment in credit programs and courses for 1986-1987 was of 7,531 students in AVC Edmonton, 1,425 in Grouard and 1,531 in Lac La Biche. All CVC's together attend a population of 2,400 students. In general, two third of the students are enrolled in academic upgrading and job readiness (sort of life skills) programs. Trade and vocational programs usually attend 10% to 20% of the students. The remaining part participates in health and social services, apprenticeship and other programs (Alberta Advanced Education, 1988).

8 These institutions carry out different type of programs. What follows is a summary of the activities developed by each agency:
INEA: Literacy and Adult basic education programs at the national level.
IMSS: Social Security Institution (offers short training courses in sewing, electricity, etc., and a longer program in tourism).
ICATI: Industrial training program in the state of Mexico. Courses last three months. Many students - supposedly unemployed -receive scholarships (one minimum salary).
BETA: A Ministry of Education non formal agricultural educational program for peasants. Deals with animal rearing, food conservation, apiculture and such.
ICA: A Ministry of the Agrarian Reform educational program, deals mainly with very short courses for 'ejido' organization.
AVC: Alberta Vocational Center. Offers both academic and skill upgrading programs.
CVC: Community Vocational Center. Offers the same programs that the AVC. At the moment of finishing the field work of the research, the AVC and the CVC were in a process of merging.

CHAPTER II

TOWARDS A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ADULT EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter stresses the relationship between adult education, social classes, the labour market and the State. It starts with a general description of public adult education and its clientele, which belongs to the most marginalized sectors of society. It continues with a reference to the labour market and social inequalities, and how are these related to adult education. A theoretical discussion about the main roles of adult education (reproduction and liberation) is included. Finally, in reference to the state, a discrepancy between the public goals (which stress educational opportunities for more people) and the non-public goals (which generate the fact that not everyone will end up with the same education) in adult education is found. Although the discourse is full of concepts such as "social solidarity", "equality of opportunity", "self-improvement of one's potential", "social change", "alternative methodology", "andragogy", "dialogue", etc., reality shows that adult education systems not only fail to accomplish these goals, but also contradict them in daily practice. The non-public goals make adult education institutions an integral part of an educational system that trains people to enter a stratified labor force that serves the interests of economic elites and large corporations. This section argues that adult education systems play an important role in maintaining educational inequalities and, as a result, help to reinforce the system of social stratification.

Main Features of Public Adult Education and its Clientele

Following London et al. (1963) it is possible to identify four main features of adult education systems: marginality, relative invisibility, dispersion and flexibility. The marginal and invisible characters of adult education can only change during periods

of societal dislocation, when it is obvious that the type and amount of required training cannot be provided by the regular educational institutions. Examples of these special occasions are the citizenship training for newcomers in times of massive immigration or the retraining of adults whose skills are no longer suitable for a changing labor market and a changing economy, especially during boom periods. Whenever these contingencies occur, the need for adult education becomes 'obvious', the mass media deals with the problem and the public mind is more sensitive to the specific needs addressed by certain adult education courses. At the same time, however, the mainstream of adult education continues and is, like the bottom nine-tenths of an iceberg, submerged from the public view. The dispersion of adult education programs, as already mentioned, makes it very difficult to characterize AE as a totality. Since programs are so varied and the sponsors so diverse, it is difficult even to define what should be included under the rubric of "adult education". Furthermore, since adult education activities in their entire range and diversity are difficult to describe, they are also difficult to evaluate. However, the dispersed character of AE has the great advantage of flexibility. Formal education, on the one hand, with its heavy investment in capital goods, technically trained personnel and its rigid administrative procedures and curricula, tends to be resistant to the pressures and demands of daily life. Its solidity makes innovation difficult unless the value of new subjects or new teaching devices have been "proven" in other areas and by other institutions. Adult education, on the other hand, with greater flexibility, can experiment with new ideas and procedures and can, therefore serve as a laboratory for the formal educational institutions. Also, it is claimed that AE can shift rapidly and efficiently to meet new trends in the larger society, especially those which cause economic and social dislocations.

Considering adult education as that directed to those who did not complete the compulsory sequence of regular education (drop-outs and left-outs), it is possible to describe some socio-economic, psychological and political characteristics of the adult

learner. In the last decades a shift in the clientele of adult education programs could be observed. In the early sixties the clientele mainly involved full-time workers (London et al. (1963, pp.29,140). Currently, a high proportion of students are homemakers, unemployed and underemployed, and youngsters who enter the system shortly after dropping out from the regular system. Peterson (1982) defines the following categories of adults who constitute the adult education programs' clientele: 1) workers and adults seeking employment; 2) elders; 3) women entering or re-entering the labour force; 4) parents looking for parent education programs; and 5) undereducated adults. This classification also has problems, since the categories are not exclusive.

In general terms it can be said that the actual clientele and the potential clientele of adult education programs has had fewer years of schooling than the average in a given society. It also has a lower income, in many cases below the poverty line. This disadvantaged population, belonging to low social strata and to marginalized sectors of society, does not largely benefit with educational expansion. It means that they are more concentrated in the least developed countries, provinces and regions, and among indigenous people, women and elders. Although they live mostly in rural areas, as a result of recent migrations they can also be found in large numbers in the big cities, concentrated in the urban marginal areas. They also have the largest families, the most inadequate housing, the highest incidence of ill health and the least promise of a better future. In terms of work, they are often unemployed and underemployed, although sometimes they are employed in blue-collar type of activities or are self-employed, mainly as subsistence peasants or urban merchants (Torres, 1982; Muñoz Izquierdo, 1982; Anderson, 1968). Politically, the main characteristic of the adult education clientele is its political weakness, which results from a variety of features. Among them are the following (Latapí,1986:27): a) its character of subordinated classes (due to its position in the structure of society and in the labor market); b) its lack of organization (expressed in its almost null capacity to formulate demands to the decision-making

levels); c) its low electoral importance (although they constitute a large amount of people, they usually do not vote and, in any case, their vote can be easily manipulated); and d) its economic marginality (they are mostly unemployed, underemployed or employed in the informal sector of the economy).

Psychologically, there is a common understanding that adult learners are generally self-directing (though they may be dependent -sometimes in a high degree- in particular situations), that they have acquired a considerable amount of skills and knowledge through experience, and that they look for the immediate application of their learnings and prefer study topics related to real-life tasks. On the negative side, many adults also deal with problems of unrealistic goals, poor self-image and self-confidence, social-familial problems, and sometimes excessive practical orientation. They are also handicapped by low communication skills. Another characteristic is that for adults commitment to job and family is the primary responsibility, while participation in adult education is a secondary (part-time) commitment (Knowles, 1980; Apps, 1981; Cross, 1981). In analyzing the attitudes and perceptions of low income groups towards education, the literature is not consistent. On the one hand, it is argued that illiterates are all the more conscious of their illiteracy as a personal weakness because most of the population is literate (Wagner, 1985). On the other hand, the disadvantaged are viewed as having a limited perception of the value of education, and for this reason they display neither the aspiration nor the motivation to achieve educational goals (Anderson,1968). Moreover, it has been reported that illiterates are less likely to agree that talking fluently, reading well and writing well are important, because reading and writing are not considered important on the job for 54% of illiterates, that 75% of them deny that these skills are holding them back in terms of employment and that only 19% are enrolled in, or thinking of taking, remedial language courses (The Southam Report:155-165).

Adult Education, labour markets and social inequality

The educational system cannot be isolated from the rest of society. Inequalities in the educational system reflect inequalities in the overall society. Thus, any analysis of educational policies which fails to take into account the socio-economic system will lack a basic understanding of the context in which such policies are developed. Inequality and domination can be observed at the international level (with countries, corporations and financial institutions playing a major role) as well as at the national level (between regions, gender, class, ethnic groups, etc.). In today's world there are about 800 million illiterates, equivalent to 20.3% of the planet's adult population. While in some countries illiteracy is practically eliminated, in others its rate is as high as 80%. As a result of existing inequalities at the international level, illiteracy and low-schooling are more concentrated in less developed countries, especially those which participate in the world system with raw materials and non-manufactured products. Looking at the basic economic statistics in different countries, it can be observed that literacy rates are higher in countries with higher GNP's, known as MDC's (more developed countries) [1]. The colonial and post-colonial metropole-periphery type of relationship helps to explain why some countries are more developed than others (Faletto and Cardoso, 1979). An insight into understanding how politics operate in developing countries is provided by dependency theory in that the most critical elements of the economic system are not only to be found outside of the country studied, but in the headquarters of a North American or Japanese corporation. It is also necessary to examine the complex links between the local economic elite and the external power. Such external power goes beyond the limits of a foreign corporation because this, in turn, influences or sometimes controls the government of its own country. Although not visible in the political arena, both multinational corporations and major foreign governments play a role in Mexican and Canadian policymaking process, and therefore any analysis of policymaking that excludes international economic forces would be incomplete [2]. For

example, educational policies in Latin America since the Second World War (expansion of the formal system, priorities in educational investment, etc) cannot be explained without taking into account, besides the model of development followed by local dominant classes, the U.S. policies towards the region (need of raw materials, need to open new markets and expanded consumption levels in the Third World, Alliance for Progress, etc).

At the national level, illiteracy and low schooling assume massive dimensions. Despite the fact that basic education is compulsory by national laws, large contingents of children and youth cannot complete it. This situation produces a significant percentage of the adult population who have little schooling and consequently become absolute or functional illiterates. In Mexico, they reach 27 million, or 72% of the total adult population: 6 million illiterate, 13 million without elementary education and 7 million without secondary education. In Canada, the premature leaving of 40% of the students who enrol in grade 9 before completing their high school is of great concern to the educational system (Wyse, 1987). Moreover, recent research reported that four and a half million Canadians are so confounded by printed and written information that it is difficult for them to cope with daily life tasks. The research found that 8% of the adult population is basically illiterate, 16% is functionally illiterate and 9% is only marginally literate. This means that between one fourth (24%) and one third (33%) of the Canadian adult population is not able to read and write adequately (The Southam Report, 1987).

This enormous army of dropouts is not representative of the overall population. In fact, illiteracy and low schooling are predominant in rural areas, among older people, among low-income groups, among ethnic minorities and among females. To begin with, due to regional inequalities within countries, drop out rates in rural areas often triple those of urban areas (Torres, R., 1985; De Anda, 1983; Infante; 1983; Latapi, 1987). Illiteracy is higher in regions with lower levels of socio-economic development. In the case of Mexico, for example, variations range from 6% in certain provinces to

almost 40% in others. Secondly, as a consequence of educational expansion during recent decades, illiteracy tends to be higher in elders [3]. Thirdly, illiteracy and low schooling also constitute a class phenomenon, with illiteracy more frequent among the poor sectors of the population (Porter, 1976) . Regarding ethnic minorities, in the particular cases of Mexico and Canada, probably the most affected are Native groups, whose illiteracy rates are higher than the mainstream population. Since most Natives live in rural areas and are among the dispossessed, they suffer -in addition to racial discrimination [4]- the combination of the social and regional inequalities already mentioned. Finally, the rate of illiteracy also varies by gender. As a result of traditional patterns of discrimination and marginalization, illiteracy is higher among females.

The structure of the labour market shows the vicious circle of low schooling and unemployment. In fact, a relationship between educational attainment and the type and duration of employment exists. A considerable segment of the labor force does not have sufficient education nor the required skills to remain employed. The connection between low education and unemployment is demonstrated by the fact that the unemployment rates for high school dropouts is twice that for high school graduates (London et. al, 1963). Unemployment and underemployment of long duration is increasing, affecting primarily unskilled workers, especially those with minimal education ((Dept. of Labor, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, 1963; CAAE-ICEA, 1984; Pannu, 1988).

The unequal structure of the educational system is to some degree a result of an unequal social structure. While adult education primarily attracts a lower educated clientele, middle and upper classes are overrepresented within higher education as compared to their distribution in the general population. The trend is for those with more education to seek additional education, while those with less education tend to shun it (London, 1963; Johnstone, 1963; Brunner et al., 1959). The provision of

higher education is focussed upon social groups which already enjoy better than average access to the goods and services generated by society. The current offerings of post-secondary education benefit the middle and upper-income groups at the expense of the lower income groups, because the latter tend to subsidize the former. Adult education systems, with a potential clientele of millions of people, have a constrained budget many times inferior to that directed to higher education.

In summary, low-income groups have less access to education (as well as to others goods and services) than other social groups, and the resultant low schooling leads in turn to lower paid jobs, in the vicious circle of poverty. Drop out rates in basic education have a correlation with other symptoms of poverty (such as child work, or deficiencies in health, housing, clothing, nutrition, etc). In other words, the poorest sectors of the population are the first to leave school or, conversely, the discriminatory effects of school affect primarily the economically, politically, socially and culturally disadvantaged. In fact, it is suggested that the educational system, rather than reduce social inequalities, reinforces them (Hurn, 1985:195; Bowles and Gintis, 1976:135; Rist, 1976:411; Carnoy, 1976). This is also true for Canada (Mehmet, 1978; CAAE, 1982) and for Mexico (Muñoz Izquierdo, 1982; Schmelkes, 1988). In this context, Adult Education programs are generally conceived as a means to ameliorate social inequalities, offering second opportunities to individuals prematurely excluded from the formal educational system, and to create trained manpower. However, in recent years these social and economic purposes have come under criticism, not only for failing to achieve the stated goals, but also for serving as an instrument of reproducing inequality.

As mentioned before, illiteracy and limited schooling are often linked with deficiencies in employment, income, nutrition, housing, clothing, health, communication, participation, etc. A variety of interpretations of this relationship exist, but in general terms they can be reduced to two main types. For some authors illiteracy

is a cause, or at least a feature, of the marginalization of certain groups. The deficits of illiterates hinder their incorporation into the modernization process. Illiteracy is a "social illness", and therefore it is dysfunctional for the purposes of the system. This approach is consistent with the main postulates of the "human capital theory" or, more generally speaking, to the so called "modernization" theories according to which a) development is perceived mainly as economic growth; b) the economy is characterized by the incorporation of new technologies in the context of a market economy; c) education is perceived as neutral or value-free; d) education is conceived as the main tool for development, especially through the acquisition of new knowledge, values and attitudes; and e) the situation of underdevelopment of a given society can be attributed largely to the low levels of education of its population. Human capital and modernization theories are closely related to structural-functional theories, which assume that conflicts within society are undesirable and avoidable, and stress the advantages of social harmony. Within this framework, the role of education is to help society in maintaining social equilibrium. Regarding poverty and illiteracy, this approach points out that both problems are mainly results of individual factors, such as fatalism and other "psychological deficits", as well as traditional values, attitudes and practices.

From another perspective, illiteracy is seen as one expression -among others- of poverty, which in turn is a result of a structural and complex relationship of subordination and exploitation. The notion of reproduction of the socio-economic structure and the issue of power are central in this approach, known as "conflict theory". In other words, the origin of inequality can be found in the class-structure of society, which is legitimized and reproduced by means of education. There is a correspondence between the socio-economic structure and the structure of the educational system. Regarding poverty and illiteracy, this perspective asserts that both phenomena will remain unless certain factors change: patterns of appropriation of

benefits, access to power and decision-making, production structure, regulation of property, income distribution, hiring policies, etc. According to this approach, illiteracy is functional for the purposes of the system. Based on these two sociological approaches -but also on different educational and psychological theories- many educational models were developed in the last decades. However, considering their intentionality in the end they can be reduced to two models. This is the subject of the following section.

Education for reproduction and education for social change

From a reproductive perspective, education is perceived as an *Ideological State Apparatus* (Althusser,1970) which is at the service of the dominant classes. The role of education for social change is therefore very limited, and depends upon a previous structural transformation of society. In Pincus' words,

> "the only way to significantly change the educational system is to change the class nature of society. Those that profit from the existing institutions cannot be expected to reform them so that others can share in the rewards" (Pincus, 1974:33).

According to this view, educational inequality will exist as long as economic inequality exists. Pincus takes into account Bowles' argument that education in capitalist societies has always served the same economic and political interests (Bowles, 1973). The educational system is conceived as a means to provide a trained labor force in an increasingly differentiated economy, where adult education institutions provide the paraprofessional part of this labor force. This explains "their lack of concern about achieving social class equality in education since this was never their goal in the first place" (Pincus, 1974:30).

At this point, a discussion of the role of education from a contemporary conflict perspective is needed. Functional-Marxist and Neo-Marxist analyses of the educational system in capitalist societies identify two major functions, both related with the

reproduction of the status-quo: an ideological function, and an economic function. Both are rooted in the Marxist tradition and therefore recognize the explanatory force of the economic base and the relationships between education and social structures. Differences between these approaches lie, depending on a different reading of Marx's works, in the margin of relative autonomy that educational activities can play in a counter-hegemonic role and the role of the State. Classic-orthodox, or more mechanistic interpretations of Marxism adjudicate a very restricted autonomy to education, which is considered a mere instrument of the dominant classes to alienate the masses and train personnel at different levels. For Neo-Marxist interpretations, education -and the State in general- is also an arena of confrontation, where resistance takes place every day. The first approach emphasizes the economic structure and class-stratification, while the second tries to stress the notion of ideology.

The Marxist-functional approach, then, focuses on the notion of capital and its influence in the educational system. It is possible to identify a correspondence between the social relations of production and the educational system. The school is perceived as a mirror that reflects or reproduces social inequalities (Levin, 1976:53; Bowles and Gintis, 1976:55, and 126-141; Althusser, 1971:132). Poulantzas (1978), following Althusser, considers that schools, as a state apparatus, cannot "create" ideology but can only serve to fashion and inculcate the dominant ideology (see also Shapiro, 1980). Although the concept of correspondence constituted a significant advance over past educational research, it failed to address the "how" question regarding legitimation and could not overcome the limits of functionalism. As one author rightly stated, "radical functionalism impoverishes reality" (Gorelik, quoted in Burbules, 1983:18). In light of the criticisms against these works -which includes their own earlier work- Carnoy and Levin (1985) have moderated the "static", mechanistic and functionalist notion that schools and their members are locked into inevitable social patterns and processes, and have developed a more historical and dialectical view. Along with this contribution,

other researchers (i.e. Young, 1971; Bourdieu, 1971; Apple, 1979) examined the processes of knowledge production and dissemination, and indicated that cultural reproduction supports social reproduction. In fact, intangibles such as beliefs, values, aesthetic experiences and verbal facility have much to do with explaining correspondence of class reproduction as do the so called "material conditions". These authors also paid special attention to daily life in schools and other educational settings, trying to investigate "how correspondence occurs, while explaining why it occurs in terms of personal decisions and choices" (Burbules, 1983:42). But more importantly, some of these authors abandoned the fatalism of the original theses on the inevitability of reproduction and the futility of any reform without structural (revolutionary) change in the relations of production, thus opening the possibility of transformation. The relationships between education and social change are constantly present in adult education debates [5].

Rodrigues Brandao (1982) examines adult education programs taking into account their political intentionalities, and identifies two models: Adult Education and Popular Education. In short, the former is concerned about the maintenance of the status quo and the latter with its transformation. Following the same political rational as Brandao, La Belle (1986) distinguishes three main trends in adult education, each one with a different political rationale: Human Resource Training and Community Development (Stability); Popular Education (Reform) and Non-Formal Education for Revolution (Guerrilla Warfare). Human Resource Training, inspired by Human Capital Theory, attempts to provide the adult population with the kind of skills that are necessary to increase their mobility and opportunities within their current fields of employment, re-train them for new jobs, or simply increase their efficiency and productivity within their existing jobs by an updating of skills. Popular education is directed to the more disadvantaged groups, and seeks to provide them with the skills and attitudes which are considered necessary for their survival within the existing order

and simultaneously to challenge it. In contradiction to human capital, the rhetoric of popular education involves changes at the group level rather than individual level. Non-Formal education for Revolution is mainly developed in the liberated zones of societies undergoing civil war, and includes activities of political indoctrination, consciousness raising, organization and military training. Unlike Brandao, La Belle assimilates human resource training with popular education, stressing that the differences are only at the level of rhetoric: "...with regard to organization and participation, both community development and popular education are similar in practice. What distinguishes them is rhetoric and ideology that form their foundations and establish their goals" (p.212). In fact, La Belle argues that the nature of the activity engaged in by communities is often more similar than different despite the distinct goals and ideologies underlying the two approaches. Moreover, he states that "because popular education draws some of its change strategy from equilibrium theory, it is not surprising that some tactics used by popular education to foster change are similar to those employed by human capital programs" (p.201). Three reasons are pointed out by La Belle to explain why popular education programs are more palliative and rhetorical than geared to structural change (p.214): 1) "a lack of political tradition at the local level that fosters popular struggles or political movement; when there is such political action, it is often narrow and controlled by the dominant sectors"; 2) "the limited social and political space available within which to initiate such change; again, the dominant groups often dictate the space within which such change is permitted and the popular educator has little experience moving across such boundaries; 3) "the lack of theoretical frameworks to guide their implementation in the face of adversity and opposition". In fact, these discrepancies between rhetoric and practice in popular education and its difficulties to overcome the limitations of micro-level experiences constitute a complex phenomenon where political, economic, institutional and even personal factors intervene (Perez and Schugurensky, 1986).

Disagreeing with La Belle, Torres (1987) argues that guerrilla warfare seems to be a special case of popular education, pointing out that guerrilla warfare is eventually the form that popular education movements would take in enclave societies, in the context of armed struggle. For him, both are tributaries of the same political approach: a critique and rejection of 'developmentalist' solutions, and the differences correspond simply to different resolutions of the contradictions produced by the situation of dependency and the dynamics of political conflict. Therefore, for Torres it is neither appropriate to assimilate popular education with human capital and equilibrium, nor to oppose them with revolutionary education: "the definition of popular education as a reformist approach and guerrilla warfare education as a revolutionary approach tends to polarize excessively legal versus extra-legal means in educational reform and political struggle" (Torres, 1987:7). The debate is far from over. However, it shows the necessity to continue efforts to articulate the study of adult education practices with other social practices, within the framework of theories of education, social change and learning.

The overt and the covert goals in adult education.

Since the disappearance of the primitive community and the beginning of a class society, it is possible to identify an education for the haves and an education for the have-nots. From the initiation ceremonies (the first design of a differentiated educational process), this "two-track" educational system has become more complex and sophisticated (Engels, 1970; Ponce, 1976). Without taking into account internal differences, there are two major types of education today: the "formal" education track, on the one hand, and the "non-formal" education track, on the other. Although a broad variety of definitions of "formal" and "non-formal" educational systems exist, it is possible to consider that the first one constitutes the traditional, non interrupted educational ladder which begins in pre-school and finishes at the graduate level.

the second includes all other organized educational forms. The first one is propedeutical (preparatory education) and the second has terminal or "second chance" characteristics. The first one is restricted to middle and upper social classes, who will occupy administrative, directive and managerial positions. The second one, available to those who drop out of school or who cannot follow the regular sequence of formal education, is more directed to produce obedient citizens and trained manpower. This means that the educational system plays both an economic and an ideological role in social reproduction. To analyze this phenomenon the notion of State is key.

The State can be considered as the totality of public authority in a given society (Weiler, 1983) but also, from a more political perspective, as a pact of domination among social classes. Such a pact includes the institutional apparatuses and bureaucratic organizations as well as the formal and informal norms which guarantee the dominance of dominant classes over the subordinate strata (Offe, 1974, Cardoso, 1979). In general terms, the State must try to perform two basic but often contradictory functions: to foster capital accumulation, on the one hand, and to foster social harmony and consensus, on the other. In liberal-capitalist societies, one of the major dilemmas is the contradiction between private property and equality of opportunity. Right to property and right to equality, perhaps the most important values in modern democracies, are, then, two values in a constant clash. Regarding education, democracy should imply an egalitarian access to education, as well as equal opportunities to succeed in it. Conversely, differential access to property means a differential access to the system, and unequal possibilities to success. One hypothesis of this research is that the development of Adult Education systems is in part an attempt by the State to diminish this contradiction. The expansion of adult education enabled the state to claim that the educational system was fulfilling the promise of democratization and equalization of opportunity. In this way, it has played a key role in promoting meritocratic legitimation of the unequal structures characteristic of class

society (Pannu, 1988).

In fact, public Adult Education was designed to counteract the inequalities of the formal education system. Inequalities are expressed by the failure of the State to guarantee basic education for everybody, contrary to what is prescribed in the majority of the National Charters of Rights. The explicit discourse is to give a "second chance" to elders that, for different reasons, were earlier excluded from the formal system. By giving adults a second opportunity, they are able to return to the formal system and supposedly continue further to higher levels of education. So, what is expected is a re-incorporation of the "losers" to the "first track". Therefore, this policy seems to help in the conciliation of the opposite concepts of private property and social equality, ameliorating the unintended consequences of formal school dropouts and the growing gaps between population groups. In addition to this social aim, Adult Education systems also have economic purposes, such as the rapid creation of trained manpower for non-managerial positions. The achievement of these goals is a task especially entrusted to the skill upgrading programs. These programs, like Community Development Programs[2], were expanded in the 1950's as a result of the growing acceptance of neoclassical economic theories such as investment in human capital and the increasing emphasis on socio-psychological orientations such as "achievement motivation" (McClelland, 1965), entrepreneurial spirit and modern-rational attitudes.

The implication of the two contradictory roles of the State in educational policies is the development of an explicit and a hidden agenda. In his study on the tracking system in higher education, Pincus (1974) argued that community colleges, despite their explicit goals for democratizing and providing equal opportunity in higher education, play an important role in maintaining educational inequality and, as a result, help to reinforce the system of class and ethnic stratification. Pincus contrasts the public goals of community colleges with their non-public goals. The first ones are published in catalogues and public relations materials, and the second are discussed by educators

and social scientists. Pincus' "Non-public goals" relate to the goals attributed from a critical perspective, and often labeled a "hidden curriculum" (Illich, 1976; Carnoy, 1974; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Following Pincus' model of analysis, it is possible to observe the existence of public goals and features in adult education, but also some goals and features which are not explicitly recognized by the State. In this regard, the main public goals are to provide a second opportunity ("second chance principle") and to contribute towards the empowerment of the clientele. These goals assume that adult education is preparatory, allows an open admission, provides re-training, has a diversified curriculum, is "community oriented", is non-formal and, in some cases, has a "liberatory" role [6]. However, the non-public goals are, on the economic side, the training of a paraprofessional labor force and the softening of pressures on the job market. In the ideological arena, the main non-public goal is the legitimation of the economic goals. To analyze this non-public role, the notions of cooling out, screening, and alienation are key. Such socialization processes are translated into certain covert features which put into question the overt features.

Table 2-1: Public and Non-public goals of AE systems, and features derived from them

	PUBLIC	NON-PUBLIC
GOALS	Providing a second opportunity	Training of non-professional labor force.
	Empowerment of adult learners through a relevant curriculum	Ideological legitimation of the status quo and cooling out "overexpectations".
FEATURES	Preparatory	Screening
	Open Admission	Second Class Service
	Re-training	Custodial Care
	Diversity	Homogeneity
	Community Orientation	Diploma-Oriented
	Non-Formality	Formality
	Liberatory Education	Banking Education

Public Goals

The first overt goal of adult education systems -**to provide a second opportunity**"- is based upon the "second chance principle". It implies that students who have not been successful in basic education through the regular system may try their luck again in adult education. This goal is often present in public discourse, both as the essence of the programs and as their main function. The terms "reparation", "remedial programs", "salvage function" and "compensatory education" are present in almost every public speech on adult education, and they relate to the idea of equalization of opportunity for early dropouts of the regular system. In fact, underlying the notion of compensatory education is the idea of "second chance", which connotes the image of a fair government offering a second opportunity to these who failed in the first attempt. The expression "second chance" attempts to explain that the early dropout was mainly due to a personal failure of the individual, rather than to structural characteristics of both the social and the educational systems. As a result of this "second chance" rationale, adult basic education has a suppletory rather than an alternative character with respect to formal education (Pescador, 1983:222). Therefore, remedial programs have normally a lengthy duration, express a distinct preference for the classroom method, hire instructional agents with little or no specialized training for the clientele and use material which is inadequate for adults. In fact, many similarities between adult basic education and the regular system for children can be found, in terms of content, methods, institutional environments and evaluation. With respect to the latter, a complete system of equivalences is usually developed to ensure the acceptance of the adult education diplomas in formal institutions. From this objective, three features can be derived: preparatory (or "basic") education, open admission and re-training.

The very concept of "basic" in the expression "basic education" does not connote the idea of providing the bases for the challenges of daily life. Instead, it

consists in the preparation for the so called "secondary education", which in turn will be a preparation for post-secondary education. Thus, adult education systems - especially through academic upgrading programs- claim to prepare people for further education levels. The second feature derived from the public goal of second opportunity is the idea of open admission. While other educational institutions are selective in their admissions policies and expensive in tuition fees and other costs, adult education centers accept everyone under the open door principle. The only requisite is to have a minimum age, but even this requirement is flexible. In short, adult education accepts practically every adult, regardless of his/her level of schooling. The open admission policy in adult education is usually translated in a massive system. Finally, the notion of "second opportunity" is not restricted to schooling. It also connotes the possibility of actualization for those whose abilities had become obsolete in relation with the new demands of the job market. In fact, one of the most explicit ideas of continuing education is that new technologies and processes pose a daily challenge for workers, who must be able to adapt to the constant changes. This proposition usually assumes that the majority of the clientele of adult education programs are workers who need re-training.

The second public goal of adult education programs is the **empowerment of the adult population through a relevant curriculum.** In fact, adult education public documents frequently refer to the relevance of content, to community interests, to learning processes which are not not confined within the walls of the classroom, to social solidarity, to the basic needs of the majorities, to the relation of education with job and daily activities, etc. The idea that education can be useful for empowerment, self-development and liberation from oppressive conditions is also part of this goal. As a result, among the main features derived from this overt goal are the following four: diversity, community orientation, non-formality and liberatory education. Firstly, diversity refers to the broad range of programs that exist in adult education, enabling

students with different "interests and abilities" to select the program that is "best suited to their needs". With diversity as a key word, a wide range of courses are offered. Academic upgrading courses allow students to re-enter the formal system, preparing them for post-secondary institutions. Skill upgrading programs have a more terminal or occupational character, providing skills necessary to enter into the job market. Besides these two main categories, other types of programs are also offered. For example, there are remedial programs designed to help handicapped students or the "left behind", as well as courses which may not necessarily lead to any degree. These are general education programs for general interest or for improving the quality of living, such as health education or "do it yourself" type of courses. Secondly, adult education institutions claim to offer a relevant curriculum to the members of the communities in which they are located, and should serve the communities by providing cultural events, expertise in solving local problems, a meeting place for local organizations, etc. Included in the concept of community orientation is the notion of convenient location, according to which adult education centres should be developed in all areas of the country, but particularly in rural areas and marginal urban sectors, where the non-schooled population lives. This public feature is one of the core aspects in adult education, and theoretically permeates the elaboration of the curriculum. The third feature of this goal refers to the idea of non-formality. In fact, one of the most important features claimed by Adult Education systems is that in order to achieve a closer contact with the community they must have a non-formal character. This implies the idea of an open curriculum, an open space and a low degree of institutionalization. Non-formality also alludes to an adult-oriented content with links to reality. The last feature related to the proclaimed goal of empowerment is the supposed liberatory role of adult education for the poor sectors of the population. The public discourse of adult education also includes in several cases the ideas of liberation, awareness, empowerment, participation, solidarity and the like. The Mexican National Law of

Adult Education (1975), for example, explicitly refers to the development of the critical and reflective capacities, the consciousness of social solidarity and the sharing of social benefits.

Non-Public Goals

Despite what is stated by the public goals, adult education systems cannot be isolated from the State's key functions of accumulation and legitimation already described. Through different socialization processes, adult education contributes to social reproduction. In the economic arena, adult education systems contribute with training for low income jobs and alleviating the pressure on the job market. In the ideological arena, adult education plays its non-public role through the development of a banking education and a simulation game. These two are the covert goals of adult education; one refers to its economic role whereas the other relates to the internalization of certain values and attitudes.

The first covert goal of adult education is **the training for a specific segment of the labor force:** low level, low status, low-paying jobs. Sometimes, it also includes keeping people out of the job market, especially when its capacity of absorption is limited, as in "hidden welfare". Students are not told how their training is related to the stratified labor force that they will enter. While universities train professional and technical workers, adult education institutions have the specific task of training the "technical or "paraprofessional" part of labor force, those middle and low level workers who need more than literacy but less than a professional training. Therefore, adult education graduates will enter lower paying jobs that have less prestige, less job satisfaction and fewer chances for mobility. Skill upgrading programs seem to provide a skilled and obedient manpower for trades and low level jobs, while academic upgrading programs -under the rhetoric of second chance schooling and the opportunity to access further levels of education- feed the trade

programs with literate adults. Contrary to what is publicly said, academic upgrading is not the first step of the ladder for success in a professional career, and skill upgrading does not constitute a provision of skills, knowledge and abilities for a specific type of job but mainly involves the domestication of attitudes and the creation of a disciplined labour force. Another interesting feature of skill upgrading programs is their need to improve the low image of certain jobs with fancy names, probably as an attempt to attract more clientele. For example, a bartender program is labeled "Mixology", secretarial work is offered as "Business Careers Program", and a janitor is known as a "Service Building Worker" or "Sanitation Engineer". From the achievement of this goal three features are derived: *screening, second class service and custodial care.*

Screening refers to the differentiation of those students who will continue with further education, those who will enter into the job market and those who will remain within the circle of unemployment and underemployment. It is the job of the adult education institutions to encourage and permit bright motivated students to continue their education, to encourage other students to enter one of the terminal programs and to cool out the rest. With this policy, other institutions are relieved of much of the distasteful task of selecting between the "fit" and the "unfit". The first category corresponds to students who are encouraged to follow up their education toward upper levels, and they are located in the higher levels of academic upgrading (junior high and high school). On the other hand, there are students who lack the traditionally-accepted academic skills to study further levels, and are therefore recommended to enter in a trade program. The third type of students include early leavers of the regular system, who may improve reading and writing, time management, self-confidence or human relations. These students are destined to the lowest paid jobs in the labour market. Paraphrasing Pincus, adult education institutions may not be conscious of performing this screening function. On the contrary, they express a desire for equalization and social justice. However, as time passes the educational agencies are increasingly

consists in the preparation for the so called "secondary education", which in turn will be a preparation for post-secondary education. Thus, adult education systems - especially through academic upgrading programs- claim to prepare people for further education levels. The second feature derived from the public goal of second opportunity is the idea of open admission. While other educational institutions are selective in their admissions policies and expensive in tuition fees and other costs, adult education centers accept everyone under the open door principle. The only requisite is to have a minimum age, but even this requirement is flexible. In short, adult education accepts practically every adult, regardless of his/her level of schooling. The open admission policy in adult education is usually translated in a massive system. Finally, the notion of "second opportunity" is not restricted to schooling. It also connotes the possibility of actualization for those whose abilities had become obsolete in relation with the new demands of the job market. In fact, one of the most explicit ideas of continuing education is that new technologies and processes pose a daily challenge for workers, who must be able to adapt to the constant changes. This proposition usually assumes that the majority of the clientele of adult education programs are workers who need re-training.

The second public goal of adult education programs is the **empowerment of the adult population through a relevant curriculum.** In fact, adult education public documents frequently refer to the relevance of content, to community interests, to learning processes which are not not confined within the walls of the classroom, to social solidarity, to the basic needs of the majorities, to the relation of education with job and daily activities, etc. The idea that education can be useful for empowerment, self-development and liberation from oppressive conditions is also part of this goal. As a result, among the main features derived from this overt goal are the following four: diversity, community orientation, non-formality and liberatory education. Firstly, diversity refers to the broad range of programs that exist in adult education, enabling

smaller than those directed to secondary and higher education. In 1980 in Mexico, for example, the adult education system received only 1.6% of the educational budget, while the secondary level (junior and high school) received 25.8%. From a political point of view, the allocation of the public budget responds to the hegemonic project of society as well as to the pressure power and lobbying capacity of the social sectors demanding the services. As it will be examined in the next chapter, the issue of resource distribution is closely related to the significance[7] and political strength of a given social group, and low income groups in general and adult education clients in particular are characterized by a low significance. Finally, from a social perspective, public opinion considers that adult education has a lower status with respect to the regular system. This relates closely to the second feature mentioned above (compensatory or "second chance" character of adult education). It is clear that elementary, secondary and higher educational institutions are generally regarded as the "legitimate" providers of education. Given this situation, adult education is mostly composed of subjects which are part of the regular curricula and are either remedial in intent, or they merely duplicate the classes originally given to the daytime students. Therefore, AE seems to be just an extension of the mainstream of educational activity, accompanied by a suggestion that if the regular institutions did their job properly, then AE would not be necessary. In this view, adult education is a secondary educational activity, necessitated by gaps in the social arrangements of the formal institutions (London, Wenkert and Hagstrom, 1963). These economic, political and social factors result in a second class service, which in many countries implies second class teachers, scarcity of funding, lack of appropriate didactic materials, low or no wages for teachers, apathy, turnover, etc.

According to the custodial care characteristic, education plays a role alleviating pressures on the job market by putting more and more people into educational institutions. In fact, it is argued that community colleges provide programs for low

achieving students in order to keep them out of the labor market, off the streets and out of trouble (Roueche, 1968). This goal is often also extended to higher education, including graduate programs. In the case of adult education, the "custodial care" function assumes different forms in less developed countries (in Mexico, for example, where the adult is also a worker who attends a class two or three times per week, generally at night) than in the more developed countries (i.e. Canada, where the adult is a full time student who is paid to attend a four-to-six hour session every morning). In the first case it reduces the search for a second job, and reduces social pressure by increasing the expectations for social mobility in a future. The latter function is the equivalent of the "other world" advertised by the Church and criticized by Marx as an "opium for the poor". In developed countries, even when unemployment insurance exists, adult education also seems to play a role by reducing pressure on the job market and postponing expectations for the future. But in this case, adult education can be considered a kind of indirect welfare, because the adult receives almost the same income through unemployment, welfare or training allowances. The custodial care feature is also confirmed by the fact that applications for enrollment are higher during economic recession, whereas in times of economic boom the potential clientele tend to be absorbed by the job market. Moreover, the custodial care feature puts into question the re-training feature, since the majority of the students are homemakers and unemployed.

The second non-public goal of adult education is the **legitimation of the existing socio-economic order through cooling out.** Adult education and the regular system have similarities in terms of the hidden and the explicit curriculum used to legitimate the hegemonic political culture and existing inequalities (Torres, 1987:5). However, adult education plays its legitimatory role through specific mechanisms, such as cooling out, homogenization and alienation, which contradict the public goals of upward mobility through "second chance", community orientation (especially the

diversification of curriculum) and liberation, respectively. The notion of cooling out is key for legitimatory purposes. Burton Clark (1965:569-576) refers to those students who want to transfer to university but do not transfer as 'latent terminals'. Since they have "unrealistically high aspirations that exceed their abilities", his recommendation is to cool-out these students by convincing them that they cannot succeed in the transfer program, but they could succeed in the "appropriate" occupational program. According to Clark, the main instrument to achieve this purpose is counselling. It seems clear that regardless of their ambitions, a large mass of the student population is 'destined' to be terminal students. Although the cooling out function is considered good for both the society and the student, it is hidden, kept away from public scrutiny and not clearly perceived or understood by the clientele (Pincus,1974:21). If this role becomes obvious, the accomplishment of the goal could be diminished. Adult education institutions play this role on an even greater scale than the community colleges, and the cooling out is drastically stronger, because the gap between the expectations of the student and the recommendation of the school is larger than in the case of the community colleges. In adult education, the cooling out is also related to the amount of time required to complete a cycle. According to teachers' opinion, it is very hard to convince many adults who want to be professionals (medical doctors, lawyers, engineers) in a short time to spend three, four or five years just to finish high school, or to study a trade. In order to accomplish the purposes of legitimation and cooling out, adult education systems present four characteristics: homogeneity, diploma-oriented, formality and banking education.

The homogenization process of adult education challenges the myth of curricular diversification in adult education programs. Although the adult population presents a great variety of groups with different features, problems, needs and interests, both contents and teaching methods (and sometimes even also schedules and geographical settings) do not take into account the different situations and aims of the diverse types

consists in the preparation for the so called "secondary education", which in turn will be a preparation for post-secondary education. Thus, adult education systems - especially through academic upgrading programs- claim to prepare people for further education levels. The second feature derived from the public goal of second opportunity is the idea of open admission. While other educational institutions are selective in their admissions policies and expensive in tuition fees and other costs, adult education centers accept everyone under the open door principle. The only requisite is to have a minimum age, but even this requirement is flexible. In short, adult education accepts practically every adult, regardless of his/her level of schooling. The open admission policy in adult education is usually translated in a massive system. Finally, the notion of "second opportunity" is not restricted to schooling. It also connotes the possibility of actualization for those whose abilities had become obsolete in relation with the new demands of the job market. In fact, one of the most explicit ideas of continuing education is that new technologies and processes pose a daily challenge for workers, who must be able to adapt to the constant changes. This proposition usually assumes that the majority of the clientele of adult education programs are workers who need re-training.

The second public goal of adult education programs is the **empowerment of the adult population through a relevant curriculum.** In fact, adult education public documents frequently refer to the relevance of content, to community interests, to learning processes which are not not confined within the walls of the classroom, to social solidarity, to the basic needs of the majorities, to the relation of education with job and daily activities, etc. The idea that education can be useful for empowerment, self-development and liberation from oppressive conditions is also part of this goal. As a result, among the main features derived from this overt goal are the following four: diversity, community orientation, non-formality and liberatory education. Firstly, diversity refers to the broad range of programs that exist in adult education, enabling

emphasizing the latter, and therefore establishing two different tracks. Consequently, the contents are not related to any concrete application or to the performance of a specific task, which is the case of the "terminal" education (trades).

The third feature of adult education is its formality and its tendency toward schooling. Contrary to the claims of community orientation, non-formality and a curriculum linked to reality, adult education seems to be a highly institutionalized setting. In fact, adult education has more links with the formal schooling system than with the needs of the surrounding community. Adult education programs are a reflection of the standard schooling system in terms of bureaucratic procedures, instructional methods, subject matters, values and assumptions. Although mainstream literature on adult education supports the importance of flexibility in content and methods (relating them to the daily life, needs and interests of the learners), it is possible to observe an increasing tendency towards a formalization of the curriculum. There is limited room for innovations or adaptations to specific situations. The teacher, the blackboard and the textbooks still remain the axis of the teaching-learning process. Some recent innovations in the field, such as "distance education", "open education", "outreach programs" or "circles of studies" mostly refer to changes in relation to the space, the time, the schedule or the pace of the learning process, but in few cases to the method of teaching-learning and almost never to transformations in the content. The "open curriculum" usually means a core of compulsory subjects and the possibility of selection among optional courses, but it always restrains the learning process to the limited notion of courses, disciplines and subject matters, disregarding the possibilities of other ways of learning. In the late 1960's, under the influence of Ivan Illich's deschooling prophecies, a Canadian scholar stated that

> the rejection of the institutionalized patterns of education by the disadvantaged is indicative of the need to discover new patterns which will be acceptable to them. The present pattern of remedial educational programs offers little hope of answering the needs of the disadvantaged (Anderson, 1968).

Today, more than twenty years later, the pattern is the opposite of Anderson's concerns and Illich's hopes. The overall society is becoming more formalized and, as part of this, the educational systems show a tendency towards more schooling and institutionalization of knowledge acquisition.[8] Formality of adult education settings seems to be related to the learning of the basic rules of the workplace. The formality of adult education is reflected in its tendency towards certification, and this is especially clear in Adult Basic Education. While it does not prepare students for any specific job or task, it rewards the graduates with a diploma which allows them the possibility to enter or to be promoted in the job market. This, which is sometimes also true for some skill upgrading courses, is a result of the employers' belief, following the human capital assumptions, that schooling has a positive effect on productivity. It seems that employers trust the school more for the provision of social abilities (especially adaptability and trainability) than for cognitive abilities (Carnoy, 1980; Brooke, 1978). Therefore, employers are more concerned with years of schooling (as an indicator of stability) than with the quality of learning. This situation generates not only higher educational requirements for the same jobs, a phenomenon known as "diploma disease" (Dore, 1976), but also a switch through which intrinsic motivation (learning) is replaced by extrinsic motivation (the diploma). This twist has an obvious effect in the deterioration of the quality of education. In the case of the adult population, another problem derived from the tendency towards certification is the lack of social recognition of any knowledge or skill acquired in settings other than schools.

Finally, the theoretically liberatory role of education is replaced in the practice by a banking type of education, in which the notion of alienation is central. Alienation calls into question the claim of liberatory education made by public adult education systems. Although obedience to authority in school is central to a preparation for economic life, it is only a small piece of a larger learning process. In fact, education not only prepares the student for the discipline of the work place, but develops the types of

personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation and social class identifications which are the crucial ingredients of job performance. But perhaps more important is the long and painful learning of alienation. Perhaps one of the most well-known paragraphs about alienated labor was written by Marx one and a half centuries ago (1963:110):

> What, then constitutes the alienation of labor? First, the fact that labor is external to the worker, i.e. it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels himself outside himself. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it."

Bowles and Gintis (1976:131) find a parallelism between alienation in the job and alienation at school. They emphasize that there is a structural correspondence between schools and work that underlies the reproduction of capitalist social relations. Following Marx's description of alienation in the workplace, similitudes with school are observed in certain issues: a) extrinsic interest; b) external sanctions and rewards, which in turn lead to simulation strategies; c) repetitive, mechanical and imposed work; d) unconditional obedience to authority; e) divorce between conception, control and execution; f) fragmentation of work in multiple activities without much sense for who is doing it; g) abstraction of knowledge, which is generally used as a power mechanism; h) expectations of social mobility through individual effort; and i) lack of trust in one's experience and abilities. In Bowles and Gintis' words (1976:131)

> alienated labor is reflected in the student's lack of control over his or her education, the alienation of the student from the curriculum content, and the motivation of school work through a system of grades and other external rewards rather than the student's integration with either the process (learning) or the outcome (knowledge of the educational 'production process'). Fragmentation of work is reflected in the institutionalized and often destructive competition among students through continual and ostensibly meritocratic ranking and evaluation.

Both in school and in the factory, absenteeism, high turnover, sabotage, cheating, etc., and lack of interest are evidence of alienation and unhappiness. Both schools and factories seem to be, for the majority of people, nothing but a painful necessity. In fact, one of the intended effects of institutionalized education appears to promote the submission of the student in a hierarchical and pyramidal structure in

which others have the power of decision. Then, schools shape in children certain social attitudes related to work through the internalization of patterns of authority and control (Althusser, 1971; Ponce, 1977; Levin, 1976; Carnoy, 1980). The vertical-authoritarian type of teacher-student relationship at school seems to be an introduction to economic life and, surprisingly enough, seems to be not only accepted but encouraged by those who most suffer from it: the lower social classes.

> That working-class parents seem to favor stricter educational methods is a reflection of their own work experiences, which have demonstrated that submission to authority is an essential ingredient in one's ability to get and hold a steady, well-paying job (Bowles and Gintis,1976:133). [9]

However, this socialization process is not exclusive to the children's classroom; it is also present among adult students. In fact, in the universe of adult education the main features of vertical and *banking* education were described by Freire (1972) as a relationship in which the teacher knows, thinks, speaks, disciplines, selects the content, etc, while the students remain passively in silence. Through this experience, adults become more and more adaptable, domesticable and acritical. This occurs in spite of changes to a more fashionable terminology, according to which the teacher is called "animator", the classroom is labeled "circle of study" and the word 'teaching' is systematically replaced by the word 'learning' (Torres, R, 1985). Adults tend to accept the authority of the teacher not only for the reason pointed out by Bowles and Gintis, but also because this is the only type of education they know, through their own former experience at school or by looking at their children's experiences. A similar situation may occur with the adult educator, who tends to reward submission to authority. As a matter of fact, empirical research shows that teachers penalize creativeness, autonomy, independence, critical thinking, etc, while rewarding all personality traits related to docility, such as dependence, punctuality, order, discipline, predictability, obedience, identification with school, appropriate performance of the ordered tasks, external motivation, etc. (Bowles, Gintis and Meyer, 1975; Brenner,

1968; Edwards, 1975; Mollo, 1969). [10] Another feature of alienation in adult education is the tendency towards encyclopedism. Contrary to the claim that adult education is related to daily life tasks and has a problem solving approach, in the program operation emphasis is given to the memorization of irrelevant data and the exercise of stereotyped operations. There is an overdose of information and deficits in its analysis and interpretation. Little relationship among the different subjects can be found, and almost no relationship at all between academic contents and daily life. A document released by the governmental agency responsible for adult education in Mexico claims that "it is not admissible that adult educators demand the memorization of data that they themselves do not remember and probably never used in their active life" and therefore adult education "must not be based in the transmission of information organized in specific subject matters" (INEA, 1985:4). In the same vein, the literacy student is seen as "a patient whose only virtue is the patience to bear the vacuum between his existential experience and the content that is being offered to him" (Freire,1972:93) . The emphasis on memorization leads sometimes to ridiculous situations. A study carried out in Mexico among adult students reported that more than 50% of the sample memorize the texts, including mathematics! (De Lella, 1983). Thus, encyclopedism relates to: a) a textbook- centered education; b) passive assimilation of irrelevant data; c) an overestimation of information with respect to learning processes which are able to recover the knowledge and experience of the adult learner; d) an excessive burden of contents difficult to cover in the academic year; and e) a curriculum based upon subjects (traditional education) or effects (behaviorist education) but not upon processes of learning implying the transformation of both the student and his environment. Therefore, in terms of learning processes and curriculum development, encyclopedism generates two situations: on the one hand, it conceives learning merely as an act of consumption (accumulation of information), in which students' minds are passive *tabulae rasa* ready to memorize lessons; on the other hand, since contents are

defined *a priori* by a centralized agency, it is unlikely that they are relevant or interesting for everybody.

Summary

Adult education practices have been taking place for centuries, but institutionalized adult education largely developed only after the Second World War. Although adult education includes a wide range of goals, agencies, clients, contents and methods, this study concentrates on the public educational services addressed to those individuals who have not completed their basic education and are out of the regular (formal) educational system. The clientele of adult education programs belongs to the lowest social strata and to the most marginalized sectors of society. They are more likely to belong to older, rural, low-income, ethnic and female groups. In terms of work, they are often unemployed, underemployed in low income, blue-collar type of activities or self-employed. They are politically unable to articulate demands, and although they have acquired a considerable amount of skills and knowledge through experience, usually those abilities are not recognized by social institutions.

From the human capital approach, the educational deficits of these groups are due to traditional attitudes or individual problems, which hinder their incorporation into the modernization process. Illiteracy is seen as a "social illness" dysfunctional for the purposes of the system, and education is conceived as the main tool for development. The critical -or conflict- approach argues that illiteracy is one expression, among others, of poverty, which in turn is a result of a structural and complex relationship of subordination and exploitation. The origin of inequality lies in the class-structure of society. The issues of reproduction, legitimation and power are central in this approach, which finds a certain correspondence between the socio-economic structure and the structure of the educational system. Moreover, contrary to the claims of the human capital theory, it is suggested that the educational system, rather than reducing social

inequalities, reinforces them. According to the second perspective, the development of adult education systems is in part an attempt by the State to diminish the contradiction between the right to property and right to equality, and to play a key role in the meritocratic legitimation of the inequalities of class societies. The implication of the two contradictory roles of the State in educational policies is the development of an explicit and a hidden agenda, which are inconsistent with each other. In fact, while the main public goals are to provide a second opportunity and to contribute towards the empowerment of the clientele, the non-public goals consist in the preparation of manpower for a specific segment of the labour market and in the legitimation of the status quo. The overt discourse stresses that adult education prepares individuals for further educational levels, actualizes the conceptual skills of the workforce, provides a wide curriculum for a variety of interests, is related to the needs and interests of the community at large, has a non-formal character and, in some cases, promotes liberatory practices. It was argued that in some cases these overt goals and features are mostly rhetoric, and clash in the day-to-day practice with the covert goals and practices. Regarding these non-public goals, it is suggested that the increasing liberalization of the economies in recent years and the dominant pragmatism in political circles is leading to more selective educational strategies such as "train the best and forget the rest". In order to explore these issues in two different societies, a comparative analysis of adult educators' values, opinions, aspirations and expectations was implemented.

Endnotes

[1] In addition to GNP, at least two other factors explain literacy rates in a given country: its social structure and the income distribution, and its educational policies. Firstly, there is a correlation between social equality and literacy rates. In a society where resources, goods and services are allocated according to redistributive policies illiteracy rates tend to decrease. Secondly, rates also vary according to the school system development policy (i.e.: expansion, equality and efficiency of elementary education).

[2] In policy formulation, the economic bases of political power cannot be ignored. It must be considered that those who are most visible in policymaking may not be the most influential. Power is

very closely related to one's position in the structure of economy, which means relationship to the means of production and the accumulation of capital.

[3] According to Latapi (1987), in some cases illiteracy rates among elders are six times higher than among youngsters.

[4] As several interviewees (both teachers and students) pointed out, racial discrimination in the regular system usually generates academic failure, lowering of the self esteem and dropout.

[5] The concepts of conscientization (Freire, 1972) and resistance (Giroux, 1985) are central to the issues of ideology and social change.

[6] Community Development Programs are generally carried out by Ministries and Secretaries other than Education, such as Agriculture, Health, Forestry, etc., and for this reason are beyond the limits of this research.

[6] The Mexican National Law of Adult Education (1975), for example, refers to the development of critical thought, to the capacity of reflexion, to the consciousness of social solidarity and to the sharing of social benefits.

[7] For a discussion on the notion of significance, see Chapter III.

[8] Ivan Illich, in Deschooling Society (1971) anticipated the image of a more open world, where learning processes would take place in environments other than school settings; this trend would lead ultimately to the disappearance of educational institutions. Ronald Dore, in The Diploma Disease (1976), shows that the tendency is exactly the opposite.

[9] Following this argument that consciousness of different occupational strata is derived from their work experience, Bowles and Gintis point out that professional parents prefer a more open atmosphere, which is "similarly a reflection of their position in the social division of labor" (p.133).

[10] In a recent study, when adult educators were asked about the characteristics of a "good" student, the majority referred to one "who does the homework", "obeys the teacher", "has good memory to learn", "attends classes regularly" and "pays attention in class" (Schugurensky, 1987).

CHAPTER III

ADULT EDUCATION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE STATE

Introduction

It was indicated in the previous chapter that an analysis of the state would contribute to a better understanding of educational policies. Since the state apparatus does not exist in a vacuum, it is also necessary to make reference to the dominant ideologies within civil society. In this regard, the present chapter is based on the assumption that both Mexican and Canadian adult education systems are closely related to the hegemonic ideology and to the form of state organization prevailing in each country. Although Canadian state has some corporatist elements, it is argued that the liberal ideology is the core of Canadian life. It must be clarified that in Canada liberalism must not be understood as a philosophy of a specific political party, since the Liberal party is just one expression of an ideological perspective which goes far beyond party politics and has its origins outside Canada. Liberalism rests on the premise that the existence of equality and personal freedom is a fact in modern capitalism and then allows individuals to take advantage of educational opportunities to achieve occupational status. Success or failure in such an enterprise are legitimate outcomes of the individual's effort and capacities. In addition to meritocracy, liberalism rejects state intervention in personal affairs, defending the economic principle of laissez faire. However, for different reasons that will be examined in the following pages, modern liberalism has accepted an increasing degree of state participation in key areas, contributing in this way to the development of the welfare state. Mexico, on the other hand, can be characterized as a corporate state, although recently a slight process of liberalization has started. Corporatist ideology, as it will be described further on, can be traced as far back as Plato's thought, and in more recent times it essentially consists in a general agreement which involves the nation's most important groups under the arbitration of the state. In this system, individual

action is subsumed under collective mechanisms. In the case of Mexico, the corporatist model of state organization is accompanied by a rhetoric of social justice inherited from the principles of the 1910 revolution. As will be suggested in the next chapters, in both countries the prevailing ideologies are reflected in the design of educational policies , in the overall organization of adult education systems and in the perceptions, values and attitudes of teachers and students. In summary, this chapter is based on the argument that both Mexican and Canadian adult education systems are closely related to the hegemonic ideology prevailing in each country. Therefore, it deals with the major philosophies of the State in Mexico and in Canada (corporatism and liberalism, respectively) and applies them to the field of adult education policies. The first section provides a brief description of the antecedents and main features of corporatism and liberalism, and summarizes the philosophical debate between corporatism and individualism in a historical context. The second section, which provides an insight for the analysis of the Mexican reality, deals with corporatism, taking into account the role of the State and the concept of "significance". The last section concentrates on individual liberalism, and conceives adult education in Canada as part of Welfare State policies.

Authoritarian Corporatism and Individual Liberalism.

Main differences between corporatism and liberalism

According to some authors (Olson, 1969), corporatist action is not only exclusively pre-modern, but also inherently irrational. Nevertheless, for other scholars (Rogowsky and Wasserspring, 1971) corporatist action in modern societies is both possible and rationally necessary. The notion of corporatism is best understood if related to its contrast: individualism. While corporatism implies the perception of persons as permanently fixed in categories and therefore having group-oriented thought, individualism sees persons with interchangeable qualities, and

therefore the individual is the basic unit of social action. Rogowsky and Wasserspring (1971:7) explain this difference in the following way:

> "We mean by 'corporatist' action the pursuit -consistently in norm and frequently in practice- of group welfare over individual welfare... "Individualist' action, conversely, is the consistent pursuit of individual welfare, in which groups may play a role but...only an instrumental and not a consummatory role." [1]

Schmitter suggests that there is a structural compatibility between corporatism and concertation, on the one hand, and between liberalism and pluralism, on the other. Such a distinction in not new. In fact, the political and philosophical discussion on the contradiction between corporatism and individualism is very old, and stems from two different ways of looking at man's[2] relation to society; that is, the problems of order, justice and legitimacy. These problems can find their roots in the philosophical arena.

Political and Philosophical Antecedents.

Regarding the philosophical basis of the discussion, perhaps Hobbes and Plato are the most important advocates of individualism and corporatism, respectively (Rogowsky and Wasserspring, 1971). The individualist premise has been depicted by Hobbes (1558-1679), who treats individual wills as abstract units without any particular quality. For him, each will wants the same thing as every other, and each one wants it only for itself. Hobbesian individualism is easy to observe in his perhaps most famous statement: the natural state is a "war of each against all". In Leviathan, Hobbes understands power as a "man's present means to obtain some future good" (Hobbes, 1968:50). There exists in all men a natural and restless desire for power, which ceases only in death. Hobbes' argument is simple: *"If any two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies."* Obviously, this ends in an ... *"endeavor to destroy or subdue one another"*. Consequently, the life of man is *"solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short"*

(p.186). Implication of this situation for society is that relationship among individuals rather than among groups must be regulated if society is to have order and stability. Since war is natural and peace is social, the only guarantee for the latter is a common terror of the sovereign, through the great Leviathan (Zeitlin, 1987; Rogowsky and Wasserspring, 1971; Hobbes, 1968). Another philosopher of individualism -John Locke (1632-1704)- proposed a different solution to the problem of ordering society (the "stick" was replaced with a "carrot"), but the premises were similar: a negation of the notion of segmentation in society, social atomism, men without any particular quality and, therefore, some kind of equality among all individuals.

Plato (5th century BC) pointed out the corporatist premise in his Republic: "innate differences fit men for different occupations", among which "interchange would be disastrous and fatal" (1966:56,128). In Plato's view, the different categories of men are categories of permanent and immanent inequality of quality and status, and are related to each other in a hierarchical way. According to Socrates' disciple, if each category of men could be fit into its adequate place in the social hierarchy, society would achieve both stability and justice. But as Plato ingeniously foresaw, the problem consisted less in knowing how to order the segments than in convincing them that the place to which they were assigned was natural and just. Prior to many sociologists of education, Plato pointed out that the durability of a system would ultimately rest on the consensus of the segments as to their own inherently unequal status. The necessity of a social agreement between the superior and inferior (who also have different origins: gold, silver and iron) was therefore for Plato the precondition for a stable political order. The political function of the Republic would be to convince each category of men about the "justness" of a society where wealth and power are differently distributed. Attributing to the Republic the same tasks that critical theorists assigned to education (a "legitimating apparatus"), he

established the roots of analyzing education as ideology. Regarding corporatism, what is important in Plato's work is his solution for an unequal world, based upon the notions of segmentation and differential justice. In his proposal of an ideal community, only a society in which the different segments were ranked unequally could be just. Therefore, this segmentation into categories of persons of unequal capabilities (each one performing each function) required that justice consists in giving each segment its due. This idea of differential justice was for Plato logically linked to his original corporatist premise which in turn is the core for the construction of a highly segmented society.

Centuries later, accepting the Platonic corporatist premise but rejecting the Platonic solution, Macchiavelli introduced a new ingredient in the debate. Although Macchiavelli agreed with Plato in the existence of different segments (classes, parties, orders) in society, he did not see them as passive, non-political steps of a given hierarchy, but as competing political forces in permanent conflict. In short, Macchiavelli denied the possibility of ordering society under the principle of hierarchy arguing that the central problem in politics is the fact that no one segment would accept unequal political status in relation to any other segment. In this regard, if the main assumption is the inherent egotism of each segment, what Macchiavelli is proposing is a type of "egotistical corporatism" (Rogowsky and Wasserspring, 1971:17). In a more dynamic perception than the fixed Platonic world, Macchiavelli understood the political function as one of both balancing and containing conflict, rather than socializing it away. Calhoun, known as the American theorist of corporatism, rejected both the hierarchical segmentation of Plato as well as the conflictive segmentation of Macchiavelli, proposed instead a kind of horizontal, complementary or reciprocal segmentation. Calhoun assumed the existence of many separate communities, acting independently of each other, and recognized that conflicting interests could be the seed for potential struggle. However, he argues,

(p.186). Implication of this situation for society is that relationship among individuals rather than among groups must be regulated if society is to have order and stability. Since war is natural and peace is social, the only guarantee for the latter is a common terror of the sovereign, through the great Leviathan (Zeitlin, 1987; Rogowsky and Wasserspring, 1971; Hobbes, 1968). Another philosopher of individualism -John Locke (1632-1704)- proposed a different solution to the problem of ordering society (the "stick" was replaced with a "carrot"), but the premises were similar: a negation of the notion of segmentation in society, social atomism, men without any particular quality and, therefore, some kind of equality among all individuals.

Plato (5th century BC) pointed out the corporatist premise in his Republic: "innate differences fit men for different occupations", among which "interchange would be disastrous and fatal" (1966:56,128). In Plato's view, the different categories of men are categories of permanent and immanent inequality of quality and status, and are related to each other in a hierarchical way. According to Socrates' disciple, if each category of men could be fit into its adequate place in the social hierarchy, society would achieve both stability and justice. But as Plato ingeniously foresaw, the problem consisted less in knowing how to order the segments than in convincing them that the place to which they were assigned was natural and just. Prior to many sociologists of education, Plato pointed out that the durability of a system would ultimately rest on the consensus of the segments as to their own inherently unequal status. The necessity of a social agreement between the superior and inferior (who also have different origins: gold, silver and iron) was therefore for Plato the precondition for a stable political order. The political function of the Republic would be to convince each category of men about the "justness" of a society where wealth and power are differently distributed. Attributing to the Republic the same tasks that critical theorists assigned to education (a "legitimating apparatus"), he

state corporatism. The first one primarily depends on the activity of corporations firmly rooted in the civil society, while in the second the corporative structures are created and kept as auxiliary and dependent organs of the State. From a similar viewpoint, Cawson (1986:38-39) points out that what makes corporatism distinctive is not the group process, nor the state process, but "the fusion of representation and intervention in the relationship between groups and the state". Panitch criticizes these formulations, arguing that they imply a "group" approach rather than a "class" approach, and that they focus on the relationships between singular groups and the state, leaving out the co-optative and conflictual interaction among groups (Panitch,1980:159-187).

Torres (1989) points out that corporatism implies the presence of a political structure, which: a) integrates organized producer groups through a system of interest representation, operating within a political framework of mutual cooperation rather than competition at the leadership level, and b) uses social control through carefully articulated mobilization of the masses. For Schwartzman (1977:93), under corporatism a) the right to associate and to engage in politics is granted by the state; b) corporations (i.e. organized groups) are given wide latitude and autonomy within spheres of action; c) boundaries between groups are strictly kept and regulated by the state, and c) groups are not defined geographically or ethnically, but functionally. Lehmbruch (1982:6) pays special attention to the role of interest organizations, stating that in a corporate regime they are a) strongly co-opted by governmental decision-making (as measured by representation in advisory committees or several forms of consultation; b) strongly linked to political parties and take part in policy formulation (in particular large interest organizations such as labour unions) and c) hierarchically structured, and membership tends to be compulsory. Moreover, he stresses that in corporatism occupational categories are represented by non-competitive organizations, in a sort of monopoly, and industrial relations are

characterized by strong "concertation" of labour unions and employers' organizations with government (which implies that unions would refrain from strongly employing highly conflictual tactics, as the strike weapon).

It is also argued that a certain compatibility between the political structure and the economic system must exist in a corporate state. Williamson (1985:10), for example, mentions that under the rules of corporatism the state has a principal function of establishing and maintaining an economic and social order. Although such an order is not compatible with an essentially market-based economy, for the economy is predominantly constituted of private ownership of the means of production and wage labour, there is at least a circumscription upon the role of liberal democratic institutions in authoritative decision-making. In some cases, liberal democratic institutions may not exist at all. Finally, organizations of producers undertake an intermediary role between the state and societal actors, performing not only a representative function but also operating as a regulatory agency on behalf of the state.

Williamson emphasizes that corporatism is directly concerned with the issue of how a state can sustain an economic and social order within a predominantly privately owned productive order. In his own words, "corporatist ideology adhered to moral and productive principles in support of private property; corporatist states encompassed interests that gave widespread support to private property" (p.9). He also distinguishes three varieties of corporatism: consensual-licensed, authoritarian-licensed, and contract (the last one applies particularly to advanced capitalist economies).

Schmitter, in the conclusions of his short and famous essay on Portugal already cited (1975:58-59) mentions four aspects of the relations of state corporatism to social structure, on the one hand, and to public decision-making in an authoritarian political context, on the other hand. The first is the extent to which state corporatism

is ***preemptive***, because it seeks to set out from above structures of associability and channels of interest representation in anticipation of spontaneous efforts by affected classes, sectors or groups. The second is the extent to which the corporatist experience is ***preventive*** . In other words, it attempts not to mobilize its subjects for positive state-selected tasks but to ensure normal or passive participation within its structures, prohibiting alternative uses of the same "space". Corporatism is also ***defensive***, encouraging associations to act primarily in the protection of special corporate rights, privileges or exemptions granted from above, rather than in the "aggressive" promotion of new projects or interests. This is consistent with the explanation given by Rogowsky and Wasserspring (1971) regarding revolutionary movements. Citing very different historical examples (from the Roman farmers ruined by the economic consequences of the Punic wars to the German revolution of 1848, the victims of early industrialization in England and the Zapata movement in Mexico) they see two points in common: the demand for restoration of an accepted ranking system which is now perceived to be violated, and the development of a corporatist action by a group which perceives that its "due" has been ignored or violated by governmental or higher segmental action, in an attempt to "restore" the distribution of that "due" according to the previous ranking system. Thus, the demand for "justice" is basically the restoration of an older system of ranking, and hence could be considered as defensive. Finally, the fourth aspect is the extent to which corporatist action is ***compartmental***, managing to confine potential conflicts within specialized, non-interacting decisional "orders", thereby preventing the creation of multiple issues and multiple sector alliances or blocking 'partisan' appeals to wider publics and clienteles.

Corporatism and Adult Education

These four features have some implications in the field of adult education policy-making in a corporatist society like Mexico. First, due to the fact that

corporatism is preemptive, educational authorities decide when, how and for what purposes the clientele organizes. Due to the fact that corporatism is also preventive, some demands are encouraged in order to prevent the appearance of others. In fact, demands for adult education often deflect the interest from other demands and reinforce the myth of meritocracy. Because it is defensive, emphasis is given to the fulfillment of the promise by the state regarding the provision of basic education for everybody. Then, the purpose of adult education programs is primarily to protect the right of all citizens for basic education rather than the creation of new educational projects which address the specific needs and interests of the adults. In accordance with this defensive character, corporations tend to protect their interests rather than propose alternative projects. This affects both students and teachers [6]. Finally, because corporatism is compartmental, adult learners are unlikely to relate their demands as students with, for example, their demands as workers or tax payers. It is also difficult for them to articulate their educational demands with similar demands from teachers or educational researchers.

It is derived from the above comments that corporatism allows an authoritarian regime to perpetuate a durable set of asymmetric but reciprocal linkages or exchanges between subordinate groups who receive differential functional pay-offs and protection from above, on the one hand, and superordinate authorities who receive information and some degree of voluntarily compliance from below, on the other (Schmitter, 1975; Grindle, 1980). The essence of corporatism lies in the notion of occupational groups as the basis of social life. Work not only represents interests but also orders and regulates a large part of the individual life. In other words, occupationally derived group loyalties form the basis of organizing people, not only for the purposes of making demands upon public institutions, but also for broader social purposes. According to this, demands are made by groups that are organized along occupational lines. Individuals influence decision-making only through their

membership in corporate bodies, while individual demand making would be considered illegitimate. Only those groups sanctioned, created or accepted by the state can assume that they would be heard and given access to the government's agenda. Government allows certain corporate bodies to influence policies and in return, corporations must control their members. Through this ability to regulate the groups the state can control demands. The main corporate bodies are business corporations and trade unions, but officials within the government also constitute an important group of demand makers and decision makers. In sum, it can be said that the corporatist model is one in which: a) interests are organized primarily according to type of job; b) organizations (corporations) are either created or "licensed" by government; c) intergroup behavior is carefully controlled by government; d) demands are legitimate only if they emanate from a certified organization or from within the government; and e) policies are formulated within a bureaucracy dominated by technocratically oriented officials.

What are the implications of these features regarding decision-making processes? Since corporatism is a system that seeks to control society in highly organized and institutional ways where political conflict and competition are considered illegitimate, the logical corollaries are technocratic and authoritarian decision-making. Corporatism implies then segments engaged in groups which in turn are involved in a corporatist mode of action. These groups are commonly known as corporations. Typically, the member of a corporation interacts with the outside world through corporate representatives: he/she perceives threats to the corporation as direct threats to him/herself. In general, he/she sacrifices individual welfare to corporate welfare. From these considerations, a question emerges: *why should an individual actor engage in corporatist action?* In order to answer this, it is useful to return to the discussion between Olson and Rogowsky mentioned in the previous section. On the one hand, Olson argues that collective action in pursuit of

collective goods will never be undertaken voluntarily (i.e., without coercion or individual side-payments) in any large group. He contends that no member of any large group can hope to gain enough from the groups activity to pay back whatever voluntary contributions he/she might make, and that no given individual contribution will affect the outcome of the collective action. Therefore, a rational member will not make such contributions. Olson's empirical evidence is very well selected: the case of the modern Nation-State, which must always rely on taxation that few are willing to pay. Rogowsky and Wasserspring, on the other hand, mention four necessary and sufficient conditions under which it would be rational for an individual actor to engage in corporatist action: First, he/she must be a member of a segment (stigmatized group)[7]. Second, he/she must perceive, for that group, some group-specific collective good. Third, he/she must believe, from his/her knowledge of the costs of conversion and from other evidence, that corporatist action offers a probably "cheaper" way of obtaining the good than does conversion out of the group. Lastly, he/she must believe that his/her own contribution or failure to contribute to the contemplated corporatist action will make at least some difference, however slight, to the outcome.

With this debate in mind, another question arises: *where does the strength of a given corporation lie?* Taking into account the Platonic element of differential justice (which implies treating members of different segments differently), it is important to ask first how this differentiation is made. Rogowsky refers to the notion of "significance" of the segments or corporations. "Significance" seems to determine -or at least to greatly influence- the treatment that a given segment will receive. "Significance" is a construct that results from three attributes. The first one is the **relative indispensability of the social role with which the segment is identified by a given society.** One may think, for example, of the increasing loss of significance of priests as a corporation and the high significance of teachers,

journalists or physicians. In other words, who cares today about a strike of nuns, poets or weight lifters? The second attribute is **the relative scarcity of potential occupants for the given role.** In Mexico, for example, as a result of high demographic growth and the scarcity of land, peasants have today a lower significance than before; the same can be said of non-skilled workers in urban areas, where an oversupply of manpower exists. In Alberta, with a high unemployment rate, teachers' significance is lower than before. Conversely, nurses and computer engineers have today a high significance, because the demand is still higher than the supply. The third attribute is **the number and cohesiveness of the segment's members as component factors of their raw physical power.** This factor becomes especially relevant -as a potential source of disruption- when the group has low ranking on the two previous points. Here, for example, lies the power of corporations like the CNC (National Peasant's Confederation) or the FTSE (Federation of Governmental Workers) in Mexico, and in general all massive corporations.

At this point, it would be interesting to make an attempt to relate the concept of "significance" to the clientele[8] of adult education programs. Since the clientele of these programs usually belong to the lower income segments of the population, how high could their "significance" be as a group, taking into account the elements of indispensability, scarcity and cohesiveness? To begin with, in the large cities of developing societies, where there is a huge surplus of manpower, they are not seen as indispensable. Moreover, since agricultural activities developed by peasants are mostly for self-consumption rather than for societal consumption, they are not seen as indispensable in rural areas as well. In more developed societies with capital intensive economies, only highly trained people are perceived as indispensable, and frequently this is not the case of the illiterate or low-schooling adults. Neither Natives, immigrants or low-income adults are perceived as indispensable by

mainstream society. The second element of significance is the notion of scarcity. In developing societies, in general terms there is a surplus of manpower in relation to the capacity of absorption on the part of the job market. The more underdeveloped the society, the more this surplus (who become unemployed and underemployed) is located in the poor (unskilled) sectors of the population. In developed societies, there is proportionally a larger part of "illustrated unemployment" than in developing societies, but this does not mean that there is a high demand for unskilled personnel. Conversely, these people are frequently considered unemployable (with the exception of momentaneous economic expansions) and consequently they transit indefinitely between a temporary job and welfare. Again, they do not constitute a scarce resource. Thirdly, significance is related to the notions of quantity and cohesiveness. The first requirement is easily fulfilled, since the potential and actual clientele of adult education programs constitutes a large part of the population. However, the second requirement seems to be more important. Quantity is a very poor advantage if it is not accompanied by cohesiveness. For different circumstances, low-income adults with low level of schooling have not a high level of cohesiveness. Interestingly, even in highly corporate societies as Mexico, they rarely participate actively in a given corporation. But, even if they participate in a corporation -which generally has a low significance- rarely this participation is related with their involvement in the educational system. For different reasons, the adult educational system itself does not seem to constitute a space felt by students to form a corporation (although high school and university students tend to articulate their demands through pressure groups and corporations like students' unions, political parties, etc.).

A problem to investigate is, therefore, why adults learners do not constitute corporations or at least articulate educational demands collectively, even when they can articulate other type of demands (land distribution, salary increase, etc.). Three questions arise at this point: a) Is it because they do not feel competent enough in

educational issues to discuss and bargain with teachers and authorities? b) Is it because they don't feel that there are really important demands to make in this matter, in comparison with other areas of social life? c) Is it because corporate groups emerge around occupational activities, and not around educational activities? In relation to the first question, research in this field states that adults have a very low self-esteem, which is aggravated in areas or fields unfamiliar to them. They also have poor expressive skills, tend to be traditional in educational issues and glorify the figure of "the teacher" (Chaparro, 1987; Schugurensky, 1987). Thus, it is unlikely that they would -spontaneously- constitute a homogeneous group to formulate demands related to changes in the system, and discuss these issues with instructors and authorities in their own field. It is like expecting a teacher to willingly compete with a peasant in growing crops. In relation to the second question, it is clear in the literature that adults value education, even in abstract terms, as a good in itself which is opposed to ignorance. However, we don't know very much yet about what they really think on this matter; for example, if they consider it worthwhile to spend time, energy and effort in making demands as in the occupational area.[9] This leads directly to the third question: corporations are located in the workplace or, putting it in another way, they converge around job activities or economic interests. According to Malloy, "since one's occupation is the major component of his adult life, this is the individual's major area of concern. Thus, one's work not only represents interests but also orders and regulates a large part of his individual life" (1974:57). In the same line, Hughes and Mijesky (1984) argue that "occupationally derived group loyalties form the basis of organizing people". If this is correct, here is a hint to understand why adult learners -as learners- do not constitute a demand group, or a corporation. However, though this could be true for Mexico, in the case of Canada the situation is more complex because the adults are students on full time basis and receive a payment for this activity.

Summing up this section, it is assumed that in a segmented society more than one segment is essential to social survival, whether it is interpreted as the hierarchical and just Platonic society or as the inter-dependent Calhounian society. According to the notion of differential justice, not all segments are likely to be perceived as equally important to social survival. Although formally all segments have normative equal status, they are in fact ranked by their potential influence -both positive or negative- to society. In other words, in estimating the "significance" of any segment it is possible to foresee the degree to which each segment can help to attain some widely valued social good (often described in abstract terms as "economic development"), and the degree to which, conversely, it can disrupt both that attainment and the very functioning of society.

Liberalism, State and Adult Education

Liberalism and the State

The Canadian State is generally characterized as capitalist, but also as liberal democratic (Atkinson and Chandler, 1983). Liberalism is not a universal form of thought. Instead, it is the product of a particular period of history closely tied to the emergence of capitalist economic forms and the Protestant Reformation between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Although in the beginning liberalism was a liberating force against cruelty, superstition, intolerance and arbitrariness, by the mid-twentieth century it had become defensive and conservative. In modern capitalism, obvious inequities make the once laudable ideals of individual liberalism largely mythical (Harrison, 1981; Arblaster, 1984; McGrath, 1978; Greenberg, 1978).

John Locke, one of the fathers of liberalism, understood government as a voluntary association of equal individuals who join together to protect their natural rights to life, liberty and property. Lockean liberalism includes a commitment to the notions of individualism, property rights, a free market economy, equality of

opportunity and a limited state. It is possible to observe in such a variety of commitments what is perhaps the most crucial contradiction of the liberal democratic thought: the clash between equality and property. In current liberal individualism the right to equality and the right to property are more and more difficult to conciliate, and put into question the notion of individual freedom. Today freedom means freedom to compete and accumulate property. Moreover, when the majority of people are excluded from the process of accumulation, the existence of a fair competition is doubtful. In fact, in modern capitalism, the proclaimed values of liberalism regarding equal opportunity, limited government, individual rights, freedom of choice and the competitive nature of the market which is characterized by small property holders are constantly contradicted by a society of giant corporations, bureaucratized and centralized government, wage and salary earners and limited social mobility (Young, 1973; McGrath, 1978).

Such contradiction has historical roots. In fact, liberal democratic thought was built on two conflicting tendencies: the democratic principle (which stresses that every person is entitled to political participation and social equality) and the liberal principle (which states the individual's right to unlimited acquisition of property). Liberal democracy has tried to combine its two meanings of democracy: freedom of the stronger to put down the weaker under the legality of market rules, and b) effective freedom of all to use and develop their capacities (Macpherson, 1962). However, despite internal contradictions and gaps with reality, individual liberalism is still the hegemonic ideology in modern capitalist societies. In Canada, its main values and explanations of social reality are dominant in the political culture and are shared by the majority of the people (Marchak, 1975). These values are taught by the principal institutions of socialization in capitalist societies, and usually serve to legitimate the capitalist order. Following Greenberg (1978), it can be said that this

legitimation process is done in a variety of ways, among which four are of special importance.

Firstly, liberalism helps to legitimate private business decision-making. Since liberalism encourages among the population a respect for private property and a general hostility to State intervention into the affairs of private enterprise, it leaves the capitalist class relatively free to act in its own interest without interference, controlling production and prices. Liberalism also establishes an artificial separation between politics and economics. By claiming that politics must not interfere in business (except when it helps the corporation), liberalism prevents the people from forcing business to act in socially responsible ways. Secondly, liberalism stimulates production encouraging overconsumption. The survival of the capitalist system depends upon expansion. For the global economy, no growth means underutilization of capacity. For the purposes of political stability, no growth means unemployment and social discontent. For the firms, no growth means declining profits. Growth depends on an ever-expanding consumption of goods and services, either by the government or by the people. Since public consumption is always in danger of becoming satiated, the system needs to encourage it, including of course superfluous consumption. The individualistic energy of liberal society, once expressed in entrepreneurship, is now redirected into the massive consumption of goods and services. Liberal values, with their emphasis on competitive individualism, direct people away from their real needs and send them to the next step of consumption. Thirdly, liberalism helps to justify the free provision of trained manpower for the business sector. Industry permanently needs trained manpower for different occupations and positions, as a condition for the reproduction of the labour force. Who must pay for this training? Often the individual or the taxpayer pays through the structure of the state, and rarely the enterprises, which in this way get free input for their production system. As stated above, the state is considered uncooperative unless it helps business. Under the socially shared goal of

free education, it is possible to observe a transference of resources from the public sector (and the civil society, through taxes) to the industrial sector. In the area of adult education, the regular provision of trained chefs, bar tenders, secretaries, auto-repairmen or plumbers for industry at no cost are common examples of this transference. Finally, and key in the context of this research, liberalism undermines collective definitions and solutions of problems. It has been typical of liberals, including even Keynes, to point out the inevitability, and to some extent also the desirability, of social and economic inequality. But liberalism explains inequality as a result of individual differences. On the one hand, liberalism stresses the belief that each person is responsible for his/her own way in the world, and therefore there is no one to blame but the person for what he/she gets out of life. Lack of talent, intelligence or perseverance are seen as common deficits which explain the failure of those left behind. Capitalist organization requires workers to believe that it is their own fault that they are in the lower positions in the social and occupational structure. If workers did not accept that the capitalist system only rewards the deserving, they would rebel. These ideas are internalized through the so called educational apparatuses (Althusser, 1972; Bowles and Gintis, 1975). On the other hand, liberalism leads people to see others as competitors and therefore to distrust them. Individualistic explanations of their situation, self-blame and distrust inhibit the development of any movement by the disadvantaged who share a common set of problems. The atomization of the dispossessed is perhaps the most important function played by liberalism for modern capitalism. John Stuart Mill, in *On Liberty*, opposes not only government interference but also any kind of action in which individuals band together and act as a collective body. As Arblaster (1984:46) points out

> Liberal individualism has generated a widespread, and often rather silly, suspicion of all forms of collective action, as if individuals, and individualism, were somehow diminished by the very act of working together. Mill believed that collective action implies smallness on the part of individuals rather than the largeness and power of the institutions they band together to oppose".

This legitimation is key for the purposes of this research, since it helps to illuminate the answers of teachers and students in the Canadian sample and explains the conditions for the existence of a "pathological model" in the area of adult education. At the core of liberal ideology is the notion of individual freedom. For Friedman, "the country is a collection of individuals who compose it", and for Mill the individual is the key to social progress. In this view, each person is perceived as a discrete, possessive individual, whose main social nook in life is found in either entrepreneurship or consumerism. It assumes that every person has equal opportunities to succeed in life, regardless of gender, class or ethnic considerations. Liberalism stresses the notions of meritocracy and competition, mainly through educational attainment. Meritocracy is claimed to be the basis for selection to positions of authority, ensuring that members of lower levels of the hierarchy will not step out of line.

Liberalism and Adult Education

In Canada, the expansion of adult education can be understood as part of the Welfare State policies. In this country, the liberal state has the peculiar characteristic of being also a Welfare State. The development of the Welfare State has been described by some writers as a sum of unplanned and unconnected governmental responses to social pressures, especially from the poor sectors of society (MacDonagh, 1958; Roberts, 1968; Bruce, 1968; Gilbert, 1966). In this view, policy formulation under the Welfare State has been analyzed in terms of pragmatic adjustments between claims, interests, budgets and resources, in a technocratic process which does not consider principles, ideology, a model of society and therefore the search of ultimate goals. From another perspective, however, it seems that the Welfare State was the outcome of the prevailing ethical and economic thought within the liberal tradition (Freeden, 1968; Gerber, 1983; Therborn, 1987) [10]. In

fact, the Welfare State has an ethical side based on the old liberal principle of equality, but also has a very practical and efficient economic aspect; in the Welfare State, business considerations meet the tenets of the ethical liberal tradition.

The development of the Welfare State was not easy, and many liberals opposed it. Individualism, laissez faire and fear of state activity are in fact old tenets of liberalism. The main fathers of modernity (Macchiavelli, Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke and Rousseau) conceived man as essentially asocial and selfish. With the passing of time, dogmatic insistence on laissez faire gave way gradually to a belief in a degree of state intervention in the economy, especially after Keynes influence in the New Deal implemented by Roosevelt in the US during the 30's. In Canada, the fascination with Keynesian economics within the bureaucracy, coupled with the Depression and the tendency toward the centralization of the political system generated by the war, sparked a willingness for government activity in many areas of social and political life. However, the Welfare State is still rejected by neoclassical liberals such as Nozick, Hayek and Friedman, who argue that since distributive policies are controlled by the State, the range of personal freedom is narrowed. Even today, some advocates of this radical individualism conceive the world as a marketplace in which isolated, autonomous individuals with no social bonds relate only though exchanges where they receive or give personal goods for private gain and satisfaction. The old liberal rejection against the doctrine of taxation according to benefits received, for example, perceived this policy as an individual's compulsory contribution to the expenses of the social organization, as it was a bill to be paid by the private citizen. Moreover, some even argue that any type of taxation of earnings is like forced or conscripted labor because it requires that some individuals work against their wi for the benefits of others. Thus, neoclassical liberalism insists that modern liberal societies must return to the classical 19th century principle of laissez faire.[11]

The development of the Welfare State in liberal societies could be understood as the result of a combination of factors which led modern liberalism to acknowledge the necessity of government planning. Even more, it can be seen as an intelligent answer to the new needs of the capitalist system in times of deep recession, as well as to existing and probable social and economic problems. In this view, the Welfare State is functional to the Capitalist State [12], and its rationale comprehends a variety of areas. Among them, the most mentioned factors in explaining the development of the Welfare State are: a) the avoidance of social unrest through legitimation, particularly the mediation of demands; b) the reproduction of educated and healthy workers; c) the need to increase the power of consumption; d) the necessity to guarantee the re-investment of capital, and e) the need to be consistent with the old ethical liberal tradition of fairness and equality.

To begin with, one of the main rationales for the establishment of a Welfare State is to provide security for capital accumulation. If the main purpose of capitalism is maximization of profits, and if egalitarian policies could diminish material utilities, how did the liberals manage to insert welfare measures within the capitalist framework? One important issue is security. In fact, early liberals such as Bentham realized that "without security for unequal property there would not be incentive for capital accumulation, and without capital accumulation there would be practically no productivity (quoted in Macpherson, 1964:489). In some ways, "welfarism" helps to mediate workers' demands, cooling off a possible social unrest (Therborn, 1987). Hobhouse, perhaps one of the first architects of the liberal welfare state, argued that the problem was not to destroy property, but to restore it to its rightful place under the conditions suitable to modern needs.

A second purpose of the Welfare State was to guarantee the simple and complex reproduction of the labour force. In the beginning of Capitalism, market regulated societies. But since market societies do not evolve by themselves, the State

needed to create the conditions under which these markets could efficiently operate. The problem was how to develop a system which allows people to subsist independently of markets, but at the same time induce them to participate in them. Market economies proved to be efficient for production, but not for reproduction. Without the creation of Welfare states, people will die, revolt, or both. It is not by chance that Welfare States are conceptualized as social systems of human or social reproduction (Polanyi, 1944; Therborn, 1987; Myles, 1988). The need to provide conditions for workforce reproduction has been recognized by liberals since the beginning of the century, when they presented
state medicare for children as an investment which would return a useful workforce. For them, health meant efficiency, and the living wage was defended using the arguments of material gain, utility and rates of return. At that time, the necessity of reproduction was clearly stated by Hobson (1904:54), who said that "pay should be the return made by society, not for the work they [the workers] have done, but to enable them to do more work in the future". For these thinkers, it seemed obvious that the private sector would attain highly beneficial results from the provision of healthy, trained and adaptable manpower by the state.

A third necessity which pressured for the creation of the Welfare State was related to the purchasing power of the population. Industrial re-activation needs a consumer market in expansion, and this was not growing appropriately during the times of recession. The major concern of Keynes, Roosevelt's economic adviser during the thirties, was in fact to increase the level of mass purchasing power as the main means to re-stimulate investment in the private sector. Frankfurter defended progressive taxation against regressive taxation which curtails the purchasing power of the great mass of consumers.

Fourth, the capitalist system must face enormous difficulties if capital is not properly re-invested. According to this need, one of the main arguments on increased

taxes for higher income groups (one of the most debated issues of the Welfare State) was to avoid "oversaving". This is the tendency of the rich, especially in periods of low rentability, to hold onto part of their income as liquid reserves rather than to invest it into generating employment or to spend it in activating the market via consumption (Gerber, 1983).

Finally, the Welfare State is also based on the ethical liberal tradition of fairness and equality. It is argued that major contemporary critics of liberalism have seriously misinterpreted the origins of liberalism, which proclaims a commitment to individual freedom and self-determination, but also to social, economic and political egalitarianism. In fact, in the roots of liberalism there is the claim that the gulf between the highest and the lowest incomes should be narrowed; original liberal principles recognize the worth and rights of labor and endorse the task of erecting a code of social legislation to make life "happy and just and full of opportunity to all" (B.C. liberal association, 1928). The return to the egalitarian sources of liberalism was partly due to the Marxist influence on many "positive" liberals [13]. In fact, these liberals influenced by the principles of justice and equity gradually recognized that individual inadequacies were the result of social causes, thus extrinsic to the individual. They also accepted that often the right to freedom means little to those who are poor, and that economic liberty often is associated with social injustice. Roosevelt himself argued that the government must use all its power and resources to meet new social problems that arise beyond the power of individuals with new social controls, in order to insure the average person the right to his own economic and political life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (quoted in Koerner, 1985:331). However, it is argued that such progressivism was co-opted by the dominant elites (Gerber, 1983).

Summary

Throughout this chapter, it was argued that there is a structural compatibility between corporatism and concertation, on the one hand, and between pluralism and pressure, on the other. Corporatism is a central feature of the Mexican state, while liberalism is the main ideology of the Canadian state. Corporatism consists of a system of representation of interests, and corporations are recognized, licensed or created by the State, which in exchange expects control over demands. The main corporations are capital and labor organizations. The potential clientele of adult education programs, mainly unemployed, underemployed, self-employed, homemakers and peasants, are usually excluded from such corporations. Therefore, the corporatist regime system needs to create means to incorporate that disenfranchised population into the rules of concertation. The massive development of adult education systems in Mexico seems to be part of this strategy.

Liberalism has a great faith in private enterprise, in the profit motive and in the importance of meritocracy in a supposedly classless society. It also fears a coercive state authority, assuming the existence of an impersonal authority embodied in the notion of a free functioning market, which is perceived as an impartial and efficient arbiter of human affairs and the most appropriate means of motivating human beings to work diligently. Liberalism does not recognize that the existence of private power poses no less a danger to freedom than does the exercise of public power (Gerber, 1983). The philosophy of the welfare state constitutes an actualization of the liberal individualist ideology to the modern needs of capitalism. The development of adult education systems in Canada was one of the policies of the welfare state.

In short, in both countries the development of a massive system of adult education was a result of ideological and political reasons related to the dominant character of the state. In the ideological ground, there is a clear ethical commitment

towards social justice, due to the 1910 Revolution in the case of Mexico, and to the "positive" elements of the original liberalism, in the case of Canada. In the political sphere, what prevails in Mexico is a legitimatory action and the necessity to incorporate large marginal groups into the rules of concertation of a corporatist society. In Canada, the modern political rationale of liberalism lead to the establishment of a welfare state, which provides certain conditions for the reproduction of advanced capitalism. The ideologies of corporatism and individual liberalism will be key to understand the patterns of answers of the interviewees.

Endnotes

[1] The authors give also examples of both types of action. In this perspective, an American Southerner who votes in support of his racial group -disregarding his individual economic interest- is a corporatist. Other who votes his pocketbook instead of his skin color, is an individualist.

[2] In a general sense, including women and men.

[3] State is understood as different than government, under the assumption that the relationship between the state and corporate groups is different from that between pressure groups and elected governments. It is argued that corporatism is becoming the dominant feature of the 20th Century state, while liberalism was the feature of the state during the19th Century.

[4] The corporatist state is sometimes perceived as a monolithic entity with an unified purpose. Such analysis misses an understanding of the contradictions and power struggles within the state and its allies. Interestingly enough, the government itself -under specific conditions derived from intra-elite struggles- may erode the power of an organization or union which "belongs" to the regime, strengthening an alternative -more democratic-based- organization. This happened in Mexico -in the educational area- during the last two presidential periods: when the political power of the teachers' union (until that moment protected by the regime) had enough power to threaten the authority of the government, it contributed to create a new group within the union to counter-balance the power of the union's leaders. In the agricultural arena, a similar case occurred when the group of the current president, Salinas de Gortari (in the context of a tremendous rivalry between different Secretaries of State for the pre-candidacy of the PRI) indirectly supported an opposition peasant organization, encouraging their leaders to demonstrate against the then Secretary of Agriculture.

[5] Wairda goes still further, arguing that Corporatism "represents an effort by the Iberic-Latin nations to rediscover their own "third way", distinctive from either the socialist and the capitalist one.

[6] For example, teachers tend to emphasize wage increases and working conditions, and adults demand study circles in the workplace or efficiency in textbook distribution, but rarely any of them propose an alternative way of doing adult education.

[7] For the authors, segment is any group linked by a common stigma. Stigma is any mark with low costs of information and high costs of conversion (i.e. sex, race, accent).

[8] Following Philiph Coombs (1973) adults are *clients* of the educational system, because they voluntarily choose to participate in the system (as opposed to the children, who must compulsory integrate into the system).

[9] It was suggested that, in order to raise the significance of adult learners regarding educational decision-making, something can be done within the adult education system itself. A possible strategy should include a political and an educational aspect. The first, following the model proposed by Grindle (1980:221-222), involves strengthening the significance of the low status clientele by committed authorities. This would enable them to progressively organize and aggregate their demands and to participate in decision-making processes. Such processes should search a congruence among three needs: regime's needs, agency's needs and clientele's needs. The second aspect, following Cross (1981:152), consists in the creation of "gourmet learners" with a high "educational taste". In both processes the role of teachers is crucial.

[10] Moreover, according to Freeden (1978:249) "on few subjects was there greater unanimity of opinion than on the decisive role of theory in determining welfare legislation and social reconstruction".

[11] The free trade with the US in Canada and the GATT in Mexico are expressions of this ideology.

[12] In reference to the New Deal, Gerber (1983:10) argues that it constitutes the foundation of the modern liberal state. He points out that in the long run, those who benefited the most from the expansion of the powers of government were the wealthy and the privileged. Rather than serving as a means of eliminating the root causes of the social problems, liberal reforms like the New Deal helped to sustain an unjust social system.

[13] In this perspective, the Welfare State is also seen as a response of "positive" liberals who had conflicts of conscience after years of socialist criticisms (Berlin, 1979; Freeden, 1978; Koerner, 1985:310).

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES: SOCIETY AND ADULT EDUCATION IN CANADA AND MEXICO

Introduction

The two countries selected for this research have important differences but also interesting similarities. Differences include a variety of aspects, from GNP to predominant religion, from the character of the state to modern history. However, both Canada (especially Alberta) and Mexico share some common characteristics in areas as diverse as economics, geopolitics or culture. Differences between the two countries are obvious for any observer and do not merit major description. Just to mention some of them, the Canadian Gross National Product is much higher that of Mexican, and this is reflected in the quantity of goods and services available to the population. On average, the standard of living in Canada is higher than in Mexico. In Canada, the hegemony of Protestantism is related to the work ethic, the entrepreneurial spirit and specific patterns of capital accumulation. In Mexico, the influential Catholic Church preserves traditional pre-capitalist values through an authoritarian structure. As advanced in the previous chapter, the distinctive character of the state in Mexico is corporatism, while Canada is considered to be a Welfare state. The explicit ideology of the Mexican State is populist nationalism built on the inheritance of the 1910 revolution; in Canada, the ideology of the State is based on the liberal-individualist tradition. In the present century, the history of Mexico presents social convulsions, civil wars and a political system controlled by only one party which had the patrimony of the government for more than sixty years. Under the principle of political pluralism, Canada exhibits a model of bi-partism with liberals and conservatives alternating the access to power in a context of stable conditions.

Communalities between Mexico and Canada (especially Alberta) are not as obvious as their differences. To begin with, although to different degrees, both societies follow a capitalist model of development based on the exploitation of natural resources. Secondly, both countries share a border with the United States, a country with which Mexico and Canada have their main economic trade. Moreover, they are somewhat politically dependent from decisions taken in the neighboring country. Third, both societies shared the benefits of the oil-boom during the seventies and the posterior recession during the eighties. Both countries are subject of criticism for not having diversified the economy during the oil boom period, and today the most important public expenditure is directed to the payment of interests on the debt. Fourth, both societies have a broad variety of ethnic groups, particularly Natives, which in both cases are economically, politically and culturally marginalized. Fifth, in both countries large sectors of the population are excluded from the benefits of basic education. Sixth, in both countries the economic situation is deteriorating every year, affecting primarily disadvantaged groups.

Regarding their adult education systems, both countries have implemented an extensive institutionalization of programs and activities during recent decades. In both countries the clientele represents the marginal sectors of society, especially the poor, Natives and women. However, two distinctions must be mentioned between the two adult education systems. First, the Canadian system presents a higher degree of professionalism. In academic upgrading, the Mexican public system of adult education relies on volunteerism, while in Alberta the system recruits basically professional teachers who are paid for their job. In skill upgrading, although in Mexico they receive payment, they are hired by the hour and the requirements to be hired are flexible; in Canada skill upgrading teachers are generally full-time employees of the institution and they need to have a

diploma in a trade or specialty. Secondly, the Canadian system presents a higher degree of formality and institutionalization. In fact, in Canada practically all courses are taught in a centralized building which operates as a school. In Mexico, indeed, although a formal system of adult education also exists [1], the most extended form of operation consists in using the resources of the community. In order to analyze these commonalities and differences, the present chapter includes three sections. The first two sections deal with adult education in Canada and Mexico, respectively, within the framework of the current social, economic and political situation in both countries [2]. In the case of Canada, a special reference to the province of Alberta is made. The third section, as a preamble for the following chapters, includes a general description of the sample in both countries.

Society and Adult Education in Canada and in Alberta

Contemporary Socio-Economic Situation in Canada and in Alberta

With a total population of 25,963,000 inhabitants, a gross national product per capita of $13,670 and a life expectancy at birth of 76.3 years, Canada is one of the seven most important capitalist countries. However, although Canada is generally considered a developed country, in terms of trade and foreign investment it is considered a dependent society. According to the Interpretation Center (1989)

> The development of our country has always been carried out in function of the interests of its metropolis, whether it be French or English...Four hundred years later, the situation remained unchanged. We still export raw materials (wheat, ore, oil, wood) and import finished products (automobiles, household appliances, television sets, industrial machinery, etc.)

Foreign ownership and control are especially dominant in the resource and manufacturing industries . Canadian ownership tends to be in the less strategic and technologically less advanced industries. It is argued that one of the implications of the share of foreign companies in the Canadian economy is the loss of political sovereignty

and domestic control over decision-making (Marchak, 1975). Although Canada is an affluent country as compared to less developed ones, it is also true that during the last decades Canadians have suffered a deterioration in their standard of living. In 1975, for example, a minimum wage worker could earn 81% of the poverty level income for a family of three. By 1986, the same worker could earn only 46 percent. The real purchasing power of Canadian families is also falling. The average Canadian's earned $500 less in 1986 than in 1975. Rents are rising rapidly; in some cities, parents spend between 40 to 70 percent of their incomes on housing. Today, the national debt stands at more than $320 billion, and grows by about $30 billion a year. As a result, the government now spends more money on debt interest payments than on any one program, accounting for nearly 35 cents of every tax dollar. Moreover, according to the last IMF semi-annual economic outlook, Canada's economy is lagging behind the rest of the industrialized world during 1989 and 1990. While the 20 other major industrial countries are growing an average of 3.5% and 2.9% for 1989 and 1990, respectively, Canada is experiencing a growth of only 2.5% for 1989 and 2% for 1990. This represents an economic slowdown with respect to its 5% growth in 1988. However, the economic crisis is not affecting everybody equally. In fact, the gap between rich and poor has been growing at least since World War II (Porter, 1967; Johnson, 1973). In 1986, the poorest 40 percent of Canadians received less of Canada's total income than in 1980. Meanwhile, the wealthiest 40 percent increased their share of total income. In this context, it is not a surprise that the demand for food banks and other charity services has sky-rocketed, and that more poor children are falling behind in school (Canadian Council on Social Development, 1987).

The province of Alberta does not constitute an exception to this situation of deterioration. In Edmonton, the capital of the province in which roughly half of the Canadian sample of this study were concentrated, the percentage of babies born to single mothers has doubled in the last decade. Ten years ago only 12% of babies were

born to single mothers, while today the proportion is 25% (one out of four babies). Edmonton alone has about 30,000 single parents, 85 to 90 per cent of them women. Since nearly half of the families headed by single women live below the poverty line, the future of those children born in such situations is very uncertain. In the upcoming years, financial constraints in the provincial budget will affect the provision of basic services. As Labour Minister Elaine McCoy stated, Albertans will have to decide between heart transplants, school lunches or higher pensions. If this was not enough, in 1987 Edmonton led the country in violent crimes for cities with populations greater than 500,000 (The Edmonton Journal, September 30 and October 1-2, 1989).

According to the current social and economic trends in Canada and in Alberta, it is possible to foresee for the upcoming years an increase in five areas: a) women's participation rate in the labour force, b) service industries, c) part-time jobs, d) unemployment, and e) budget and tax reforms. First, between 1966 and 1985, the participation rate for women has risen from 35.4% to 54.3%. In 1984 there were 4 million women in Canadian work force, and this amounts for 50% of women of working age. Women work mainly in the service industries, in low-wage and low-status occupations, and are more vulnerable than men to economic shifts (Pannu, 1988; CAAE-ICEA, 1984; Canadian Social Trends, 1986). Second, there has been a rapid increase of service industries, in which total employment grew by 61% between 1970 and 1985 as compared with only 13% growth in the goods-producing sector. In 1984 the proportion of the work force in service industries was 65%, and only one year later was 70%. As of 1976, the labour force of Northern Alberta was mainly employed in Service and Trades (45%), Agriculture (26%(), Manufacturing, Construction, Communication and transportation (20%), and Energy and Forestry (9%). Third, and closely associated with the growing of the service sector is the increase of part-time employment, as high as 78% in ten years (1975-1985). Part-time workers are predominantly female (72%), have lower wages, lower pension coverages, lower

unionization and lower protection by collective agreements. The fourth factor affecting the Canadian economy is the rise of unemployment (and underemployment), which strikes especially young people and the undereducated. The unemployment rate, associated with technological changes, is higher today than at any other time since the Second World War. Fifth, with the establishment of budget changes and tax reforms, as well as cutbacks of social programs in order to reduce the deficit, the total value of family support will decline even further than today.

Considering this framework, it is possible to predict that during the next decade poverty will affect more sectors of the population. There will be more people affected by unemployment or seasonal employment, low wages, inadequate job benefits and insufficient government income supports. Women and groups discriminated against will continue earning lower wages. Since the vicious circle of poverty clearly states that children are poor because their parents are poor, the levels of infant mortality, school dropout and illiteracy will increase. This means that the problem of the existence of a large sector of adults with low levels of schooling will not diminish in the near future in Canadian society. On the contrary, it will remain the same or it will even increase. Adult education policies and programs will be developed in the context of these challenges.

Adult Education in Canada, with particular focus on the province of Alberta

Between 1971 and 1981, the median number of years of formal schooling of Canada's adult population rose from 10.6 to 11.8. This means that millions of adult Canadians did not complete the 12 years of what is considered basic education. Although many of the reasons given for school leaving relate to school experience, such as poor achievement, they also may -along with financial and economic reasons- be attributed to social class differences (Porter, 1965). Through adult education systems - which claim to be adapted to the needs of the adult population- these adults may pursue

accreditation or to advance their personal interests (Canada Year Book, 1987). According to Welton (1989) adult education in Canada had given itself the impossible task, like public schooling in mid-19th century Canada, of equalizing the classes without abolishing class domination. In order to illustrate this point, he cites a document written in 1922 by the University of Toronto in which this institution presented its understanding of the nature and purpose of adult education. The document stated that because the "whole basis of national unity rests upon the theory of the nation being an aggregation of persons who, on the whole, think alike, and it is very difficult for two sets of people to think alike who speak more or less different languages and think in different categories"... a "large expansion" of adult education was called for. Therefore, Welton comments, "incorporating the workers into this higher culture is intimately bound up with the extension metaphor: to extend means to control" (p.95). Thus, for Welton, the fundamental motivation for expanding/extending adult education in Canada is to promote social harmony between capital and labour. In the same vein of Welton, Martin and Williams argue that adult education in Canada applies a "functional" or "[illegible]oach, training people to fit the needs of the job market. It considers [illegible]he *homo economicus* and not the education of the whole person. [illegible]roach, which emphasizes the notion of functional literacy, the [illegible]is society means to function within a given environment -fitting [illegible]of behavior- and not to have a critical understanding of it and the [illegible]t upon it. It also implies the fragmentation of literacy, tailoring it to fit a particular job, which further leads to a fragmentation of the learner (Martin and Williams, s/d). From a similar perspective Kathleen Rockhill, in her book on the professional building of adult education practice in the US, suggests that "adult education" as a professional practice was developed quite consciously to exclude socialism, perceived as "dangerous knowledge" and describes the rainbow of ideological constructs used to fulfill this purpose (Rockhill, 1985). Since the US has a

major influence on the economy and politics (Goodman, 1966; Williams, 1971; Hughes and Mijesky, 1984), and considering the explicit rationale of policies such as the Colombo plan[3], what Rockhill says about the US could also be true for the Canadian adult education system.

Adult Basic Education is also seen as a "creaming" operation where enrollees are extremely small compared with the real demand and are not really representative of the "hard-to-reach". As a matter of fact, since its organizational structure, methods and materials are relevant for only a limited segment of its potential clientele, ABE programs in North America reach fewer than two million of the 60 million target group (Greed, 1983; Mezirow, 1975). In Canada, the potential clientele seems to be larger than it is usually thought. In fact, using schooling as a proxi, it is possible to estimate that a large proportion of the 750,000 Canadians who have less than five years of education are totally or functionally illiterate. Similarly, a great percentage of the 290,000 with between 5 and 8 years of schooling can be considered as illiterate to various degrees (see table below).

Table 4-1: Numbers of Canadians aged 15 and over not in full-time education in two selected years

	Total aged 15 and over	Less than 5 yrs of schooling	5-8 yrs of schooling	Less than 9 yrs of schooling
1961	11,046,505	1,024,785	4,141,561	5,166,346
%		9.3%	37.5%	46.8%
1981	16,438,465	775,645	2,289,115	3,664,760
%		4.7%	17.6%	22.3%

Although both absolute and relative numbers have decreased in the 20 years period examined in the table, they still remain considerable taking into account that society's qualification requirements have actually increased (Wagner, 1985). The recognition that illiteracy and low schooling are not a minor problem in Canada became more widely accepted after the release of the Southam Report (1987), which summarizes the results of a survey carried out by the a research team called the "Creative Research Group" on the situation of illiteracy in Canada [4]. According to the Report, four and a half million Canadians are so confounded by printed and written information that it is difficult for them to cope. The research found that 8% of the adult population is basically illiterate, 16% is functionally illiterate and 9% is only marginally literate. This means that in between one fourth (24%) and one third (33%) of the Canadian adult population is not able to read and write properly according to the standards stipulated by the jury panel selected by the Southam Report. At this point, it is important to point out that any study dealing with literacy has difficulties in defining the term, since no universally accepted definition of illiteracy yet exists. Diverse reasons could be accountable for this problem; two are especially important. Firstly, literacy and illiteracy are not absolute phenomena. In this regard, The Southam Report points out that illiteracy does not necessarily mean the complete absence of an ability to read, and, conversely, literacy encompasses a broad spectrum of capabilities. Literacy, then, is not a single skill but a set of complex information processing skills. In fact, persons possess literacy skills in a broad scale, from the ability to read a very familiar word (such as their own name), to the ability to decipher detailed prose, to comprehend it or to interpret and judge it. Secondly, the border between literacy and illiteracy is very diffuse due to the fact that it varies, as the Southam Report recognizes, "from society to society". Therefore, each society has to define in very practical terms the minimum level required by its members to fully participate. Obviously, this level is different for an

agricultural society, r an industrial society and for a post-industrial information society [5].

Despite its conceptual and methodological problems, The Southam Report must be recognized for the attempt to assess literacy levels avoiding the use of 'proxies' such as 'grade-level achievement' or 'performance at a grade level of achievement'. In fact, the Southam Report detected that 13% of the sample were "false literates", that is adults who have achieved grade 9 education -and therefore are considered as literates by Statistics Canada- but failed to pass the Southam Report test. Conversely, it was found that 9% of the sample were "false illiterates"; this is to say, adults who have less than grade 9 education but satisfactorily passed the Southam Report test. This mismatch between what a diploma says and the actual ability to perform an academic task was largely pointed out by the Canadian teachers. As one of the interviewees at AVC said

> There are two figures here; the one that he says on paper and the one of what he actually can do. Okay. Now what he says on paper generally speaking is grade 9 or grade 10 but the real grade level they are functioning at is around 5 or 6. There is a discrepancy, because of deficiencies in schools there is a very regrettable tendency which is encouraged by the Department of Education to do this automatic promotion.

This gap between papers and reality is reflected in the findings of the Southam Report, which stated that, according to their sample, 56% of the adults who had no secondary education are illiterates, and illiteracy reaches 24% among high school dropouts. Astonishingly, 17% of high school graduates and 8% of university graduates are reported to be illiterate. In relation to the impact of illiteracy in the national labour market, the study reports that one out of six working Canadians is illiterate. However, and surprisingly, illiterates do not seem to be left behind much in terms of income. According to the Southam Report, they earn as much as two-thirds of the income of literates.

In order to raise the participation of the potential clientele in adult education programs, one of the suggested strategies is the establishment of an educational leave policy. In fact, following an eight-month study of the background and reasons for educational leave, the National Advisory Panel on Skill Development Leave recommended in 1984 the institution of an educational leave policy in Canada. The panel stated that a paid educational leave should become a regular feature of work life in contemporary Canada, especially regarding women, Natives, unemployed youth, disabled adults, immigrants, minority groups, older adults and those threatened with job loss and skill obsolescence. This conclusion was based on the following reasons: 1) equity in allowing persons who initially reject further training to acquire it later in life; 2) the need to update skills in workers whose skills are becoming obsolete; 3) a reduction in unemployment by removing some persons from the work force; 4) granting individuals a time for growth that may result in economic development for the country; 5) the need to develop basic skills in some persons, and 6) planning for work force restructuring as a result of technological advancement. Among the barriers to establish such policy, the panel included cost, lack of child care, attitudes, schedules and regulations of educational institutions, lack of information about adult education and overly centralized control of Canadian employment centers. Although this strategy could be useful, it fundamentally addresses the needs of the economically active population. Given that a great proportion of the actual and potential clientele of AE programs is not employed, it is not clear how this proposal could respond to the needs of the unemployed, homemakers, youngsters, disabled adults, etc.

Although Alberta is a province with a relatively low unemployment rate and a high standard of living, there is a fairly large population of functionally illiterate adults. The 1971 census indicated that of the Alberta residents out of

school and over 15 years of age, 28% reported their educational level as less than Grade 9, and 62% of them lived in urban areas and only 6% of them are in the 15-24 age bracket (Thomas, 1977). The 1981 census indicates that 239,140 adults over age 15, representing 14% of the adult Alberta population, have not completed grade 9, and 1,273,485 people, or 76.1% of the adult population of the province, have finished between 9 and 12 grades of school. Adult education activities in Alberta are carried out by governmental and non-governmental organizations. Among the latter are the Project Second Chance and the Alberta Association for Adult Literacy, and among the former are the Alberta Vocational Centres (AVC) and the Community Vocational Centres (CVC). The Project Second Chance attends to youth from 13 to 18 years old who are unable to cope in regular school programs, and its goal is the re-integration into the mainstream school system. In this program, most clients are sponsored by government departments. The Alberta Association for Adult Literacy (AAAL), among other institutions, offers voluntary tutoring programs in communities throughout the province [6]. Volunteers working in these literacy programs in Alberta are primarily women and present the same features as that of their counterparts in Mexico: they have no tenure, no security and no benefits. In reference to the working situation in volunteer literacy organizations, the president of the AAAL said that "we have created a women's ghetto" (Chang, 1989b).

The Alberta Vocational Centre (AVC) and the Community Vocational Centres (CVC) are provincially administered adult education institutions. As provincially administered institutions, their programming mandate is developed in consultation with the Department of Advanced Education.[7] Unlike Mexico, where adult students receive little or no any direct financial assistance, almost ninety percent of the AVC students are sponsored. The most important sponsor, Alberta Vocational Training (AVT), emphasizes the vocational orientation of the

programs (Fahy, 1984; Lindman and Sokolik, 1988). In fact, among the explicit purposes of the AVT fund are "to facilitate and encourage 'disadvantaged and disabled' persons to undertake training programs which will enable them to enter or re-enter the labour force", "to make the under-employed more employable by means of skill training courses" and "to meet the manpower needs of government and industry" (AVT, 1978:1-3). This "employment oriented" philosophy of the institution is complemented by statements which stress that the training provided at AVC will increase the student's "opportunities for employment" (CEIC, 1977), that these programs are designed "to overcome skill shortages, accelerate economic growth and development, and facilitate industrial adjustment" (Minister, Canada Employment and Immigration, 1982) or that "Alberta's future depends on the development of a resourceful, adaptable and skilled labour force" (AETNA, 1982:133). A former President of AVC Edmonton also said that the "AVC's service role is to serve the disadvantaged through the provision of programs and services that will assist them in obtaining and keeping employment" (quoted in Fahy 1984:90). To conclude with a last example, a large poster of institutional advertisement located in the main hall of one of the AVC's presents a picture of people representing different trades (a chef, a mechanic, etc) and the following slogan: "We provide people with the right attitudes and the right skills". This "job oriented" perception of adult education is part of the general "manpower orientation" or "economist" approach to adult education on the part of the Government and the media. As a matter of fact, the October 1, 1986 Speech from the Throne included the government's commitment to "ensure that Canadians have access to the literacy skills that are the prerequisite for participation in our advanced economy". In the same vein, a discussion paper on literacy signed by the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada (no date; p.3) explains that "competitiveness of the Canadian economy in the world market

is threatened when a large body of workers do not meet minimal requirements of literacy". The mass media supports this view. For example, a recent article calls the attention of the reader by stating that "illiteracy is a $2-billion drag on the economy of Canada" (The Edmonton Journal, 1988) while on other doubled this figure by announcing that illiteracy cost Canadian business more than $4 billion in 1987 (Financial Post, Oct.14, 1988). A third estimation, released by the Canadian Business Task on Literacy (1989) increases the amount even in a larger scale by stating that "illiteracy costs Canadian society about $10.7 billion a year in lost earnings, industrial accidents, unemployment expenses and the like". It is interesting to note that in Canada the overall issue of illiteracy is usually addressed emphasizing the economic aspect of the problem [8]. Although the manpower approach seems to prevail in Alberta's philosophy towards adult education, the presence of two other perspectives can be observed. The first is a "human development" orientation which considers adult education as assisting adults to live their lives more fully; the second corresponds to a "social demand" orientation which stresses the notion of social justice and equalization of opportunity through the provision of a second chance.

In the province of Alberta, these three approaches converge in the notion of continuing education. In fact, the terms 'Continuing Education' and 'Adult Education' are practically used as synonymous, which reflects the influence of this trend [9] in the public system of adult education. The three approaches are also present in the proclaimed philosophy and goals of public adult education in the province. The philosophy of adult education stresses that education is "a necessary cornerstone in preparing for a successful future life" (Andrews, 1988:5) and a "lifelong process contributing to self-reliance, co-reliance and productivity" (ABE Discussion Paper Working Committee, 1985:7). The public

goals of adult education, according to the cited documents, can be summarized as follows:

. to provide educational opportunities for adults whose education has been interrupted and who require academic upgrading in order to enroll in a post-secondary institution and/or specific vocational training in order to obtain gainful employment.

. To develop living, social and cultural opportunities, and increase education for purposes of self-improvement.

. To compensate for missed opportunities.

. To provide generic communication, problem solving and interpersonal skills.

. To offer the services of a staff who understand the problems and needs of adult learners.

. To provide instructional approaches and support services specifically designed to meet the educational needs of those students whose formal education has been interrupted in some way.

. To provide quality educational experiences in order to prepare individuals for a complex and changing society, and to cope in a modern and technological world.

. To encourage freedom, openness, trust and co-operation, de-emphasizing competition.

. To encourage processes (such as basic mathematics, communication, finding information, using data to make good value judgements and decisions) instead of behaviors (training to do things).

The degree in which this goals are accomplished by AVC's will be explored in the chapter on data analysis. It can be indicated in advance, though, that in general terms adult education programs implemented by governmental organizations in Alberta are highly institutionalized and formalized. However, some attempts were made in order to accommodate the conditions of time and

space to the characteristics of the clientele. One of these attempts was the establishment of the Adult Basic Education Outreach Project, carried out in Calgary by the Alberta Vocational Centre. About ten years ago, the Calgary AVC outlined the problems of attracting the potential clientele in the following way (AVC Calgary, 1979):

> **Where then does an adult with a low level of literacy turn for help if he/she works full or part-time, cannot for some reason attend regular classes at an institution like Alberta Vocational Centre, feels threatened by an imposing educational institution and program structure, or wants to simply "get his/her feet wet" in terms of returning to or, in fact, beginning education?**

As an answer to these questions, an Adult Basic Education program in an "appropriate setting" was established. The chosen setting was a public library, where the AVC opened a community-based Adult Learning Centre which offered literacy programs and basic education to the grade 9 equivalency level. In this program -which operated daily during afternoons and evenings- tuition was free, learning materials were provided, attendance was flexible (though students must attended at least twice a week for two hours or more), registration was by drop-in, and there was continuous entry/exit and individualized progress. However, the component of the project which consisted of a major difference from the standard AVC operating practice was the outreach process. In other words, the main contribution of this project was the achievement of public recognition of the fact that adult learning processes may take place -in some cases with better results- in environments other than in a formal classroom. Among the recommendations of the program were the importance of an informal atmosphere for an older adult returning to the learning environment, the importance of a community needs assessment to best serve the target population, the enhancing of the drop-in aspect and the flexibility of the operation hours in order to fit the adult's life style. Although these findings were not new at the time this project

was implemented, adult basic education in Alberta still remains highly institutionalized, formalized and physically concentrated in school-type buildings. The basic characteristics of the clientele of AVC in Alberta have changed with the passing of the years, from a predominantly young, disadvantaged and male population to students who are older than before, mostly female, and who receive social assistance. The economic situation of Alberta has certainly had an impact on this shift. Teachers explained this situation in the following way:

> When the economy caught fire in the mid 70's - when the price of oil went up so dramatically and drilling was so available we tended to have a younger group and more severely disadvantaged people who were not really able to work at all. Even if the job were offered to them they would last a couple of days. And it wasn't a matter of how much they could make, they just didn't have the orientation to work. They weren't reliable, they weren't punctual, they weren't there at all. Now when the economy is in the doldrums we've had more older people - people who have worked all their lives. They've only had a grade 8 education but they've been able to work with that education level quite successfully. Now they've come back here to try to and do something about the fact that they aren't employable. That has a bearing on the way programs work.

> Originally we had in mind a motivated career-oriented clientele whose goals were economic and skill-oriented. In fact when I first came here in 1972, the majority of the students were male. The average age was around 33 and between 1972 and 1975 we had the turnover where we suddenly found ourselves with a much predominantly female clientele and the goals were totally different. That male group had wanted to go to NAIT, they were upgrading for skill training.

> About 1/3 of our students are on social assistance. In the old days that was not true, there was a very small fraction who were on social assistance. So, basically what happened was that referral agencies discovered us and they began sending people here and that greatly increased our enrollments and changed the mix of students.

> Our program is oriented towards the losers in society, school dropouts that includes natives, women and men but it turns out that the majority of people we get are women not because the men are better educated. There are just as many males out there that need, but for the male population is probably easier to get jobs. At least while they are still young.

Currently, the average age of the clientele is 28.1 years old, and women represent roughly 60% of the total population. Moreover, females constitute the majority in all programs with the exception of the ESL program, in which they constitute half. Previous completed educational levels reported by students has steadied at 40% grade 11-12, 35% grade 9-10 and 25% less than grade 9 (Fahy, 1986). The Native population is an important clientele of adult education

programs in the province, especially in Northern Alberta: in AVC Grouard, Native students make up the vast majority (78.2%); in AVC Lac La Biche Native enrollment represents 68%; in CVC's they are the 100%. It is widely recognized that in Alberta Native groups are one of the most affected populations in terms of access to educational services: they consistently show lower participation rates and lower successful completion rates when compared with non-natives (MTB, 1980; RMC, 1982). In order to analyze the differences in parental perception towards school between Natives and non-Natives, Ingram and McIntosh (1983:231) tested the following six indicators: parental communication and participation, support for the school, quality of the school-community relationship, satisfaction with the school, importance of local content in the school program, and feeling of efficacy. They found that the average scores of Native parents were lower than Non-Native parents in all areas but one: the importance of local content in the school program. This implies that in five of the six areas Natives were lower, but especially in parental communication and participation and in the feeling of efficacy, which is consistent with their perception that the present curriculum is not very relevant to their children's needs. Confirming Native parents' point of view, Goller (1977) points out that current educational programs had been originally for the average white, urban child, and therefore have limitations to suit the needs of children in remote communities [10]. Teachers interviewed at AVC, especially in Northern Alberta, mentioned not only such biases in the curriculum but also the existence of discriminatory attitudes at the classroom level. When asked about reasons for dropping out from the school system, teachers said that

In this area it is probably past negative experience with the white man in school.

To a certain extent, I know, some of the local public schools the kids especially feel that they are discriminated against. Its there. There is no doubt about that. Many of them live in isolated settlements and reserves and there are a whole multitude of pressures on them. Social

pressures, economic pressures, prejudice, the fact that they keep failing and no one has ever had time to help them.

One of the reasons why most of our clientele is native is that they come from a second language background and the school system is just not oriented to handle people with a second language background, deficiencies in pronunciation gets ridicule. Its subtle but it put down for something that you can't help. I would say that that would be one of the reasons why so many native people are dropping out, and also the fact that parents don't support them in education in general.

We have mostly white teachers and I don't think enough time is taken sometimes to try to understand the native students. They just think they are negative and all that. And they label them that way and they don't relate to them that well. And after awhile, I think anyway, that students just get fed up with their teachers, because they are not showing enough interest. Well there aren't that many native teachers in the native system, but I think it would make a difference.

A lot of natives are low income and they feel out of place because they can't have all the clothes that some of the white people have a lot of clothes and they are in the same school system and so I think it goes back to the area where they closed down all these little country schools where it doesn't matter everybody is just the same.

These statements illustrate the situation of alienation from the educational system existing in Northern Alberta, which is also suggested by poor school attendance, high dropout rates, lack of parental support for the schools, limited involvement on the part of the community with the operation of schools, high teacher turnover and low relevance of the curriculum to meet local needs (Metis Association, 1973; Swift et al, 1975; Goller, 1977). As a response to these problems, a project aimed to improve the educational service in northern communities through increased participation of the local community, was initiated by the Government of Alberta in 1978. The program, labeled "The Education North Project", contemplated three main actors: the child in the classroom, the adult in the community and the teacher. The Project aimed to achieve a great variety of goals, from community commitment and involvement in the school's operation to the re-designing of curricula content and materials, from a more positive relationship between the teacher and the community to enhancing the credibility of the school system, from improvement in community's decision-making abilities to the involvement of adults as para-professionals. Evaluators of this project concluded that it was moderately successful in implementing its

intended strategy and achieving its outcomes, and recommended that the government establish a program with similar parameters and objectives (Ingram and McIntosh, 1983). In order to investigate how these recommendations have impacted public policies, in the interview a specific question was included in this regard.

Society and Adult Education in Mexico.

Contemporary Socio-Economic and Political Situation in Mexico

With 82,964,000 inhabitants, Mexico is the second most populated country of Latin America. As well as in Alberta, the Mexican socio-economic and political situation had substantially changed after the oil boom of the seventies. Economically, it is possible to observe a decline both in national production and in the people's standards of living. Politically, the PRI, which was the ruling party for more than sixty years, is facing for the first time a strong nationwide opposition and the real possibility of losing power in the next presidential elections. With respect to the economic arena, the situation is less than optimistic. The gross national product per capita (GNP) is $2,250, and the expectancy of life at birth is 67.2 years, very low figures when compared with Canada. The external debt currently reaches approximately 107 billion dollars, and payments for interest in 1987 represented 20% of the GNP and 50% of the national expenditure. The income distribution shows deep economic inequalities: 10% of the national income is received by the bottom 40%, while 40% is received by the top 20%. Despite the goals of the 1910 revolution (from which the present regime claims to be the legitimate inheritor), little progress was made during the last decades in the achievement of social equality. In this respect, the current gap between the have and the have-not in Mexico is at least the same and probably

wider than that of 40 or 50 years ago (Galarza, 1989:19). The capacity of the Mexican economy to provide jobs has diminished in recent years. Today, 15 million people (50% to 70% of the economically active population) are not fully employed. Out of them, 5 million are unemployed and 10 million are underemployed. As a result of this, 40 million people (50% of the total population) live below the poverty line; out of them,13 million people are below the destitution line. This economic situation affects all areas of social life, and therefore is reflected in the standard of living of the population. In fact, about 23 million people are affected today by the national deficit of housing, which is as high as 6.1 million and increases by 300.000 every year. About 5 million children under 14 years old work without any legal protection. It is also estimated that about 3 million children are "street kids" or "runaways" who live in the streets. In the area of health the situation is not better. It is estimated that 10 million people have no access to medical attention, 40 million have nutritional deficiencies, only 75% of the urban population has access to running water, less than 53% of the national population live in adequate and healthy environmental conditions and one quarter (25%) of the hospital beds are occupied by persons with water related diseases, such as amibiasis, salmonellosis, thifoidea and gastrointestinal infections. If the economic and social conditions at the national level are not good, the picture is still worse in the rural areas, where there are 5 million people who do not work even 100 days per year. Although more than one third of Mexicans live in rural areas, they perceive less than 10% of the national income. Therefore, it is not a surprise that three quarters of the marginalized population [11] live in the least developed provinces of the country[12]. Unfortunately, in order to counteract the poverty of rural areas, resources are not wisely utilized; 70% of the national territory is arid or semi-arid, while in other parts of the country there is an abundance of water which is not controlled or

employed. The deterioration of the economy in rural areas during the last decades can be illustrated with three examples: 1) between 1980 and 1989 the public investment in agriculture dropped from 19% to 5% of the national budget; 2) during the sixties, Mexico imported 689,000 tons of basics, while in the eighties Mexico imported 60 million tons; 3) credits towards agricultural activities in 1986 represented 60% of those given in 1981; public investment in rural areas represented only 38.5% with respect to 1981, and public expenditure in the countryside was only 52.1% of the 1981's expenditure in the same field. Given these conditions, the level of production of peasants and "ejidatarios" (co-operative farmers) is today lower than self-consumption. If this is the situation in the countryside, the government is not doing much more in the large cities. For example, the public expenditure in Mexico city, which has 19 million people and perhaps the highest pollution of the world[13], has fallen systematically since 1982, with the only exceptions of 1984 and 1987. In only one year (1983), the reduction was as much as 40% with respect to the previous year. In 1986 the budget was 27% lower than in 1985, and in 1988 was 7.7% lower than in 1987.

In general terms, the difficult economic situation is particularly affecting the social conditions of life of the marginalized population in both rural and urban areas: Natives[14], peasants, unemployed and underemployed, etc. Among the marginalized population, 77% of the economically active population receives an income lower than the minimum wage, and 75% of the entire marginal population does not consume meat and milk regularly; the illiteracy rate reaches 40% (almost double of the national percentage); adult population without basic education represents more than 90%; infant mortality among children 1-4 years old has a rate of 17.5 per 1,000, double that of the national rate; houses without running water, electricity and sewage fluctuate between 67 and 85%; finally, about 40%

of the houses have no radio nor TV (Coplamar, 1983:113; Correa et al, 1989:22-23; CIDA, 1987; Galarza, 1989:16, Mexico Journal, 1989):

It is important to note that in Mexico, as in Canada, the structure of the labour market has experienced significant changes during recent decades. While in 1930 the agricultural sector represented 70% of the total employment, today it represents only 36%. In the same time, the industrial and the service sector grew from 14% to 25%, and from 15% to 40% respectively. Today, the industrial and service sectors in the job market absorb 50% and 30%, respectively, of the new jobs that are being created. At the same time, and probably as a result of the recent economic crisis, the formal sector of the economy has suffered a drastic reduction, and the informal sector has been largely expanded, with consequent implications in the increasing number of underemployed people. The economic recession has also had an impact on education. Between 1982 and 1987, the educational expenditure decreased by 33%. Due to budget constraints, in 1988, only 2.5% of the GNP was assigned towards education, which means less than half of the 5.5% assigned in 1982 (UNESCO recommends between 4.5 and 7%). It is also estimated that five million people (almost 10% of the population older than 15 years old) are illiterate. Other sources -probably counting functional illiterates- estimate a 20% illiteracy rate. We will return to this topic in the next section.

Politically, Mexico is considered a post-revolutionary and a highly corporatist society. In discussing the notion of post-revolution, Hughes and Mijesky (1984) point out two features of any post-revolutionary regime. The first is violence, due to the fact that the early phases of a revolutionary movement are generally violent; however, the degree and duration of such violence is quite varied. The second is the relative stability of the political process. The turmoil culminates in a political process that transforms previously accepted political and

economic relationships by eliminating one or more previously powerful policy-makers. In the Mexican corporatist state, political control is based on co-optation of interest organizations, institutionalization of a powerful government bureaucracy, concertation of labor and capital with government, and incorporation of lower and middle classes into the ruling party (PRI). The last feature implies a certain degree of popular participation and mobilization, although both are carefully controlled and manipulated for non-democratic ends (Lehmbruch and Schmitter, 1982; Torres, 1989; Kaufman, 1977; Camp, 1980).

The basic features of corporatism discussed in the previous chapters also help to understand the authoritarian character of Mexican democracy. While Mexico's revolution and the economic and political modernization that took place thereafter paved the way for the development of a democratic political system, this system still maintains the authoritarian elements (although in a more modern, and, thus far, more durable version) of the authoritarian rule of Porfirio Diaz (Vernon, 1963; Scott, 1964; González Casanova, 1970; Hansen,1971; Purcell and Purcell, 1977). In fact, since the 1910 revolution, the Mexican state was able to guarantee the stability of the political system by providing the masses social benefits in four major areas: redistribution of land, educational expansion, labour legislation and electoral reforms. Interestingly, these policies addressed the needs of different social groups; while agrarian reform benefited peasants, labour unions and employment security benefited workers, and the principle of non-reelection benefited the continuity of the political system, education opened social mobility for the small, urban middle classes (Basañez, 1981; Torres, 1989).

Another feature related to the authoritarian character of the Mexican state is the centralization of power in the executive, or presidentialism. It is argued that this feature has roots in Spanish and Latin American traditions and institutions.[15] Under the great influence of the executive, other political institutions, such as the

courts and the legislature, are virtually powerless in policy-making. One of the implications of presidentialism is that the president appoints a large number of top bureaucrats who are loyal to him and who, in turn, appoint thousands of lower-level administrators all the way down to the state levels, in a political pyramid. However, the revolution limited the power of the president by reducing it to six years without the possibility of reelection. The consequence of this in the political system is that each president has the desire to put his own personal "stamp" on the content of public policy; hence, each sexenio (six-year presidential term) the president changes practically all the former staff and policies. In other words, "whatever was done during the previous sexenio will not be done in the same way or in the same order of policy priorities" (Grindle, 1977) [16]. This lack of continuity affects practically all governmental policies and programs (Schmelkes, 1989).

Given the current events in Mexico's political system (especially after the 1988 and 1989 elections) the rooted settled conception of the PRI as the only political party which exercises a virtual hegemony must be revised. However, if the challenge to the ruling party persists, it is possible to observe a reaccommodation of the corporatist model of state. In this respect, Torres (1989) foresees two possible scenarios: re-corporativization or neo-corporativization. The first is based on the idea of political control involving political agreements between meaningful actors and related to nationalist economic measures, while the second has its base in technical control and the rational administration of the crisis, and is more likely to involve pursuit of a further liberalization of the market economy. Which one of these strategies prevails will depend on the resolution of the contradictions and the balance of forces within the Mexican state, but also on the development and alliances of the opposition groups and political and

economic international factors (such as the US policy towards Mexico or the evolution of the oil price).

Adult Education in Mexico

If education is in general an instrument of political legitimation, this is particularly true in Mexico. In this country, although a technical rationale exists for educational planning, in the decision-making process it is relegated to a second place by political factors. As argued previously, the hidden curriculum of education has not been to produce human capital but to produce political capital for the State (McGinn and Street, 1984). The National Law of Adult Education (1975) and the creation of the National Institute for Adult Education (1981) are clear examples of the State's strategy "to incorporate politically disenfranchised masses into a national project, winning their acquiescence, consent and support toward the dominant mode of production and political model" (Torres, 1989:53).

Inspired in the principles of lifelong education (see Appendix 1) the National Law of Adult Education establishes that the clientele of adult education services is constituted of the population 15 years age and older who have not had the benefits of formal education. In article 2, the law defines adult education as a "form of out-of-school education based on self learning and social solidarity...in order to obtain, transmit and increase culture and to fortify the conscience of unity among all sectors of the population". According to this legislation, there are six main objectives of adult education [17]:

1. To give every person the possibility of reaching the level of knowledge and abilities equivalent to general basic education, which includes elementary and secondary education.

2. To foster lifelong education through the study of all types of specialties and re-cycling activities, on and for-the-job training.

3. To promote self-learning.

4. To develop physical and intellectual aptitudes in the student, as well as his critical consciousness.

5. To elevate the cultural level of the marginal sectors of the population in order to participate in the responsibilities and benefits of a shared development.

6. To encourage the creation of a consciousness of social solidarity, as well as to promote the improvement of family, work and social life.

As a result of the 1975 law, a specific institute in charge of elaborating textbooks for elementary and secondary education was established under the name of CEMPAE. For the the first time in Mexico (and probably in Latin America) a government created -and freely and massively distributed- basic education books specifically designed for the adult population. These books correspond to the four major areas of basic education (language, mathematics, social sciences and natural sciences), and played the role of a curriculum. Since elementary and secondary education for adults are composed of three grades each, the basic education program consists of twenty-four books, plus a literacy guide known as the introductory level. Following the spirit of the law, the adult education system allows students to participate in a "study circle" or, if they wish, to follow a self-learning strategy. According to the first article, the system of evaluation and certification was established in such a way that the program is equivalent to that offered by the regular system. On the one hand, this reinforces the notion of compensatory education, allowing the student to re-enter the formal system and so have a second opportunity. On the other hand, the emphasis in equivalences and certification could erode the relevance of the programs, which have difficulties responding to the existential needs of the adults (Schugurensky, 1987b; Latapí, 1988). The creation of the INEA in 1981 represented for the government the possibility of unifying the multiple activities implemented by the

government in the area of adult education that had existed until that time without any organic structure. In order to avoid operational problems and guarantee flexibility and expediency in decision-making, the INEA had autonomy with respect to the administrative and bureaucratic structure of the SEP (Secretary of Public Education). Since its creation, INEA had an impact in reducing the illiteracy rate. In the period 1930-1980, the absolute number of illiterates remained constant (6.5 million in average), although the relative number slightly diminished as a result of the expansion of formal schooling. In only five years (from 1981 to 1986), the INEA reduced the absolute number of illiterates to 3.7 million, which is equivalent to a rate of 7.7%.

Supposedly, literacy is conceived as a first step in a process that includes basic education and for the job training. However, in reality most of the people who finish the literacy program do not continue into other programs, and post-literacy training has received little attention. The lack of follow up is not only pointed out by private research centers (Schmelkes, 1988) but also by the governmental agency itself (INEA, 1988). Deficiencies or absence of a follow up usually generates difficulties for the permanence of the acquired abilities. Thus, the INEA cannot avoid the constant appearance of a new generation of functional illiterates. Since its creation, the INEA has accomplished important achievements not only regarding quantitative results but also qualitative ones. Among the latter are the attempts to adapt the programs to the characteristics of different social groups, the diversification of content and methods, the development of alternative projects, etc. However, the agency still faces multiple obstacles, many of them internal to the programs. Among them are the deficiencies in the collection, processing and analysis of basic information, gaps between central planning and operation at the local level, turnover and low qualifications of the operational agents, inadequate distribution of resources (especially textbooks) and

supervision, and the already mentioned problem of follow up. The INEA itself, in an unusual example of self-criticism, publicly acknowledged in a document, among other problems, the disarticulation between literacy, elementary and secondary levels; the inadequacies in the sequence and organization of the curriculum; the tendency to encourage memorization processes; the failure in promoting analysis, reflection and self-learning; the inappropriateness of the language; the use of universal contents for urban and rural areas [18]; and the likeness between the textbooks for adults and those directed to the formal school. (INEA, 1986:6).

Skill upgrading programs for the marginalized population are in Mexico a recent phenomenon, probably due to the recognition of the alarming growth of unemployment and underemployment (Schmelkes, 1989) but also to pressures from the unions to have on the job training provided by the employer. As a result of this, a new article (153) was incorporated to the Federal Labour Law in 1976. According to it, on the job training was made compulsory and must be provided by the enterprise. Despite this legislation, on-the-job training is not yet an extensive practice in Mexico [19]. "For the job training", on the other hand, was largely promoted by the State many years earlier, during the Cárdenas regime (1934-1940), with the purpose of providing technical abilities to workers and peasants for the administration of collective productive units. In Mexico today, with some exceptions, "for the job training" programs are carried out within the educational system (primarily in post-secondary institutions), while on the job training is a responsibility of private or public enterprises, which limit the training to their employees. In general terms, skill upgrading programs for low schooled population have not been developed in the amount and variety required by current social and economic needs.

In Mexico, as in Canada, the potential clientele of adult education programs is larger than the actual clientele. In 1984, the potential clientele was estimated that 28 million people (72% of the Mexican adult population) did not complete their basic education: 6 million illiterates, 13 million without elementary education and 8 million without secondary education Currently, with the expansion of the system and the literacy programs carried out by INEA, this number could be decreased, though the figure probably still remains very high. In any case, in between 1982-1985, the enrollment corresponded to 3% of the potential demand. The actual clientele of adult education programs is predominantly young (two thirds of the students are younger than 30 years old) and female. In term of occupation, 50% of the INEA's population are homemakers, domestic employees and unemployed (Muñoz Izquierdo, 1986; Chaparro,1987). Curiously, the Native population has received little attention in relation with the dimensions of their educational problems. While the national dropout rate from elementary school is roughly 50%, among Natives it is as high as 90% (Lavin, 1986:14). Taking into account that in Mexico there are 56 ethnic groups, each one with a different language, and that many of them are migrants (seeking employment in agriculture activities according to the harvest cycles), it is obvious that this population needs special attention. In summary, adult education in Mexico has reached important quantitative goals, although not enough in relation to the magnitude of the task, and the programs need great improvement in terms of the needs of the clientele. From the perspective of public action, more efforts are devoted to literacy and basic education than to skill upgrading programs. This could be explained by the important role that adult education plays in the political legitimation of the regime.

Endnotes

[1] In Mexico two main modalities within the public adult education system exist: the CEBA (Centros de Educación Básica para Adultos), and the INEA (Instituto Nacional para la Educación de los Adultos). The first one operates in the public schools after hours, classes are more formal and are taught by professional teachers. The latter operates in locals provided by the community and employs volunteer workers.

[2] This framework is could be useful in comparative analysis. First, comparing one, two or even three indicators is insufficient to understand differences in policies. It is possible, for example, that two governments spend the same amount of money in education, but very different in other areas. Moreover, even if these two countries spend the same amount in education, it does not mean that they have the same educational policies. If categories are too wide, they tell us too little. Secondly, some countries may have a similar process of decision-making, but they may have different patterns of social and economic policy outputs. For example, although Mexico and Cuba are both post-revolutionary societies, the revolutions are very different. The latter is a socialist revolution, while the former is a capitalist modernization favoring emerging middle classes. Thus, they share some patterns of authoritarian policy-making, but they do not share a set of values concerning how the economic and social systems should perform and what they should accomplish. In short, this means that the analysis of an specific area (in this case, adult education) must be done in the context of a broader analysis of the economic, political and social context. This leads to a third point: analysis must be historically contextualized. If we judge any policy by its achievements, it is necessary to see what previous governments have done, and for how long. Moreover, policies need time to have an impact. In other words, the longer a regime has been in existence, the more possibilities to find connections between intended policies and real outcomes. Finally, in evaluating the achievement of given policies the availability of resources must also be taking into account. In technical language, if government policy is the key independent variable and social or economic performance is the dependent variable, availability of natural resources is a critical intervening variable. In a more common language, it is not fair to measure both with the same yardstick.

[3] Canadian policy-makers themselves have stated that the international aid policy of this country was started due to the perceived threat of communism to the region. See for example Lester Pearson and John Diefenbaker's statements, cited in Bacchus, 1984.

[4] The Southam Report has some methodological problems (such as the characteristics of the sample, the validity and trustability of the instruments, etc). A good piece of criticism can be found in Fagan, 1988. Nevertheless, and assuming that every research has weak points, some of the findings (particularly those more related to the present study) are worthwhile to be mentioned.

[5] Surprisingly enough, the Southam Report contradicts itself in this assertion when it stresses that Canada is a post-industrial information society as a whole, and therefore it is possible to determine a specific literacy level for the entire country. This forgets that, even within the same Nation-state, there are different social groups with different requirements. For example, it is not the same level of literacy required to function acceptably in a urban-professional environment in Toronto than in a Northern Albertan isolated Native-rural community.

[6] In Alberta, the boundaries between governmental and non-governmental programs are not clearly established, since many non-governmental programs are sponsored by the Further Education Council.

[7] One of the differences between CVC and AVC is that the former has 100% Native clients, and the latter has also Non-Native students (MTB, 1980). At the time this research was carried out, the AVC and the CVC were in a process of merging in only one institution; for this reason, from this point on we will refer to both of them as AVC.

[8] As we will see later, this is different from Mexico, where the discourse of students, teachers and policy-makers stresses the political and cultural aspects.

[9] Continuing Education refers simultaneously to the economic re-cycling of manpower, to the fulfillment of individual motivations at any age and to the reduction of socio-economic inequalities. For more information on the trend known as Continuing, Lifelong or Permanent Education, see Faure (1972) and Paiva (1982).

[10] However, for Goller the main variable in this issue is not ethnic but geographical. According to him, the problems of students in remote communities appear to be similar, regardless the children's ethnic background.

[11] Marginalized populations are those who are "at the margin" or outside of the benefits derived from national development and from the national wealth, but not necessarily out of the generation of such wealth and the conditions which make them possible. The estimation of the marginalization index takes into account 19 indicators, such as wages, underemployment, communications, nutrition, literacy, schooling, mortality, medical attention, public services, clothing, etc. (COPLAMAR, 1983,pp.23 and 113).

[12] These provinces are Puebla, Chiapas, Veracruz, Oaxaca, Michoacan, Guerrero, Estado de Mexico, San Luis Potosi, Hidalgo and Guanajuato.

[13] According to the World Health Organization, the maximum limit of human tolerance is 100 grades IMECA. Mexico city has concentrations of air superiors to 200 grades IMECA. The Canadian Health and Welfare pointed out that concentration of contaminants in the air of the Mexican capital has a direct impact in respiratory and cardiovascular diseases, and also produced nervous alterations, cancer and mutogenous effects.

[14] In fact, 84% of Mexican Natives live in marginalized regions, specially in those classified with a very high marginalization rate.

[15] Specially the hacienda, the patrón and the caudillo (see Purcell and Purcell, 1977).

[16] The sexenal turnover of high- and middle-level officials in is a common practice in Mexico. In a recent research conducted by Grindle (1980) out of the 78 agency officials interviewed, only 12 had served in the same governmental agency during the former executive. Moreover, none of the 12 interviewed who served in the agency before occupied the same positions before and after the administration change.

[17] The extent to which actual adult education programs in Mexico are fulfilling such objectives is doubtful. In a research conducted in 1986, adult educators did not highly assess the achievements of those six goals by their programs (Schugurensky et al., 1987).

[18] Pescador (1983) suggests the diversification of the content in rural and urban areas, taking into account four types of clientele: peasants, urban adults, Natives and women.

[19] It is estimated that only 50% of the workers of the formal sector of the economy participate in training programs. They are mainly concentrated in Mexico city, in the larger enterprises and in the modern sector of the economy. Medium and small-scale industries normally lack the necessary resources to develop such programs by themselves or to hire external services (Schmelkes, 1989).

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS: CANADIAN TEACHERS

Introduction

This chapter describes the opinions, attitudes and expectations of Albertan teachers in relation to the program, to the adult learner, to authorities and to themselves. It is organized in ten sections. The first one describes their main socio-economic features, the second deals with their occupational history and the third comments on their current working conditions. The fourth section is the longest one, and provides an in-depth description of teachers' opinions on a variety of issues related with the program, such as method, content, benefits and problems. Teachers' opinions on students is the main topic of the fifth section. The last sections refer, respectively, to their opinions on training (including recruitment policies and the role of paraprofessionals), their opinions on decision-making and authorities, their educational and occupational expectations and their professional culture. Finally, the main findings are condensed in a brief summary. It is important to note that, although this analysis focuses on teachers, in some cases their opinions are compared with students' opinions on the same issues.

Socio-economic profile

The majority of the teachers interviewed (79.6%) are Canadian-born, with 49% born in Alberta and 30.6% in the rest of Canada. From those born in Alberta, only one third were born in Calgary or Edmonton, and two thirds in the rest of Alberta. Teachers born abroad come mainly from Europe (12.2%), but also from Latin America (4.1%) and Asia (2%). There is a slight association between marital status and program, with more married teachers in skill upgrading programs. Skill upgrading programs have also more male and mature teachers than academic upgrading programs (see tables 5-1 and 5-2). Other interesting demographic feature is that half of the sample have migrated, either from rural to urban areas or vice-versa.

Table 5-1: Age by Program

	ABE	Skill Upgrading
Young (0-40 yrs old)	60.7%	38.1%
Mature (41 and over)	39.3%	61.9%

Table 5-2: Gender by Program

	ABE	Skill Upgrading
Male	42.9%	61.9%
Female	57.1%	8.1%

Teachers' socio-economic status (SES) was analyzed through 8 variables: father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, house property, income, self-perception and schooling. Regarding the first one (father's education), only 17% of teachers' fathers have a university degree (12.8% have a bachelor degree and 4.3% have a graduate diploma; interestingly, half of the bachelor's degrees are in Education). A large proportion (40.4%) has a schooling equivalent to elementary school or even lower. Mothers' educational level is on average a little bit higher than that of fathers, with more people concentrated in junior and high school.

Table 5-3: Fathers' and Mothers' Education

	Father's Education	Mother's Education
Does not know	00.0%	2.0%
Incomp. Elementary	15.0%	8.2%
Elementary	25.5%	22.4%
Junior High	17.0%	24.5%
High School	17.0%	28.6%
Technical Training	8.5%	6.1%
University	17.0%	8.1%

Regarding parents' occupation, almost 40% of teachers' fathers are labourers, and can be classified as "blue collar" workers. This 39.6% is formed by 25% of skilled laborers, 12.5% of unskilled labourers[1] and 2% of rural labourers. The 60% who are not "blue collars" are classified as follows: 33.4% are self-employed (half of them being

farmers, and the other half are businessmen, salesmen, cattle dealers, real estate and commercial travellers), 14.6% are white collar employees (including managers),10.5% are professionals (4.2% teachers and 6.3% other professions), and 2.1% are technicians. Almost half of the teachers' mothers (47%) are housewives, 18.3% are white collar employees (mainly working in secretarial/clerical type of jobs and 14.4% are professionals (mainly teachers). The remaining 20.4% includes unskilled and skilled labour and self employed.

Table 5-4: Fathers' and Mothers' Occupation

Father's Occupation		Mother's Occupation	
Labour	39.5%	Housewife	47.0%
Self Employed	33.4%	White collar	18.2%
White Collar	14.6%	Professional	14.4%
Professional	10.4%	Labour	12.3%
Technician	2.1%	Self-Employed	8.1%

An overwhelming majority of teachers own their homes, while only 20% do not. Regarding income, in an attempt to compare the three countries with the same indicator, we established as "minimum" the gross national product per capita reported by CIDA, which is $13,670 per year. Not one of the teachers interviewed said that they earned less than this amount. Instead, 57% of them receive between twice and three times this amount (13,670-41,010) per year, 41% perceive more than three times this amount (41,010 and more) while only 2% earn between the minimum and twice the minimum. This is consistent with the perception that teachers have about themselves: most of the teachers (69.4%) see themselves as members of the middle class, and one quarter (22.4%) of the upper middle class. Although teachers of both programs have similar years of educational experience, on average teachers of ABE receive a higher salary.

Table 5-5: Teachers' Income

Less than GNP per capita	0.0%
Low (1-2 GNP per capita)	2.1%
Medium (2-3 GNP per capita)	57.1%
High (+3 GNP Per capita)	40.8%

Unlike Mexico, in Canada adult educators are professional teachers or certified technicians. Therefore, while in Mexico two thirds of the sample do not have not post-secondary education, in Canada this situation affects only 10% of the teachers; one of them has finished high school and the other four have less than high school education. Roughly half of the sample (53%) has a bachelor degree (34.6% in Education and 18.4% in Arts or Sciences) and 20.4% has a graduate degree (18.4% Master and 2% Ph.D). The remaining part (16.3%) has different types of post-secondary, non-university training in a variety of trades and disciplines.

Table 5-6: Teachers' Schooling

Lower than High School	8.2%
High School	2.0%
Post-Second (Techn)	16.3%
Bachelor Degree	53.0%
Graduate Degree	20.4%

The level of schooling varies by area and gender: two thirds of teachers with graduate degrees are male or live in urban areas. Surprisingly, although in academic upgrading there are more bachelor degrees and in skill upgrading more technical diplomas, the proportion of graduate degrees is exactly the same in both programs. In correspondence with the average age of teachers, it seems normal that half of them obtained their highest degree in the period 1966-1974, and only 20% have got the degree after 1980. The amount of years after obtaining the last degree confirms the high degree of professionalization of Albertan adult educators, and suggests a tendency towards tradition and rigidity. As one of the interviewees said

> The old-timers don't have the orientation to Adult Education. They don't know anything about andragogy, they don't know anything about the theories of development and empowerment that go on in education. All they know is what they do, and they don't want that to change. Co-ordinators, the same. Our senior staff, program chairman, the senior instructors tend to be people who have been here a long time and we promote those people internally. We very rarely bring in people from the outside to a senior position.

The areas of specialization of the teachers interviewed are very different: in a sample of only 49 teachers, as many as 19 areas of specialization were mentioned. The

most mentioned were Social Studies (14.3%), Mathematics (12.2%), Business (10.2%), English (10.2%), Special Education (6.1%), Life-skills (4.1%), Early Childhood (4.1%), Mechanics (4.1%) and Surveying (4.1%). Summing up, from the analysis of the above variables it can be concluded that Canadian teachers show an important social mobility with respect to their parents and have a higher socio-economic status than Mexican adult educators.

Occupational history

Experience in educational activities

Unlike Mexico, in Canada there is no single teacher with less than two years of educational experience. The average experience is 13 years, and the majority of teachers (62.2%) have 10 or more years working in the educational field. Moreover, more than 15% have 20 or more years of experience in educational related activities, including people with 30 and even 43 years of experience. This extraordinary amount of professional experience is consistent with the average age of the teachers (40 years old).

Table 5-7: Work Experience in Educational Activities

Less than 1 year	0.0%
2 to 5 years	20.4%
6 to 10 years	20.4%
11 to 15 years	26.5%
16 to 20 years	22.5%
21 years or more	10.2%

Although the experience in education is extremely high, the experience in the field of adult education is significantly lower: in this case the mean decreases to 8.7 years. However, it is still much higher than in Mexico. Only 36.7% of the teachers have 10 or more years of experience in adult education, and only 4% have 20 or more years. This difference between experience in education and experience in adult education can be attributed to the fact that many of the AVC and CVC teachers (especially in the area of academic upgrading) proceeded from the regular system. In fact, 65.3% of the

interviewees declared that their last work was educational related, while the remaining 34.7% worked in other types of occupations.

Table 5-8: Type of Previous Educational Experience

Elementary	21.9%
Junior High	3.1%
High School	43.8%
Ad. Ed., NFE	18.8%
Post Second. (Techn)	6.3%
School Board (Adm)	6.3%

Out of those whose former work was educational, the largest proportion comes from junior high or high schools, followed by those who worked in elementary schools. A small proportion worked in administrative positions within the educational bureaucracy (mainly in the Public School Board) or in junior high schools. Only 18.8% had experience in any type of adult or non-formal education (ABE, literacy, training, youth recreation, etc) before entering this job, a very low figure in comparison with Mexico. This helps to explain the high degree of formalization and school-like practices in adult education.

> Because our turnover is so low, most of our staff have been here a long time, and most of our staff do not have Adult Education training. They taught in the Public system, they taught adolescents or whatever when they applied for a job here in the old days and we hired them; and nowadays what they know about teaching adults, they've learned on the job.

Regarding the type of activity performed by teachers before entering the AVC or CVC, the main job was teaching (44.7%), trades (10.6%), Supervisors or Senior Instructors (10.6%), research (8.5%), health related (6.4%) and clerical jobs (4.3%). The rest worked in a variety of activities, such as principal, counsellor, theater actor, laborer, forest guardian and cook. In explaining why they left the previous job, a wide range of answers were given by teachers. The most recurrent one was inconformity, mainly due to tediousness. In teachers' words, they were "bored", "tired", "working there many years", "looking for a change within the same field", "needing a challenge" or "wanted to change institution". Other teachers said about their former activity that

"was a daily job, leading to nowhere", "was not economically worthwhile", "did not provide opportunity for personal development", "was a stressful job", or that they had problems, disagreements or "ideological differences with the authorities". The second reason (20.4%) was migration. A similar proportion of teachers resigned to the former job because of a concrete possibility to work at the AVC or CVC. Half of them mentioned that these institutions offered better work conditions (in terms of salary, no week end work, etc). The other half pointed out that in the new institution they could develop the type of job they were interested in, such as working with mentally handicapped or teach adults. Some teachers mentioned that the job ended, either because it was a temporary job (10.2%), or because of recession, bankruptcy or decline in the oil economy (6.1%). The rest left the previous workplace for health or maternity-related reasons (6.1%) or for more opportunities. In fact, a teacher who worked before in elementary school explained that she moved to the field of AE because she foresaw a scarcity of jobs in the near future in that educational level due to the low fertility rates of Canadian society and the consequent lack of children to teach.

Motives for engaging in adult education

Regarding the rationale to accept the current job, one quarter of the sample indicated that they took it because it offered better conditions with respect to the former job, in terms of work, salary, stress, cleanliness, security (permanent job) and time. A significant proportion (20.4%) said that they were interested in the type of work developed by the institution, mainly because they like teaching adults, wanted to have adult education experience, or to make changes within the program. A similar proportion mentioned the issues of personal development, challenge, looking for a change, doing something different, having more freedom, etc. Some teachers directly concentrated on economic or financial need, including one who said that it was the first job offered and another who moved to the countryside due to the lack of available jobs in Edmonton.

Personal reasons include moving, liking small communities, having business in the area, difficulties working in the regular system, etc. A small proportion of teachers pointed out that they like teaching in general (8.2%) or they like people, including those who particularly like to work with mentally handicapped.[2] These answers greatly contrast with those given by Mexican teachers; in fact, in this case nobody mentioned the issues of help or compulsory requirement, which confirms the difference between professionalism and corporate volunteerism in teachers' rationality.

Table 5-9: Reasons for Taking This Job

Better Working Conditions	24.5%
Like to Teach Adults	20.4%
Challenge, Pers. Dev.	20.4%
Economic need	10.2%
Personal reasons	10.2%
Like teaching	8.2%
Like people	6.1%

Dichotomizing personal and professional reasons, it is possible to observe that among ABE teachers the majority mentioned the latter, while in skill upgrading both preferences obtained almost the same percentage. This suggests that ABE teachers are more oriented and committed toward the teaching profession.

Current working conditions

Most of the teachers interviewed (95.6%) are full time staff, and therefore work about 40 hours per week. Out of this time, how many hours per week do they devote to teaching? Half of the sample teaches 20 or more hours per week, and the mean is 25 hours per week. In relation to the amount of hours spent at home in non-paid time doing work such as preparing classes, marking, etc, 20% of the sample do not do any work at home, while almost half declared that they spend five and more hours, and about 10% indicated ten and more hours. It is interesting to note that the teachers who tend to spend more hours are those who are single, male and have less years of experience. This indicates that the amount of workload at home is directly related to the amount of spare

time available (suggesting that females and married people have more family responsibilities) and inversely related to the amount of accumulated experience.

The average length of the programs is 28 weeks, although the duration ranges from six weeks to more than one year. Ten percent of the sample said that, since their programs are self-based and individualized, the duration varies from student to student. Each teacher attends to an average of two groups, although the majority has only one group. However, there are teachers who attend to five and even six groups. Although the number of students per teacher ranges from four to thirty, the average teacher/student ratio is 1:16, and the mode is 15 students.

Table 5-10: Current Working Conditions

Paid Hours per Week (mean)	37.5 hours
Teaching Hours/Week	22 hours
Non-paid Hours (mean)	5 hours
Number of groups (mean)	2.1
Teacher/Student Ratio	16 students

Opinions and perceptions of the program

This section includes teachers' opinions on goals, needs addressed by the program, content, method, positive and negative aspects of curriculum, and its benefits at individual and societal levels. It also includes teachers' description of the problems and difficulties faced by the program, and their proposed solutions, with a more specific analysis of two important problems of adult education systems: low enrollment and high drop outs.

Opinion on Goals

Almost half of the sample (47%) said that main goals of the program are economic related. This category includes all the answers which referred to the development of skills and attitudes leading to employment, like work habits, competitive working abilities, effectiveness in the job market, operation of a small business, employability and job readiness, etc. As a teacher said, the main goal of his program is

"enabling people to develop the skills to gain employment, to maintain employment, and remain competitive in the job market up to the level of their capacity". A similar proportion (47%) related the main goals of the program with the second opportunity function of adult education and the provision of basic academic skills. This category includes a variety of responses, such as offering functional literacy, academic upgrading or English as a second language (for Natives and foreigners), to allow people to recover from mistakes or to take the "first step" (introduction to a field or background to meet goals), to give a second opportunity for the disadvantaged, to make the students more receptive for further education or simply to give them the possibility to obtain a high school diploma. Finally, the remaining part of the sample (6%) referred to a combination of academic and trade skills, life skills, health habits, preparation for a particular examination, vocational orientation and problem solving skills. As expected, the provision of basic academic skills was the most mentioned goal by teachers who belong to the academic upgrading area. On the other hand, teachers working in skill upgrading programs tend to stress the training for trades and the creation of "good employees". Teachers from both areas also mentioned the development of self-confidence and socialization skills. Interestingly enough, it was also mentioned that the relative weight of the goals have changed in recent years, from an emphasis on academic upgrading to the expansion of skill upgrading programs. When asked about their opinions on the goals of the institution and the programs, almost all teachers interviewed gave very positive replies [3]. Moreover, one teacher suggested that it could be naive to expect criticisms on the part of them:

> Well, obviously I am in agreement with these kinds of goals because if I wasn't in agreement, I don't think I would be working here to begin with.

In any case, if the goals are not reached, for some of the teachers the fault lies mostly on the students:

> The program works well. Its good. Most of my students have had difficulty learning in other situations. In an academic program they had difficulty, but when you give them some practical

> goals like this, they usually do very well. Unless they have personal problems that they haven't dealt with. In that case, they wouldn't succeed in any program because of the personal problems that they haven't resolved. I mean alcoholism, being battered women, no support at home from the family or the husband. Often they have to leave home at 7 and don't get home until 5 because they are bused in.

In order to analyze teachers' opinion on goals, three questions were posed: a) how achievable are the goals in terms of the capacities of the students; b) how relevant are the goals taking into account students' needs; and c) how reachable and linked to reality are the goals considering the economic and social context. Whereas a great majority (83.7% and 87.7% respectively) agreed that the goals are achievable and relevant, the percentage dropped to 64.6% in the case of the third question. This indicates that, in spite of a general high positive sentiment regarding the goals of the program, teachers are not very convinced about its social relevance. In this regard, doubts about the constraints of education imposed by external factors referred sometimes to the dynamics of the job market:

> The goal of being ready for high school is because to adults in general, having a high school education is seen as a desirable goal...Possibly even if they have high school eventually they still will end up being waitresses anyway, because somebody has got to be a waitress somewhere along the line.

Perceptions on needs addressed by the program

According to teachers, the main needs addressed by the program are economic[4]. These include both increasing the employability of the disadvantaged and satisfying the demand for skilled manpower in the region by employers. Assistencial and educational need referred to the notion of a second chance and assistance to the disadvantaged population. Other needs relate to social mobility, political pressures and Natives' problems.

Table 5-11: Needs Addressed by the Program

Economic	38.7%
Assistencial-Educational	32.7%
Social	14.2%
Cultural	6.1%
Others	8.3%

Among teachers who related the issue of relevance of adult education programs with employment were those who pointed out that there is a real demand for graduates of these programs. This perspective foresee an emphasis in skill upgrading programs as a response to concrete demands from employers.

> The last data I saw indicated that within the next few years there is going to be a serious problem with regards to trades. There is going to be a great shortage of people who have trade certification. Many of the trades, so if you can get a ticket in a trade you are almost certain of employment.

Other teachers agree on the existence of a real demand for graduates in certain segments of the job market, but they suggest that this demand is artificial, since it is a result of governmental resources. However, governmental intervention in job-allocation for graduates was mentioned as a positive strategy to promote self-esteem and would enable the individual to be hired in a free competition system.

> Our best employers are the reserves. The bands have money from the government to hire these people. But sometimes once they have got them hired they don't quite know what to do with them.

> The Government will provide the jobs for some of them. There is not a large job market for them, because of technology. So, through new self-confidence they can get another kind of jobs.

There were also teachers who did not see much relevance of the programs in relation to improvement in the economic status of the students through their insertion in the job market. For them, the main impact of the programs lies in the area of self-development.

> Mainly self development. They go to a low level of jobs. It is not enough to expect higher positions. More personal benefits than in job status.

> Some of these people have not acquired very good language abilities yet and maybe won't ever, so their ability to go out into the public is not good, so therefore the program can meet their needs to some extent, because help them to know that kind of questions to ask, how to go about getting jobs.

The issue of the increasing need of certification in modern society (the so-called "diploma disease") was also pointed out by several teachers.

> In some cases it may be just a high school diploma to be employed with an oil company.

> Universities, colleges, technical institutions are raising entrance requirements. So students say: found that their marks were not high enough to gain entry, let's say, to the university. I want to repeat these courses in order to raise my mark so I can gain entry to some other post-secondary education. Employers are saying: we are not only looking for some specific skill trained, we are also looking for paper credentials whether it is a high school diploma or even a general equivalency diploma. So many

> students are coming back and saying, I need this credential if I want to gain employment. So I think we are fulfilling that kind of need for the individual client and post-secondary institutions.

Opinions on content

In general terms, teachers' perceptions of content were positive. As the table below indicates, almost two thirds of the sample (64.6%) have a favorable opinion in this respect. However, this percentage is not so high when compared with students' opinion on the same issue, since among them 80% reported a favorable opinion. This suggests that on this topic students are less critical than teachers.

Table 5-12: Opinion on the content of the program

Adequate	41.7%	Cum. Perc.	
Excellent	14.6%		
Tailored for st. needs	8.3%	All Adequate	64.6%
Inadequate for adults	12.5%		
Too difficult or too easy	20.9%	All Inadequate	33.4%
Other	2.0%		

When asked about the content, a considerable number of teachers talked about materials, specifically textbooks. This confusion between content and material suggests that textbooks are the axis of the teaching-learning process, that courses rely mainly on one source of information and that teachers have difficulties perceiving learning through processes other than the written word. Many teachers reported having a considerable amount of flexibility in terms of content. Not surprisingly, most of these teachers are working in rural settings, in smaller institutions and in conditions of less strict supervision and scrutiny from above levels. The situation of these teachers was nicely summarized by one of them:

> I make the decision on what to teach and how to teach since in essence my decisions are the curriculum.

Complaints on the content concentrated on its length and on its inappropriateness for adult learners.

> I have too much to teach in 10 weeks. That is a common problem around here. I think the content could be cut. Sometimes I know, it is hard.

> Much of the material that is available commercially is really geared to the typical public school students and I think much more work needs to be done with regard to gearing material toward adult clients.

Opinions on method

According to classroom observation and teachers' own answers, it seems that lecture is the most used method. However, although 41.7% acknowledeged that they lecture during important periods of time, such method is often complemented by practice and group participation. Almost one third of the teachers utilize individualized teaching.

Table 5-13: Method Applied

Individualized	30.0%
Lecture + Practice	25.0%
Lecture + Group Participation	12.5%
Traditional (lecture only)	4.2%
Based on teachers' aids	2.1%
Eclectic, variety	18.8%

Many teachers expressed the wish of implementing in the future more innovative methods and techniques which consider the student as an adult person. The following are some examples of self-criticism and the need of a shift towards a more andragogic approach:

> I tend to use more of lecture style than I should. I think that that is a problem that most teachers have. Maybe if they have a lot of really exciting material they could probably present it in different ways.

> I tend to use lecture methods. I think it would be good if I could find a few more things to do.

> What I would like to do is turn it all upside down and do projects with them. But I haven't done it yet.

> I think our curriculum should give credit where credit is available for students who already know some of the material or have mastered some of the skills. I think our methodology should be flexible and geared to the preferences and demands on adults. Not make demands on them.

Some teachers pointed out that the widespread use of traditional methods are due in part to the fact that they are not encouraged to innovate by authorities. However, they foresee a change in the near future, when the current authorities retire and they assume more responsibilities. As one teacher argued, "some of the top people are going elsewhere and the instructors are going to be more responsible for their own programs".

Several teachers reported that, in addition to lecture, they use a variety of methods, including experiments, group discussion, AV materials, etc. Finally, two interesting issues appeared in relation to methodology. The first one is that the emphasis on practice is often seen as a response to students' academic limitations. For example, one teacher said that his method has "a lot of experimentation and heavy into the practical side because students are not normally theoretically minded". The second issue was the recurrent reference to the conflict between group and individualized teaching. What follows is one sample of each approach.

> I like the way that I am doing things. But it is only possible if you are teaching students as a group. When I was in other centers where I couldn't teach as a group because the clientele was too varied, and everybody was working on their own thing, they had their own workbook and so on, and it was an individual thing. That I did not end up being all that comfortable with because after a while you sort you lack stimulation and it gets you boring as an instructor. And if it is boring for the instructor it certainly is boring for the student.

> We have what is called monthly intake of students whereby students can come into. If for some reason a student leaves our program or has completed the program and it leaves an empty seat, we then fill that seat with a new candidate. So that really affects the manner in which we deliver our courses because what happens if you delivered by the traditional mold, it would be very difficult for a student to come in half way through a course, because much of the instruction particularly at the high school level is very sequential so that is why we try to go with packaged material where a student can come in and we can have students working at any place in the course. I personally am in favor of that mode of delivery.

Perceptions of Positive and Negative Aspects of Curriculum

Teachers stated that the most positive aspects of curriculum are that it is individualized (encouraging the individual learners to work at their own pace), that it develops confidence among students and that it is practical and job oriented.

Table 5-14: Positive Aspects of the Program

Individualized	23.1%
Develops self-esteem	17.9%
Practical and job oriented	15.4%
Good Content	7.7%
Teacher-student relation	7.7%
Prep. for further. levels	7.7%
Others [5]	20.5%

This pattern of response reinforces the idea that the ideology of individual liberalism has permeated the world views of teachers. Interestingly enough, only 2.6% pointed out that the positive aspect of the program is its focus on students' needs. In relation with the negative aspects of curriculum, the highest frequency corresponded to those teachers who do not perceive such aspects (see table 5-15). This lack of criticism was also found among students in a similar proportion [6]. However, a significant proportion of the sample stated that the curriculum is irrelevant for the needs of adults and the demands of the outside world. In this respect, teachers complained that the curriculum is outdated, too prescribed by the Dept. of Education, extremely tied to the regular system, and not geared to the needs and interest of the adult population. As a teacher stated, "a lot of students feel that they are not trained for our time world".

Table 5-15: Negative Aspects of the Program

Nothing	29.3%
Irrelevant	26.1%
Time Constraints	13.0%
Financial Constraints	9.2%
New Contents/Technol.	9.2%
Others	13.2%

Some teachers -mainly from trade areas- referred to time constraints, which provokes a narrow type of training, as opposed to a more holistic educational process. As a teacher stated, "it is very much instruction rather than teaching". Others pointed out their problems with budget limitations, constant changes in content and the introduction of modern equipment (especially computers). Those teachers who reported that they create their own curriculum identified problems in curriculum with their own problems.

> The curriculum that I use is my curriculum. It is what I developed, so when I look at the weaknesses its basically the weakness in my own background, my own knowledge and ability are my stumbling blocks.

Perceptions about the benefits of the program

Benefits at the individual level were explored in five areas: economic, social, cultural, psychological, and political. For many teachers it was much easier to recognize

psychological and economic benefits than the other three type of benefits.[7] As the table below illustrates, while almost all teachers recognized psychological benefits, only half of the them perceived that their course provides any kind of political benefit (participation, awareness, etc).

Table 5-16: Percentage of teachers who recognized individual benefits as a result of the program

Psychological benefits	93.9%
Economic benefits	89.9%
Social benefits	71.4%
Cultural benefits	59.2%
Political benefits	51.0%

Regarding psychological benefits, a great majority of teachers think that it consists of an increase in the self-esteem of the individual. In this view, gaining initial confidence is one of the main tools for success in life. Interestingly, just a few teachers said that the programs help students to learn how to solve problems in different ways or that they emulate successful students.

Table 5-17: Psychological benefits of the Program

Self esteem	95.6%
Problem solving	2.2%
Emulation	2.2%

In relation to economic benefits, 75% of those who perceive them said that the program enables students to find a job and to get a regular salary. However, although they argue that after the course students are more likely to become employable and get a stable income, many of them recognize that they probably will not make more money than the amount they are currently earning. Again, what is important in terms of employment is self-confidence rather than income:

> Fifty percent find jobs, the others move in with somebody: they are on welfare, they just sort of melt back into that. The fifty percent with jobs get some more money. Not a lot more. Some more. But I think what they gain in their sense of accomplishment probably makes up for what they aren't getting so much more in money.

Moreover, in the case of students who have been working before, some teachers mentioned that in many occasions the program has an inverse effect in terms of employment, because the position is occupied when they go back to work. A smaller proportion of teachers (13.6%) said that the program helps students to be financially self-sufficient, thus being able to get out of welfare.

Table 5-18: Economic Benefits of the Program

Employability	75.0%
Out of Welfare	13.6%
Work attitude	4.5%
Money management	4.2%
Other	2.7%

In order to obtain more precision in stressing the economic benefits of the program, three aspects were explored with teachers: work opportunity for unemployed, promotion for previously employed, and improvement in work performance[8]. As table 5-19 illustrates, the majority of teachers think that with the training that they receive most of the graduates will improve their chances in the labour market and, in the case of having been already employed, will improve their work situation and their job performance. Comparing programs, the forecast is much more optimistic in skill upgrading than in academic upgrading.[9]

Table 5-19: Work-related Benefits of the Program

	Opportunity	Promotion	Performance
All of them (91-100%)	37.8%	26.2%	40.9%
Most of them (61-90%)	26.7%	31.2%	21.6%
Roughly half (40-60%)	21.2%	23.5%	23.2%
Less than half (11-40%)	9.9%	5.8%	4.8%
Almost none (0-10%)	4.4%	13.3%	9.5%

Among those teachers who perceived social benefits, one third stated that the program generates better citizens. As a result of the program, they claim, students become better members of society because they are more educated and they are able to talk for themselves; they also have more social skills (like maturity, adaptation, security,

independence) and control over situations.[10] Another significant group of teachers (28.6%) said that these programs promote social interaction. They think that after participating in the programs individuals have contact with more people, learn to work in groups and how to approach other people and have a general change in their lifestyle. Furthermore, some of them also gain new friends or get married, and non-English speakers engage in communication processes with English speakers. Thirdly, 18.1% of the social benefits correspond to the idea of the adult becoming an example for their own children, to transmitting to them the importance of education and improving their chances in society. Finally, 14.3% said that the main social benefit consists in the improvement of the clientele's social status and 5.7% referred to a successful integration in society. For some teachers, the social impact of the program is as important as the impact on skills or knowledge.

I think that the most important objectives we have are the ones that have to do with adjustment to the adult role - to be reliable, to have goals, to be able to pursue things, to set an objective and achieve it and so on. It's less important to me whether someone learns to do long division or square roots or write an essay. Those skills may be useful in very specific instances but these other skills, the character skills are things that will determine whether they succeed and whether they are viewed as more capable of taking on the roles that society has.

Cultural benefits mainly referred to communication skills (verbal as well as written), although a variety of other aspects (such as social interaction, cultural awareness, intercultural contact, appropriate attitudes and community solidarity) were also mentioned. However, it was recognized that the institution does not encourage cultural development through extracurricular programs.

We promote cultural activities to the degree we can. Our students are not good at joining these kind of things. Sports do not happen very spontaneously. We don't have a drama club. Extracurricular activities don't occur.

Theoretically, it is assumed that one of the main impacts of the program in the cultural area is the opportunity that students have to re-enter into the regular system. In this regard, teachers were also asked about the proportion of their students who will

continue to post-secondary education. As opposed to the optimist answers given in the economic sphere, in this case teachers were more conservative and cautious.

Table 5-20: Percentage of students who will seek further education

All of them	4.1%
Most of them	16.3%
Roughly the half	14.3%
Less than half	22.4%
Almost none	42.9%

In fact, only a few teachers foresee a prominent educational career for their students. In general, the opinion was that upgrading towards further levels has very clear limits.

These people are not going to be very highly educated, but at least it exposes them to influences they might have never had which might make them think a little bit more.

Many of our students are not going to get the skills - quite apart from the credential. They won't be able to survive in a traditional advanced educational environment. They just won't. They don't have the skills to do it.

A crosstabulation of these data indicates that teachers working in urban areas and in academic upgrading programs have higher expectations about the educational future of their students. However, students enrolled in skill upgrading programs think that they will pursue further studies in a higher proportion than academic upgrading students. A hypothesis to explore in this regard is that the clientele of both programs has changed, but teachers are not yet aware about the extent of this shift. Finally, as indicated before, half of the teachers do not see any political impact out of the programs. The following statements fairly represent the opinion of these teachers:

Most of these students don't realize what is going on around them in the world. They don't normally read the newspaper. They probably wouldn't watch the news on television, unless there was some major disaster really interesting. So I don't think it changes their attitudes towards political involvement particularly.

I have never seen any political changes because of the program.

Among those who do perceive a benefit, 44% think that it basically consists of awareness of political issues, especially regarding electoral processes and basic rights; 32% think that the program has an impact in civic participation, which includes voting

and volunteer jobs in their local community; 16% said that the program promotes leadership and involvement in decision-making activities. The remaining part mentioned benefits related with citizenship and contribution to political stability.

They see themselves as members of the society for the first time.

Our political ambitions are modest. We feel that as adults people have the right to be active or inactive in politics.

Political stability because if they are satisfied workers they are not going to be disruptive in society.

The last topic regarding the benefits of the program is related to its contribution to national development. From an economic perspective, a considerable number of teachers pointed out that these programs help to release government and taxpayers from the burden of transferring people from welfare to the job market. From a political perspective, the issue of ensuring stability -as opposed to social unrest- was mentioned as one of the impacts of the program.

They are not on welfare and the rest of the population doesn't have to support them.

They will be useful members of the society which add to the economics because they will be spenders as well receivers of money.

Opinions on problems and possible solutions

When Canadian teachers were asked about the main problems within the program, they placed the main fault on students. They argued that their educational task is very difficult because students lack time management skills, intellectual abilities, confidence, motivation, clear thinking and planning, maturity, communication skills, autonomy, mathematic skills, responsibility, etc. Moreover, teachers added, many students have too high expectations and present learning disabilities, slow progress, absenteeism, withdrawals, indiscipline, alcohol and drug addiction, ignorance on life and career options, as well as family, emotional and financial problems. Teachers also complained that in some programs there are no entrance requirements, so students have no ability to read and this generates a limited potential. They also said that they need to

deal with a great variety of students, very different in terms of age, schooling, cultural background, etc. Although not all these constraints have their roots in the students, the majority of the teachers tend to blame them when facing the problems.

Table 5-21: Problems and Difficulties

Students' constraints	36.1%
Relationship with job market	14.3%
Material and financial resources	11.9%
Inadequate Curriculum	11.1%
Time-related problems	10.8%
Staff and Authorities	7.7%
Prestige of the institution	4.4%
Others	3.6%

I think the poverty, the financial, the fact that they are low income is a problem.

We can't always cover everything we want to because of the ability level of the student.

Many students are too young. They have no sense of responsibility.

The biggest problem is the home life of those people. It causes them to miss school, to be late, to drop out and I am always having to back track, because a substantial part of them were not there when I was giving the lesson.

Drugs, drinking, because they think well I have a feeling that they come sometimes to school to get money so they can show off at all these parties. They get paid, say they get paid on a Friday and they first thing you know all the students are in the bar. They come back maybe Tuesday afternoon. They all have hangovers.

The second type of concern is related to the relationships between the institution and the labour market. According to teachers, in some programs there are serious problems with employers, especially in the practicums used in the trade programs. Some of them referred specifically to deficiencies in the follow-up of practicums at the work-place. Another problem widely mentioned was the low employment opportunities for those who graduate from the programs. The lack of demand for skilled workers by industry results in a scarcity of students enrolling in some programs. They also complain about the low cost-effectiveness of some programs, because they do not make a significant impact in the labour force. Teachers are also concerned about the fewer job opportunities for students with less than grade 10, and about the image of homemakers in reserves and agencies.

One of the things that is good about the program is that we can show them the methods of looking for jobs, but they still have to have the courage to go out and look.

There seems to be fewer and fewer job opportunities available for our students who have a grade 9 level education and I find this unfortunate. Many of these have good skills. They may not be academic skills, but they are reliable, personable, and yet there are very few jobs that will pay you enough to keep you above that poverty line. We should have more opportunities in that area. Pay enough to be above poverty line or pay more than what they will get on welfare in order to get some incentive. I think that we have to admit that not all students are going to be able to get grade 12.

The third problem is related to material and financial resources. Regarding material resources, they complained about a variety of aspects, such as lack of space, inadequate classroom size or the quality of the computers. In the financial area, they talked about financial restrictions and budget cutbacks, which imply lack of funds to meet the demand which in turn leads to large waiting lists (in only the Edmonton branch of AVC there are 13,000 people applying every year, and only half of them can be admitted into the program). Increased budget cutbacks seem to have had consequences in the working conditions of teachers. Unexpected changes in funding strategies was also a matter of concern.

We have substantial waiting lists and in terms of being able to accommodate it means that we have to be able to offer more classes which means more instructors which means more dollars. More dollars for materials as well.

The problem of the funding situation is not knowing what AVT is going to do. AVT has changed its requirements and its expectations. Canada Manpower has changed the Canadian job strategies now as coming in and that means more private trainers are getting into training. We don't know whether the funding patterns we've had in the past that allowed us to put one kind of program together, one kind of institution together, will be maintained or will quickly change and we'll have to change quickly as a result. And that uncertainty always has us looking over our shoulder. What should we do? What should we follow?

Fourthly, according to 11% of the teachers, the curriculum is not related to students' needs, neither is it flexible enough to consider their health, social or psychological problems. Teachers also claimed that there is a scarcity of materials for adult students (specifically for those living in rural settings) since textbooks are usually urban or child centered. Some teachers related the low relevance of the curriculum with the low motivation of students.

We have a problem in terms of curriculum. More work needs to be done in making our curriculum more relevant to the adult client.

Definitely another problem would be the reading levels - a variety of reading levels of the students and the materials are difficult. There are very little materials for someone at a 4 or 5 reading level in terms of office types of skills.

The lack of appropriate materials, because the material that is being printed is urbanized.

A similar proportion of teachers mentioned problems related with time. Some commented that the time is too short to fulfill the requirements of the content, while others said that the program is too long for the possibilities of students, because many of them cannot afford to stay so many weeks. Some teachers said that, since there is no time specified to complete the program, there is a continuous intake of students, and the excessive turnover makes teaching really difficult. Another matter raised was the establishment of a new timetable whith more classes and fewer breaks and spare time. Other set of problems pointed out by teachers are related to themselves. Among those problems are the lack of continuity of the staff, problems with other departments, continuous change of instructors, lack of communication with upper management (and lack of support from upper levels), lack of staff integration, lack of released time to revise materials and methods, lack of local training and personal development, and lack of teachers' motivation (especially those who have only few students in the classroom). Finally, several teachers complained about the image of the institution among the public. In this regard, it was said that the programs offered by the institution are not known because of little publicity. This is understood as the main cause of low enrollment. However, some teachers suggested that even when the programs are known, they have low prestige in public opinion. These teachers argued that the low profile of programs in society generates a low enrollment ("students have no pride of being in these programs") which in turn is the cause of the low budget assigned to the institution, and here the vicious circle starts again. Other problems mentioned included the excessive bureaucracy within the institution ("it is very difficult to institute change processes"), the diploma disease in other educational settings ("requirements to enter into other programs are getting higher"), the legal restrictions to photocopy written materials, the difficulties of

disciplining the students and making them better citizens, rivalries among community groups, low community initiative, confusion about the institution's goals and the need to keep enrollment levels up [11].

In order to overcome the problems described above, a great variety of solutions were proposed by teachers. Only a small proportion of them (7.9%) did not suggest a solution. They used expressions such as "not much can be done", "is a larger problem", "it's a societal problem", and "perhaps in the future something will be done to solve this situation". Many among these teachers who showed skepticism about possible solutions, suggested that some decisions are made in a vertical way: "those are upper level decisions", or..."those decisions are made; we are told and you just adjust your program".

Table 5-22: Proposals for the solution of the problems

Beyond our possibilities	7.9%
Changes in Curriculum	23.7%
Assistance to students' needs	19.1%
New regulations	16.4%
Material and financial resources	15.2%
More contact w/ the outside world	13.7%
Internal communication	4.0%

Among those who proposed solutions, their proposals were collapsed into six categories.The highest frequency (23.7%) involved curriculum reform, both in terms of content and method. Suggestions with respect to the former included an annual curriculum review, substantial modifications in the orientation of the program, an updating of content, the development of new programs for women and training courses in skill upgrading for grade 9 graduates. Regarding method, teachers asked for innovations, alternation of delivery modes, increased motivation, field trips, de-schooling the institution, compensation of learning disabilities, etc. While some teachers want more individualized teaching, others are explicitly opposed to this approach and believe instead in a type of group-classroom instruction. Secondly, 19.1% of the sample indicated the need to pay more attention to the needs of students, especially the

psychological ones, being more sensitive to their problems and help them more systematically. These teachers would like to see more research on students' needs, an increase in seminars on time management, learning assistance and counselling services, and additional math courses. It was also suggested there is a need to look for alternatives to increase students' income and self-confidence. Regarding students' income, it was suggested that more free time be given to students, so they could dedicate that time to their personal business. This could be done - one teacher said- by splitting the program into blocks or allowing part-time students. With respect to self-confidence, teachers said that is important to encourage students, and help them to solve their problems.

A third type of proposal consists of the establishment of new institutional regulations, especially regarding entrance requirements, schedules, discipline, teacher-student ratio and austerity. In relation to the establishment of new entrance policies, several teachers would like to see in operation a screening process (by age, ability, motivation, etc), and according to the results channel people to areas where they are capable. Others asked for an entrance test for reading level, and others wished to implement a cool out policy, lowering students' expectations by "telling them the truth from the beginning". Moreover, some teachers would like to work only with the "cream of the crop":

Students with psychological or social problems should be advised to solve their problems before joining classes.

Time-related regulations were connected to changes in the timetable, the setting up of a new schedule with specific time for the programs and less flexibility for the students. Disciplinary regulations were suggested "to put more order among students". Finally, teachers argued that new measures of austerity must be implemented to diminish the effects of budget cutbacks, such as an increase in the teacher-student ratio, limitation of supplies, incorporation of more volunteers, establishment of peer tutoring and cutting out of some programs. For 15.2% of the teachers, certain problems can only be solved

with the presence of enough material and financial resources. Some of these teachers demand the expansion of classroom facilities as well as a renovation of the space. Others suggest that the government should allocate more money, resources, direction and commitment. In fact, for many teachers any improvement in this respect depends upon the will of the government.

It depends on government for funding; we are slaves of government.

A similar proportion of teachers (13.7%) wishes to see more contact with the outside world. The main proposals were to have more communication with industry, to create more job opportunities, to develop public relations with employers and to look after the potential clientele. It was also said that the center must have more contact with other institutions, referring certain students to other agencies which take care of them. Comments about contact with the outside world also considered the community at large, particularly regarding the necessity of more public understanding, participation and intervention in the activities of the institution. For this purpose more diffusion and advertisement is needed.

We need public relations work. I don't mind doing it. I think it is good for the instructor to do it.

Finally, some solutions may be found in the building of a better internal environment. Teachers think that more support to the staff from upper levels, better communication among departments and better interaction among teachers and students may contribute to this purpose.

Better communication between departments or staff so that as the students move on to the next level there is a cooperative environment or atmosphere to receive them with the kinds of needs they have.

Opinions on enrollment and withdrawal rates

Teachers were specifically asked about two of the main problems of adult education systems: low attraction of the potential clientele and high drop out rates. In explaining why the potential clientele does not enrol in the institution, teachers mentioned in first place apathy and lack of interest for studying on the part of adults.

Table 5-23: Why Potential Clientele Does Not Enroll?

Apathy, no interest	27.5%
Lack of information	16.8%
Economic, work and other diffic.	14.2%
Shame	12.4%
Afraid of task	11.5%
Bad past experience	7.1%
Sociocultural	4.5%
Low profile of adults	4.2%
Institutional Reasons	1.8%

This low motivation to come back to school was linked by some teachers with conformism and resignation, with a poor attitude towards education, with the low profile of the programs as compared to their aspirations and with the difficulties of perceiving the benefits that these programs could provide. This seems to be particularly true for people with employment, because, as the teachers implied in their answers, if adults have a satisfactory job and an acceptable income, it is more difficult to perceive the advantages of taking an adult education course. Some teachers related the image of the program with the frustration resulting from the cooling out function performed by the institution:

They don't like the image of what the program is offering. Because they want to end up with something that is really major. And this program teaches people that they are not going to end up in important jobs.

In explaining the causes of the low interest, teachers tend to blame the adults ("they do not value education", "they prefer to make money", "they have no initiative", etc.) rather than the relevance of the programs to address their needs. The second most mentioned reason was "lack of information". This category includes lack of knowledge in reference to the institution and the programs offered by it. Several teachers also pointed out the low public awareness about new professions which can be pursued through AVC programs. Some teachers said that this problem is due to the fact that both the institution and its specific programs are not well advertised.

I think we are still fairly new so I think that could be part of the reason that we are not getting some of the students. They don't know about it.

Maybe they are not sure what we can do for them.

A third reason was related to economic, labor and other difficulties. Financial constraints and lack of time on the part of students with work and family responsibilities, on the one hand, and an inappropriate schedule on the part of the institution regarding part-time students, on the other hand, were pointed out as the most important factors in this category.

They cannot afford go to school full-time; they are not prepared to interrupt their marginal jobs.

Not enough economic incentive. Allowance does not represent an improvement with respect to welfare.

Fourthly, teachers mentioned that many adults feel ashamed to go to classes again. Reasons to feeling ashamed usually have their roots in age and gender related prejudices. Regarding age, a common perception is that adult education equates school, and school cannot help elders very much. Teachers also pointed out the fear of ridicule and embarrassment on the part of elders with a lot of young people around. Although peer pressure plays a role, probably the formal setting of adult education programs and the curriculum similar to the regular system also have something to do with this feeling. As one teacher said, "adults are suspicious of institutional settings". Gender related issues are also involved in non-enrollment reasons. In short, teachers said that the bias of the potential clients is that they perceive adult education as a service directed for kids and women.

There is a perception on the male people that going to school is for kids or women. If I look all the way back, the males that I have gotten in the program have been the sissies in the community. They are the ones that were looked upon as being "sissified" or being almost like they were females or whatever. They were not the dominant males in the community. They were the inferior ones.

Males can't see themselves as quitting work to come to school and have less money. Sort of the macho thing. They may have to be supported by their wives while they come and so on. Its that feeling that they are not getting up to what they suppose to be.

Men do not want to compete with women.

An interesting feature related to shame is that low schooling is perceived by the one who suffers it as an individual problem:

They think they are the only one who has this problem; they feel alone.

Fifthtly, according to teachers many adults do not enroll because they are afraid of failure. This fear may have its roots in the amount of work involved in the programs, in a lack of self-confidence to complete academic tasks or in a negative past experience with the educational system. In rural areas this bad experience is sometimes connected with discrimination.

In this area it is probably past negative experience with the white man in school. Some of the older people went to boarding schools and were very badly treated. My students told me about how they were always put in separate rooms because they had behavior problems and they were told they were stupid and terrible. I couldn't believe it-how much that must have happened. And they came to me and said the teachers always told me that I was a terrible behavior problem and stupid and I don't know if I can learn. And in my class I thought they were doing fine.

Finally, a small percentage of teachers mentioned sociocultural problems (poverty, alcoholism, lack of support from significant people, etc), admission problems (difficulties accomplishing the minimum requirements in terms of technical or intellectual capabilities) and institutional problems (such as lack of space or the competition of other institutions for the same market).

In relation to the second problem -drop out rates- teachers reported that terminal efficiency at AVC and CVC is not very high. In fact, almost half of the teachers consulted reported that in their programs less than 50% of the students who originally enroll in the courses complete them successfully. Moreover, only 6.3% of the teachers reports a terminal efficiency higher than 80%. Skill upgrading teachers are much more optimistic than their counterparts from academic upgrading regarding both completion and graduation (phi=50.56 and 0.50 respectively). According to the teachers, the reasons adults drop out of adult education programs are similar to those which pressured them to leave the regular system before. The comparative table below shows that, although in some cases the proportions vary, the pattern of response is very much alike. Interestingly, in both cases the educational system is viewed as having little or nothing to do with the drop-out problem, and the approach can be characterized as "blaming the victim".

Table 5-24: Reasons attributed to students' drop-out

	From AE Program	From Formal School
Family Problems	27.6%	28.5%
Economic, Need to Work	15.0%	13.8%
Personal Reasons	13.5%	8.1%
Health Problems	12.8%	10.2%
Academic Difficulties	12.8%	17.1%
Lack of motivation	8.3%	7.3%
Social problems	6.7%	3.5%
Others	3.3%	11.5%

The right column indicates that teachers think that the two main factors that led their students to drop out from the regular system were family and academic problems.[12] The left column shows that the main reason for students' drop out from adult education programs corresponds -according to teachers' opinion- to family problems, which includes a variety of aspects affecting mostly women, such as divorce, family breakdown, pregnancy, physical abuse, machismo, lack of child care, marriage, family responsibilities and isolation from the rest of the family.

It is very difficult for a woman to succeed if the husband is placing obstacles in her way.

The girls are coming to school and the boyfriends are jealous because they are taking time away from them. So they make it terribly hard for them to study and after awhile they say : I can't do my homework because of my boyfriend.

This is too demanding for women with children; they cannot cope with school and personal life.

Babysitting for women. Some of them bring their children to the day care here but its really small so that not everybody can. Some of them have more than one kid.

Many miss their family. Quite often you are bringing people from a community and they have to come and live in another community and there are no facilities for their families to come. The family can't take it.

In second place are economic and work-related problems. Teachers pointed out that students who do not get a loan, or whose allowance is not enough to satisfy their requirements need to work. In rural areas, interference of the educational calendar with economic activities of the population also affects the situation.

Once they find a job that they want or it pays more than they get here, then they leave.

They didn't get their student loan, they have to have a job and therefore they don't have time to go to school.

If you get the wrong time of the year you could get hit by almost anything. I remember years ago when we were doing the basic education program in fall we suddenly started to lose students because it was hunting season. You got to get meat in for the winter. They take off, come back three or four weeks later. Got the catch for the winter, all in the freezer and now they can come back to school.

Thirdly, personal reasons include emotional problems, alcohol, drugs, behavior disturbances, immaturity, moving, difficulty working in groups, self-discipline and in some cases imprisonment. Interestingly, the institution seems to have a non-public screening of candidates with potential disruptive behavior.

Our counselors are supposed to screen the students when they come for their initial interview, so that we try to get students who are not alcoholics or that are using drugs.

Health-related problems also constitute an important factor for drop out. In northern Alberta, some teachers stated that cold weather also has an influence. Again, the idea of screening is present; in fact, some teachers think that certain people should not participate in the program.

Their own health problems quite often cause them to drop out. I would say generally in the group I have there are lots of health problems., like obesity, high blood pressure, diabetes, colds, I mean they have everything that can go wrong.

This year we had a large number who left for reasons of health. They started out at 20 and ended up with 12. We lost eight and seven of them were health.

People with bad health cannot come here. It's a too long day for bad health.

As frequently mentioned as health were academic difficulties, such as learning disabilities, failure to meet program requirements and frustration. As one teacher said, "it's too hard for some of them. They were not able to be here". Other factors mentioned by teachers were social problems and lack of motivation on the part of some students. According to teachers, low interest and apathy usually result in poor attendance, low marks and bad attitudes, which in turn lead to dropping out. Interestingly, very few teachers attributed the low motivation to a low relevance of the program. Regarding social problems, teachers reported that old disputes between communities or problems of social interaction could also lead to withdrawal from the program.

Maybe they think that they have better things to do outside. In spring time they want to go out.

A number of years ago we had problems because we had people come up from the Southern part of the province and we lost most of them. The reason we lost most of them is because they were Blood Indians

and the Blood and the Cree don't get on. Some battle that took place in 1800 or something, they were still re-fighting it in the streets here all the time. You know little things like that; somebody can move here and all of a sudden they quit and you find that ultimately that it was because they were put to share a room with somebody they dislike. The family has got a feud on, they can't live with them. They don't want to be around, so they go.

When asked about what they are doing or what they propose to do to avoid drop out, more than one quarter of the teachers said that nothing can be done, mainly because it is the result of external factors beyond the influence of the institution. Among those who do believe that something can be done, there was a general agreement that counselling and similar strategies are the most effective way to avoid drop out. In fact, half of the teachers said that they refer students with problems to learning assistance services or to support agencies, and talked about the necessity of having more assistance, counselling free of charge, communication, and help with time management.

Table 5-25: Strategies used or proposed to avoid drop out

None, nothing can be done	28.6%
Counselling	51.0%
Improve self-esteem	8.1%
Screening of applicants	6.1%
Research, follow up	4.1%
New methods, day care	2.0%

In the same vein, 8.1% of the sample proposed to improve students' self-esteem through a variety of means, like organizing group meetings, refering them to the Human Relations Program at the AVC, encouraging them or applying formative testing "to make them feel that they succeed". This emphasis on counselling and self-esteem reinforces the idea of the "pathological" approach, by which the institution provides individual attention (mainly psychological) to the dysfunctional client.

We have a number of counselors. If they don't like to go to R., maybe they can go to D. who is native.

Certainly incorporated into our program is the relations and life skills program to help them build on their self confidence and self-esteem. We try to start them off at a level where they can experience success as opposed to non-success. We have counseling services available. If they run into problems in terms of substance abuse, we make referrals and access appropriate agencies such as AADAC.

Thirdly, some teachers proposed the screening of applicants to ensure that only capable students are accepted, the signing of a written contract compelling the student to

behave well, as well as telling the "bad" students "to go and come back when they are ready". A smaller proportion of teachers suggested researching of the situation of the students to prevent surprises. For example, they said that student evaluations can be used to discover personal problems before they get bigger, and follow ups by phone of those who leave the program would help to find out their needs.

Opinions on the Adult Learner

General Profile of Students

According to teachers, the clientele of institutionalized Adult Education programs in Canada is mostly female and relatively young. Indded, the proportion of female students in the overall AVC population may be as high as 80%. In several programs all students are female, although there are a few programs in which 100% of the students are male. Teachers report that the average age of their students is 28 years old, and that some students are as young as 16 and as old as 65. A general description of the students was nicely summarized by one interviewee.

> They are often single parents, or if they are in a relationship, the relationship is not all that stable so they have a lot of responsibilities that they are carrying alone. Many of them have reduced income levels. So as learners, when I look at the statistics, I get a picture of people who have a lot of other things to do beside go to school. They've got the family to look after, they've got money problems, many of them have health problems.

The average level of previous schooling varies from course to course, but surprisingly enough for an institution directed to fulfill basic education needs, teachers report that more than 50% of the students already studied grade 12 in the formal system. However, almost all teachers pointed out the existence of a wide gap between the level of schooling and the actual level of knowledge and abilities [13]. In explaining the discrepancy between the grade level they have reached and the real level they can function at, teachers referred to problems of the regular school system (particularly the automatic pass) and to the time passed by since the student quit school.

> When I was teaching grade 12 in the public system, I had a kid who had a real problem with math, so we went back and checked the records and the last time he had passed a math exam was in grade 3. Every year up until then they failed him and every year he had just been promoted to the next grade.

In assessing the socio-economic status of students, the majority of teachers (87.8%) agree that their students belong to the low-income sectors of the population; 8.2% of the teachers estimate that their students are part of the middle-low groups and only 4.1% of the teachers consider their students as members of the middle class. Teachers referred to their students using expressions such as as "low income people", "survival level situations", "down at the bottom", "below poverty line" and "Welfare". Regarding the ethnic composition of the clientele, they reported that participation of different ethnic minorities in adult education is relatively high in Alberta. Group composition varies from program to program. In some programs the majority is "white-Canadian" while others mostly serve immigrants or Natives. Teachers also stated that their students have very limited political culture, low levels of civic participation and transportation difficulties. Furthermore, among them unemployment rates are higher than in other sectors of society.

Most of our students are very poorly informed politically and they are not active even on issues that directly affect them. They don't spontaneously participate in the political avenues open to them.

When they came here, most of the students were unemployed. At the time that they register, about 80% are unemployed or they say they are unemployed on the registration form.

Many of them have transportation problems... so we are just now beginning to look at what that does to adult learners, to have to take two bus rides for 45 minutes and maybe carry a 3 year old along with you to get to school, on top of all the other problems. I guess characteristics that affect learning directly.

Psychological characteristics of students received a more in-depth analysis by teachers. For them, the main psychological feature of their students is low self-esteem[14], followed by personal problems, low social skills (especially regarding communication skills) and fear of institutionalized education.

Table 5-26: Psychological characteristics of students

Low self-Esteem	46.0%
Personal, emotional problems	15.3%
No social skills	9.4%
Fear of educational institutions	9.4%
High self-esteem	8.4%
Hard working, independent	7.1%
Others	3.4%

In assessing the socio-economic status of students, the majority of teachers (87.8%) agree that their students belong to the low-income sectors of the population; 8.2% of the teachers estimate that their students are part of the middle-low groups and only 4.1% of the teachers consider their students as members of the middle class. Teachers referred to their students using expressions such as as "low income people", "survival level situations", "down at the bottom", "below poverty line" and "Welfare". Regarding the ethnic composition of the clientele, they reported that participation of different ethnic minorities in adult education is relatively high in Alberta. Group composition varies from program to program. In some programs the majority is "white-Canadian" while others mostly serve immigrants or Natives. Teachers also stated that their students have very limited political culture, low levels of civic participation and transportation difficulties. Furthermore, among them unemployment rates are higher than in other sectors of society.

Most of our students are very poorly informed politically and they are not active even on issues that directly affect them. They don't spontaneously participate in the political avenues open to them.

When they came here, most of the students were unemployed. At the time that they register, about 80% are unemployed or they say they are unemployed on the registration form.

Many of them have transportation problems... so we are just now beginning to look at what that does to adult learners, to have to take two bus rides for 45 minutes and maybe carry a 3 year old along with you to get to school, on top of all the other problems. I guess characteristics that affect learning directly.

Psychological characteristics of students received a more in-depth analysis by teachers. For them, the main psychological feature of their students is low self-esteem[14], followed by personal problems, low social skills (especially regarding communication skills) and fear of institutionalized education.

Table 5-26: Psychological characteristics of students

Low self-Esteem	46.0%
Personal, emotional problems	15.3%
No social skills	9.4%
Fear of educational institutions	9.4%
High self-esteem	8.4%
Hard working, independent	7.1%
Others	3.4%

How students find out about the institution

Unlike the recruitment model characteristic of Mexico, where the teacher makes home visits to convince adults to participate, in Alberta the majority of students go to the institution by themselves. According to teachers, newcomers obtain references mainly from ex-students, friends, and relatives.

I would say that the majority find out about the program through word of mouth. From students who have been here in the past, who have talked to other perspective clients and who have basically recommended AVC.

From other students that we have had, like they refer to their family and friends.

Table 5-27: How did participants find out about the program?

Word of Mouth	37.8%
Written Advertisement	32.9%
Gov't. Institutions	15.9%
Educational Inst.	4.9%
Social Agencies	2.4%
Radio-TV	1.2%
Others	4.9%

According to teachers, one third of the students find out about the programs through written advertisements, which include brochures, newspapers, information booths at Malls and posters.[15]

Through advertisements. Most I would say in newspapers.

Government and educational institutions also play an important role in sending people to AVC programs. This suggests the existence of a professional referral system and an efficient bureaucracy.

We get a lot of students say from Calgary that find out about it from manpower offices and Canada employment centres. They stay in the dorm. We send our brochures and things down to these offices and that helps them become aware of it.

Through various agencies whether it is through social services or Canada employment centers.

Student counselors tell students coming out of high schools about the various opportunities. Like we will get students from high school that will say well I found out about it from my counselor at school. Like we have had some that first year university that have came here.

Although teachers coincide in the fact that students approach the system and not viceversa, some comments indicate the presence of certain features of the recruiting model, such as the search for potential candidates or the establisment of coercions.

The recruiting people go out to schools and give presentations. That would bring in the ones from high school.

Sometimes the Indian bands will tell you well we will continue to support you but only if you get yourself an education. And so there is a a certain amount of compulsion but it is nonetheless you know they are still at that freedom to say I don't want to come. Like we don't go basically running after him. There is no way that we can force them to stay with us, but there is some economic pressure involved.

Finally, one comment generates doubts about one of the main features of adult learners pointed out in the literature (autonomy), and suggests the existence of a new type of client, younger and less independent: "parents send them".

Interests of newcomers

According to the teachers, a significant number of students come to AVC with diffuse interests and unclear goals. Regarding their learning interests, 45.5% of teachers report that students are very diffuse, 21.1% said that they are more or less diffuse and 33.3% think that they are specific or very specific when they join the program. In terms of job interests, the proportions were similar (40.2%, 29.9% and 29.8% respectively). Some teachers said that many students do not have any goals when they enrol into the program besides being paid or obtaining a degree. Regarding the allowance, teachers suggested that when youngsters realize that in adult education they can be paid they drop out from the regular system. In relation to the interest concentrated in the diploma, one teacher said:

They think in papers not learning. Many of them without any real career goal in mind.

Other teachers argue that many students are in the program because they have no other alternative. As one of them said, "there is nowhere else to go". The existence of overexpectations among students was also mentioned. For teachers, in many cases students' expectations are unrealistic regarding the goals that they set for themselves, the time needed to complete the program and the impact of the program on their lives. Some teachers argued that when students realize that they cannot be doctors, that they must stay a longer time to finish their program or that just a few courses will not help very much in

terms of employment they get frustrated. These teachers claim that overexpectations constitute an important factor in students' dropout. Conversely, teachers state that those who have more clear goals have more possibilities to complete the program.

I find that the ones who don't know drop out.

When they come here, they are anxious to learn, but they are often not clear on what they want to learn. They expect a traditional experience. They expect to sit in a classroom and be lectured to. Although that motivation may not last very long once they get into the grind and especially if the winter weather is difficult or whatever.

They don't know what they need. And they assume if they get a little more English, a little more Math that will help and we have to try to convince them that no, just going from a grade 9 level to a grade 10 level will not impress an employer.

When asked about differences by age, SES or gender, teachers strongly agreed that young and low income students seem to be more diffuse. Lack of clarity on the part of young students seems to be related to their limited work experience. Teachers said that these students often enrol into the program because somebody in a position of authority advised them to do it [16]. In terms of gender, the majority did not notice any difference, although some teachers said that males are more specific in terms of interests.

The ones who don't know what they want are younger. And that is a logical thing. Some of the younger ones are the ones that are more diffuse. The older ones generally have a better idea about where they are going. Age tends to make people more realistic.

If they are living a very difficult lifestyle, they really hope this will save them and pull them out of poverty and it is not going to do that.

Those who come from the higher socio-economic background are more clear. More definite about what they want to do.

I would just have a sneaking suspicion that perhaps the male population tends to be a little clear in terms of the direction that they want to go into. In the female population they tend to be a little more vague. I think that that has to do with knowing what is available.

Opinions on recruitment, training and paraprofessionals

Teachers were asked about the institutions' recruitment policies and training strategies, as well as about the role and status of paraprofessionals. Regarding recruitment policies, the great variety of answers given by teachers reveals a situation of confusion and suggests that such policies do not exist or, if they do, are not sufficiently

known. In fact, the recruitment criteria in terms of degrees and years of experience in the area of expertise or in adult education programs are not very clear for teachers. While 36.1% of the teachers stated that in order to be hired by the institution it is necessary to have a Bachelor in Education, 20.1% specified that the Alberta teaching certificate is also needed.

Table 5-28: Degree required in order to work in the institution

Bachelor in education	36.1%
Alberta teachers' certificate	20.1%
Any university degree	16.3%
Trade or technical certificate	16.2%
Graduate studies	8.1%
Others (Ad. Ed. Diploma, competition)	3.2%

Moreover, 16.3% of teachers stated that any university degree is enough, while a similar proportion (mainly from skill upgrading programs) think that the requirement consists of a trade diploma. Interestingly, 8.1% of the teachers stressed that currently the institution is only hiring people with graduate studies. The remaining teachers referred to certificates in adult education and competition examinations. Years of experience in the subject area and in adult education were also areas of disagreement; roughly half of the sample (53.1%) reported that there is nothing specified and 12.2% don't know. Among those who said that a certain number of years of experience is required, there was no agreement on the number of years: 10.2% said that one year of experience is enough, while 14.2% mentioned from 2 to 5 years and 10.1% from 6 to 10 years. Beyond the confusion among teachers with respect to the hiring policies of the institution, what is important is that adult education does not as yet seem to constitute a recognized profession.

Zero, nobody is looking for adult educators. I think you have to be a good communicator.

We are people trained to be teachers in the public school system. It would be nice if the instructors were trained in adult education.

The vast majority are high school teachers. Almost none have adult education credentials, and any expertise that they have dealing with mature or adult has been picked up by experience of supplementary courses, seminars and in-service.

Regarding training policies, in Canada the in-service training seems to be more important than pre-service training (see table 5-29). In-service training takes place both in the institution and outside of it. Its average duration is two days, one or two times per year, which are considered "professional development" days. They usually consist of inviting a speaker or participating in a conference.

Table 5-29: Percentage of teachers who received training

	Pre-Service Training	In-Service Training
Yes	12.2%	81.6%
No	87.8%	18.4%

Teachers' opinion on this training shows a concentration in the categories 'regular' and 'good', and only a few teachers are highly impressed by the quality of the courses.

Table 5-30: Opinion on In-Service Training

Inadequate	17.60%
Regular	32.32%
Good	32.32%
Very Good	11.83%
Excellent	5.91%

Teachers' views on in-service training are agreed that neither conventions nor speakers provide specific training for the particular course they teach. In fact, teachers explained that guest speakers are usually fairly general to meet the purposes all over the building. Some teachers reported that often the training is not even related to adult education issues.

The in-service training is inadequate. Many times they relate more to a specific content but not to a particular view on adults necessarily. I feel that comparatively speaking that Alberta is not as advanced as say B.C. or some states in the U.S. in terms of preparing and training educators to work in the field of adult education.

In some cases the professional development activities are not perceived by teachers as serious academic tasks.

I wasn't impressed by the program. Weird things like motor mechanics for women and strange things. I can't remember what was offered last year.

I like it alright, but in terms of helping with the job sometimes it is not related. Some of them are good workshops but not many. You have different choices, like mini-golf.

Some teachers like the conferences, especially for providing the opportunity to find innovations:

It's alright. You meet other people and are maybe introduced to new things. New ideas and new machinery. I think the first time I saw an electronic typewriter, it was at a conference.

Finally, there were teachers who do not believe in training.

I suggest that no amount of education on how to deal with their problems would educate you. If you don't see them as adults and treat them as adults, then it doesn't matter. That is the only really important thing. I don't think you can teach that.

Regarding teachers' opinions on para-professional teachers (volunteers and those without a B.Ed.) as compared to professional teachers, 18.2% think that they are worse, 22.7% that they are better and 22.7% that there is not any major difference. A large proportion of the interviewees (36.4%) did not have a clear opinion in this respect. As expected, the perception that non-professional teachers are better prevails among skill upgrading teachers, although some academic upgrading staff also share the idea that paraprofessionals can be good teachers and expressed their concerns.

It threatens my job security.

They cause paranoia. The teachers worry they are going to lose their jobs to these people who have lesser salaries.

Those who stated that para-professionals are better than their professional counterparts emphasized the aspect of experience instead of formal education. Others commented that they have better linkages with industry and more knowledge of a specific field. It was also reported that they are more able to establish a better relationship with the students, especially with Natives.

They are more sympathetic, they put more effort to be understood, they are more tolerant. They adapt better to other cultures. The professional teacher needs to impress students with difficult terminology.

On the other hand, teachers from academic upgrading tend to value more professional training in education. At the time this research was conducted, the Alberta Association for Adult Literacy stated that "there is a "crying need for professionals. We

can't expect volunteers to teach the adults just as we wouldn't expect volunteers to teach our children" (Chang, 1989b:6). In the same vein as Chang, some teachers argue that non-professionals lack not only methodology, but also knowledge in course content and educational theories. According to some teachers, their role must be limited to assist the teacher in specific tasks. What follows are some examples of this view.

They are a support person. They do not have the leadership as the professional person.

Their teaching skills are limited. They could be more effective if they are trained to teach.

Finally, those who did not perceive much difference between both types of teachers stated that in many cases non-professionals can fulfill the same tasks that professional teachers do; moreover, some of them argued that the difference should be a matter of responsibilities and not of diplomas.

I don't see too much of a difference. I find it very difficult at times to rationalize what the difference is.

Opinions on decision-making and authorities [17]

In order to explore teachers' perceptions on the role of upper levels in the decision-making process, two aspects were analyzed: the quality of information that authorities have according to teachers, and the relationship between these two groups. In relation to the first issue, only 25.5% of the sample think that their authorities are well or very well informed about what happens at the classroom level; 31.9% think that they are adequately informed, and 42.6% perceive that they are very little informed.

I would say they know almost nothing about what is going on.

I'd say very little. I'll give you a good example. It didn't have anything to do with me, but a few years back.... this guy was quitting and he said oh by the way where were you teaching? I just about fell over when I heard that. That was his second year. At least he should know where everyone is. He was pretty mad. He was quitting anyway.

It is interesting to note that teachers have a contradictory perception about their superiors being under informed about their activities. On the negative side, they claim, the authorities are too detached from the nature of the job that needs to be done and they do not understand the nature of the client. On the positive side, they recognize, this

situation leaves teachers at the grass roots with freedom to make their own decisions. As one teacher stated, "if they were watching everything that I did, they might disagree". Another teacher suggested that the contact should serve to inform authorities, but not to receive instructions from them.

You would like them to know what you are doing, but you don't want them telling you how to do it.

Given the low level of information attributed by teachers to authorities, it is not surprising that the frequency of authorities' visits to the classroom is very low. In fact, 62.5% of teachers reported that they never had the visit of an authority in their classroom, and 25% said that they had received one visit per year or less. This means that for 87.5% of teachers visits of authorities occur occasionally (probably more for public relations than for technical purposes) or do not occur at all.

Never. If they are looking for someone they come to the door but that would be it.

The direct supervisor never visits. Some guided tours for VIPs.

Not often. Less than once a year. But not never. They have been there. It is not really to watch me teach. Talk to students. Just visit. They may be evaluating as they visit, but it is very informal. Since I have been here it only happened once in eight years.

Although teachers acknowledge that authorities do not visit the classroom, some of them do not see that as necessary. These teachers perceive that their contact with the direct supervisor is more than sufficient.

The President never makes it to the classroom. Neither does anybody else. Actually my coordinator does visit my classroom, but she is the only one that does. We do our own thing. We do our own program planning right here,

If the authorities do not visit teachers' workplace with certain regularity, and therefore their source of information is not the classroom, how do they know what is going on there? Firstly, some teachers admitted that they don't know what channels authorities use to be informed, or directly indicated that there is no channel at all.

I have no idea. There is no regular communication.

I really don't know if they know. I don't know if you met W., he's the one that tells what is going on in our area. Sometimes I wonder if he knows what is going on. They do it to their own advantage. They want to say everything is going well. There was one problem that we used to laugh at - they'd have

meetings with all staff - and everything was going great in our area - never anything was wrong which I find pretty funny in a place like this.

Table 5-31: Information Channels

There is no channel, I don't know	14.6%
Chain of command	55.3%
Annual evaluations	14.9%
Informal	8.5%
Personal visits	4.3%
Vague rumors	2.1%

According to teachers, the pyramidal system seems to be the main channel of information used by program planners, institutional authorities and policy makers to know what happens at the classroom level. The information is carried from teachers to senior instructors, from these to directors, and so forth.

Step by step, as a ladder effect.

The only channel I know of is through my department head who only meets with them occasionally and above him is the Dean who meets with the President.

Through the directors I guess, if they ask. I'm not sure whether they see it as their job. I guess the delegation of the responsibility.

A smaller proportion of teachers (14.6%) said that policy-makers are informed annually through program evaluations, meetings, administrative and teachers' reports, etc.

It must be that the Presidents of the institutions are giving them an accurate report on what is happening.

The senior management [levels] are informed. We have what is called a management team where the President, Vice-President and all the directors meet every second week and then also every second week program directors with the Vice-President meet to discuss program issues and concerns.

Finally, some teachers report that mechanisms are very informal, while others talked about occasional visits to the classroom or just rumors.

We talk to some of these people. Talk informally. Probably that is their only input. This being a small institution we can walk into the President's office and say - You know what one of my students did and I don't like it. All my students are dropping out - this program isn't working. Like we can say those things.

I think our President feels very comfortable in terms of going to an individual staff member and asking how are things going. But that is on a very informal basis.

"Being in tune" with teachers and students; informal communication.

Vague second hand information; informal networks.

Regarding the type of support or advise that teachers receive from upper levels, one quarter of the sample pointed out that it is almost nil.

I am the senior instructor. Very little.

They know that you are on the job. That is about it. As long as you are here.

There is nobody overlooking the whole thing. Sure we are all working here and we care about our students, but higher above they don't know what problems we are having, and they couldn't care less. So I think we are not getting enough support from higher up supervision. Everybody just wants to do their own thing.

Table 5-32: Type of Support from Authorities

Limited, almost nothing	24.6%
Professional Guidance	28.1%
Administrative, financial	22.8%
Open Door Policy	10.5%
Permission to do something	5.3%
Psychological support	3.5%
General Information	3.5%
Other	1.8%

The majority of teachers reported receiving only financial or administrative help [18]. The rest declared that they receive different types of professional support, which mainly comes from their direct supervisors and senior instructors, and seldom from authorities, directors, higher officials or policymakers.

Support would be to supply budgets; to allow us to continue working here. They give economic support, but I don't think academic support. They just assume that we know what we are doing.

I can consult with her [my direct supervisor] on student problems. She gives out the probations. Nothing from upper level. My supervisor gave me some good hints as to what to do in the class.

In summary, the information flow seems to go from bottom to top, through the established chain of command, with little or no involvement of upper levels in day-to-day classroom activities. Authorities have limited personal contact with teachers, which is seen by some teachers as a recognition of their professional expertise. However, if they need assistance, the immediate supervisor plays an important role. In general terms, the model resembles a pyramid. Supporting this image, a letter recently submitted to a local newspaper by a former teacher claims that

...the decision-making process in our school system is based on authoritarianism, with power concentrated at the apex of the pyramided structure. The chain of command or authority flows down,

while accountability or fulfillment of directives moves up. The tragic consequence of this approach is that it inevitably dampens teacher enthusiasm and initiative (Uhryn, 1989).

However, such alleged authoritarianism can be questioned by the fact that a significant proportion of teachers participated in the curriculum design of their programs (especially in urban areas and in skill upgrading programs) and are regularly involved in its evaluation. This constitutes an example of the high degree of professionalization of these teachers.

Table 5-33: Participation in the design and evaluation of the [illegible]

	In Curriculum Design	In Program Evaluation
Yes	44.7%	76%
No	55.3%	24%

Expectations and aspirations

Alberta teachers have high educational expectations, presumably due to growing competition in the sector and the raising of degree requirements. In fact, only 10% of the sample (mostly the oldest and the youngest) have no clear intentions regarding their educational future. Among them, reasons for low expectations vary by age. The older people do not have much interest in being engaged in educational activities at this point of their lives (especially when they are looking forward to retiring) while the youngest are a little uncertain about what to study: "I just finished one level of education and I am sort of undecided. I want to spend a little while thinking on what my future goals are."

Table 5-34: Teachers' Educational Expectations

None, don't know	10.2%
Master or Ph.D.	44.9%
Personal interest courses	28.6%
B. Ed.	12.2%
Courses in education	4.0%

The diploma disease seems to be present among teachers; 57.2% of the sample want to study further levels of education pursuing a degree, and among them the great majority expect to do graduate studies (especially in education, but also in other

disciplines) [19]. A little more than a quarter of the sample declared their intentions to take short-term, non-degree oriented courses, mainly for personal benefit. This includes a wide range of areas, from cooking to military. Finally, some teachers would like to take short-term educational courses, mainly for professional development.

The U of A doesn't do a sensible one in a non-thesis route that makes sense. Those stupid projects you have to do. To me it makes no sense at all to require a thesis at the master's level, because you are not adding to the knowledge by very much. Making some variation the same old thing. I would probably go somewhere down in the States and transfer all my courses over.

One of the reasons I would go ahead and get a master's degree is [if] a position came available in another school system, I could use that as one of my qualifications. Also many school systems are requiring advance degrees for certain types of positions.

Courses for personal benefit. More computer training. Working with different programs. I have been doing it all along and I will continue to do it.

In relation to occupational aspirations, teachers show the same achievement oriented mentality observed in relation to their educational expectations. They refuse to remain too long in the same position, expressing high aspirations within their careers. In fact, only 15% of Alberta teachers would like to maintain their current positions.

Table 5-35: Teachers' Occupational Expectations

Supervisor/coordinator	36.2%
Other occupation	23.4%
Teaching another course/level	17.0%
Teaching the same course	14.9%
Decision-making	4.3%
Other [20]	4.2%

A large percentage of the sample have great expectations of upward mobility in the future, hoping to be the supervisor or coordinator of their programs or policymaker in a large educational system, including the possibility of international jobs in adult education. As one teacher said, "I expect to be in a position where I am able to take decisions. I wish to influence and teach teachers". Some teachers are thinking of a more horizontal mobility, teaching another course or level within the same institution. One quarter of the teachers are willing to move to other occupation, especially in relation to

industry. As would be expected, they are primarily teachers working in skill upgrading programs.

Professional culture

In order to estimate teachers' information on widespread educational issues being discussed in the province at the time of the research, they were asked about the Southam Report and educational policies for Natives. Regarding the Southam Report, teachers were firstly asked if they were familiar with it [21]. If this was the case, their opinion of the report was solicited. The result was that less than 2/5 of the sample (38.9%) were able to comment on the issue. It is pertinent to point out that any type of comment was considered in this category, even the extremely short and superficial ones and those who just had a vague idea that it was a report on literacy. The remaining proportion directly acknowledged that they didn't know what the report was about (40.8%) or indicated that they had certain knowledge about the issue but could not elaborate on it (20.3%) [22]. Those teachers who made comments on the report concentrated in directing their criticisms towards two main targets: the educational system and the quality of teachers' training. Here are some examples of these type of opinions.

> How some people got into university and they stayed there for about 3 years and they tested them and they said could no longer go to university and how many years they put in there you know. I found that very odd. How come they couldn't find that out when they first got in.

> I think that probably it is a statement on the education system. Because these people have gone through school and have graduated some of them and they can't read. And the teachers, its probably a failing on education that this was allowed to happen to so many people. Maybe if there is that many people who are going through the system and not succeeding for whatever reason the educational people should look at themselves. We should all look at ourselves a little more closely.

> Actually the finding, the level of illiteracy didn't shock me. Maybe that is the most remarkable thing. At least based on my experience. Not only within this institution, but in others of my experiences. In high school, like I know there are a number of dropouts at the functional level, but I have a good sense of these institutions. There are a number of people out there who do not have basic literacy. So maybe the most surprising thing is that I wasn't surprised.

A second indicator to estimate the professional culture through information and opinion on current issues was a question regarding adult education policies for Native Canadians. As in the previous case, the highest frequency again involved those who did

not express any idea or comment on the question. Among the rest, opinions range from political concerns ("they patronize Native education") to personal considerations ("I take into account Natives' characteristics in my class").

Table 5-36: Opinion on Educational Policies for Natives

No answer, I don't know	30.6%
More integration is needed	14.3%
More autonomy is needed	14.3%
Semi-integration	12.3%
Comment on specific program	8.2%
Second class	6.1%
AVC involvement	6.0%
Assistance	4.1%
Others	4.1%

The conflict between autonomy and integration was the most discussed issue. In fact, almost 60% of those who offered an opinion engaged in this debate. One group was in favour of a major assimilation of Natives into mainstream society, arguing that we must not isolate them, that integration avoids racism in both ways ("they must accept white students there") and that giving them specific educational institutions is a form of segregation. A group of a similar size argued the opposite perspective, saying that more autonomy and self-determination is needed, that they must depend on themselves, formulate their own policies and take over their education. According to these teachers, besides political rights, this would also increase their self-esteem and help to preserve their cultural heritage. A third group was in between the former two positions, recognizing that this is a debatable issue but it is necessary to pay attention to their culture and needs within the framework of mainstream society. Several teachers mentioned programs involving Natives such as Native Indian Friendship, St. Paul High School Upgrading and different programs in Northern Alberta. Other teachers complained of Government policies towards Natives, talking about "unfairness" and saying that it allows Natives to have their schools, but without providing the necessary funds ("lousy sponsorship"), which generates a second class service. Six percent of the teachers made

comments on the relation between AVC and Natives, mostly general considerations such as "AVC is looking into programs for Natives." A smaller proportion of teachers said that the official policy is to assist Natives, either paying them for attending education or providing them access to the job market. Other considerations included placing the blame on Natives ("they do not value education, so programs always fail") and on whites ("we need to pay more attention").

Summary

Canadian teachers have a relatively high socio-economic status, a high level of schooling and a high degree of professionalization. Urban and male teachers have more schooling and higher educational expectations. However, teachers with lower schooling are planning to pursue university courses, while teachers who already have a degree are mostly thinking about courses for personal benefits. Although they have, in general, a consistent experience within the educational system, such experience is a) mostly concentrated in academic upgrading teachers and b) it derives from previous participation in the regular system and not from participation in adult education programs. Academic upgrading programs tend to incorporate more female and young teachers than skill upgrading programs. Almost half of the sample took the present job for education-related reasons, which implies a high degree of motivation. Teachers tend to agree with the main philosophy and goals of the institution, although they express some criticisms in relation to the benefits, content and methods of the program. The liberal individualist ideology and the pathological approach towards adult education are reflected in the tendency to blame the student and in the importance that teachers attribute to individualization of the curriculum, to psychological benefits, especially the development of self-esteem, and to the integration of the students in society. In skill upgrading programs this approach is combined with a high presence of the manpower approach. In skill upgrading programs almost all teachers think that the program will enhance the work opportunities of their

students, while academic upgrading teachers are much less optimistic about it. Nevertheless, teachers from academic upgrading programs are more optimistic than skill upgrading teachers about the possibilities of their students to pursue further education.[23] In general terms, teachers have no close contact with upper level decisionmakers, which is interpreted positively by some of them as a sign of autonomy or as a trust in their professional capabilities. The flow of information goes from bottom to top, in a step-by-step process. In-service training (rather than pre-service training) is emphasized. Opinions on in-service training are not very high. Teachers' perceptions of students are in several cases characterized by paternalism.

Endnotes

[1] The category "skilled laborers" includes trades such as carpenter, forest ranger, plumber, stationary engineer, blacksmith, bar tender, electrician, cook, dye, tool maker, CN conductor, truck repair, etc. The category "unskilled laborers" includes people working as maid, janitor, sailor, warehouseman, cleaner, caretaker, etc.

[2] As will be seen in the next chapter, these answers greatly contrast with those given by Mexican teachers, who mentioned the issues of help or compulsory requirement; this illustrate a difference between professionalism and corporate volunteerism in teachers' rationality.

[3] As we will see later, although only few teachers expressed doubts or criticisms about the purposes, the philosophy or the rationale of their programs, they pointed out problems in relation to the operational aspects of the program, such as contents, methods, schedules, locations, etc.

[4] This presents a different situation with respect to Mexico, where 57.1% mentioned educational needs as the most important ones.

[5] Among other aspects of the program perceived as positive by teachers are its specificity (in case of preparation for a concrete purpose as an exam), its short time and the balance of theory and practice.

[6] As a matter of fact, 31.2% of students reported that there is nothing in the program that they dislike. It is interesting to comment that originally, when in the pilot test students were asked about the negative aspects of the program, the majority of them refused to answer the question. Due to the apparent dramatic connotation of the word "negative" among students, the question was re-phrased in terms of the most liked and disliked aspects.

[7] Interestingly enough, for students the main benefits are work-income related, and the psychological outcomes of the program do not constitute an issue for them.

[8] It is important to point out that for several teachers the improvement in job performance is more related to social attitudes (such as work habits, punctuality, attendance, responsibility, etc) than to job skills.

[9] Contrasting the opinions of teachers and students on the three aspects, it is evident that students expect much more economic benefits from the program. In fact, while roughly two thirds of teachers think that the majority of students will have benefits as a result of the program, approximately 95% of students share this opinion. Such discrepancy in expectations regarding students' future can be a factor of misunderstanding among the two actors.

[10] Included in this category are the teachers who said that as a result of the program some foreigners become Canadian citizens, although another teacher stated that only Canadian citizens are allowed to register at the AVC.

[11] In relation to these last two problems, one teacher mentioned the existence of a certain type of schizophrenia among staff regarding the aims of the institution, and other suggested that in order to avoid numbers down in terms of drop out rates, the authorities accept the reinstallation of previously expelled students.

[12] Interestingly enough, when asked the same question, students mentioned work-economic problems in first place, and lack of interest in school activities in second place. This constitutes another example of discrepancy between what teachers think about their students' life and what the students themselves state on a given issue.

[13] According to teachers, most of the students who report that they have a grade 12 usually fit in levels 6 to 10.

[14] The emphasis in self-esteem in the diagnosis of students' features is consistent with the "pathological" approach towards adult education described in chapter IV.

[15] Comparing answers provided by teachers and by students, it is interesting to observe the overestimation of the effect of written information on part of teachers. In fact, only 2.8% of the students mentioned 'written advertisement' as a source of information, and no one mentioned radio or TV. Confronting both answers, it is possible to suppose that important resources may be being wasted in terms of the use of written information and mass media as main vehicles of publicity.

[16] In this respect, Lindman and Sokolik (1988:132) reported that a larger percentage of academic students were told by someone in authority to complete their education as compared to career respondents.

[17] In this case, authorities refer to people with certain power within the institution (like program coordinator, President, Vice-President, etc) as well as upper level decisionmakers outside the institution.

[18] This percentage is very low if compared to the 77.4% of Mexican teachers who declared that the only help that they receive from their direct supervisors is merely financial or administrative.

[19] This expectation does not seem to be unrealistic. Many of these teachers were already enroled in graduate studies at the moment of the interview.

[20] Other considerations included expectations of retirement, teach on part-time basis, teach on contract basis, etc.

[21] The Southam Report on Literacy was sponsored by a newspaper chain (The Southam News) and carried out by a research team. When teachers were interviewed, the main findings of the Literacy study were being published during several weeks in the daily of major circulation in the province.

[22] Teachers included in this category were all those who could only say things like "I heard about it".

[23] Interestingly, available data on students' expectations show the opposite trend.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS: MEXICAN TEACHERS

Introduction

As it was advanced in chapter IV, Mexican teachers working in literacy and academic upgrading programs are ascribed to INEA and have a volunteer status, while teachers of skill upgrading programs are professionals. However, skill upgrading teachers are generally hired for each term and paid by the hour, and therefore they lack job stability. A description of data on a variety of aspects related to teachers' situation, perceptions, expectations and awareness of social issues is presented in this chapter. The tendencies manifested in this description confirm the findings of a previous study carried out in the province of Michoacan (Schugurensky, 1987). The chapter is organized in ten sections. The first three sections refer, respectively, to the main socio-economic features of Mexican teachers, their occupational history and the current working conditions under which they develop their activities. The following four sections analyze teachers' opinions about the program, the students, their training and the decision-making process. Finally, the last two sections describe teachers' personal and professional expectations, and their political culture expressed through indicators such as participation in organizations, perception of the main national problems and their preferred political party. At the end of the chapter, the main findings are included in a summary.

Main Socio-Economic Features of Teachers

Mexican teachers come, in general, from large households; the average number of persons living at home is 5.86; moreover, 30% of the sample live in households with more than seven persons. This situation is more characteristic of

rural areas, especially in marginal contexts. Nevertheless, although they live in large households, teachers are rarely the heads of the family; only 20% of the teachers are the ones who support their families. In the rest of the cases, the family is supported by someone else, generally by the father or by the mother. This suggests that -with some exceptions- teaching in the adult education system in Mexico does not allow one to economically support a family, and explains the predominance of youth, singles and females in the sample. This is especially true for academic upgrading programs, in which teachers are volunteers who only receive a small allowance. In fact, a simple statistical analysis shows a clear difference between literacy teachers and skill upgrading teachers. The former tend to be volunteers, young, single, female, non-migrants[1] and without economic dependants, while among the latter exactly the opposite trend is manifested: they tend to be professionals, older, male, married, migrants and with economic dependants.

The socio-economic status of teachers was studied taking into account their own income and schooling, and the occupation and schooling of their parents. An analysis of their parents' occupation indicates that they proceed from lower and lower-middle families. In fact, 50% of the fathers work in rural occupations, 38% are factory workers or employees, and 18% are self-employed. Only one father is a teacher, and no one occupies executive or high posts. The mothers are mainly dedicated to their homes (84%) and those who work outside the home do so in urban areas, in the informal sector of the economy. As might be expected, this low economic status of teachers' parents is reflected in their schooling: the great majority of parents did not complete elementary school, and only a small proportion of them had pursued studies after finishing this level. The mean in both cases is very similar: 3.3 years of schooling, a little lower than the national average. The parent's schooling is related with the region (urban parents are more educated),

with the type of neighbourhood in which teachers live (teachers from more educated parents live in less marginal areas) and with the teachers' own schooling.

Table 6-1: Father's and Mother's Occupation

	FATHER	MOTHER
No Data, does not know	5.35%	1.78%
Rural Labourer	8.92%	-
Small farmer	28.57%	-
Employee	21.42%	-
Factory worker	16.07%	1.78%
Self employed	10.71%	3.57%
Small business owner	7.14%	3.57%
Teacher	1.78%	3.57%
Domestic employee	-	1.78%
Homemaker	-	83.92%

Table 6-2: Father's and Mother's Education

	FATHER	MOTHER
Does not know	8.92%	3.73%
No schooling	25.00%	24.02%
Less than primary	32.14%	40.74%
Complete primary	26.75%	22.22%
More than primary	7.14%	9.25%

The low SES of teachers is also reflected in their own educational history. Since adult education in Mexico is a second class activity, adult educators are mainly para-professionals. Therefore, with few exceptions, for teaching adults, a professional degree is not required. Due to this fact, it is not a surprise that the mean years of schooling is only 10.5 and the mode is 8. Grouping by levels, it is possible to observe that almost one third of the teachers (29%) did not complete 9 years of basic education and only 9% finished an university degree. Against all

expectations, schooling is not correlated with program, gender or age. Given that skill upgrading programs usually require a trade diploma of their teachers as a hiring policy, the low correlation between schooling and program indicates the presence of a significant number of people with a high school or college education working as volunteers in INEA. Consistently with their low socio-economic status, only 5% of teachers studied their last educational level in a private institution.

Table 6-3: Teachers' Schooling

		Cum. Perc.
Less than complete elementary	4%	
Complete elementary	7%	
Less than complete secondary	18%	29%
Complete secondary	16%	
Less than complete high school	14%	
Complete high school	14%	
Less than complete college	18%	
Complete college	9%	

The low level of professionalism of the Mexican sample can be determined by the fact that only one third of the total sample receives an income higher than the minimum salary. Moreover, almost half of the teachers earn less than one half minimum salary. Nevertheless, it is pertinent to point out that the income level of Mexican teachers varies enormously according to the program, and reflects the different working conditions prevailing in the institutions in which teachers are involved. In fact, those who earn less than half of a salary are mostly volunteers of literacy or adult basic education programs ascribed to INEA; what they receive is in reality a symbolic amount for transportation purposes. However, teachers tend to consider what they receive from INEA an income or a wage rather than an allowance. The professional teachers of skill upgrading programs, on the other

hand, usually make more than one minimum salary. This information reinforces the idea that public adult education in Mexico -especially academic upgrading- is second class education. Appart from program, income is also strongly associated with age (older teachers earn more), experience, gender (males make more money, but they are mainly in skill upgrading programs) and the level of the father's schooling.

Table 6-4: Teacher's Income (in minimum salaries)

No data	13%
Less than one half	48%
One half to one	9%
More than one to two	9%
More than two to three	18%
More than three to four	4%

In summary, the tables above indicate that adult educators in Mexico not only have -on average- a lower SES than their Canadian counterparts, but also have a lower SES than Mexican teachers working in the regular system. Although teachers' socio-economic status is likely to be highly influenced by their parents' socio-economic status, a certain degree of mobility can be observed, specially regarding educational achievement. In comparing the teachers' own schooling with their parents' schooling, it is possible to observe a considerable upward mobility process. The schooling gap between the two generations is 6.6 grades and 7.1 with respect to the father and mother, respectively. This high educational mobility seems to be higher in the case of female teachers. The description above also shows the existence of two different working conditions within adult education (volunteers and professionals), depending on the institution and therefore on the type of program (academic upgrading programs carried out by INEA and skill upgrading programs carried out by other institutions). The students' profile also varies by program. Skill upgrading programs generally attract young and single students,

while academic upgrading programs target basically housewives and older people. Since institutions which provide skill upgrading are mainly located in the cities, these programs usually have more urban students than academic upgrading programs. Furthermore, fathers of skill upgrading students have more schooling than fathers of academic upgrading students have. Summing up, the profiles of teachers and students in both programs suggest that skill upgrading programs have a higher status than academic upgrading programs.

Occupational History

Experience in educational activities

The average time of experience of Mexican adult educators in teaching related activities is 30.09 months (two and a half years). However, such experience seems to be concentrated in very few hands. Almost half of the sample has less than one year of experience. Moreover, the mode corresponds to the 25% of teachers with only one month or even less time of experience (see table 6-5). As could be expected from their higher degree of professionalization and job stability, skill upgrading teachers have more experience in teaching than literacy workers. Interestingly, this variable is independent of gender, migration, birthplace and current living place.

Taking into account their previous occupation, it may be observed that for a large proportion of teachers (41%) this is their first job experience. Among those who have worked before, 36% have worked in public institutions and 51% in private institutions; the remaining part (13%) had not worked in institutional settings. Only 12.5% of the sample had any teaching experience in the past, and this is not associated with the program. Out of this number, 68% had worked in adult education, 23% in elementary education and the remaining 9% had their teaching experience in high school or university.

Table 6-5: Number of months teaching

	ABSOLUTE	%
1 or less	14	25
2 to 5	7	13
6 to 10	5	9
11 to 20	10	18
21 to 30	3	5
31 to 40	6	11
41 to 100	4	7
More than 100	7	13

These figures indicate three interesting features which differentiate the Mexican sample from the Canadian one. First, it is clear that before entering into the program, the majority of Mexican teachers have had job experience, but, unlike Canadian teachers, in very few cases is such experience related to educational activities. Secondly, among those adult educators who have had a previous experience in educational activities, almost two thirds have been involved before in adult education programs (see table 6-6). This also constitutes a difference with respect to Canadian teachers, whose main educational experience is grounded in the formal system. Third, the educational experience of Mexican teachers is, on average, extremely short: only one quarter of them has more than 2 years working in educational activities (see table 6-7).

Table 6-6: Type of Previous Educational Experience

Elementary	29.4%
Junior High	2.9%
High School	2.9%
Ad. Ed., NFE	61.8%
Post Second. (Techn)	2.9%
School Board (Adm)	0.0%

Table 6-7: Work Experience in Educational Activities

Less than 1 year	60.7%
1-2 years	12.5%
More than 2 years	26.8%
Education Exp. (Average)	9 months
Ad. Education Exp. (Ave)	9 months

Table 6-8 shows the previous and current second occupation of Mexican teachers. Considering their current second occupation (see second column, at the right), it is clear that for the great majority of the sample (77%) teaching is their only job. This is surprising considering Mexican patterns of double or even triple employment. It could be explained by the fact that many volunteers involved in INEA are students and homemakers. If the 7% whose other job is also teaching is added to the previous 77%, the result is that 84% of the sample are only teachers. Comparing their previous and their second occupation it can be observed that low status jobs (such as rural laborer and factory worker) are not present in the latter. This could be interpreted as another indicator of upward mobility.

Table 6-8: Previous and Current Second Occupation

	Previous Second Occup.		Current Second Occup.	
	ABS.	PERC.	ABS.	PERC.
No Data	1	1.78%	1	1.78%
None	23	41.07%	43	76.78%
Rural laborer	2	3.57%	-	--
Small farmer	2	3.57%	1	1.78%
Employee	9	16.07%	3	5.75%
Factory worker	6	10.71%	-	--
Self-employed	3	5.75%	4	7.14%
Teacher	7	12.50%	4	7.14%
Supervisor	3	5.75%	-	--

Motives for engaging in adult education

An important element to be considered regarding teachers' occupational history is the rationale for taking the present job (table 6-9). Interestingly, half of the sample pointed out reasons related to the notion of help.

Table 6-9: Reasons for taking this job

To help	50.0%
Requirement (Social Service)	10.7%
Economic Improvement	10.7%
Permanent Job	7.1%
Interest in AE or NFE	7.1%
Others	14.4%

This suggests that many teachers accept the values of social solidarity expressed by the government in the area of adult education. As the following answer illustrates, participation in the program not only provides an opportunity for feeling helpful, but also for social interaction:

"I like to socialize and to serve the [illegible]"

One tenth of the teachers took this job to fulfill a compulsory requirement of an educational institution[2], and a similar proportion (mainly made up by skill upgrading teachers) did so for economic improvement. Economic improvement as a motivation is almost non-existent among academic upgrading teachers, who are mostly volunteers. In this respect, the table above indicates the two main rationales of a volunteer worker in the Mexican adult education system. The first one is social solidarity, and the other is a compulsory requirement. It is also interesting to note that, as in Canada, economic reasons are not very important for Mexican teachers. This could be explained by the relatively low salaries paid by adult education agencies in comparison with the general occupational structure, or the lack of

Table 6-7: Work Experience in Educational Activities

Less than 1 year	60.7%
1-2 years	12.5%
More than 2 years	26.8%
Education Exp. (Average)	9 months
Ad. Education Exp. (Ave)	9 months

Table 6-8 shows the previous and current second occupation of Mexican teachers. Considering their current second occupation (see second column, at the right), it is clear that for the great majority of the sample (77%) teaching is their only job. This is surprising considering Mexican patterns of double or even triple employment. It could be explained by the fact that many volunteers involved in INEA are students and homemakers. If the 7% whose other job is also teaching is added to the previous 77%, the result is that 84% of the sample are only teachers. Comparing their previous and their second occupation it can be observed that low status jobs (such as rural laborer and factory worker) are not present in the latter. This could be interpreted as another indicator of upward mobility.

Table 6-8: Previous and Current Second Occupation

	Previous Second Occup.		Current Second Occup.	
	ABS.	PERC.	ABS.	PERC.
No Data	1	1.78%	1	1.78%
None	23	41.07%	43	76.78%
Rural laborer	2	3.57%	-	--
Small farmer	2	3.57%	1	1.78%
Employee	9	16.07%	3	5.75%
Factory worker	6	10.71%	-	--
Self-employed	3	5.75%	4	7.14%
Teacher	7	12.50%	4	7.14%
Supervisor	3	5.75%	-	--

Table 6-11: Current Working Conditions

Worked Hours per Week (mean)	10 hours
Teaching Hours/Week	10 hours
Non-paid Hours (mean)	2.14 hours
Number of groups (mean)	1.86
Teacher/Student Ratio	15 students

As it could be expected from the previous variable, more than half of the teachers (52%) attend only one group, 29% have two groups and the remaining 16% have more than two (up to seven in two cases). The average length of a literacy program is 7 months. Only three teachers report programs with a longer duration. Surprisingly, 10% of the teachers are not aware about the length of their program. In Mexico, both teachers and students should have free access to textbooks produced by the governmental institution in charge of textbook production. For each book directed to students there are specific books directed to the teachers. As a matter of fact, these books operate as guides, and correspond to all subjects and levels specified in those textbooks directed to the adults. Since there is no curriculum and the core of the final examination is based on the contents of the books, both the guide for teachers and the textbooks for students, are very important for the accomplishment of the program goals. However, the distribution process is not completely efficient. According to the teachers' opinion, one quarter of them do not have access to the guide-books. This proportion is still higher in the case of students, since one third of them did not receive their textbooks. It is interesting to note that students of literacy programs and teachers of rural areas tend to have more access and make more use of the books. This suggests that, in some cases, books act as a substitution of teachers' quality and ameliorate teachers' isolation.

The habit of planning classes and marking students' work at home is present in 55% of the teachers, and it generally is completed within two hours. In Mexico only 8.9% of the teachers dedicate more than three hours to these activities. This amount of time is very low when compared with Canada, where more than half of the sample reported that they devote 4 hours or more per week. Whether or not Mexican teachers dedicate extra-time to their teaching activities (especially planning) is associated with region: rural teachers report that they plan more than urban teachers. Moreover, this variable is negatively correlated with age, experience and number of groups. In fact, teachers who are younger and less experienced, and attend less groups declare that they devote more time to planning. This trend, which is consistent to what was found among Canadian teachers, suggests that teachers are more likely to plan when they have less experience and more spare time.

Opinions and perceptions on the program

In order to analyze teachers' opinions and perceptions on their programs, a variety of aspects were explored. Among them, the seven most representative indicators of Mexican teachers' views on the program were selected for this section. They are the following: a) knowledge of the goals of the program; b) needs addressed by the program; c) benefits of the program; d) importance of the program; e) opinions on content; f) opinion on method; and g) main problems faced by the program, and the main solution implemented or proposed by teachers in order to counteract them.

Goals

Knowledge of program objectives is probably a good predictor of teacher's efficacy. The table below shows that in Mexico, only a minority of teachers have a

complete knowledge of the goals of the program. It is possible that this indicator measures more the ability of expressing the objectives than the actual knowledge the teacher has of them. Nevertheless, even if this is the case, the proportion of teachers who are not very clear about the goals of their programs is still very high.

Table 6-12: Knowledge of Program's Objectives

Does not know objectives	3.57%
Partially knows objectives	58.92%
Minutely knows objectives	37.50%

Knowledge of the objectives of the program is strongly associated with variables such as the type of program (academic or skill upgrading), experience, previous teaching experience, schooling, income and father's schooling. It means that teachers with higher SES, cultural capital and professional experience are the ones who are more informed about the objectives of the programs in which they are working.

Needs addressed by the program

Most of the teachers (59%) perceive the needs addressed by the program mainly as cultural ones, although a significant proportion (27%) pointed out the economic aspect. For some teachers, the cultural goal basically consists in the reduction of illiteracy rates.

Literacy, to incorporate functional illiterates.

To end illiteracy.

To diminish the illiteracy rate.

Reduction of illiterate population.

For others, the cultural goals have a more ambiguous and general character:

To learn more about things they don't know.

To increase the culture and education of the adults.

This reference to general cultural goals by teachers and could be a reflection of the ambiguous perception of the nature of the programs[3]. However, the high perception of general cultural needs could also be understood as an indicator of the teachers' skepticism about the program's contribution to the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of students.

Table 6-13: Needs Addressed by the Program

No data	5.35%
Cultural	58.93%
Economic	26.79%
Social	8.92%
Political	0.00%

References to the economic aspect are prevalent among teachers with more experience and higher incomes, who are those working in skill upgrading programs. Conversely, academic upgrading teachers tended to point out the programs' response to cultural needs. Region also plays a role in this regard, because teachers working in urban areas tend to stress more than their rural colleagues that the needs addressed are economic.

Benefits of the program

Corroborating the above trend, a great number of teachers perceive that the benefits of the program are mainly cultural. The economic benefits are again in second place. Cultural benefits include a variety of aspects, such as the return to the regular school system or application of basic literacy skills in the street or at home.

They can start the elementary school.

To read names of streets, home accounting.

They can help their children with their homework.

They learn so they do not need to ask when they are in the street.

Economic benefits are mainly related to labour opportunities. Social benefits were expressed in general and ambiguous terms.

They can find a job.

They get a certificate. Especially many women who never worked and need to work.

To have a better standard of life.

Psychological benefits mostly refer to a reinforcement of self-esteem within the family or in society as well. Political benefits were pointed out but not explained. Finally, some teachers mentioned simultaneously a variety of benefits, according to the characteristics and needs of different clients.

They feel better with themselves, and they improve their image with their children.

To not be subject of criticism because they don't know how to read.

Mothers help their children; youngsters can continue their studies; adults improve their work; the rest for personal challenge.

Table 6-14: Benefits of the program

Cultural	43.91%
Economic	20.73%
Social	17.07%
Psychological	8.53%
Political	7.31%
Other	2.43%

Comparing this table with the previous one (needs addressed by the program), it is interesting to note that in the second one there are two benefits which apparently do not respond to the specific needs that were mentioned: psychological

benefits and political benefits. When subjected to statistical analysis, 'benefits' showed the same pattern of responses as 'needs'. Cultural benefits are more associated with academic upgrading programs and rural areas, while economic benefits tend to be stressed more by teachers working in skill upgrading programs and living in urban areas. This could be related both to the nature of the programs and the structure of the labour market. [4]

Importance of the program

When asked about the importance of the program, a variety of answers appeared, from those who referred to living conditions to those who could not specify where the importance of the program lies. Considering that the main objectives of academic upgrading and skill upgrading programs are teaching the basics and preparing for a job, respectively, it should be noted that the answers related to these objectives constitute less than half of the sample. This suggests that teachers perceive their programs in a broader sense, identifying goals which go further than teaching the basics or preparing for a job.

Table 6-15: Importance of the program

No data, no answer	14.28%
Learning basics	30.31%
Improving living conditions	21.42%
Work opportunity	8.92%
Important in general	8.92%
Personal development	7.14%
Organization for self-defence	7.14%
Not important	1.78%

Content

The teachers were asked whether they would consider the content of the program adequate for the interests and previous knowledge of the students (see table 6-16). Although the majority finds the program adequate, a significant proportion states that the program is not very relevant to the interests of the students (27%) or that it is not adequate in relation to the student's previous knowledge (21%). It was not easy to discover who are the more critical teachers, equivalent to one quarter of the sample. Correlations were made with a number of variables (program, region, method, SES, etc) and the only significant ones were gender and innovation (introduction of changes into the program, but only in the case of adequacy to knowledge).

Table 6-16: Relevance and Adequacy of the Program

	RELEVANCE TO INTERESTS	ADEQUACY IN RELATION TO KNOWLEDGE
No Data	5.45%	9.09%
Yes	67.27%	69.09%
No	27.27%	21.81%

On the one hand, male teachers seem to be on the average slightly more critical (or at least they express their criticism more openly). On the other hand, it could be suggested that teachers who introduce changes into the program do so because they find the prescribed curriculum inadequate to the cognitive characteristics of the adults. This indicates a relationship between critical thinking and the building of constructive solutions. However, it should be noted that changes in curriculum are mainly related to the comprehension of students (lowering or raising the level of content, modifying the terms of delivery, etc.) but not changing the contents according to the needs and interests of the clientele. In

fact, when asked about the actions they take in order to better respond to students' needs and interests, one third of the teachers said that they do nothing or that this is a problem pertaining to upper authorities. Among those who say they do something, the majority proposed changes in methodology, adaptation of schedules, simplification and explanations, etc. and only 17% said that is necessary to adapt the content. The low tendency of Mexican adult educators to propose changes in curriculum could be due to three complementary factors: a technical reason (their low professionalization), a socio-economic reason (their low SES and cultural capital) and a political reason (their lack of autonomy from a nationally prescribed curriculum). [5]

Method

Teaching-learning methodology is another key issue in teacher effectiveness. In Mexico, half of the teachers (51.77%) follow the instructions prescribed by guidelines and authorities or apply traditional classroom methods, which indicates low levels of creativity and autonomy for innovation. However, a good proportion of teachers emphasize practice, alone or combined with theory. Some teachers employ individual attention, probably due to the heterogeneity of their students.

Table 6-17: Methods Applied

No data	1.78%
Follows instructions	30.35%
Traditional method	21.42%
Individual attention	17.85%
Combines theory and practice	14.28%
Practice in class	12.50%
Practice in the field	1.78%

The tendency to follow instructions (this constituted the highest frequency) can be associated with the low SES of Mexican teachers. Indeed, those who apply less traditional patterns in teaching or are not willing to follow the prescribed curriculum have higher cultural capital and socio-economic status. These teachers prefer to apply their own method:

I do not use them [the compulsory textbooks] because the students get bored. The textbooks produce tediousness and tiredness. I employ my own method and they learn quicker.

Problems within the program, and possible solutions.

In relation to the type of difficulties the teacher must face in their daily activities (see table 6-18), it is interesting to note that the majority mentioned problems related to students, a smaller proportion pointed out problems with the program and almost nobody referred to difficulties as having originated within themselves.

Table 6-18: Problems and difficulties

None	25.80%
Pertaining to adults	54.83%
Pertaining to the program	16.12%
Pertaining to the teacher	3.22%

Table: Proposals for the solution of the problems

None	17.39%
Pertaining to the program	39.13%
Pertaining to the adults	13.04%
Pertaining to the teachers	30.43%

Nevertheless, comparing difficulties with possible solutions, it is possible to note that although the program and teachers are rarely perceived to be the cause

of difficulties, these are the areas in which more effort can be made in order to make changes.

Enrollment and drop-out rates

As in Canada, two of the main problems of adult education programs were particularly analyzed: the low rates of attraction with respect to potential clientele, and the high drop-out rates of adult education programs. Regarding the first problem, the majority of teachers were consistent with the table above when perceiving that the low demand and participation rates mainly originated in problems of the adults themselves rather than in failures of the program to address their interests and needs.

Table 6-20: Why Potential Clientele Does Not Enroll?

Does not Know	10.20%
No Interest, apathy	20.40%
Work Problems	16.32%
Family Problems	12.24%
Age (old persons)	12.24%
Shame	10.20%
Do not perceive benefits	8.16%
Socio-cultural reasons	6.12%
Problems with program	4.08%

In fact, the first reason mentioned by teachers is the lack of interest on the part of the adults to participate in educational activities.

Mainly apathy.

Lack of willingness of the people. They prefer to watch soap operas instead of studying.

According to teachers, apathy seems to be an inherent characteristic of poor adults in relation to their own self-development rather than a deficiency of the

program to address the adults' needs. If the category "does not perceive benefits" is included under lack of interest, almost one third of the sample think that their lack of interest, apathy, conformism, low achievement and lack of perception of benefits make adults reluctant to enrol in adult education. It is also interesting to note that sometimes apathy is perceived as an obstacle for recruitment:

It is very difficult to convince the people.

Work problems -mostly related with tiredness and lack of time- and family problems were mentioned in second and third place, respectively. Lack of time due to work obligations could explain -in the teachers' view- the high presence of homemakers in the programs, although sometimes women are inhibited by their husbands from participating in the program.

They do not come because they are ashamed or they have not time.

Problems with family or work.

Husbands do not allow wives to come.

In relation to the last comment, related research carried out by the INEA itself reported that "many women, without their husband's or partner's permission, attended the literacy circles in secret" (INEA, 1988:88). The same study asked students why they had not attended the literacy course before, and half of them answered that they were not aware of the existence of the service.[6] This figure is very high when compared to the 10% of teachers who pointed out this factor. Such a discrepancy suggests that Mexican teachers tend to overestimate the awareness of the agency and its programs by the overall population.

Table 6-20 also shows that only a small proportion of teachers (8.16%) place the cause of low enrollment in the relevancy of the program [7]. This does not mean that the reasons pointed out by teachers are made up by them. Moreover, probably all the reasons mentioned in the above table are real reasons given by

adults for not participating when they are approached by the promotor or the teacher. However, focusing the problems on the adults themselves leads one to the conclusion that no modifications must be done in the program, and the solutions must come from outside the system.

The second problem explored with Mexican teachers is related to drop-out rates. When asked about drop-out rates in their group, the mean of the answers given by teachers is 21%. This means that one out of five students drop-out. However, it must be considered that at the time of the interview the program was just beginning to operate; thus, it could be estimated that the real drop-out rate at the end of the program would be still higher. Interestingly enough, since drop-out rates are not related with the region, the type of program or the characteristics of the teacher, it is very difficult to determine why some groups have higher drop-outs than others. Reasons attributed by teachers to student drop-out predominantly referred to psychological, physical or economic difficulties of the adults, but they also pointed out problems which originated in the teachers' behavior.

Change of address, lack of interest due to tiredness.

Economic problems, sight problems. They have headaches when they study.

Lack of motivation.

Facilitators do not show up, and this throws everybody off.

Besides the low rates of enrollment and the high student drop-out, other problems mentioned by teachers include attendance, recognition and teachers' security.

Lack of attendance.

If facilitators are not paid, the INEA will sink. INEA does not motivate anybody, not even a word of congratulation or a personal recognition, neither social security. Our work is not recognized.

The female facilitators are subjected to violence, including rape. There is not security at all (in Mexico city).

In proposing solutions to avoid dropout, although a significant proportion of teachers (21.42%) do not see any, the majority (58.92%) think that changes in the program regarding more adequate content or methods and motivation are needed. The remaining 19.63% of the sample propose administrative changes in order to accommodate the program to the economic and labour needs of the clientele. Therefore, teachers think that more things could be done by the program and by the teachers themselves in relation to this problem, than in relation to the previous one.

Table 6-21: Strategies used or proposed to avoid dropout

None	21.42%
Adequate content/method	35.71%
Motivation	23.21%
Change schedules	17.85%
Economic support	1.78%

Teachers mostly referred to the necessity of more adequate content in order to respond to the students' needs.

To help them with their problems; for example, talks on accident prevention.

Motivation includes a variety of answers, but mainly those based on punishment or material rewards. For Mexican teachers, the notion of "motivation" includes all sorts of recruitment strategies.

Make it compulsory. If you don't have a way of proving that you are in the literacy program, your children will not be accepted in pre-schooling.

I propose that, in residences where domestic employees work, they should be asked for a "cartilla" (document or certificate) proving that they are studying or have completed studies in literacy.

We must obligate the student to attend daily, establishing a fixed deadline to finish the program.

We need to motivate them. One facilitator used to give out lolly-pops to those who attended, and that worked. Also LICONSA (State agency subsidizing milk distribution for poor people) used to give out milk for those who participated in the programs, but not anymore.

I suggest to not admit their children in schools if they don't enrol [into the program]. That will really affect them.

Opinions on the Adult Learner

General profile of students

According to teachers' estimates, the average percentage of males in groups is 40%. The mode falls to no males (27% of the groups), reinforcing the hypothesis that adult education in Mexico is serving predominantly the female adult population. Students' gender is associated with program and teachers' gender. Female students have the tendency to enrol in literacy programs and to have female teachers. Conversely, skill upgrading programs tend to incorporate more males, and show their tendency for male teachers. Regarding the main characteristics of their students, teachers mentioned a variety of features, including economic, social and psychological considerations. In the following statements, which constitute a sample of teachers' answers, it is possible to observe that some opinions are similar to those expressed by Canadian teachers.

Promiscuity. All around them inhibit them for raising up.

Poor people, who do not know to read and write.

Low performance because of economic problems; the crisis is tougher and it results in lower attendance.

Some have mental deficiencies from birth; some are slow learners but they can succeed with time.

Several students have personality problems (such as religious fanaticism).

Some are conflictive, but I put them in their place.

However, it is important to add that in general terms teachers have high opinions of their students. In fact, the academic capabilities of the learners were considered to be optimal by almost two thirds (63%) of the teachers. The rest said that these optimal conditions are present in some of the students, but not in all of them. Only two teachers considered that on average students' capabilities are not

optimal. It is interesting to mention that, although teachers have a high opinion of students, roughly half of them (52%) state that it takes them more time than is stipulated to complete the program.

When asked about the age group predominating in the program, teachers mentioned young people. Teachers were also asked about the target group of the program, vis-a-vis the real clientele who actually attend the program (see table 6-22). Although the categories are not exclusive, the frequencies show that the majority of teachers think that the theoretical target groups of the programs are mainly peasants and illiterates. It is also possible to observe a high correspondence between the hypothetical clientele and the real one. However, looking at the second column, two new categories appear: young people and housewives. Although the programs are directed towards adults in general, in practice there is a trend towards youth and women (Torres, 1982; Chaparro, 1987; Schugurensky, 1987). Adult males seem to be harder to reach.

Table 6-22: Hypothetical and Actual Clientele

	Type of Adult (Theory)	Type of Adult (Actual)
No data	10.71%	12.50%
Peasants	30.35%	35.71%
Illiterates	25.00%	12.50%
All types	19.64%	17.85%
Youth	-- --	7.14%
Informal urban sector	8.92%	7.14%
Formal urban sector	5.35%	1.78%
Housewives	-- --	5.35%

Teachers were also asked about the homogeneity of their groups regarding interests and previous knowledge; in both respects, the majority of teachers find their groups heterogeneous, but especially those who work in skill upgrading programs. The heterogeneity attributed to students seems to be slightly higher in relation to interests than in relation to knowledge, and suggests the need of curriculum diversification.

Table 6-23: Homogeneity of students

	Interests	Knowledge
No data	8.92%	5.35%
Homogeneous	33.92%	46.42%
Heterogeneous	57.14%	48.21%

Regarding students' motivation for enrolling into the program (see table 6-24), the answers of the teachers could be roughly divided into two main categories which correspond to the nature of the two programs studied. Almost half of the teachers (mainly those who work in the literacy program) think that students enrol to learn the basics, while one quarter of the sample (primarily from skill upgrading) mentioned that job training was their main rationale for registration. Other answers included that students wish to improve their socio-economic conditions (10.71%), to help their children in their studies (8.92%), to get a diploma (5.35%) or simply that they enrol because they like the program (5.35%). [8]

Table 6-24: Reasons for Students' Enrollment

Learning the basics	43.85%
For the job training	25.82%
Improvement	10.71%
Help children	8.92%
Diploma	5.35%
Like the program	5.35%

As expected, academic upgrading teachers were those who stressed the rationale of "basic knowledge" on part of their students:

Desire for self-improvement. To learn more.

On the other hand, teachers of skill upgrading programs tend to think that their students have more economic purposes. Similarly to Alberta, some teachers think that the adults are more interested in the diploma than in the learning process itself:

Because they need papers for their work.

Given the fact that many students are housewives, it is not a surprise that teachers think that they want to help their children with their homework. This rationale for taking adult education courses was already reported in previous research conducted in Mexico (Schugurensky, 1987; Chaparro, 1987).

Family reasons, mainly the instruction of their children.

To help their children.

However, some teachers mentioned the relationship with the children in the perspective of self-esteem:

They feel humiliated because their children are ashamed of them.

How do students find out about the program

The study also wanted to know how students approached the program. The hypothesis that groups were formed as an initiative by adults themselves, as part of informal organizations within the community, was explored. However, according to teachers, this occurred in only 3.57% of the cases. In general terms, the student does not approach the system. Instead, it is the system -through the teacher or other program personnel- which attempts to recruit the client using a variety of strategies,

generally at the local level (see table 6-25). The following answer clearly illustrates the characteristics of this recruitment model. [9]

A promotor visits the people at their homes, delivers pamphlets and invites them to participate.

Teachers have different interpretations in order to explain why adults do not spontaneously approach the system. The most frequent ones were that they have low communication skills, that they are afraid of failure or that they do not value education. The first two explanations assume the existence of certain obstacles (i.e. shame, self-esteem, expression difficulties) which inhibit them from expressing their educational needs as articulated demands and prevent them from expecting academic success in their life. The third explanation assumes that low-income groups do not have interest in or appreciation of the value of education. However, according to London, workers value education highly, but often express a negative attitude toward institutionalized education. This negative attitude -he argues- emerges out of the failure of schools to deal effectively with the style of thinking, background, and values of workers and their children. Therefore, he concludes, "early disaffection with the school system is likely to lead to the myth that workers do not value education" (London et al.,1963:149)

An alternative explanation is that adult education does not constitute a felt need for a significant proportion of the potential clientele, because they have more urgent priorities in their day to day survival. In support of this explanation, London et al. (1963:133) reported that the most frequently cited reason by adults to explain why they did not enrol in adult education was "too busy" (61%); the second response was "too tired at night to go to classes" (40%), followed by "I am not the bookish type" (31%); too old (26%), lack of money (26%), "I could learn what I need to know without attending classes" (19%), "I feel kind of childish going out to classes at night" (9%).

Table 6-25: How was the group formed?

House to house invitation	57.14%
Local advertisement	17.85%
Community meetings	9.23%
Was already formed	8.92%
Petitioned by community	3.57%
Mass media	1.78%

Opinions on Training

The number of teachers who have not received any training provided by the institution is surprisingly high. Unlike Canada, in Mexico the emphasis is put on pre-service training rather than on in-service training (see table 6-26). This pre-service training usually consists of a basic introduction to the work and to the administrative rules of the institution.

This suggests that, on the one hand, the Mexican system deals with less professionalized personnel. On the other hand, it implies the presence of a more corporative element in relation to the importance attributed to the knowledge of the institution on part of teachers. Like in Canada, those who have had training receive between two-day and one-week courses, and very few teachers have had more than one week of training (see table 6-27).

Table 6-26: Percentage of teachers who received training

	Pre-Service Training	In-Service Training
Yes	63.6%	15.7%
No	36.4%	84.3%

Table 6-27: Hours of Training

No data	2.17%
No training	42.85%
1-10 hours	9.23%
11-20 hours	17.58%
21-30 hours	1.78%
31-40 hours	16.07%
More than 40 hours	7.14%

In an attempt to discover what type of teachers received training and what type did not, it was found that training has nothing to do with program or region. Moreover, it is interesting to note that training is not related to the teaching method of adult educators nor to a higher efficiency of the program. Instead, training is related to the length of the program and to teacher's experience; teachers who have worked more time in a given program or belong to a longer program have received more training. Since these two variables are related to each other, they suggest that receiving training is just a matter of being in the program long enough to access a training course.

Confirming what was advanced before, the majority of those who received training (52%) consider that it provided them with just general information about the institution and the program. Approximately one quarter (23%) said that the course helped them to manage the program, and a similar proportion (22%) stated that it helped them to manage the group. The remaining 3% pointed out that the course was not useful at all. Like in Canada, in general terms the opinion about the training was not high, and it seems that the impact of such training on teachers' performance is very low.

Opinions on decision-making and authorities

Contact of teachers with program authorities is present in all but one cases. Half of the teachers interviewed said that the contact is mainly for support, while the other 50% stated that their contact with authorities does not imply any type of support, and includes casual encounters; for example, one third of the sample says that they have contact with authorities only during special events. Among those who receive support, it is clear that the type of support varies. Less than one third of the sample (30%) declared that they received technical support from authorities. The majority (70%) said that the support is mainly administrative (55%) or just economic support (15%). The latter probably means that these teachers only see their immediate authorities at the time of payment. The frequency of contact between teachers and authorities is very high, since the majority of teachers (70.05%) have regular or frequent contact with them.

Table 6-28: Frequency of contact with authority

No data	5.35%
Never	5.35%
Occasionally	19.24%
Regularly	27.38%
Frequently	42.67%

Contrary to what one might expect, contact with authorities has no relationship with type of program or region. The only characteristic of teachers that is correlated with contact with authorities is whether or not the teacher evaluates. Teachers who do evaluate their students have more contact with authorities. However, it is not clear if evaluation, either for technical or administrative reasons, is a consequence of the contact with authority or, on the contrary, if authorities are more involved when the program is measured. In general terms, thus, it can be

said that adult education programs in Mexico have communication flow systems between teachers and authorities, and they work regularly in both programs, in rural and urban areas. These systems seem to emphasize an administrative supervision for operational purposes, although technical support is also present. This seems to depend more on personal characteristics of the authority (or of the teacher) than in the structure of the program.

Expectations and aspirations

As it is possible to observe on the table below, more than half of the teachers plan to move to different employment. The ones who are more willing to continue teaching adults are those who are older, married, work more hours and have greater income. Since these characteristics prevail in teachers from skill upgrading programs, this implies that professionalism is one of the main predictors of work stability. The problem of leaving teaching occurs mainly in academic upgrading programs, and confirms that unstable conditions of work are related to high turnover (Cuellar, 1986).

Table 6-29: Teachers' Occupational Expectations

No data	3.57%
A different employment	51.78%
The same as now	32.14%
AE in another institution	7.14%
Improving within the institution	5.35%

Interestingly, neither skill nor academic upgrading programs seem to encourage upward mobility within their structures. As a matter of fact, only a small proportion of the total sample has plans of promotions towards upper levels.

Political Culture

Two thirds of the teachers interviewed do not participate in any type of organization. The majority of those who do participate form part of religious organizations, and in many of these cases the participation does not seem to be very active nor related to decision-making processes. Teachers' perceptions of the country's main problems show a predominance of economic concerns. In fact, 40% of the sample referred to economic problems such as the external debt or unemployment. The rest pointed out political, educational, social and environmental problems. Consequently with the perception of the problems, their most recurrent solutions were also economic related: lowering inflation (17.85%), paying the debt (12.5%) and creating jobs (7.14%). Other solutions relate to the amelioration of poverty (i.e: "helping the poorest", 8.92%) and to the solving of the housing deficit (8.92%). Not a single teacher referred to organization or participation as possible ways to solve problems.

Regarding the political party of preference, many did not have any choice at the time of the research. Forty-four per cent of teachers answered with a skeptic "it's all the same" or with a plain "I don't know". This figure is particularly relevant considering that teachers were interviewed at the time of the most agitated presidential campaign of recent decades, and reflects their distrust of political leaders.

All politicians are seeking for power and positions.

The rest of the answers were split between the teachers who support the ruling party (28%), the moderate left party of Cárdenas (19%), the right wing PAN (7%), or the radical left of Ibarra de Piedra (2%). Since these answers reflect somewhat the political spectrum of Mexican social life and the results of the last elections, it could be said that Mexican teachers' political attitudes are not

significantly different from the mainstream political culture. Political apathy, high abstention rates and practically a nonexistent political life seem to be the norm among Mexican teachers.

Summary

A first analysis of Mexican teachers' background reflects a relatively low socio-economic status (SES) and a low cultural capital. These features were suggested by looking at the occupation and education of their parents, as well as the teachers' own schooling and current income. Although their SES is low in comparison with Canadian teachers or even the Mexican middle class, it is relatively high in relation with their progenitors. In fact, in terms of social and economic status, Mexican teachers show a significant upward mobility with respect to the former generation. Mexican teachers have limited experience in adult education practices, which indicates a high rate of turnover, especially among the volunteers of INEA. They also have a low degree of autonomy to make changes in the curriculum and a low degree of professionalization. The latter pattern is clearly reflected in teachers' answers regarding methods and expectations; with respect to the former, the highest frequencies corresponded to those who just follow instructions or apply traditional strategies; with respect to the latter, more than half of teachers expect to find different employment in the near future; moreover, only 5% expect a promotion within the institution. The low degree of professionalization often means high rates of teachers' absenteeism, drop-out and improvisation, and low initiative to make input into the program. These problems have obvious implications for the quality of the service. The situation of volunteers working for INEA was depicted nicely by one teacher, who said: "the State pretends that it pays us, and we pretend that we work".

The main differences among Mexican teachers can be found by program and region. Literacy and academic upgrading teachers who work in INEA are generally volunteers, young, single, female and non-migrants, while among skill upgrading teachers the opposite trend is manifested. Teachers working in rural areas and in academic upgrading programs tend to stress the cultural needs of the clientele and the cultural benefits of the program, while economic needs and benefits tend to be reported more frequently by skill upgrading and urban teachers. This trend may be related both to the nature and goals of the two programs, on the one hand, and to a labour market structure which allows more employment opportunities in the cities, on the other.[10] The textbooks are used more by teachers with less experience or working in rural areas, which in generally correspond to academic upgrading programs. Conversely, skill upgrading teachers tend to be less traditional, more autonomous and more creative in designing their curriculum and the utilization of didactic methods. [11]

In Mexico, the redistributive ideology of the revolution and the corporatist model of the State result in an adult education system based on the rhetoric of social solidarity and the reality of recruitment policies. In fact, the political philosophy of the corporate state and the principles of the 1917 Constitution are constantly present in the Mexican adult education system. Some examples taken from the data described throughout this chapter may serve to illustrate this statement. Firstly, textbooks are elaborated by the State, and they are distributed massively and free of cost; the use of such books -which present a very progressive approach towards adult education- is almost compulsory, because there is no curriculum in operation; furthermore, the final examination is based on the content of the texts. The possibility of using foreign books (as is the case in Canada) is practically unthinkable. Secondly, half of the teachers in the sample declared that they are there "to help" and some of them reported that they were "recruited" against their will in

order to fulfill an external requirement; only a few teachers were interested in the intrinsic characteristics of the job. Thirdly, since the main reason for non-enrollment of the potential clientele is, according to teachers' diagnosis, their lack of interest in education ("it is difficult to convince them"), one of the main solutions proposed by them is to promote motivation. According to teachers, such motivation should be based on coercion, punishments or material rewards. Fourthly, consistent with previous comments, both teachers and students confirm that the main strategy of enrolling people into the program consists of personal visits by the teachers themselves or other personnel. Fifthly, the contact with authorities is usually confined to administrative issues in order to ensure high enrollment rates. Such control sometimes has the effect of "inflating" the statistics rather than improving the quality of the program. Finally, another indicator of the presence of the corporatist state is that teachers' political participation is very low; moreover, in their perception, the main solutions for the national problems can only be achieved by direct Government intervention.

Endnotes

[1] It refers to rural-urban migration. In general, migration in both directions affected 61% of the teachers; half of them moved from nearby rural areas and the other half have experienced a significant migration. When correlated by type of program, the result was that skill upgrading teachers have migrated more than academic upgrading teachers (r=.352; a=.01).

[2] In Mexico, in order to obtain a higher education degree the student has the duty of doing a volunteer job during several months. This requirement, a result of the values of social solidarity inherited from the revolution, is called "Social Service" and has a compulsory character.

[3] Such ambiguous perception is much more pronounced in the case of students.

[4] It is interesting to observe that teachers' perception of the benefits is very similar to that expressed by the students themselves, whose most important benefit is to acquire "more knowledge". This vague purpose, predominant among the adult education clientele in Mexico, was also reported by previous research (Chaparro, 1987; Schugurensky, 1987; INEA, 1988), and relates to the image of 'culture' as 'being more in society'. Analyzing the students' data by program, the result is similar to that find among teachers: skill upgrading students are more instrumentalist, and think that the learning experience in adult education will be very useful and applicable for work. Conversely, academic upgrading students are not clear about the usefulness of the learning.

[5] Neither are students critical in respect to the curriculum. When asked about what aspects of the program they dislike, 83% answered "nothing". Among those who mentioned a negative aspects, the majority of them are enrolled in skill upgrading programs.

[6] Moreover, the study reports that 46% of the adult students did not know the name of the institution in which they were studying (INEA) and the programs other than literacy offered by this institution.

[7] Such proportion confirms the findings of a previous study, in which only 9% of the teachers interviewed pointed out that adults do not enroll into the programs because the contents do not respond to their needs. In that study, lack of information about the usefulness of education for their lives, work-related problems and apathy were the most mentioned reasons. Husbands' disaproval of women's participation was also an issue, particularly in rural areas and in reference to older couples. (Schugurensky et al., 1987).

[8] Interestingly, when students themselves were asked the about their reasons for participating in the program, the pattern of answers were similar: 41.3% said that "they want to learn" or "to know more", and 23.9% reported that they "want to learn a trade" or "to find a job".

[9] The recruitment model is also confirmed by students' answers regarding how they found out about the program: 62.2% of them report that they were invited by the teacher or referred by another agency. This is consistent with data from recent research conducted at the national level, in which it is indicated that adults find out about the program mainly through INEA personnel (57%) or friends and relatives (34%). According to the same research, only 5% knew about the program through advertisements, or mass and local media (INEA, 1988). Confronting the discrepancies between teachers' and students' answers regarding the impact of advertisement, it can be suggested that Mexican teachers (as well as their Canadian colleagues) tend to overestimate the effect of the written word among low schooled adults. If only those adults who respond to advertisements or friends and relatives are considered to reflect the real social demand for adult education, this implies that at least in Mexico (but probably in other countries too) adults do not explicitly demand adult education.

[10] The possibility of the existence of a two-track system favouring skill upgrading programs is also reinforced by the fact that students in the former have a higher socio-economic status, higher expectations and higher political culture than student in the latter.

[11] A comparative analysis of the answers provided by teachers and students on similar issues show that in general terms they are not very different. It suggests that the relationship between both actors is closer in Mexico than in Canada. This could be due to the teachers' ability to understand the clients and/or to the smaller social distance which separates teachers from students.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Adult education policies and the attitudes of teachers towards adult education seem to have a mutual, reinforcing influence. In turn, both policies and perceptions are closely related to the philosophy of the state and the prevailing ideology within the civil society. Teachers' perceptions, however, are also shaped by factors such as cultural capital, gender, age, the region in which they live or the program in which they participate. The focus of this study was a cross-national analysis of public adult education systems. The perceptions of teachers involved in academic upgrading programs, compared to teachers involved in skill upgrading programs, were also explored. The analysis of the data was based on a comparison of the response patterns by country, taking the aforementioned programs also into account. Significant differences between the two countries were found. Nevertheless, such differences diminish when the skill and academic upgrading programs are analyzed on a comparative basis. Both in the comparisons by country and by program, phi coefficients higher than .5 (and significant chi square for p less than .01) were found in most of the correlations tested. What follows is a synthesis of the main commonalities and differences between countries and between programs.

Comparative Analysis by Country

In both countries public adult education contributes in a similar manner to the two contradictory functions performed by capitalist states - accumulation and legitimation. Such contradiction is not only expressed in the discrepancies between proclaimed goals and actual reality, but also in

teachers' opinions about the program. Nevertheless, in each country a different emphasis is placed. The analysis indicates that in Canada teachers stressed the function of accumulation, while Mexican teachers were more concerned about the issue of legitimation. Teachers' opinions also reflected the discrepancies between proclaimed goals and actual reality. In both countries, the philosophy of the adult education system is simultaneously permeated by three approaches: 1) the "manpower" or "instrumental" approach, based on the premises of the human capital theory; b) the "compensatory" or "equality of opportunity" approach, based on the principles of social justice; and c) the "personal development" approach, based on the humanistic tenets of permanent education. Although the three approaches are constantly present in the values and perceptions of the interviewees in both countries, it seems that the "personal development" approach prevails in Canada, whereas in Mexico the emphasis is on the "social development" approach. In both countries the creation of the adult education system was related to ideological and political rationales. In the ideological arena, the principle of social justice made a similar impact in both societies, but it has different origins in each one of them. In Mexico, for instance, the ideals of social justice have their roots in the 1910 revolution and were maintained in the rhetoric -and sometimes in the policies- of almost all post-revolutionary regimes. In Canada, the concept of social equality is central to the ethic of liberalism, and on occasions it has clashed with the principle of individual freedom. The development of adult education system was also a result of political considerations. In the case of Mexico, there was a time in which a large portion of low income groups remained outside the corporatist public policy model. Thus, the adult education system was largely expanded in order to incorporate that disenfranchised population into the

dominant policy framework. In Canada, the implementation of adult education services was one of the results of the Welfare State policies developed by the governments to ensure the process of capital accumulation in modern capitalism. The absence of a service directed towards early leavers of the regular system of basic education when they are younger than a stipulated age was evident in the two cases analyzed. It seems that in both countries the current legislation is reluctant to accept failure in the provision of basic education for all children. In both countries, teachers tend to think that adults do not enrol into the program mainly because of apathy and lack of interest in education. However, while many Canadian teachers also stressed that potential clients do not enrol because they do not have information about the institution, Mexican teachers did not even mention such a possibility. This suggests that in Mexico teachers rely more than their Canadian counterparts on the ability of the state to publicize its services.

Overall, two models of operation of adult education systems can be defined on the basis of the findings of this study in Mexico and Canada; for lack of better labels, they can be called "social solidarity" and "individual-deficit" models, respectively. In Mexico, the redistributive ideology of the 1917 Constitution and the corporatist model of the State resulted in an adult education system based on the rhetoric of social solidarity and the supposed incorporation of the marginal (through recruitment policies) into the "Mexican nation". In Canada, the liberal-individualist ideology and the Welfare State developed an adult education system based in the notions of meritocracy, individual pathologies and re-incorporation of the marginal into the labor market. Table 7-1 summarizes the main characteristics of each model. It is important to note that this table shows general trends and must not be taken to mean absolute features.

Table 7-1: Main differences between public adult education in Mexico and in Canada

	MEXICO	CANADA
Type of Model	social solidarity	individual-deficit
main approach	recruitment	pathology
political ideology	corporatism	individual liberalism
main rationale	constitutional mandate	re-cycling of labour force
profile of the teacher	low schooled	high schooled
enrollment procedure	teacher's initiative	adult's initiative
perception of the adult	as part of a group	as an individual
problem of the adult	left behind (social)	lack of self-esteem (psychol)
main benefit	knowledge	confidence
enrollment policy	massive	selective
emphasis	quantity	quality
teachers' profile	volunteer	professional
potential problem	informality	rigidity
teachers' stability	high turnover	low turnover
structure	centralized	decentralized
content	prescribed by Gov't	selected by teacher
documents' rhetoric	social justice	economic functionality
teachers' rhetoric	community development	personal development
type of integration	political system	labor market
training	internal	external
methodology	circle of study	classroom
reasons for participation	solidarity, coercion	autonomy, vocation

The Mexican model is based on a nationalist and corporatist ideology derived from the post-revolutionary regimes, especially after the creation of the PNR. In this model, education is understood as a service offered by the State, with the main function being guaranteeing access of all the population to the basic culture of the Nation. Such function is prescribed as a constitutional mandate. One of the characteristics of this model is that the pattern of incorporation of adults into the

program relies on government agencies rather than on the free initiative of the individual. In this model, the clientele is considered as a segment of the population which has been left behind as a result of socio-economic inequalities. Since the core of the discourse is to promote social equality, the notion of second chance and the construction of a massive system are central traits. Indeed, the main rationale is to offer a second opportunity to those who have failed in their first attempt. In order to engage the large numbers of adult educators that Mexico needs, the system relies on voluntarism and on recruitment strategies based on the fulfillment of external requirements (i.e. military service, social service of university students, etc.). In fact, only 7% of Mexican teachers joined the program because they were interested in the intrinsic characteristics of the job. The operation of a massive system and the emphasis in political legitimation imply that more emphasis is placed on the achievement of quantitative outcomes than the development of qualitative learning processes. As a result of corporatism, the Mexican system is highly centralized, resembling a pyramidal structure. The contents are established by the State and have a compulsory character for the entire Nation. The rhetoric of social solidarity and the ideology of the revolution permeate most of the official documents and were constantly present among Mexican teachers' arguments. For example, half of the teachers declared that they opted to join the program so as "to help"; the notion of community development was widely mentioned as well. One of the purposes of the system seems to be the integration of a marginal population into the accepted norms of political concertation established by a corporatist regime. Teachers have low levels of schooling, and only a limited on-the-job training is provided by the institution. In this model, since contents are nationally defined, it is not possible to address the needs and interests of specific groups (i.e: by province, region, ethnic group, activity, etc). This system relies more on teachers' motivation than on their qualifications; this may eventually result in a low-quality teaching. Moreover, even teachers' enthusiasm does not last for a long time,

and this situation is reflected in teachers' absenteeism, lack of punctuality and job turnover.

The Canadian model has its roots in a liberal individualist ideology which considers the individual more important than society. Indeed, for this ideology, society does not have the right to limit individual's freedom to pursue happiness as he or she chooses to define it. Liberalism believes in meritocracy, which implies that occupational status is linked to educational credentials or, in other words, that success or failure in society results from an adequate or inadequate performance in the educational system. Since the educational system provides equal opportunities for everyone, performance constitutes a legitimate outcome of the individual's attitudes and capacities. In this view, those children and youngsters who do not have the perseverance, the motivation or the abilities to succeed in the educational system become later a burden for society or enter into a self-destructive way of life. This perception is clear in teachers' statements regarding the taxpayers supporting unproductive people who have problems of self esteem, alcohol consumption and drug addiction. Therefore, the system needs to implement a rescue mission to recuperate these individuals for the sake of both society and themselves. In this context, the adult deserves a second opportunity provided by an educational institution. Although this compensatory approach has certain parallels with the Mexican approach, the pattern of incorporation is different in each case. While in Mexico it follows a more political and social rationale, in Canada the emphasis is economic and psychological. In fact, the Canadian model perceives the adult learner as a patient who comes for a specific treatment, either spontaneously or by referral from other social agencies. The patient is understood as an individual with specific deficits in relation to certain knowledge, attitudes and skills considered essential to perform basic societal tasks. Society is regarded as 'functional', and the adult who does not fit into the system is considered 'dysfunctional'. The role of the adult educational system is to treat this adult as a patient with a particular pathology. According to teachers, such

pathology is usually the lack of self-esteem or marketable skills. The strategy of this model follows basically three steps: diagnosis of the problem, specific treatment, and re-allocation into the job market. However, although the main aim of the pathological model is to re-cycle the individual as an economic agent (that is, as labour), it also seeks for a proper re-incorporation into the mainstream social, political and cultural life as well. In sum, for this model the client is somebody who: a) has failed in the educational system due to personal or family reasons; b) does not fit into the scheme of mainstream society; c) lacks certain skills and attitudes, especially self esteem; d) must be helped (especially through counselling or training) to overcome his or her deficits. Under this "clinical" model, the service provided by the institution is based on a logic of professionalism. Enrollment policies are very selective, admitting only the number of students who can be provided a professional attention, thus guaranteeing high standards of quality. The system is also highly decentralized, giving each center enough autonomy to develop its own programs. Autonomy is also enjoyed by teachers, who have the freedom to choose both content and method of instruction. Teachers' autonomy is so large that they can even use textbooks published in the U.S.. This is something simply unthinkable under the Mexican nationalist-corporatist regime, not only because of linguistic differences but, above all, because of the protection of nationalist interest and the risk of external interference. One of the possible risks of the Canadian model is the development of school-oriented and paternalistic structures, the growing bureaucratization of its personnel and the implementation of an extremely individualized pedagogy which do not consider the adult learners in their social environment.

Given the historical consolidation and the mainstream character of each model, it is not surprising that adult educators presented different characteristics and expressed different opinions in the two countries examined. In Mexico teachers come from a lower SES, have a poorer cultural capital, a lesser degree of professionalization and a

lower degree of autonomy than Canadian teachers. They are also younger than their Canadian counterparts and have spent less time in the educational system. This could explain their greater naivete and overexpectations regarding the possibilities of the educational system to counteract social problems. Canadian teachers seem to have a more professional approach, which is embodied in the ideology of liberal individualism. All these differences in the social profile and professional profile of teachers have implications for the day-to-day teaching activities. In Canada, for example, a wide social distance separates teachers from their students, while in Mexico teachers have a lower "cultural capital" and therefore they are more likely to understand the needs of the clientele. However, Mexican teachers lack motivation and basic professional skills, and this results in a poorer educational service. Another example was observed in the different strategies followed by rural teachers when they lacked closed supervision. In Mexico, in order to counteract their isolation, inexperienced rural teachers strictly followed what was prescribed in the program, relying on the authority of the textbooks. In Canada, rural teachers tended to take advantage of the situation enjoying a higher degree of autonomy to make their own decisions in relation to the curriculum.

Both Mexican and Canadian teachers rated students' constraints as the major causes of problems in their programs. Canadian teachers were, however, much more precise in indicating solutions than Mexican teachers. While the former proposed specific changes in curriculum, regulations and attention of students' needs, the latter primarily proposed becoming more enthusiastic, and raising financial and material resources, as well as support from upper levels. When solutions were difficult to implement, Canadian teachers seemed to be less naive than their Mexican counterparts in recognizing the limits of education to counteract the impact of structural socio-economic factors. This could be due to the difference in schooling and age. In Canada, it seems that governmental agencies direct "patients" among themselves for the most

appropriate therapeutical treatment. Regarding training, the trend in Canada is exactly the opposite to the Mexican one. While in Mexico the for-the-job training is provided by the institution (when the teacher joins the program), in Canada it takes place outside the institution (mostly provided by higher education centres, before the teacher joins the program). The intentionality of the in-service training seems to be, in the case of Mexico, a quick incorporation into the institution, and an opportunity for professional development in the case of Canada. In both cases teachers complained about the quality of the training, and in both cases training in adult education is missing. The higher degree of professionalism of Canadian teachers is reflected not only in their degrees and training, but also in their participation in curriculum design and curriculum evaluation. Needless to say, their Mexican counterparts rarely participate in these activities. Canadian teachers have greater expectations for upward mobility within the educational system and less interest in changing their occupation than their Mexican counterparts.

In both countries many teachers suggested that current adult education systems are still far from providing a relevant curriculum for the clients' needs and interests. Some of them pointed out that it is probably an important reason for the the low enrollment rates of adult education institutions relative to the potential clientele and for the high drop out rates. However, in order to explain the institution's problems, the majority of teachers refered to students' constraints. As long as teachers and authorities continue blaming the victims, the possibilities to modify the system will be limited.

Comparative Analysis by Program

Significant differences between programs were found in both countries. As table 7-2 shows, teachers working in skill upgrading programs tended to stress a manpower approach, while academic upgrading teachers tended to emphasize a remedial approach.

Table 7-2: Main differences between academic upgrading programs and skill upgrading programs

	ACADEMIC UPGRADING	SKILL UPGRADING
Orientation of the program	Cultural-Grade Oriented: Education for "self-improvement"	Market Oriented: Education for trades
Main Rationale	Remedial Approach: Equality of opportunity; compensation of a deficit in the provision of universal education by the State.	Manpower Approach: Creation of skilled and domesticable manpower for industries and services, especially in the private sector.
Overt Goal	Creation of better educated citizens.	Contribution to national economic development.
Covert Goal	Promoting Legitimation. Incorporation into mainstream culture.	Promoting Accumulation. Expanded reproduction.
Key concept	Second chance	Employability
Teachers' profile	Educational background. Young, female, generalist.	Non-educational background. Older,male, instrumentalist.
Main benefits (teachers' view)	Psychological	Occupational
Students' profile	Lower SES, cultural capital, political culture, self-esteem and educational expectations; Less employability. More dependent upon authority.	Higher SES, cultural capital, political culture, self-esteem and educational expectations; Higher employability. More autonomous.
Students' Population Group	Natives, housewives, foreigners, elders, rural origin, no work experience.	Non-Natives, males, local-born, younger, urban background, work experience.
Students' Aspiration	Social status. To become a become a "more educated person" (although below the limits of higher education). Very diffuse aims.	Economic status. To become a "more employable person" (but below the limits of managerial positions). Very concrete aims.
Occupational Benefits	Low work opportunity and work improvement.	High work opportunity and work improvement.
Terminal Efficiency	Low	High

It can be observed in the table that cultural needs of the clientele and cultural benefits of the program were perceived mostly by teachers who work in academic upgrading programs and in rural areas, while economic benefits tended to be reported more frequently by skill upgrading and urban teachers. This could be related both to the nature and goals of the two programs, on the one hand, and to a labour market structure which allows more employment opportunities in the cities, on the other. Taking into account the teachers' answers and collected information about the main features of the two programs, it seems that in both countries a "two-track system" operates within public adult education. In general terms, teachers foresee more possibilities of graduation and more future educational and occupational opportunities for students enrolled in skill upgrading programs than for those studying in academic programs. This is probably due to the fact that students in skill upgrading programs have higher SES, cultural capital, educational and occupational expectations and political culture than students of academic upgrading. This difference in perception could be also due to certain teachers' personal features, such as gender, age and specialization. Indeed, in both countries teachers from skill upgrading programs tend to be male, to have a non-educational background and to be older than academic upgrading teachers. In the case of Mexico, even the social and academic profile of skill upgrading teachers is much higher than that of academic upgrading teachers.

Contrary to what is supposed, and contrary to what happens in post-secondary institutions (see Pincus, 1974), in adult education the screening favors skill upgrading students. It seems to be the prevailing view that, according to current economic planning (based on efficiency rather than on equality) skill upgrading students have a more important role to play in capital accumulation than academic upgrading students. Teachers' opinions cannot be isolated from current trends in educational ideologies and policies. Indeed, a shift in the rationale of

adult education programs, from the notion of "forgotten people" prevailing in the late 1960's and early 1970's to the tendency to "train the best and forget the rest" dominant in the 1980's can be observed (Rubenson,1989; Calamai, 1989). This process seems to be part of the presently fashionable philosophy of "new economics", which no longer focuses the debate about adult education and the state on the issue of equality, but on efficiency. This process includes an increasing skepticism on the ability of government to do public good, which in turn leads to the promotion of the free play of market forces and to the reduction of public spending. It looks that the relative loss of trust in Keynesian strategies to respond to the new needs of capital accumulation is having an impact in adult education systems. In the "two-track" system of adult education, "the rest" are the adults enrolled in the lower grades of academic upgrading. In both countries, they are mainly Natives, women, illiterate and semi-literate, elders and those living in rural areas. If the "significance" of the adult education clientele is in general low, in these groups it is particularly low. The relative lower significance of these groups is aggravated by the fact that they have very little interest in participating in the decision-making process. Under these conditions, the only role of academic upgrading programs seems to be political legitimation guided by the principle of equal opportunity. In these programs, the notion of second chance leads to the development of a compensatory education with linkages with the regular system. Equivalence with the regular system means that the emphasis is put on the acquisition of knowledge, which in most of the cases is mere information. Such information is considered "basic" not for its usefulness for an adult's life but for its correspondence with the children's basic curriculum.

In synthesis, several differences and commonalities in adult educators' perceptions were established. Individual and social attributes (gender, age, SES, schooling, etc.) were very relevant in several cases to explain differences and

commonalites in perceptions. Nevertheless, the key differences in teachers' perceptions resulted from distributions by country and by program. They, in turn, are linked with State ideology, public policy and institutional setting, in the case of the former, and with area of specialization, labour market and students' features, in the case of the latter.

REFERENCES

ABE Discussion Paper Committee (1985). Adult Basic Education in Alberta. Edmonton.

Agrawal, Govind (1984). South Asian Perspective on Canadian Aid, in Bacchus, Kazim (ed) Asian Perspectives on Canadian Aid. CIED Occasional Paper Series, University of Alberta.

Alberta Advanced Education (1988) 1986-1987 Statistical Report. Edmonton.

Althusser, Louis (1971). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses, in Lenin and Philosophy. New York, Monthly Review Press.

Anderson, Darrel V. (1968). Analytical Review of Remedial Education for Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Adults. M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia.

Anderson, James (1979) Public Policy Making. New York.

Andrews, Michael (1988) President's Message, in Alberta Vocational Center Edmonton Calendar 1988. Edmonton.

Apple, Michael (1979) Ideology and Curriculum. London.

Apps, Jerold (1981) The adult learner on campus. Chicago: Follet.

Arblaster, Anthony (1986). The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism. Basil Blackwell, London.

Alberta Vocational Centre (1979). Adult Basic Education Outreach Project. Final Report. AVC Calgary, Alberta, April.

Alberta Vocational Training (1978) "Guidelines and Procedures Handbook". AVT-Alberta Advanced Education, 1978.

Atkinson, Michael and Marsha Chandler (1983) The Politics of Canadian Public Policy. Toronto.

Axelrod, M. (1954) "A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in Large Urban Communities". University of Michigan.

Bacchus, Kazim (1984) Observations on Canada's Aid to South East Asia, in Bacchus, K (ed) Asian Perspectives... (op. cit).

Barquera, Humberto (1985) Las principales propuestas pedagógicas en América Latina, in Latapí and Castillo (eds) Lecturas sobre educación de adultos en América Latina. Crefal, Patzcuaro, Mexico.

Basañez, Miguel (1981) La lucha por la hegemonía en México 1968-1980. Siglo XXI.

Bauer, R. & Gergen, K. (1968) The study of policy formation. New York: Free Press.

Berlin, Isaiah (1959) Four essays on liberty. Oxford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1971) Systems of education and systems of thought, in M. Young (ed) Knowledge and Control.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.C. (1977) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture. Sage, Beverly Hills.

Bowles, Samuel (1973) Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor, in Carnoy, Martin (ed), Schooling in a Corporate Society, New York.

Bowles, Samuel and H. Gintis (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America. Basic Books.

Bowles, Samuel, H. Gintis and Peter Meyer (1975) The long shadow of work: education, the family and the reproduction of the Social Division of Labor, in The Insurgent Sociologist, Summer.

Brenner, Marshall (1958) The use of high school data to predict work performance. Journal of applied psychology, Vol.52, January.

British Columbia Liberal Association (1928) What liberalism has done for the masses. Canada, June.

Brooke, Nigel (1978) Actitudes de los empleadores mexicanos respecto a la educación: ¿un test de la teoría del capital humano? in Revista del Centro de Estudios Educativos, Vol. VII, No.4, Mexico, CEE.

Bruce, M. (1968) The coming of the Welfare State. London, Batsford.

Brunner, Edmund, David Wilder, Corinne Kirchner and John Newberry (1959) An Overview of Adult Education Research. Chicago, Adult Education Association.

Burbules, Nicholas (1983) Ideology and Educational Research. Stanford University (Ph.D. thesis).

Canadian Association for Adult Education (1982) From the adult's point of view. Toronto.

Calamai, Peter (1989) New literacy approach: train best, forget rest. The Edmonton Journal, May 28.

Camp, Roderic (1980) Mexico's leaders. Their education and recruitment. The University of Arizona Press, 1980.

Canadian Council on Social Development (1989) Investing in Families with Children. Canada's National Priority. Ottawa, Canada.

Cardoso, Fernando H., and Faletto, Enzo (1979) Dependency and development in Latin America. University of California Press.

Carnoy, Martin (1974) "Education as Cultural Imperialism". McKay, New York.

Carnoy, Martin and H. Levin (1985) Education and Work in the Democratic State. Stanford University Press.

Cawson, Alan (1986) Corporatism and Political Theory. Basil Blackwell Ltd., Great Britain.

Chang, Kathryn (1989 a) Organizing and Providing adult literacy and basic education in Alberta. Alberta Association for Adult Literacy.

Chang, Kathryn (1989 b) Adult Literacy, in Folio. University of Alberta, 28 September.

Chaparro, Felix (1987) Panorama de la educación básica para adultos. Algunas consideraciones sobre su problemática y sobre las acciones de innovación, in C. Picón and D. Schugurensky (eds): Educación Básica para Adultos. Experiencias y Prospectiva en México. CREFAL, Patzcuaro, Mexico.

Chinoy, Ely (1955) Automobile Workers and the American Dream. Doubleday, Garden City, New York.

Clark, Burton (1965) The Cooling Out Function in Higher Education. American Journal of Sociology 3: 569-576).

Canadian International Development Agency (1987) A developing world. Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Coombs, Philip et al. (1973) New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth. New York: ICED for UNICEF (1973)

Coordinación General del Plan Nacional de Zonas Deprimidas y Grupos Marginados (1983) Geografía de la Marginación. Necesidades Esenciales en México. Coplamar-Siglo XXI.

Correa, Guillermo, Salvador Corro y F. Ortega (1989) En manos de los acreedores, la política económica. Proceso No.636, January 9.

CREFAL-OEA (1987) Educación Básica para Adultos. Experiencias y prospectiva. César Picón and Daniel Schugurensky (eds.) Pátzcuaro, México.

Cross, Patricia (1981) Adults as Learners. San Franciso: Jossey Bass.

David, Miriam (1977) Reform, Reaction and Resources. The 3Rs of Educational Planning. NFER Publishing Company, London.

Department of Labour, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training (1963) Mobility and Worker Adaptation to Economic Change in the United States". Manpower Research. Bulletin No 1, July 1963.

Department of Supply and Services (1986) Canadian Social Trends. Government of Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

Dibacco, Thomas (1977) Presidential Power in Latin American Politics. Praeger, New York.

Dominguez, Jorge (1978) Cuba: Order and Revolution. Cambridge, Massachussets, Harvard Univ. Press., 1978.

Dore, Ronald (1976) The Diploma Disease. Education, qualification and development. London.

Dror, Y. (1973) Public policy reexamined. Bruswick, N.J.

Duncan, Raymond (1976) Latin American Politics: A Developmental Approach. New York, Praeger.

Dye, Thomas (1981) Understanding Public Policy. Prentice-Hall.

Edwards, Richard (1975) Personal Traits and Success in Schooling and Work. Educational and Psychological Measurement. Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois.

Erikson, Kenneth (1977) The Brazilian Corporative State and Working Class Politics. Univ. of California Press.

Fagan, William (1988) Literacy in Canada. A critique of the Southam Report, in The Alberta Journal of Educational Research. Vol. XXXIV, No.3, Sept., pp.224-231.

Fahy, Patrick (1984) Curriculum Renewal in Adult Basic Education. Ph.D.Thesis, University of Alberta, 1984.

Fahy, Patrick (1986) Student Characteristics from Student Information System Data 1980 to 1986. AVC Research and Evaluation Division.

Faure, Edgar et al. (1972) Learning to be. Paris, Unesco,1972.

Fischer, F. and Forester, J. (1987) Confronting Values in Policy Analysis. The Politics of Criteria. Sage Publications.

Freeden, Michael (1978) The new liberalism. An ideology of social reform. Oxford.

Furter, Pierre (1977) The planner and lifelong education. Unesco.

Galarza, Gerardo (1989) La nueva ronda de consultas, relación de carencias en auge. Proceso No. 647, March 27.

Gans, Herbert (1963) The Urban Villagers. The Free Press of Glencoe.

Gerber, Larry (1983) The Limits of Liberalism. New York University Press.

Gil, José Antonio (1977) Entrepreneurs and Regime Consolidation, in Martz and Myers (eds.) Venezuela: The democratic experience. New York.

Gilbert, B. (1966) The evolution of national insurance in Great Britain. The origins of the Welfare State. London.

Gillete, A. (1973) Youth and Literacy. Unesco Paris, New York.

Giroux, Henry (1985) Critical pedagogy, cultural politics and the discourse of experience. Boston University Journal of Education 26-3.

Goller, A. (1977) Perspectives on Native Education. Alberta Education.

Goodman, Paul (1967) The Moral Ambiguity of America. CBC Publications, Canada.

Grede, John (1983) Literacy in the Community College. Journal of Studies in Technical Careers. Southern Illinois ,University at Carbondale. Vol.V. No 4. Fall: 324-335.

Greenberg, Edward (1978) Liberal Culture and Capitalist Hegemony, in M. McGrath (ed.) Liberalism and the Modern Polity. Essays in Contemporary Political Theory. New York.

Gonzalez Casanova, Pablo (1970) Democracy in Mexico. Oxford University Press.

Grindle, Merilee (1977) Bureaucrats, Politicians and Peasants in Mexico. A case study in Public Policy. University of California.

Grindle, Merilee (1980) The implementor: Political Constraints on Rural Development in Mexico, in M. Grindle (ed.) Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World. Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

Harrison, Deborah (1981) The limits of liberalism.The Making of Canadian Sociology. Black Rose, Canada.

Heclo, H. (1972) Policy Analysis. A review article. British Journal of Political Science No 2. 83-108.

Hobbes, Thomas (1968) Leviathan. Penguin Books, New York.

Hobhouse, Leonard (1966) Liberty and the State, in Sociology and Philosophy. Harvard University Press, 1966.

Hobson, J.A. (1904) A new theory of work. British Friend. vol. 13, pp.253-4.

Hughes, Steven and Kenneth Mijesky (1984) Politics and Public Policy in Latin America. Westview Press, US.

Hurn, Christopher (1985) The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling. New York.

Kyman, Herbert (1953) The Value Systems in Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification", in R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset (eds.) Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective. Free Press, New York.

Illich, Ivan (1971) Deschooling Society. New York.

INEA (1986) Programa de Educación Básica. Instituto Nacional Para la Educación de los Adultos, Mexico.

INEA (1988) ¿Qué pasa con los adultos que se alfabetizan? Seguimiento de adultos alfabetizados por el INEA entre 1981 y 1985, in: Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos Vol. XVIII. No 1:122-146.

Infante, Isabel (1983) Educación, Comunicación y Lenguaje. Fundamentos para la Alfabetización de adultos en América Latina. Centro de Estudios Educativos.

Ingram , E.J. and R.G.McIntosh (1983) The Education North Evaluation Project. Final Report. University of Alberta.

Johnson, Leo (1973) Income, Disparity and Impoverishment in Canada since World War II. Toronto: New Hogtown Press.

Johnstone, John (1963) Volunteers for Learning: A Study of the Educational Pursuits of American Adults. National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago.

Kaufman, Robert (1977) Mexico and Latin America Authoritarianism, in José Reyna and R. Weinert (eds) Authoritarianism in Mexico. Philadelphia, ISHS.

Knowles, Malcom (1978) The adult learner: a neglected species. Houston: Gult Publishing Co.

Knowles, M. (1980) Modern practices of adult education. Chicago, Associated Press,1980.

Koerner, Kirk (1985) Liberalism and its Critics. Croom Helm, Australia.

La Belle, Thomas (1986) Nonformal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: Stability, Reform and Revolution. New York, Praeger.

Latapí, Pablo (1984) Prospectiva de la Educación de Adultos a la luz de la Pobreza en America Latina, in Latapí and Castillo (eds) Lecturas sobre Educación de Adultos en América Latina. Crefal, Patzcuaro, Mexico.

Latapí, Pablo (1986) Una aproximación teórica para el análisis de las políticas de educación de adultos. OEA-PREDAL-CREFAL, Mexico.

Latapí, Pablo (1988) La política de alfabetización en seis países latinoamericanos, in Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos, Vol XVIII, No 1.

Lavín , Sonia (1986) Exclusión y rezago escolar. Elementos para una interpretación y perspectiva. Centro de Estudios Educativos, Mexico.

Lehmbruch, Gerald (1982) Neo-Corporatism in comparative perspective, in G. Lehmbruch and P. Schmitter (eds) Patterns of Corporatist Policy Making. Sage Publications.

Levin, Henry (1976) Educational Reform, its meaning? in M. Carnoy and H. Levin (eds) The limits of educational reform. New York, McKay.

Lindman, Murray and William Sokolik (1988) Factors influencing adult participation in education. M.Ed. Thesis, Dept. of Educational Administration. Univ. of Alberta.

Lockwood, Lee (1969) Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel. New York.

London, Jack, Robert Wenkert and Warren Hagstrom (1963) Adult Education and Social Class. Survey Research Center, The University of California, Berkeley.

Long, Huey, et al (1986) Changing approaches to studying adult education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1986.

Lowi, Theodore (1978) Towards a Politics of Economics: The State of Permanent Receivership, in M. McGrath (ed) Liberalism and the Modern Polity. Essays in Contemporary Political Theory. New York.

MacDonagh, O. (1958) The nineteenth century revolution in Government. A reappraisal. Historical Journal No 1:pp. 66-92.

Macpherson, C.B. (1962) The political theory of possesive individualism. London, Oxford University Press.

Macpherson, C.B. (1964) Post-liberal democracy? in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. XXX. Nov. 1964. pp.485-498.

Malloy, James (1974) Auhoritarianism, Corporatism and Mobilization in Peru, in Frederick Pike and T. Sritch (eds.) The New Corporatism: Social-Political Structures in the Iberian World. University of Notre Dame.

Marchak, Patricia (1975) Ideological Perspectives in Canada. McGraw-Hill.

Marx, Karl (1963) The economic and philosophical manuscripts. New York, International Publishers.

Marx, Karl (1977) The Eighteenth Brumaire, in David McLellan (ed) Selected Writings. Oxford University Press.

McGrath, Michael (1978) Liberalism and the modern polity. Essays in contemporary political theory. New York.

Martin, Darcy and Rick Williams (s/d) Paulo Freire and Adult Basic Education in Canada. Development Education Center, Toronto.

Mehmet, O. (1978) Who Benefits from the Ontario University System? Ontario Economic Council.

Metis Association (1973) Education Position Paper. Alberta Education.

Mezirow, Jack et al. (1975) Last Gamble on Education. Adult Education Association of the USA, Washington, DC.

Minister, Canada Employment and Immigration (1982) Press Release. January 6.

Mollo, Suzanne (1969) L'école dans la societé. Dunod, Paris.

Muñoz Izquierdo, Carlos (1982) Efectos económicos de la educación de adultos, in C.A. Torres (ed) Ensayos sobre la Educación de Adultos en América Latina. Centro de Estudios Educativos, Mexico.

Muñoz Izquierdo, Carlos (1984) Factores determinantes de la eficiencia interna de la educación básica para adultos autodidactos, in Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos No.1-2. CEE, Mexico.

MTB (1980) Training programs available to Native people in Northern Alberta. MTB Consultants.

Myles, John (1988) Decline or Impasse? The current State of Welfare State, in Studies in Political Economy 26, Summer, pp. 73-107.

Nagel, M. (1987) Series Editor's Introduction, in Fischer and Forester (eds) Confronting Values in Policy Analysis. The Politics of Criteria. Sage Publications.

O'Donnel, Guillermo (1977) Corporatism and the question of the State, in Frederick Pike and Tomas Stritch (eds.) Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Offe, Claus (1975) The theory of the capitalist state and the problem of policy formation, in Slindberg et al. (eds) Stress and Contradiction in Modern Capitalism. Lexington Books, Toronto.

Olson, M. (1968) The logic of Collective Action. New York.

Panitch, Leo (1980) Recent theorizations of corporatism: reflections on a growth industry. British Journal of Sociology. 2. June: 159-187.

Pannu, Rajinder (1988) Adult Education, Economy, and State in Canada. The Alberta Journal of Educational Research Vol. XXXIV. No. 5. September. University of Alberta.

Paiva, Vanilda (1982) Educación Permanente: I.¿Ideología educativa o necesidad económico-social? II. Producción capitalista y calificación de la fuerza de trabajo, in C.A. Torres (ed) Ensayos sobre la Educación de Adultos en América Latina. Mexico, Centro de Estudios Educativos.

Pearson, L. (1978) Cited in Linda Freedman, The Nature of Canada's Interest in Black Southern Africa. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto.

Pescador, José (1983) Hacia una reconceptualización de la educación funcional, in María Luisa de Anda (ed): Educación de Adultos: Nuevas dimensiones en el sector educativo. Centro de Estudios Educativos, Mexico.

Perez, Jorge and Schugurensky, Daniel (1986) El problema de la generalización de los proyectos de educación popular, in Foro Universitario No.67, June.

Petersen, Richard, et al. (1982) Adult Education and Training in Industrialized Countries. Praeger, New York.

Pincus, Fred (1974) Tracking in Community Colleges, in The Insurgent Sociologist, Vol. 4, pp.17-35.

Plato (1966) The Republic Oxford University Press.

Polanyi, K (1957) The great transformation. Boston.

Popper, Karl (1945) The Open Society and its Enemies. Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Porter, John (1965) The Vertical Mosaic. University of Toronto Press.

Poulantzas, Nicos (1978) Classes in Contemporary Capitalism. Verso, London.

Purcell, John, and Purcell, Susan (1977) Mexican Business and Public Policy, in Frederick Pike and Tomas Stritch (eds.) Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Radermacher, Lotte and Elias Smith (1966) The Affinity of Occupation and Subject Matter Among Adult Education Students, in Paul Lazarsferd and Morris Rosenberg (eds) The Language of Social Research. Collier-MacMillan Canada Ltd, Toronto.

Rendell, M (1968) Graduate Administrators in LEA's. Institute of Education, London University and Appointments Board.

Rist, Ray (1970) Social Class and Teacher Expectations: the self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40.

RMC (1982) Review of Adult Education and Training in Northern Alberta. Resources Management Consultants, Edmonton.

Roberts, D. (1968) Victorian Origins of British Welfare. New Heaven.

Rockhill, K. (1985) Ideological Solidification of Liberalism in University Adult Education: Confrontation over Workers; Education in the USA", in Taylor, Richard, Rockhill and Fieldhouse, "University Adult Education in England and the USA. Croom Helm Publishers.

Rodrigues Brandao, Carlos (1985) Los caminos cruzados: formas de pensar y hacer educación de adultos en América Latina, in Latapí and Castillo (eds): Lecturas sobre Educación de Adultos en América Latina. CREFAL, Patzcuaro, Mexico.

Rogowsky, Ronald and Lois Wasserspring (1971) Does political development exist? Corporatism in old and new societies. Sage Publications, California.

Rostow, Walt W. (1960) The stages of economic growth. A Non-Communist Manifesto. University Press, Cambridge, 1960.

Roueche, M. (1968) Salvage, Redirection or Custody: Remedial Education in the Community Junior College. American Association of Junior Colleges.

Rubenson, Kjell (1989) Adult Education and Social Change: A comparison of Canada and Sweden. Paper presented at VII th World Congress of Comparative Education, Montreal, June 26-30.

Schmelkes, Sylvia and Luis Narro (1988) Adult Education in Mexico: An Overview. Alberta Journal of Educational Research. Vol. XXXIV. No. 5. September. University of Alberta.

Schugurensky, Daniel (1986) Educación Básica para Adultos. Análisis de su Situación Actual y Propuestas para su Redefinición, in Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos No 2: 97-121. Centro de Estudios Educativos, Mexico.

Schugurensky, Daniel (1987) Diagnóstico exploratorio de los Centros de Educación Básica para Adultos en el Estado de Michoacán, in Picón and Schugurensky (eds) Educación Básica para Adultos. Diagnóstico y Prospectiva en México. CREFAL, Patzcuaro. Mexico.

Schwarztman, Simon (1977) Back to Weber: Corporatism and Patrimonialism in the Seventies", in Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America (op cit.). Univ. of Pittsburgh Press.

Self, P. (1972) Administrative Theories and Politics. London, Heinemann.

Shapiro, H.S. (1980) Education and the State in Capitalist Society. Aspects of the Sociology of Nicos Poulantzas. Harvard Educational Review vol. 50, No. 3, August.

Shor, Ira and Freire, Paulo (1987) A Pedagogy for Liberation. Dialogues on Transforming Education. Bergin and Garvey publishers.

Shuterland,G. (1972) Policy-Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895. Oxford University Press.

Sjostrom, Margaretta & Ralph Sjostrom (1983) How do you spell development? A study of literacy campaign in Ethiopia. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.

Smith, Alexander (1975) The Comparative Policy Process. Santa Barbara, California.

Southam Press (1987) The Southam Report, in The Edmonton Journal, [illegible]t. 20-25.

Strauss, Leo (1978) Liberalism Ancient and Modern. Basic Books, New York.

Swift, W.H., R.J. Carnet and D. Ewasiuk (1975) Report of the Nothland School Division Study Group. Alberta Education.

Tannembaun, Frank (1966) Peace By Revolution: Mexico after 1910. Columbia University Press, New York.

The Edmonton Journal. 2,500 out of 10,000 babies born to single mothers. Edmonton, September 30, Section C, p.1.

The National Center For Research in Vocational Education (1979) Adult Learning. Implications for research and policy in the eighties. A symposium..

Therborn, Göran (1987) Welfare States and Capitalist Markets. Acta Sociologica 30, 3/4:237-254.

Thomas, Audrey (1977) Adult Basic Education and Literacy Activities in Canada 1975-1976. Mimeo.

Titmus, Colin (1976) Proposed Theoretical Model for the Comparative Study of National Adult Education Systems in Europe, in Society and Leissure No.2. European Center for Leisure and Education, Prague.

Titmus, Colin (1989) Adult Education as concept and structure: an agenda for research. Paper presented at the VII World Conference on Comparative Education. Montreal, June 26-30 1989.

Torres, Carlos (1982) Introducción in Ensayos sobre la Educación de Adultos en América Latina. Centro de Estudios Educativos, Mexico.

Torres, Carlos and Unsicker, Jeff (1987a) La Educación de Adultos como Educación Política. Reflexiones sobre diferentes escenarios y racionalidades en sociedades capitalistas dependientes. Unplublished manuscript.

Torres, Carlos A. (1987b) Toward a Political Sociology of Adult Education. An agenda for research on Adult Education Policy-Making. Occasional Paper Series, CIED, Faculty of Education, U.of Alberta.

Torres, Carlos A. (1988) An Analytical Framework for Adult Education in Alberta, in The Alberta Journal of Educational Research. Vol.XXXIV, Nº 3, pp.269-286.

Torres, Carlos A. (1989) Corporatism. Educational Policies and Teachers in Mexico. Mimeo, Univ. of Alberta.

Uhryn, Mike (1989) Teachers Need a decision role. Letter to the editor, in The Edmonton Journal. August 19.

UNESCO (1970) Functional Literacy: Why and How. Paris.

Wagner, Serge (1985) Illiteracy and Adult Literacy Teaching in Canada, in Prospects. Quarterly Review of Education, v.15, No 3.

Wairda, Howard (1974) Corporatism and Development in the Iberic-Latin World: Persistant Strains and New Variations, in Friedrick Pike et. al. (eds) The New Corporatism. Social-Political structures in the Iberian World. University of Notre Dame, 1974.

Weiler, Hans (1983) Legalization, expertise and participation: strategies of compensatory legitimation in educational policy. Comparative Education Review Vol. 27, No 2: 259-277.

Welton, Michael (1989) Dangerous Knowledge: Canadian Workers' Education in the Decade of Discord. Paper, March.

Williamson, Peter (1985) Varieties of Corporatism. Theory and Practice. Cambridge University Press.

Wison, H.B. Socializing the School. Sierra Educational News No.4, p.390, September 1918.

Wyse, Irene (1987) Dropping Out of School, in Comments on Education Vol.17, No 3. University of Toronto, February.

Young, Michael (1971) An approach to the study of curriculum as organized knowledge, in M. Young (ed.) Knowledge and control. Collier Macmillan, London.

Young, Richard (1973) Liberalism: the American Creed, in E. Greenberg and R. [illegible] (eds) America Politics Reconsidered. Belmont, California.

Zeitlin, Irving (1987) Ideology and the development of sociological sociological theory. Simon and Schuster, New Jersey.

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide : Canadian Teachers

Case Number: _____

I. Personal Information (Confidential)

1 Name and phone number: _____

2 Sex: (a) Male (b) Female

3 Age: _____

4 Birthplace: _____

5 Civil Status: (a) Married/Common Law (b) Single (c) Divorced (d) Widow (e) Other

6. Institution: (a) AVC (b) CVC

7. Area: (a) Urban (b) Rural

8. Program: (a) Academic Upgrading (Grade) _____
(b) Skill Upgrading (Trade) _____

II. Educational Background

9. What is your highest level of studies? _____

10. Where did you obtain your highest degree? (place and name of the institution) _____
_____

11. When did you obtain it? (year) _____

12. What was your area of specialization? _____

III. Family Background

13. Father's education: _____

14. Father's occupation (if deceased or retired, last occupation): _____

15. Mother's education: _____

16. Mother's occupation (if deceased or retired, last occupation): _____

IV. Socio-economic status

17. Do you own the house where you live? (a) yes (b) no

18. Individual Income (before taxes):
1. below 13,670 ( )
2. 13,670-27,340 ( )
3. 27,341-41,010 ( )
4. 41,011 and more ( )

19. In terms of income and prestige, how do you perceive your social position?
(1) lower-class (2) lower-middle class, (3) middle-class, (4) upper-middle class; (5) upper class

V. Work Experience

20. How long have you been working in **education?** _____

21. How long have you been working in **adult education?** _____

22. Where did you last work before participating in this institution? _____
_____

23. What kind of work did you do there? _____
_____

24. Why did you leave that job? _____
_____

25. Why did you decide to take this job? _____

26. Which program do you teach? (SPECIFY GRADE OR LEVEL) _____

27. How many hours per week do you devote to the program?
    a) Total paid hours: _____
    b) Hours of instruction: _____
    c) Non-paid hours (e.g., class preparation, marking at home, etc) _____

VI. Characteristics of the program and opinions on it

28. How long is your program? _____

29. How many groups do you teach to? _____

30. How many students do you have in each group? _____

31. What are the main goals and purposes of the program you work with? _____
_____

32. What do you think about these goals?
32.1. In terms of the capacity of the students (possibility of achievement) _____
_____
_____

32.2. In terms of the needs of the students (relevance) _____
_____
_____

32.3. In terms of the economic and social context (how reachable are them, links to reality, etc)
_____
_____
_____

33. What are the reasons why the program was originally designed? Elaborate (in search for rationality) OR What are the needs that are being addressed through this program? (i.e. social, political, economic, cultural needs) _____
_____
_____

34. Do you have any specific syllabus for the course? OR Do you have a program that clearly indicates what you have to do? (a) yes (b) no

35. How was the curriculum originally designed? _____
_____

36. Who designed (created) the program? (what was the role of the central offices? Was there any input from teachers, adults, communities, etc? _____

37. Did you directly participate in the original design of the program? (a) yes (b) no
(If yes) How? _____

38. Is the program regularly evaluated? (a) yes (b) no

39. By whom is it evaluated?
(a) External evaluator (b) Program Coordinator (c) Teachers (d) Students (e) Adm/staff

39. How frequent does the evaluation process take place? _____

40. Did you directly participate in evaluating the program with the authorities?
(a) yes How? _____
(b) no

41. Are the results of the evaluation used to improve the program?
(a) Yes What kind of improvement? (content, method, etc) _____
(b) No Why? _____

42. Did you participate in proposing changes as a result of the evaluation? _____

43. What changes have been introduced in the curriculum, and through which process? _____

44. Do you use textbooks for your course? (a) yes (b) no
44.1. Who produced them? _____
44.2. Who selects them? (a) the institution (b) you (c) other (SPECIFY) _____
44.3. Do the students pay for them? _____

45. What do you think about the curriculum and instruction of your program?
45.1. Content (grade of difficulty, motivating, etc) _____
45.2. Teaching method (emphasis in lecture, group participation, combination of theory and practice, etc.) _____

46. Any other information about the curriculum (content + methods)
a) Positive aspects _____
b) Negative aspects _____

47. How does this program contribute to **national development?**
a) social: _____
b) political: _____
c) economic: _____
d) cultural: _____

VII. Views on the Adult-Learner

48) How would you describe the characteristics of the clientele that attend your program?

a) **Gender:** % males: _____ % females: _____

b) **Age:** average age:_____ oldest:_____ youngest:_____

c) Average level of previous schooling: _____

d) Nationality (in %)

Native Canadians:	%
Non-native Canadians:	%
Non- Canadians	%

e) Social characteristics (SES, income, etc) _____

_____

_____

f) Psychological characteristics: _____

_____

_____

49. Is the program adequately suited and relevant for the clientele you have described above?
Yes ( ) No ( ) Why? _____

_____

50. Is there a particular group or subgroup of the population to which this program is oriented (e.g. rural/urban; gender, age groups, etc)? _____

_____

_____

51. What are the requirements that students must meet to be accepted into the program? _____

_____

_____

52. How do the adults find out about the program? _____

_____

_____

53. What are the factors that have prevented your students from completing the regular sequence of compulsory education? List them in order of importance.

1) _____
2) _____
3) _____

54. When the students come to the program, do they have any specific interest?

54.1 **Learning** a) Very diffuse b) More or less clear c) Very specific
54.2. **Job Opportunity** a) Very diffuse b) More or less clear c) Very specific
54.3. Is there any difference between groups? (by sex, age, income, etc) (a) Yes (b) No
Explain: _____

_____

_____

55. Those people that do not enroll in the program, but you believe they should, why don't they enroll?

a) _____
b) _____
c) _____

56. How is the student evaluated? _____

_____

57. How often is he/she evaluated? _____

58. Are the students satisfied with the program? (a) Yes (b) No
Why? _____

59. Do they enjoy the classes; do they feel boared? Is there any difference by group? _____

60. What is the proportion of your students that have the cognitive ability and /or skills to meet the demands of the program? _____

61. Do you see any relevant difference in the teaching-learning process among different population groups?
a) by age _____
b) by sex _____
c) by program _____
b) by ethnic groups _____
e) Other _____

62. How important is the participation of students in decision-making bodies, evaluation of the program, suggestions and implementation of changes in curriculum, etc? _____

63. What are the channels through which the students can participate in these processes? _____

64. How do they utilize these channels? _____

VIII. Views regarding the efficiency of the Program

65. What is the proportion of enrollment/graduation?
a) Enrollment: 100% b) Completed _____ c) Graduated: _____

66. Why do people drop or opt out of, the program? Rank the reasons.
a) _____
b) _____
c) _____

67. What strategies have you carried out to prevent or minimize students' drop out?

68. At the **individual and family level,** what are the benefits of this education for the students (please, be as specific as you can) in terms of:
a) economic benefits _____
b) social benefits: _____
c) cultural benefits (communications' skills, etc): _____
d) psychological benefits (self-esteem, etc): _____
e) political outcomes (participation, voting etc) _____

69. What is the educational and occupational future that they will face after leaving the program?
69.1. Further Education (a) No (b) Technical courses (c) Secondary educ. (d) Post-Secondary Educ.
69.2. Occupation (a) Unemployment (b) Part-time job (c) Full time job
69.3. Differences between population groups (by sex, age, income groups, etc): _____

70) With the training that they receive, what proportion of the **unemployed** will improve their **work opportunities** and their chances in the labour market?
(a) all of them (90-100%) (b) most of them (60-90%) (c) roughly half of them (40-60%)
(d) less than half of them (10-40%) (e) almost none of them (-10%)

71. What proportion of the **already employed** people will improve their **income** and their **work situation**? (e.g. improve their salaries, upward mobility within the same activity, change to a better paid job, etc).
(a) all of them (90-100%) (b) most of them (60-90%) (c) roughly half of them (40-60%)
(d) less than half of them (10-40%) (e) almost none of them (-10%)

72. What proportion of the students will improve their **work performance**? (increase productivity and quality of the work, etc).
(a) all of them (90-100%) (b) most of them (60-90%) (c) roughly half of them (40-60%)
(d) less than half of them (10-40%) (e) almost none of them (-10%)

73. How many students do you think will continue with further education (post-secondary)
a) all of them (90-100%)
b) most of them (60-90%)
c) roughly half of them (40-60%)
d) less than half of them (10-40%)
e) almost none of them (-10%)

74. What do you think are the main problems addressed by the program? Rank them.
a) _____
b) _____
c) _____

75. What are the principal solutions implemented in solving those problems?
a) _____
b) _____
c) _____

IX Teachers' training

76. How are the teachers of this program recruited?
a) Level of education: _____
b) Years of experience in the area of specialization: _____
c) Years of experience in adult education: _____
d) Other requisites _____

77. Have you been trained in adult education in this institution?
77.1. Pre-service a) No b) Yes
How long? _____
Assesment: _____

77.2. In service a) No b) Yes
How often? _____
Assesment: _____

78. How do you see the role of the **para-professional** (no certificate) adult education teacher compared to the professional teacher? (a) Worse (b) No difference (c) High
Explain: _____
_____

X. Communication Flow

79) How informed are the **program planners (policy making level)** about what is going on in the classroom? (a) Very little informed (b) Enough informed (c) Very well informed
Explain: _____
_____
_____

80. How often do they visit your classroom?
a) Never
b) Once a year
c) More than once a year (specify) _____

81. What channels of information do they have to know what happens at the classroom level? ____
_____
_____

82. What kind of support and advice do you receive from senior instructors, higher officials, supervisors, policy makers, etc? _____
_____
_____

XI. Educational and Occupational Expectations
83. What are your personal educational expectations for your future?
(a) Not at all
(b) Courses for personal benefit
(c) Further levels of education
(d) Others (specify) _____

84. What are your personal occupational expectations and goals for your (long-term) future?
(a) Teaching the same course
(b) Teaching another course (specify) _____
(c) Supervisor/Coordinator within the program
(d) Move to another occupation (specify) _____
(e) Other _____

XII. Professional culture
85. Are you familiar with the Southam Report on literacy in Canada? What is your opinion about it? What finding impressed you most? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

86. Do you know of any specific adult education policies and/or programs for native Canadians? What do you think about them? _____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide. Mexican Teachers

I. Background information

1. Name
2. Sex
3. Marital status
4. How many persons do you economically support?
5. Place of birth
6. Date of birth
7. Address
8. Name of program in which he or she participates.
9. How long have you worked as a teacher?
10. What is your highest level of studies?
11. Did you recieve your certificate?
12. In what type of institution did you study last (private, public, other)
13. In what type of institution did you study elementary education?
14. What is (or was) your father's highest level of studies?
15. What is (or was) your mother's highest level of studies?
16. What is (or was) your father's main activity?
17. What is (or was) your mother's main activity?
18. (if applicable) What is your husband's (wife's) highest level of studies?
19. (if applicable) What is your husband's (wife's) main activity?
20. Do you own the house you live in?
21. How do you get to work (by car, bus, etc.)
22. Approximatly, what is your monthly income?

II. Work Experience

23. Where did you last work before participating in this program?
24. What kind of work did you do there?
25. Where else have you worked?
26. Have you worked before as a teacher?
27. How long have you worked as a teacher?
28. What grades or levels have you taught?
29. Do you have another job besides this one?

III. Characteristics of the Program

30. What are the principal aims and purposes of the program you work in?
31. What do you think are the needs that are being addressed through this program?
32. What do you consider to be the role of the program in national development?
33. Who designed the program?
34. How is the program organized?
35. How do you work with your group of adult students?
36. How long does the program last?
37. How many hours a week do you work in the program?
38. How many groups do you have?
39. How many students do you have in each group?
40. Do you have an assistant to work with you in your groups?
41. How were the groups with which you work formed (public announcement, the adults requested the service, etc.)
42. To what type of didactic materials do you have access?
43. Do you need extra time to prepare your class? How much?
44. Do you have a program that clearly indicates what you have to do?
45. How is the program evaluated?
46. How many adults on the average drop out of the program before finishing?
47. Coverage by sex in your groups.
48. Coverage by age categories in your groups.
49. What is the target group of the program?
50. What are the specific characteristics of the adult to whom the program is oriented?
51. What are the requirements that the adult learners must meet to participate in the program?
52. How would you describe the characteristics of the adults that actually participate in the program?
53. Is the program adequate for the type of adult learners that you have described above?

IV. The Program in Operation

54. What kind of actions have you carried out in order to adapt the program to the characteristics of the adult learners in your groups?
55. Why do adults drop out of the program?
56. Do you consider that the abilities and capabilities of the adult learners are sufficient to achieve the desired learning results?
57. Do you think the adults will have the opportunity of applying what they learn in their daily lives?
58. Are your groups homogeneous? Do the adults have similar interests and abilities?
59. What type of relationship do you establish with the adults in your groups (formal, informal, both)?

V. Communication Flow

60. What type of relationships do you establish with the authorities (coordinators, supervisors)? When and how do you contact them?
61. When and how do they contact you?
62. What kind of help or assistance do you receive from the authorities (coordinators, supervisors)?
63. Do you personally or any of the other teachers participate when there is a change in the program?
64. When was the last time you had contact with the authorities (coordinators, supervisors)?
65. Have you participated in evaluating the program with the authorities (coordinators, supervisors)?
66. How is the adult learner evaluated?
67. How often is he or she evaluated?
68. Which do you consider the main benefits of this program for the adult learners?

VI. Perception of the Program

69. Why do you consider the participation of adults in this program important?
70. What actions have you carried out to avoid the dropping out of adults from the program?

VII. Perception of Other Actors

71. What do you think are the principal goals and expectations of the adult learner when they enter the program?
72. What are the reasons for the lack of motivation in the program of some of the adult learners?

VIII. Perception of Self

73. Why did you accept this position as a teacher?
74. Do you consider the way you work with your group effective?
75. Did you receive previous training (before you started working with your groups)?
76. How long did this training last (in hours)?
77. Was it useful? How?
78. How do you feel towards your work as a teacher? Do you like it? Do you consider it useful?
79. What are your main educational expectations for the near future?
80. What are your main occupational expectations for the near future?
81. What is your opinion on the future of this program?