ADULT EDUCATION

Critical

Issues

HELLENIC ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

ADULT EDUCATION: Critical Issues

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Η ταυτότητα της ΕΕΕΕ και του νέου περιοδικού

Η Επιστημονική Ένωση Εκπαίδευσης Ενηλίκων (ΕΕΕΕ) εκδίδει νέο περιοδικό με τίτλο *ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ ΕΝΗΛΙΚΩΝ Κρίσιμα Ζητήματα*. Η ΕΕΕΕ ιδρύθηκε το 2004 και η λειτουργία της βασίζεται στην εθελοντική προσφορά των μελών της. Τα τελευταία χρόνια, η ΕΕΕΕ έχει αναδειχθεί σε ζωντανή κοινότητα έρευνας και πρακτικής της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων τόσο στην Ελλάδα όσο και διεθνώς, γεφυρώνοντας τις θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις της κριτικής εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων με πρακτικά δεδομένα, έτσι όπως αυτά προκύπτουν από τα εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα που υλοποιεί σε πλήθος οργανισμών.

Η έκδοση του περιοδικού εγκαινιάζει μία νέα φάση στις δραστηριότητες της ΕΕΕΕ. Το περιοδικό τοποθετείται στο πεδίο της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων. Ο όρος-κλειδί *Κρίσιμα Ζητήματα* αντανακλά τον στρατηγικό μας στόχο για ανάπτυξη κριτικού διαλόγου μεταξύ των εκπαιδευτών ενηλίκων αναφορικά με ζητήματα κρίσιμα, που θέτουν υπό αμφισβήτηση στερεοτυπικές αντιλήψεις, και ενδεχομένως παραμένουν ανοικτά ερωτήματα, δεδομένης της αμφίρροπης, αμφιλεγόμενης, παραμελημένης, παρεξηγημένης ή ελλιπώς ανεπτυγμένης προσέγγισής τους στη βιβλιογραφία. Έτσι, ελπίζουμε ότι το περιοδικό θα συμβάλει στην προώθηση των ιδεών και αρχών της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων με έμφαση στον κριτικό στοχασμό και την μάθηση με στόχο την αλλαγή.

Αλέξης Κόκκος

Ομότιμος Καθηγητής Εκπαίδευσης Ενηλίκων

Πρόεδρος της ΕΕΕΕ

Editor-in-Chief *ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ ΕΝΗΛΙΚΩΝ Κρίσιμα Ζητήματα*

The identity of HAEA and the new journal

The new journal *ADULT EDUCATION Critical Issues* is hosted by the Hellenic Adult Education Association (HAEA). Founded in 2004, HAEA benefits from the voluntary time contributions of its members. Over the years, HAEA has become an active community of research and practice in adult education within the Hellenic and the international framework. HAEA acts as a bridge between the theoretical approaches of critical adult education and the practical outcomes from the learning programs it performs in various organizational settings.

The launch of the publication of the present journal constitutes a new stage in HAEA'a activities. The journal is framed within the field of adult education. The key term *Critical Issues* reflects our aim to promote critical dialogue among the community of adult educators on topics that are crucial, challenge taken-for-granted assumptions, and eventually they still remain open questions because they are ambivalent, controversial, disregarded, misunderstood or underdeveloped in the literature. Hereby, we hope that the journal will contribute to the promotion of the ideas and principles of adult education with a keen emphasis on the perspective of critical reflection and learning for change.

Alexis Kokkos

Emeritus Professor of Adult Education

Chairperson of HAEA

Editor-in-Chief of *ADULT EDUCATION Critical Issues*

Editorial

ADULT EDUCATION Critical Issues is a new project of the Greek Adult Education community. After 49 issues in the last 15 years, the Hellenic Adult Education Association (HAEA) journal is becoming bilingual, hosting works in English and Greek, in order to serve not only as a bridge between the Greek and the international community, but also, as a reflection step on developments in the field of Adult Education all over the world. Our intention is underlined by our strategic choice to be an open-access journal, without fees. The identity of the journal also underlines the orientation of the articles it will host, depicted in the thematic focus of the journal. *Critical issues* are connected to research, good practices and proposals on transformative processes and critical approaches in education, society, governance, policies and other areas of interest, related to the field of Adult Education; redefinition or reassessment of problematic perspectives, theoretical views, or social phenomena; exploration of multiple, different, alternative, ambivalent, controversial perspectives; challenge of taken-for-granted or unjustified assumptions and practices; analysis of the power dynamics of a situation and exploration of disregarded or undermined, however interesting and challenging perspectives. We hope that with this orientation and content the journal will contribute to the promotion of the ideas and principles of Adult Education with an emphasis on critical reflection and learning aimed at change.

The launch of the journal comes at a time when humanity is facing a twin crisis: an environmental crisis due to the climate change and a sanitary crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The short-term and long-term consequences of these crises are expected to influence -and even determine- the future of the current and the future generations. Although the existing landscape can only create feelings of pessimism, it is obvious that we are facing changes that require not simple management-type changes, but radical transformations - transformations as the results of collective actions. At such a pivotal moment, Adult Education can only hand the role which has been historically recorded in several corresponding periods so far, that is, a critically formative and influential role. What we have referred to as challenges, urge for human-centered developments regarding personal advances through one's potential, but also collective initiatives that can ultimately lead to more inclusive and fair societies.

This first issue of our journal coincides with the 100th anniversary of the birth of one of the most influential thinkers in our field, Paulo Freire. The thinker who saw the future not as an enclosed territory for those who have the ability to manipulate trends, innovations and advancements, but as an open possibility determined by the action of those on the 'opposite side', the thinker who rejected all sorts of one-way streets that the few decide for many, the thinker who believed that "by reading the word we read the world". The Greek Adult Education community has always had a special relationship with the ideas of Paulo Freire, who in the late 1980s had visited Greece, in the context of the activities of the Popular Education. As a tribute to the 100 years from the birth of Paulo Freire, we quote in this issue an interview he gave when he was in Greece, which we consider to be of particular interest to those who are inspired today by his perspective on education and the world.

The launch of the journal also coincides with the founding of the International Transformative Learning Association (ITLA), of which the Hellenic Adult Education Association is an affiliated member. It is rather obvious that even today, more than ever, the humanist and critical theoretical approaches and rich experience from transformative learning applications are needed to deal with dysfunctional views and assumptions. Our first issue coincides as well

with two interventions by UNESCO, which justifiably create optimism, emphasizing that the future is still open, as long as the present is creative and assertive. This is the publication *Reimagining our Futures Together: A New Social Contract for Education*, a visionary text for the future of education. Like its distant ancestor (1972), the Faure Report entitled *Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow* is expected to have a major impact on the future directions of education, formal, non-formal and informal. The second UNESCO intervention, also known as the *Paris Declaration* (A Global Call for Investing in the Futures of Education, November 2021), emphasizes the need for governments to prioritize education funding through concrete measures (4-6% of GDP and / or at least 15-20% of total public expenditure).

We take the opportunity through the Editorial of this first issue, to sincerely thank all the contributors of the Greek-language edition of the journal (2004-2021) and for their valuable contribution and at the same time to welcome the members of the International Editorial Board of this new, bilingual edition, distinguished scholars of the field of Adult Education, whose presence is a guarantee for the quality of the contributions we hope to receive. We would especially like to thank the members of the Editorial Team who have most contributed to the realization of the issue you are now reading, namely Alexis Kokkos (Editor-in-Chief), Dimitris Vergidis (Consulting Editor), Natassa Raikou (Review Editor), and Christos Kaltsidis (ICT Editor).

We aspire to make this publication a constant challenge for the scientific dialogue on critical issues of Adult Education, which can lead to the exploration of new approaches to the significant issues we mentioned, placing Adult Education in the role we all envision, as regards the advancement of modern societies in a humanitarian and critically reflective direction. We hope that achieving this goal does not merely concern the Editorial Team, but mainly all contributors and readers.

With these thoughts we welcome you to this new endeavor of HAEA and we are looking forward to a creative cooperation.

Professor Thanassis Karalis

Assoc. Professor Katerina Kedraka

Editors of *ADULT EDUCATION Critical Issues*

From Alternative Facts to Tentative Truths:

Towards a Post-postmodern Dialogic Epistemology

Chad Hoggan [a], Tetyana Hoggan-Kloubert [b]

[a] North Carolina State University, USA, cdhoggan@ncsu.edu

[b] University of Augsburg, Germany, tetyana.kloubert@phil.uni-augsburg.de

Abstract

Drawing attention to today's epistemic crisis, this article seeks to reflect on the role of adult education in addressing this crisis and thereby fostering our democracies. We argue for the need of developing a new shared epistemic basis, a post-postmodern dialogic epistemology. This article presents three core components for this: (1) universalism and particularism, (2) embracing epistemic humility, and (3) seeking for dialogue and the public use of reason. Starting with recognizing the value of postmodern critiques on the Enlightenment ideas of rational thinking and its practices of rigid categorizations, we update key concepts of Enlightenment thinking, such as the power of judgment, human epistemic fallibility, and public reasoning. The modern value of the Enlightenment lies for us predominantly in the democratic educational project that it started. In this light, we see adult education as a (public) space dedicated to developing epistemic responsibility.

Keywords: reflective judgment, human fallibility, post-postmodernism, dialogue across differences, agora, civic friendship, dialogic epistemology

1. Introduction

The world is experiencing a crisis of epistemology. In a benign way, evidence for this predicament can be seen in the growth of conspiracy theory movements such as the Flat Earth Society, which (as its name implies) adamantly proclaims that the Earth is flat despite the abundance of evidence to the contrary. More dangerously, it can be seen in the anti-vaxx movement, wherein large swathes of people refuse the advice of all health organizations and the vast majority of epidemiologists, prolonging the covid-19 pandemic and re-introducing viruses which had been mostly eradicated. It became perhaps most visible during and since the presidency of Donald Trump, as he used Twitter to send daily barrages of messages (over 26,000, an average of 18 per day, during his four years in office), many of which proclaimed and repeated patently false information, or "alternative facts" (TrumpArchive, 2021), and then as he continues to spread disinformation about the validity and results of the 2020 election.

A characteristic of today's crisis of epistemology is that many people treat the knowledge-creation process backwards. Instead of beginning with a thoughtful framework for *how* they will determine what to believe (an epistemology relevant to the given context), they begin with *whom* or *what* they will believe, and then find justification to support corresponding knowledge claims. These preferences for *whom* and *what* determine the sources we look to for news, data, opinions, friendships, and other elements that collectively form our echo chambers. A further problem is that complex issues tend to be reduced to simplistic alternatives from which everyone is seemingly supposed to choose. This trend is especially

promoted by sensationalist news media, as well as social media consisting of memes and only limited text. We define this crisis of epistemology as a widespread lack of consensus about knowledge and how it is acquired. Haidt illustrates this tendency pithily: "Whatever you want to believe about the causes of global warming or whether a fetus can feel pain, just Google your belief" (2012, p. 87). In the case of global warming, a choice to either believe or not believe in human-induced global climate change based on one's political or religious identity— or because one believes in science—precludes deeper discussions about points of evidence for either claim, scientific bias, academic pressure and fashion, and industrial/corporate hegemony. One aspect of this crisis is the extent to which individuals are unwilling to delve deeply into the evidentiary claims of both sides of a controversial issue; another aspect has to do with more fundamental issues of living in a pluralistic society, dealing effectively with difference, and participating in social practices that contribute to an effective democracy. We call this a *crisis* because the lack of such consensus makes it difficult, if not impossible, to have constructive dialogues across difference. When we have people on various extremes of the political spectrum making determinations about 'truth' based on party affiliation, personal (perceived) interests, or the effect that such a *truth* might have (e.g., undermining traditional knowledge in hopes of combating hegemony, or 'owning the libs' in hopes of winning the culture war), the result is an abandonment of the search for truths that can be agreed upon as a basis for co-constructing a diverse, pluralistic society.

The rapid and vast availability of information makes it necessary to examine relevant facts and data about complex issues. Further, coming to a dialectical understanding of complex issues requires an epistemological approach that is open to diverse perspectives without submitting to complete relativism. Today's 'post-truth' situation therefore requires a more explicit focus on epistemology, a critical competency in dealing with vast and varied information about complex issues. Using Adorno's term, it requires "education for maturity/[autonomy]" (1970/2013), which necessitates lifelong learning.

2. Towards a Post-postmodern Dialogic Epistemology

This article addresses the individual and collective stance toward searching for or abandoning truth, and its interconnection with democracy and education. Our underlying premise is that for the maintenance of democracy as a form of government and way of life, which in principle allows participation for all in political and decision-making processes, it is indispensable that engagement, public discussion, and deliberation, as forms and prerequisites of that participation, are built on shared epistemic principles or standards. This insight is obviously not new; however, its importance is heightened by current and growing challenges related to epistemology and stances toward truth and the search for it.

Adult and lifelong education has a role to play in combating this crisis of epistemology. In order to effectively do so, however, we need to begin conversations about truth and epistemology— because the academic fashion of postmodernism leaves scholars and educators unequipped to offer the necessary solutions. Postmodernism provides a distinctive and helpful focus on power and language, on the need for a multiplicity of perspectives, and a critique of rigid categorizations and often dualistic simplifications of Enlightenment-era and modernist thought (Hemphill, 2001). In this zeal to challenge monolithic, totalizing systems of thought in the hopes of challenging hegemony, however, postmodernism neglects—and indeed may be conceptually unable—to offer constructive guidance for creating a shared epistemological basis from which to combat today's crisis of epistemology. We need a post-postmodernism, a move beyond critique and into construction. We need conceptual tools that do more than

merely say that all truths are local and serve particular interests. We need conceptions of epistemology that address postmodern critiques and yet offer workable solutions for the difficult and complex task of developing a shared epistemic base.

To this end, we have written elsewhere about renewed conceptions of rationality, autonomy, and plurality (Hoggan-Kloubert & Hoggan, in review). In the following sections, we further explore concepts to help develop a new epistemic basis, which we hope will contribute to addressing the problems of living in a post-truth world. We present three principles helpful in creating a shared epistemic basis: (1) universalism and particularism, (2) embracing epistemic humility, and (3) seeking for dialogue and the public use of reason. Following these explorations, we provide implications for adult education practice.

3. Universalism and Particularism

Whereas postmodernism critiques concepts of truth and rationality as they have evolved from the Enlightenment era, our post-postmodern reconstruction of a shared epistemology also begins with a famous critique of the Enlightenment era. Horkheimer and Adorno begin their criticism of Enlightenment's thinking with the fundamental question: "why humanity, instead of entering a truly human state, is sinking into a new kind of barbarism" (1944/2002, p. xiv). Although Enlightenment thinking was intended to be inextricably linked with freedom, it ultimately led in a dialectical process to a lack of freedom, in a thoroughly administered world, so they argue. They speak about the 'self-destruction' of Enlightenment thought (p. xiv), while still insisting that we need to hold onto the Enlightenment as a project, albeit as a project that needs to be improved. "We have no doubt—and herein lies our petitio principii—that freedom in society is inseparable from enlightenment thinking" (1944/2002, p. xvi).

Enlightenment's version of rationality is authoritarian in its striving for order, clarity, and predictability. Its logic is that of unification and fusion (of the individual to the collective, of specifics to their categorizations—'identification'); thus, the unknown (uncategorized, unlabeled) cannot exist as such. In critiquing the prevalence of and insistence on classification as the only legitimate form of perceiving the world, Horkheimer and Adorno arrive at the claim that: "Power and knowledge are synonymous" (1944/2002, p. 2), since every cognition only follows the logic of determination for the purpose of domination. This 'calculating' and 'ordering' of things is one of the sharpest critiques in their "Dialectic of Enlightenment". Things are perceived only in the sense that they can be subordinated under the rule of logic and signs and are recorded in units/categories. The unknown, the un-calculated, and the non-categorized are neither reflected nor perceived in their differences, thus the resulting knowledge is deficient, partial, hegemonizing. When education utilizes this distorting form of knowledge-creation, it results in a 'half-education,' as famously titled by Adorno (Adorno, 1959, see also Kloubert, 2018). Horkheimer and Adorno, in their analysis of the flawed epistemology that led to the rise of fascism and the horrors of WWII, famously criticize the oppressive logic of the Enlightenment. "For enlightenment, anything which does not conform to the standard of calculability and utility must be viewed with suspicion" (1944/2002, p. 3).

Bauman (1991) and other postmodern philosophers reject the Enlightenment ideal of rigid categories, as such distinctions necessarily exclude certain people, groups, things, or experiences. Such austerity, Bauman maintains, has been rejected in modern times by citizens in increasingly open, consumer-driven societies who feel less secure and more fearful of not fitting into rigid categories after gaining the personal freedoms of the industrialized world. Bauman emphasizes that such rigidity has resulted in what he calls "liquid modernity," which is evident, for example, in people seeking to reduce their insecurities and allay their fears

through temporal and fleeting experiences such as going to an art museum rather than, say, taking a course on art history to expand their learning or increase their knowledge (2000).

To address this critique, we return to one of the most prominent philosophers of the Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant , who wrote arguably the most comprehensive texts (1790) about the ways humans acquire and process knowledge. We draw on Kant because we see in his work a useful framework for analyzing today's epistemic crisis. Kant argues that we need an individual capacity to find our orientation in the world, which he calls "power of judgment." For him, it is "the power to think the particular as contained under the universal" (1790/1987, p. 18). Kant's premise is that there is a compelling human need to make meaning, to structure the world and our experiences; the alternative would be an incoherent, random collection of disconnected phenomena. Judgment allows people to apply rules and concepts to specific cases and thus to reflect on whether something can be understood according to a given "rule," or if a new or revised rule would be necessary to adequately understand it. He describes two kinds of judgment that we use to make sense of the world.

Kant defines the *determining power of judgment* as the ability "to subsume something under rules", that is, "if the universal (the rule, principle, law) is given, then judgment, which subsumes the particular under it, is determinative" (Kant, 1790/1987/p. 18). Here we use predetermined categories or structures of understanding to make sense of our individual experiences, and thereby gain a deeper understanding of the world. Whereas Kant treated this power of judgment as a conscious process, we would argue that it is also, and much more commonly, a preconscious, automatized process. It would be impossible to function on a moment-to-moment basis without this conscious or preconscious interpreting of experience. We find therefore that critiques against the Enlightenment's focus on creating categories for understanding are problematic. The creation of categories is not only something that Enlightenment scholars chose to do as they sought scientific explanations for various phenomena, it is also an inevitable epistemological process that they made explicit. Instead of critiquing the capacity of judgement in general, we argue rather to critique the insistence that one's current framework for understanding the world is already complete and accurate, thereby using determinate judgment to force all phenomena into that preexisting structure.

As a necessary complement to the determining power of judgment, Kant describes the *reflective power of judgment* as the ability to construct new categories and patterns and form higher-order representations by paying attention to the existence of outliers that do not fit into existing categories (p. 19). This key insight is reflected in most every model of learning and development (e.g., Piaget's accommodative versus assimilative learning, Engestrom's expansive learning, Mezirow's perspective transformation). Reflective judgement pre-supposes the human capacity to question existing paradigms and modify them to create new ones. Thus, in the process of generating knowledge, human beings use existing categories to understand the context and the interconnectedness of their lived phenomena in a systematic way; but at the same time people are not restricted solely to the existing rigid structures, continuing the 'search for truth' by recognizing and defining new nuances and interconnections.

In addition to these two *powers of judgement* described by Kant, we see the necessity of recognizing and appreciating the uniqueness of some phenomena, what we might call the respect for singularity. This respect acknowledges that no matter how refined any given belief system that we create is, it will never completely match the complexity of reality. Therefore, there is an essential intermediary step before the process of reflective judgement, where

phenomena are acknowledged as not fitting into our current framework for understanding (or better yet, phenomena show that our current framework is not adequate to explain them). What is essential for responsible epistemic practice is that we allow for and pay attention to singularities, holding them as outliers to our existing mental frameworks, and yet not abandoning the difficult work of reflective judgment, of trying to create better, more expansive frameworks for understanding that can accommodate the current outliers.

Despite its helpful critiques of power and language, postmodernism's insistence and exclusive focus on particularity does not provide conceptual tools for developing a shared epistemic basis. We argue that this is due to its reluctance to create categories for understanding, to prohibit any generalizations that might seek coherence among the various perceived phenomena. And yet, not only is the creation of categories an inevitable part of moment-to-moment human functioning, claiming not to do such simply renders the process invisible and inhibits our ability to engage in dialogue across difference. Metaphorically, acknowledging that every flower in the world is particular is one thing, to abandon the concept of flowers in general is another. This not only makes our worldview fragmentary and inaccurate, it undermines our ability to engage in a dialogue about the tremendous variety of flowers around the world.

To explore further the need for reflective judgment, we return to Horkheimer and Adorno's critique of the "impoverishment of thought" (1944/2002, p. 28) that comes through thinking in rigid categories (i.e., determining judgment), when not able to broaden one's own perception and recognize nuances and differences. Thinking, caught in this logic, allows people to overlook phenomena that do not fit into their current organizing mental structures. Thus, it can convert distinct and nuanced experiences, phenomena, and even people, into identical conceptions or categories by forcing them into existing, rigid, organizing mental structures. As they explain, for a claim to be easily accepted as truth by the masses, it "need only be general, self-assured, universal, and imperative. What people cannot endure is the attempt to evade the either/or" (1944/2002, p. 198). This shows the modern unwillingness to do the hard work of attempting reflective judgment. This feature of modern thinking, therefore, negates open cognitive processes such as Kant's reflective judgment.

When thinking is limited to the already-given, then people cannot make judgments to accommodate phenomena that do not coincide with the existing structures of understanding. Further, when it is constrained by the insistence of a logical formalism that declares the supremacy of general rules and categories (and the resulting subservience of singularity to those higher structures), then reductive thinking cannot account for instances of singularity and particularity. In either case, such thinking is a priori less reflective of reality than what might be possible when such constraints are not present.

> *What appears as the triumph of subjectivity, the subjection of all existing things to logical formalism, is bought with the obedient subordination of reason to what is immediately at hand (existing categories, the authors). To grasp existing things as such (i.e., as within existing categories, the authors), …, but, on the contrary, to think of them … as mediated conceptual moments which are only fulfilled by revealing their social, historical, and human meaning—this whole aspiration of knowledge is abandoned. Knowledge does not consist in mere perception, classification, and calculation. (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2002, p. 20). [And further:] The regression of the masses today lies in their inability to hear with their own ears what has not already been heard,*

to touch with their hands what has not previously been grasped; it is the new form of blindness. (p. 28-29).

The impoverishment of thought thus leads to the impoverishment of the self/human being. This is manifested in modern society through either isolation, on the one hand, or in self-identification with the collective on the other. In this process, thinking loses what constitutes its essence: the capacity for reflection and differentiation. For Horkheimer and Adorno, the capacity to see differences is in contrast to, what they call, identification, the process of making different things identical in our perception. If human beings are characterized only through the prism of categories, the subjective, individual side of his human existence, the emotional and sensual life, then: "The autocratic intellect […] detaches itself from sensuous experience in order to subjugate it" (1944,/2002, p. 28).

The mere ordering, classification, and calculation do not, therefore, acknowledge the interconnection between the universal (broad, organizing structures) and the particular (singularity), taking only the perspective of the universal—of the "false absolute" (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2002, p. 33). This tension between the particular and universal can be at least *partially* solved by returning to Kant's concepts of determining and reflective power of judgement, as discussed above. In both cases, every human being needs direct experience to judge, but it is especially the reflective power of judgment that has its necessary starting point in concrete individual experience.

We highlight the need to generalize particular phenomena, to transcend the limitations of purely subjective experiences and perspectives, but, in line with Horkheimer and Adorno, we see here the danger of oversimplification and homogenization ('identification'). Therefore, we have suggested that respect for singularity needs to be added to Kant's determinant and reflective powers of judgement. In fairness to Kant, he also noted that universal principles, rules, and laws cannot be applied as if they were the 'laws of nature' (Kant, 1970/1987, p. 25); all systems of belief are human creations and therefore can be modified. We would add to this that although general categories, grand narratives, and universal laws are helpful in providing an explanation of the world, we must remain open to the fact that no belief system can possibly accommodate all phenomena and experiences; within the general there is always the need to notice singularity. The work of reflective judgment is never complete.

Today's epistemic crisis can be understood as the neglect of reflective judgment. First, we see an insistence on determinant judgement, where people in their echo chambers subsume all phenomena under their particular framework for understanding the world (i.e., their existing categories), without engaging in reflective judgment based on a recognition of differences, including arguments from those in other echo chambers. Second, we see a postmodern insistence on treating all phenomena as particular and therefore as not universally judgeable. For example, discriminatory practices against women in Western societies are ubiquitously decried, while at the same time discriminatory (and often brutal) practices against women in non-Western societies are shielded from critique out of an insistence on the primacy of the local, rather than hegemonic Western, culture in evaluating those practices (Wheen, 2012).

Many of the critiques under the auspices of postmodernism concern the point that the striving to find universal principles, rules, and laws was an inherently flawed goal, that much of what was considered universal was, in truth, merely cultural conditioning. We critique postmodernism's proclamation (that includes such claims as that there are no grand narratives, and that all truth is local and particular) as hypocritical because it is itself treated as a universal law. Worse yet, it is treated as a law that cannot be brought under scrutiny. To

make such a universal statement that disallows any further universal statements, is akin to crossing a bridge and then burning it down behind you. Any attempt to understand reality always includes assumptions about the universal; even assuming that all truths are local still assumes *that* as a universal principle. The key, we believe, is in how the universal is treated (how it comes to be and how it is held tentatively or dogmatically).

4. Embracing Epistemic Humility

The second concept in our epistemological framework addresses the imperfection of our cognition and the fallibility of the human mind. We acknowledge the fact that we will always fail to find 'universal truth' as such, because we are imperfect epistemological beings. Whether we draw upon rational or extra-rational (e.g., intuition, somatic knowing) capacities to seek understanding, we not only can never be assured of understanding the truth in all its completeness and complexity, we can only be sure that no matter how hard we try, we will never be able to do so. However, it is precisely this fallibility that requires us to search for truth by addressing and evaluating knowledge claims carefully and holding truths tentatively.

The idea that human beliefs, knowledge, and perceptions are fragmented, distorted, and one-sided is obviously not a new idea. One of the most detailed accounts of fallibility was developed by Karl Popper, who rejects dogmatism and believes that, contrary to positivists, that science should not, via experimentation, be required to prove a theory to be true—only that the theory conceivably be false (in other words, they should simply seek to disprove a theory). *Fallibilism* assumes that all human concepts and ideas are incapable of being completely proven. In general, there is no way to create a perfectly-true theory, to definitively secure the truth of any given hypothesis. While defending this position, Popper does not slide into relativism. Even if the security of knowing the truth is not achievable, it is nevertheless possible to disprove ideas, hypotheses, and concepts, which implies that we should hold our ideas and systems of beliefs tentatively and approach them from a critical perspective, aware of the necessity of constant scrutiny (Popper 1945/1966a and b).

This choice, to hold belief systems tentatively, can and should nevertheless be based on epistemologically justifiable reasons rather than arbitrariness. The search for truth does not necessarily have to mean the search for certainty, despite a long history of equating the two in the philosophy literature (Pasnau, 2017). Popper warns against dogmatism and relativism, both of which prevent us from engaging in a critical examination of our belief systems (Popper 1945/1966a). Within a relativist framework one could not justifiably criticize and reject any competing assumptions as false. If all beliefs and assumptions are equally right, there is no point in critical thinking or any other kind of epistemological evaluation.

The idea of fallibilism by Popper is connected to his concepts of democracy. It is an indispensable requirement for his concept of the 'open society,' where the possibility of criticism and discussion is unrestricted by states or authorities. (The opposite is a closed society, characterized by rigidity, collectivism, and dogmatism and an apparent certainty of knowing the truth.) This idea of the open society is conceived by Popper explicitly as his contribution to the fight against totalitarianism, especially National Socialism, but then also communism. Popper described his concept of an "open society" as one that ensures and protects such values as freedom, justice, the right to strive for and disseminate knowledge, but also the right to make a personal choice in favor a particular value system and to strive for one's own happiness (Popper, 1945/1966a, chapter 10). Citizens in an open society are confronted with the need to make choices, to evaluate arguments and evidence, and to improve their own beliefs and values. This stands in contrast to closed societies wherein

particular sets of beliefs (mostly tribal or collective) are intentionally framed as being immutable, and where beliefs should be "transmitted" and "accepted"—by force, if necessary—but not deliberated upon (Popper, 1945/1966a, p. 100 and 172).

Popper explains that "the transition from the closed society to the open occurs when social institutions are first consciously recognized as human-made, and when their conscious alteration is discussed in terms of their suitability for the achievement of human aims or purposes (Popper, 1945/1966a, p. 175). In other words, the open society begins with the recognition of human fallibility and thus the need to reflect and improve, to search for reasonable alternatives. Popper recognizes that for some, such permanent uncertainty may be terrifying, and the desire to withdraw from this process of constant epistemic critique is understandable. However, each of us bears responsibility for our decisions, not only political leaders. Lastly, he warns that there is always a danger, perhaps even a tendency, for free and open societies to gradually slip back into closed ones.

Engaging in constant critique is for Popper the only way to improve our societies. An implication of human fallibility is that we can never know all the consequences of our actions in advance, much less whether they will result in a worse social and political order than what currently exists. He therefore rejected "holistic" macrolevel plans and designs (planning on a grand scale, such as Hegel or Plato suggested), preferring "piecemeal" tactics and step-by-step improvement. Since we cannot know in advance all the effects of our interventions, he advises us to work on each social problem individually and piece by piece (Popper, 1945 1966b, p 381, 386). We acknowledge Popper's caution about the seriousness with which we must address human fallibility. In this view, it is much more important to be aware and critical of our belief systems, tackling societal challenges with consideration of their social and historical context and possibilities for their remedy rather than dogmatically applying a particular belief system, no matter how well intentioned. In taking this approach, people, especially in open societies, are morally obliged to take epistemic responsibility, to critically assess their belief systems because their implications bear risks that could cause harm.

The awareness of human fallibility has consequences for the organization of and interaction between citizens in our societies (i.e., the ways we live together). If in our private and public deliberations we genuinely acknowledge the possibility of our own mistakes, then we allow for the possibility that others' arguments or perspectives may actually be more valid than our own. This type of subjective insight mitigates or replaces the dogmatic righteousness that has been expressed in the mainstream recently, including Trumpism and anti-vaxxers cited earlier. Acknowledging our fallibility can motivate us to seek better, stronger, more carefully reasoned evidence from which to form judgments and to be willing to learn from each other by being mindful of nuances and by correcting our assumptions and beliefs. It emphasizes the importance of open thinking, pluralism, and imagination in developing new solutions to problems.

Our knowledge is always only provisional; we should hold our truths tentatively. At any time we have to expect that supposedly safe assumptions will have to be refuted and replaced by other views. We can use Popper's argument to emphasize the danger of the modern closed communication channels, such as echo chambers, as communicative spheres in which like-minded people mutually reinforce their certainties. An external corrective is here absent. Overestimating the strength of one's own epistemic position is a great obstacle on the path to knowledge. Fallibilism, conversely, can be considered as a responsible epistemic position;

it recognizes the imperfection of knowledge without abdicating epistemic responsibility with the relativist conclusion that all beliefs are equally valid.

Popper, while recognizing human fallibility, emphasizes at the same time that he is not in favor an unavoidable determinism: "Thus we are not (as Kant and also Hume thought) the victims of our 'human nature,' of our mental digestive apparatus, of our psychology or physiology. We are not forever the prisoners of our minds. We can learn to criticize ourselves and so to transcend ourselves" (Popper, 1983/2005), p. 154). For him, "Rational discussion and critical thinking are not like the more primitive systems of interpreting the world; they are not a framework to which we are bound and tied. On the contrary, they are the means of breaking out of the prisons—of liberating ourselves" (p. 155). For Popper, human beings are creators, even if fallible ones—we construct our knowledge, our worlds, our societies which are never perfect, but we take responsibility to constantly improve them through, among other things, critical reflection. Such a disposition, when taken seriously, leads to critical dialogue, and potentially the modification or refinement of the existing patterns and ways of thinking and acting for living together in our plural, incomplete, imperfect, but open societies.

5. Seeking for Dialogue and the Public Use of Reason

Coming from Popper's belief that "I may be wrong and you may be right, and by an effort, we may get nearer to the truth" (1945/1966b, p. 225), we come to the third aspect of this article. We start with the assumption that getting and evaluating knowledge is best accomplished as a communicative, interactive process because given information almost always invites multiple interpretations, more than one of which is reasonable. For the effective functioning of an open, pluralistic, democratic society, people who claim to know and communicate the "truth" must provide reasons and evidence. This insistence is based on an ethical position of respect for human's dignity and autonomy; else, there would be no purpose in genuinely engaging in interaction over differences. Respecting human dignity and autonomy includes the recognition of one's fellow citizens as epistemic agents, as autonomous subjects who are capable of making up their own minds in a responsible way, and who necessarily should have a voice in matters that affect them. Engaging in a dialogue as autonomous and (politically) equal participants, contributes, according to Arendt, to the humanization of the world. To formulate this more poetically: "For the world is not humane just because it is made by human beings, and it does not become humane just because the human voice sounds in it, but only when it has become the object of discourse." (Arendt, 1968, p. 24).

Whether on internet forums or in town hall meetings, the moral imperative for people who claim to know the "truth" in open societies is for them to provide logical evidence, and not just emotional claims or claims of false authority (i.e., "Trump says. . . .) when expressing opinions as facts; such obligation does not imply that even logical evidence along will lead to consensus. Even so, this expectation promotes democratic deliberation, whereas those who make knowledge claims with scant evidence and false authority are preventing such democratic deliberation.

To make democratic deliberation possible, we need places: public spaces ("agoras"), where people come together to address issues of mutual concern, to work together in solving important problems. In this mutuality, we overcome the limits of private perspectives. We need public spaces that allow and promote dialogue, cooperation, deliberation about concepts and phenomena, and encouragement of critical thinking among people, even across ideological divides. In these spaces, it must therefore be socially acceptable to demand that truth claims are supported by evidence and reasoning that a rational person could rationally

accept and use as a basis of forming their own judgments. Solving this crisis of epistemology is about exposing ourselves to a constant dialogue that stimulates thought and reflection based on others making reasonable arguments for and against others' claims without reductive dogmatism.

Rawls emphasized that it is crucial to "specify the nature of the political relation in a constitutional democratic regime as one of civic friendship" (Rawls, 1999, p. 579). Similarly, Levine speaks of 'civic relationships,' which, unlike familial, romantic, or other personal relationships, is inclusive, prone to diversity, and built on a foundation of addressing mutual concerns. It does not require civility in terms of politeness and withholding of sharp emotions, but rather mutual recognition of "the other person as a fellow citizen, seen as someone who should be encouraged to participate in the common life" (2013, p.56). The public use of reason has been criticized in the literature because of concerns about the difficulty, if not impossibility, of full, equal, and fair participation by all parties (see for example, Young, 2000; Gutmann & Thompson, 1990). Another justification for an epistemology of public discourse—beyond aiming to improve society through its moral and political dimensions—is that it contributes to the mutual education of citizens by citizens who learn from each other in the process of critical discourse. Kant refers to such ways of discourse-inspired knowledge and learning as "enlightenment," which he conceives of as the progression from "immaturity," or a state of "tutelage," wherein people are unable to use their powers of reason without the guidance of someone else, to a state of "maturity," where autonomous thought becomes possible. Admitting that many people would rather stay in their state of immaturity, he emphasized that remaining in this state is neither natural nor unavoidable. Through dialogue with others (public use of reason), we can liberate ourselves from it.

> It is difficult for every single human being to work his way out of his immaturity, that has almost become second nature to him.... Hence, there are only very few who have succeeded through their own intellectual toil in emerging from immaturity […]. It is much more likely that an entire public should enlighten itself; indeed it is nearly unavoidable if one allows it the freedom to do it. (Kant, 1784/2006, p. 18).

We see here the special role and obligation of adult education to contribute to people realizing and enacting the democratic ideal of open societies of supporting and offering places in which full and equal participation in dialogue is encouraged (which is known in the literature under different terms, most notably Habermas' "ideal speech situation"). Adult education can encourage and enable learners to find and articulate their own voices, to develop interconnected thinking, and to feel themselves empowered and capable of communication and action, abiding by and insisting upon standards of reciprocity and mutual respect. Even if it is impossible to achieve a perfect culture of learning and dialogue in educational contexts, the ideals and goals stated here are those to which public discourse can and should strive.

This enlightenment project as described above is thus a prerequisite for democracy, with the caveat that one cannot simply "be enlightened," but must enlighten themselves. The first option, to be enlightened, would be too close to indoctrination and propaganda, where a person is pushed to a (pedagogically predefined) goal. Although education is made possible by various social structures, the direction and the result of the education processes for adults cannot be determined beforehand and at the same time be free of indoctrination; such concepts are mutually exclusive and negate each other. For us, then, rationality is in principle bound to public discourse, whereby the public is conceived as a space for the kinds of dialogue in which citizens deliberate about truth claims and the ensuing implications, narratives, and

conclusions emanating from them without isolating, offending, harming, or excoriating their fellow citizens.

We would add that the commitment to citizens giving and expecting reasonable evidence and argument in public spaces does not have to be antagonistic. If approached with the intention of striving to get closer to the truth (as opposed to trying to win a debate), such discourse has the potential to create a supra-individual relationship, a feeling of mutual recognition and solidarity. We juxtapose this interactive function with solitary reasoning that leads to greater atomization of society; it is a mutual searching rather than an attempt to dominate or to impose one's beliefs on others. It holds the potential for the creation of a certain kind of relationship among the participants of the public sphere.

> *What love is in its own, narrowly circumscribed sphere, respect is in the larger domain of human affairs. Respect, not unlike the Aristotelian philia politike, is a kind of "friendship" without intimacy and without closeness; it is a regard for the person from the distance which the space of the world puts between us.* (Arendt, 1958, p. 243)

Arendt is certainly not so naïve as to suggest that public participation (use of reason) will make all the people love each other and come to a universal consensus. Rather, her point is that engaging in dialogue with different, unique people in public spaces is a constant process in a specific space that entails searching for what is known and unknown and requires the capacity to form and be empowered by social bonds, as well as being open to multiple ways of living in an open diversified society.

6. Discussion and Implications

Referring to the ideals and principles rooted in the Enlightenment (power of judgment, public use of reason) and those developed by scholars empathetic with the Enlightenment (Popper, Rawls, Arendt) does not mean we are blind to the critiques against them. As demonstrated above, we acknowledge the validity and applicability of many such arguments. We argue that although the complete Truth can never be fully attained, yet the abandonment of the search for truth means arbitrariness and epistemic irresponsibility, and it leads to our inability to function in a pluralistic open society. Further, it does not provide us with the tools necessary to combat today's epistemic crisis. We call, therefore, for a new project dedicated to the development of a post-postmodern dialogic epistemology.

Contrary to many critiques, the ideals and principles of the Enlightenment, committed to the search for truth, were not the cause of the world's many evils, including the control and exploitation so rampant over the last several centuries (as if evil, control, and exploitation were new phenomena). In fact, we consider those ideals and principles essential for democratic societies to survive and thrive. Aspirations such as Kant's "emergence (of human beings) from self-incurred immaturity" (1784/2006, p. 17), are by definition a never-ending project, within one's own lifetime, and certainly from generation to generation.

The education for which we advocate would prepare adults to participate in public dialogic spaces. This includes teaching for reflecting judgment and fostering civic friendship, helping learners to pay attention to singularities that are not explainable through current mental frameworks and to mutually engage in processes of trying to create more expansive frameworks capable of nuanced, respectful understandings of those singularities. It involves demonstration and expectation of epistemic humility, even criticality of dominant views, as well as an openness to marginalized and locally-unpopular perspectives.

It is based on a democratic vision of society in which people live together in a conversational process that requires "mature" (in a Kantian sense) citizens who are able to judge evidence and reason for themselves and still develop a sense of solidarity with one another. Education is understood here as a permanent attempt to understand the world and ourselves and be capable of acting in it. In this tradition, one of the main conditions of education is that it occurs amidst a plurality of voices engaging with each other in critical dialogue. This includes confronting and dealing with perspectives that are new or opposed to one's own, but doing so in a spirit of solidarity and civic friendship.

This education presupposes a willingness of engaged citizens to look behind the metaphorical scenes of their own thinking and to devote themselves to asking and seeking answers to difficult questions. It is natural to resist a constant questioning of ourselves, especially our worldviews, in which we often find comfort and familiarity, and that serve as the basis for most of our social spheres. Yet, such education requires a willingness to have uncomfortable conversations while still speaking respectfully with those with whom we disagree. Most of all, this education requires us to acknowledge our own limitations and fallibility. Such an education is collaborative, it need not be antagonistic, but rather based on solidarity and dialogue. It involves speakers and listeners asking their dialogical partners for their reasons and beliefs and making a case for their own. In this sense, education means being epistemically responsible with truth claims (Hoggan & Kloubert, 2020; Michelson, 2019). It cannot strive predominantly for reaching agreement and consensus, as realities of (legitimate) plurality of views and human fallibility preclude such possibilities. In contrast, it strives to develop better, more nuanced, more self-critical and -reflective and yet differently-thinking thinkers who can step into dialogue with others based on a foundation of shared epistemic principles.

To cling to our views in isolation, or to only evaluate them within the confines of our preferred echo chambers, free from disagreement, is not only epistemically irresponsible, it also undermines democratic society. The tendency to disregard opposing views, labelling them as hateful, hurtful, naïve, or otherwise unworthy of serious attention, abdicates personal responsibility for dealing with the differences which are inevitable in a pluralistic society and places the responsibility for dealing with differences onto only those who have views and values different from one's own. And when everyone holds this attitude, democracy cannot function.

The modern value of the Enlightenment lies for us predominantly in the democratic educational project that it requires. We argue that this project must apply to itself what it criticizes: foremost, reasonable criticism of reason and acknowledging its limitations. It should become a self-reflecting Enlightenment. And, of necessity also a self-critical Enlightenment that remains open to the yet unknown and subjectively perceived, to the Other as a "civic friend" despite differences, always trying to understand the world in its unity and diversity.

Wolfgang Klafki, whose ideas are reflective of our own, argues that the principles of the Enlightenment are still valid and worth pursuing: they simply need updating, or, as he says, they "have to be rethought and developed further" (1990, p. 91). He emphasizes the importance of addressing the "key problems of the present and the supposed future" and formulates the crucial attitudes and skills to be able to meet the ideals of the Enlightenment today (1990, p. 98). We believe this attitude echoes our three points developed in the article: the need for reasoned judgement, the embracing of epistemic humility, and the need for public use of reason and dialogue across differences in the presence and recognition of

plurality. Klafki's four key competencies that need to be addressed in the process of constant learning are: (1) Critical faculty (including the readiness and ability for self-critique); (2) Ability and willingness to reason publicly; (3) Empathy (as a genuine readiness to maintain processes of 'argumentative elaboration and reasoned consensus, not necessarily treating all perspectives as equal); and (4) Cross-linked thinking and the ability to contextualize (recognizing interconnections between different ideas and phenomena (1990, p. 98-99).

In this sense, education cannot be understood as only an individual pursuit, but as a result of engaging in common discourse about the past, present, and future issues that a community or society faces. Education throughout life therefore means developing our capacity for judgment and epistemic responsibility—and adjusting them throughout one's life in dialogue with others. Public reasoning and the formation of our own judgments and beliefs thus become dialogical, and are social rather than individual. Yet, education also means the ability to make autonomous judgments and, in Adorno's words, "the courage not to participate" (Adorno, 1970/2013), the ability to withstand the dominant views, principles, and ideas of the masses, the ability to be non-conformist. In Kantian terms: the central virtue of the mature individual is courage; the mature agent is one who dares to use their own understanding.

In light of these arguments, we also highlight that learning to live together in a free society is neither value-free nor relativistic. Rather, it is partisan in the sense of advocating for one's views while simultaneously being open to alternative views. It benefits, and perhaps requires, certain epistemic principles, namely those that are founded on the basis of public reasoning, solidarity, and recognition of our own fallibility, and this is based on the constant questioning of that which we hold as truth. Without this, we believe, an open society cannot be built.

7. Conclusion

Differences in opinions, life concepts, and belief systems are not only inevitable in our heterogeneous societies, they are desirable. The existence of such divergence and diversity, however, begs the question how we might learn to live together (and, perhaps even "love" together as Arendt would have us do) across such differences without drifting into indifference, relativism, atomization, or societal radicalization. How can we create a basis for dialogue and thereby address the current epistemic crisis that is such a danger for our democracies? In this article, we argued for a return to, rather than rejection of, the Enlightenment principles of determining and reflective judgment, combined with an embracing of epistemological humility, and an emphasis on intersubjective reasoning.

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Corresponding author:

Chad Hoggan, North Carolina State University, USA, cdhoggan@ncsu.edu

Raymond Williams and Antonio Gramsci's contributions to adult education[1]

Emilio Lucio-Villegas

University of Seville, Spain, elucio@us.es

Abstract

This time is characterised by the policies and practices of Lifelong Learning. Against this process of dehumanisation, it could be important to 'revisit' some authors that enlighten us on how to recuperate an emancipatory adult education, valuable for developing critical thinking about the daily life of individuals and/or communities. In this direction, Raymond Williams and Antonio Gramsci offer us some interesting ideas. Even though they both lived in different countries and in different historic moments, they hold some common points related to a definite view of adult education. I am going to focus on three: the role of the educator, the notion of hegemony and the culture(s). In the conclusions, I will reflect on the contribution of these two thinkers to break the hegemonic view that seems to have reduced adult education to a marginalised niche. Reflecting on their contributions, mostly related to the role of the educator and the notion of culture as the core of adult education, it could be possible to recuperate the emancipatory power of adult education.

Keywords: adult education, critical awareness, culture, educator, hegemony.

1. Introduction

Lifelong Learning cannot be considered a theory, or a new knowledge; it is a whole corpus of policies, regulations and practices developed which has homogenised and reduced - in the framework of the neoliberal agenda - the rich European tradition of a diverse adult education to a learning focused on providing some skills to an individual only considered as a worker and consumer. From the Memorandum of Lifelong Learning (EU, 2000), the education to achieve a rich and productive social life, to become a citizen, for becoming a person, has been lost in the mainstream of the necessities of manpower for private companies. Perhaps, it could be interesting to reflect and establish links between these policies and the growing significance of fascist parties in some countries in Europe, the increase of xenophobia, the negation of the Holocaust, and the abandon of an education that enables people to confront and understand the challenges of a changing society.

One of the major characteristics of Lifelong Learning is related to the shift in the main objectives of the educational policies. In 'A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning' (EU, 2000) one of the goals was defined as "promoting active citizenship and promoting employability [as] equally important and interrelated aims for lifelong learning" (p. 4). Seven years later, the document 'It is always a good time to learn' affirmed: "A key element of the agenda proposed in Lisbon [the document previously cited] was the promotion of employability and social inclusion through investment in citizens' knowledge and competences at all stages of their lives" (EU, 2007, p. 2).

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[1] This article is based on a paper presented to the online conference 'Adult Education in Global Times' celebrated in June 2021.

Language is a form of hegemony, and it is possible to analyse how words such as citizenship, education or educator – now they are alluded to as practitioners, counsellors, etc. – are not present in the documents referring to Lifelong Learning. On the contrary, we witness the use of an entrepreneurial language in the field of education. New words such as investment, skills, competences, are now present in the discourse. As Lima (2000) states:

> *In education, managerial speeches have been occupying the position which was previously assumed by educational theories and pedagogical thinking, building narratives of managerial type that legitimise a new social order based on the market and in the private and productive sectors, in the economic competition, and in the client-centred management.* (p. 243)

Two more ideas seem to be important in defining the current state of adult education in Europe. On the one hand, policies and practices of Lifelong Learning have reduced the diversity of adult education – that is one of its characteristics (Lima & Guimarães, 2011, Gelpi, 2004). The last affirmed: "Adult education in Europe seems to have progressively forgotten its history made of fighting, resistances and creativity, and have transformed it into an instrument of power only used for individual development and the logic of the market" (Gelpi, 2004, p. 153).

On the other, it is important to stress that the aims of education are now situated in the labour market. As Dewey ([1916] 1995) pointed out, learning and teaching are not mere resources. The aims of education must be education itself and not external objectives.

In this scenario, and taking into account an educational model that is shaping the whole thought on adult education, it could be important to reassess some of the key ideas of these two intellectuals and reflect on their contributions to (re)consider adult education as a tool for emancipation.

To approach their contributions, I am going to focus on three concepts: the role of the educator, the concept of hegemony in helping create a social consensus, and, finally, culture(s). In some ways, the three – above all the last two – are interconnected. After this, I will present two experiences that enlighten us on the possibilities of another adult education. Finally, I will point out some contributions of both to recuperate an adult education committed to the development of people and communities.

2. Exploring Raymond Williams and Antonio Gramsci

Raymond Williams was born in Pandy, Wales in 1921. He was an adult educator, university teacher and novelist. In fact, his most famous novel, 'Border Country', is a kind of autobiography. His father was a railway worker - a signalman. He attended classes from elementary school to university. After he served in the British army during the Second World War, he became a staff tutor and worked for the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) until he joined the University of Cambridge where he became Professor of Modern Drama. He died in 1988.

Antonio Gramsci was born in Sardinia in 1891. This was a rural environment marked by a high level of illiteracy and superstition. Gramsci went to Torino to study in the University and he joined cultural and worker movements. Torino was – in that moment – the most important industrial city in Italy, and the birthplace of the working-class movement in the country, because of FIAT. He experienced the Russian Revolution and the defeat of the working class

in Italy. Reflecting on this defeat, Gramsci edified his political theory. He was incarcerated by the fascist regime and, after being released from prison, died in 1937.

2.1 The Educator

According to Gramsci, there are two different types of intellectuals. 'Traditional intellectuals' – for instance, priests, but also teachers - are intellectuals "employed in the service of the dominant forces" (Coben, 1995, p. 42). They represent the traditional world of landlords and rural society. A second category are the 'organic intellectuals', considered necessary for establishing the most favoured conditions for expanding the thinking of their social class. The 'organic intellectual' is a master in organising social life and legitimation. Organic intellectual are builders of thought, either for the bourgeois or for the working class.

However, it is important to clarify that, even for Gramsci, every person is an intellectual, but only some of them hold this role in society. These people, with the role of intellectuals, are those who are renovating both the social and physical world and building a new concept of it.

Two powerful ideas emerge. On the one hand, if every person is an intellectual, this means that everybody can reflect and understand the surrounding world. Second, is the fact that the 'organic intellectual', as mentioned above, shapes the world and, in some ways, creates the meanings through which people perceive their world. Giroux (1990) – among others - has developed the notion of the educators as 'transformative intellectuals' that is linked to democratic schools. One of the aims of this 'transformative intellectual' is to empower the students to critically interpret the world and change it.

In 'An Open Letter to WEA Tutors', Raymond Williams starts by affirming that his work as an adult educator "has been a good job, but always, as for most tutors, it has been more that a job" ([1961] 1993, p. 222). This 'more than a job' is to maintain "the organisation of social justice, and the institutions of democracy" (p. 223). To achieve this social justice in the background of democracy, people "should be highly educated" (p. 223).

In connection to Gramsci's affirmation that every person is an intellectual, and referring to WEA, Williams considered that adult education "stands for an educated democracy, not for a newly mobile and more varied elite" ([1961] 1993, p. 223). In some ways, Williams also believed that every person is a philosopher, holding knowledge. "I have discussed D.H. Lawrence with working miners; discussed methods of arguments with building workers; discussed newspapers with young trade unionist; discussed television with apprentices in training [...] I have learned as much as I taught" (Williams, [1961] 1993, p. 224).

What could be the methodology used for an educator such as that proposed by either Williams or Gramsci? Both agree that it should be a method that potentiates critical awareness. To Williams, focused on the teaching of literature to adult learners, the educator has to be more concerned with developing "their powers of understanding and discrimination in what they heard and what they read [to engage the learners in a] richer social participation and improved a more vigorous popular culture" (McIllroy, 1993, p. 288). And this can only be done if "the tutor becomes far more passive and the class more active and study-centred" (Ibid.).

To Gramsci, focused on the political education, the educator is a creator of counter-hegemony. This building can be organised in different sites of social practices that can be transformed in sites of adult learning: workplace, cultural centres, or even in prison. But education is always an attempt to organise critical political awareness and to improve basic education for all (Mayo, 2010).

2.2 Hegemony

If adult educators are 'organic intellectuals' helping to both build and critically analyse the surrounding environment, it is important to say something about the building of the representation of the world, and how this construction sculpts the mentality of common people. This is the role of the hegemony. According to Williams (1977),

> *Hegemony is then not only the articulate upper level of 'ideology', not are its forms of control only those ordinarily seen as 'manipulation' or 'indoctrination'. It is a whole body of practices and expectations over the whole of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves, and our world.* (p. 110)

Hegemony is always a process, and this idea of process allows us to add and confront other processes that also shape our perceptions in a different way: the emergent and alternative hegemonies, usually called counter-hegemonies.

Important here is the fact that individuals "always take part in a specific social group, precisely that one where people are sharing a same approach of both thinking and acting" (Gramsci, 1974b, p. 365). Thus, the process of building a hegemonic thought means to create a concept of life, choose a sphere of activity, and "participate actively in the creation of the history of the world" (Gramsci, 1974a, p. 62). Gramsci considered that hegemony means a permeation in society of an entire system of values, attitudes, etc., that have the mission of supporting the dominant power relations in each historic moment (Burke, 1999, 2005) or facilitating the changes in a specific society in a particular historical moment.

According to Gramsci, hegemony is a form of cultural direction, "ruling by consent and not simply through force" (Mayo, 2010, p. 22). Hegemony could be observed in a very clear manner in the case of language that I already mentioned in the introduction. In this sense, it can be affirmed that culture(s) and hegemony are closely connected to the building – or not - of a democratic society. As Williams (1984) affirmed:

> *If man [sic] is essentially a learning, creating and communicating being, the only social organization adequate to his nature is a participating democracy in which all of us, as unique individuals, learn, communicate and control. Any lesser, restrictive system is simply wasteful of our true resources; in wasting individuals, by shutting them out from effective participation, it is damaging our true common process* (p. 118).

The most important derivation from the idea of hegemony is that, for Gramsci – but also for Williams – politics is a form of pedagogy: "To take power without violence is only possible when the proletariat have finished the work of technical preparation and social education that it would be the revolutionary method" (Gramsci & Bordiga, 1977, p. 111).

2.3 Culture(s)

It could be considered the major concept in either Gramsci's or Williams' works, and it is connected to hegemony. In fact, I think that it is the central concept to an adult education that aspires emancipation. According to Williams, we have to talk about cultures in plural. Quoting Herder, he stated: "Is then necessary [...] to speak of 'cultures' in the plural: the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods, but also the specific and variable cultures of social and economic groups within a nation" (1985, p. 89).

Gramsci differentiated between low and high culture and considered that low culture could be a form of domination. As Diaz Salazar (1991) states,

Folklore, understood as an idea of the world and of the life of common people in society, is made singular because of its opposition and counter-opposition to the 'cult', 'official' and hegemonic idea of a specific society, and because of its non-systematic, contradictory and politically disorganised character (p. 153).

Another concept common to both authors is popular culture. Diaz Salazar (1991), following Gramsci, considers that "Popular culture is the starting point for the development of a new political awareness [...]. This process demands an appropriate pedagogy and wants to consider the progressive elements of the culture, and the creative popular soul" (p. 160). Ultimately, as Williams affirmed, "Popular culture [...] presenting knowledge in generally accessible ways" (1985, p. 23).

Gramsci also differentiated between common sense and good sense. 'Common sense' holds contradictory elements. But, in Gramsci's conception, also contains elements of 'good sense' in a distorted and fragmentary view of the world. It is a conception of the world, which is developed and absorbed uncritically (Borg, Buttigieg & Mayo, 2002).

Finally, it is important to stress that, for Gramsci,

Creating a new culture does not mean one's individual 'original' discoveries. It also, and most particularly, means the diffusion in a critical form of truths already discovered, their 'socialisation' as it were, and even making them the basis of vital action, an element of co-ordination and intellectual and moral order (In Mayo, 2010, p. 31).

Are these contributions present in the 'real' world? What experiences can enlighten us in this direction? I am going to describe a historic experience related to culture – *The Misiones Pedagógicas* – and a current micro-experience related to the recovery of the memory of people in their own neighbourhood.

2.3.1 The 'Misiones Pedagógicas'

Tiana (2021) defined this experience with the following words:

In Spain, between the years of 1931 to 1936 an original and interesting popular educational experience was developed. Some people, mainly younger, most of them connected with teaching activities, together with writers and artists, went across Spain bringing books, music, copies of paintings, projectors, films, plays, and puppets to places and villages, some of them still very isolated. In these places, they organised exhibitions, theatres, teaching keynotes, public sessions of reading, they worked and played with children and their teachers, and lived together with villagers. After some days, they returned to their homes after planting the seeds of education and culture, as well as leaving books and records in the schools. This lasted for a five-year period and in different seasons of the year (p. 15).

There is no better explanation of this process. The same author refers to the methodology of the experience that he names 'recreational school' to stress that it was opened to a diversity of cultural events and activities to break the isolation of Spain's hinterland.

This diversity of activities can be summarised as follows (Tiana, 2021): i) the study of the natural environment through keynotes, exhibitions, etc.; ii) the 'socialisation' of fine arts with exhibitions of copies of great paintings; iii) the organisation of public readings and listening to music – popular and classic, live or on records, iv) the use of the cinema; v) citizenship

education focused on people's rights and the principles of the republic; vi) activities to encourage people to read, mainly by the organisation of public libraries in small villages; and viii) actions devoted to teacher training.

Participation in the 'Misiones Pedagógicas' was not only of those related to education. We can highlight individuals such as the poet Luis Cernuda, the philosopher Maria Zambrano or the playwright Alejandro Casona, among others. Most of them went into exile when the fascists won the Civil War, and the dictatorship began.

Finally, it can be affirmed that the 'Misiones Pedagógicas' presented a triple dimension. First, by defining a specific model of education and practice, as I already mentioned; second, because it was a great effort in terms of cultural action and communication; and third, it carried a strong political implication to reinforce democracy and the Republic (Tiana, 2021).

2.3.2 The workshop for recovering the historic memory

This is the work done by a group of adult learners that are recovering the memory of the people retaliated by the dictatorship. It is done in the scope of the history of their own neighbourhood and the whole country.

The workshop started functioning in 2004 by collecting life stories of repression, incomplete education, precarious jobs, poverty, or migration. López Luna (2011) considers that the defining moment for the beginning was an interview with a woman that had lost her father at the very beginning of the Civil War, when she was only 5 years old. She expressed her nervousness and difficulties in conveying her memories and feelings related to those years.

The workshop - organised and managed by adult learners - has developed three different research projects. The first was focused on collecting histories from people living in the time of the Spanish Civil War, and the early years of the dictatorship. 10 interviews were done and organised around three main generative themes: a) repression either in the Civil War or during the dictatorship, b) education, and c) work in the post-war period. Dissemination was done in public presentations – in some cases it was the first time that some of these persons talked in public - in diverse places: adult education schools, secondary schools, community centres and the university. Audio-visual material was organised to systematise these public presentations.

The second research was undertaken by collecting 14 life stories. They are related to the last years of the dictatorship and the period known as *La transición:* the process of recuperating democracy between 1975 – the death of the dictator – to 1978 – when the democratic constitution was enacted. The generative themes that arose during a dedicated process of organising and analysing the interviews were: a) the processes of migration – a consequence of the previous research, b) the first massive workers' strikes, c) the birth of democratic trade unions (even in the age of the dictatorship), d) the social and political militancy either in clandestine political parties, or in the first neighbourhood associations, and e) the condition of women. Dissemination of this research started with a public presentation in a community theatre in the district. Then, it was presented in diverse places, as mentioned above.

At present, the workshop is involved in new research related to one of the most important textile factories in the city. This factory is also significant to the history of the district and in the history of the workers' movement in the city.

According to López Luna (2011) there are a variety of achievements emerging from the research process. On the one hand, participants in the workshop were enabled to acquire

some learning on how to conduct research. Another achievement is related to the acquisition of tools for expressing themselves orally. For instance, their public presentations showed them how to communicate their research findings. Also, they employed creativity when preparing the public presentation by including music and poetry.

3. Conclusions

After these experiences, that can be related to the key subjects presented in the article, I will focus on two major ideas to delineate Williams and Gramsci's contributions for adult education.

Culture is the core of adult education. The problem, sometimes, is that popular culture - the culture that common people hold - could be more an element of alienation than liberation. This is the case of the magical awareness described by Freire (1970): a system of beliefs that maintain people in a state of alienation and does not allow them to explain the surrounding world. Gramsci considered that popular culture is, sometimes, full of superstition and, for that, does not let people to create an alternative hegemony. It has to be distilled from these elements of superstition.

In this direction, the concept of criticism drawn on by Williams could be a response to. Starting from the culture of common people, it improves the understanding of the surrounding reality. According to Williams, criticism is a conscious reaction "including, as often as necessary, positive or negative responses, a definitive practice, in active and complex relations with its whole situation and context" (1985, p. 86). As Welton (1982) states, it is the possibility to think about things beyond the simple collection of data.

It is important not to forget that culture is a symbolic structure that enables people to understand and to be situated in the world (Geertz, 1987). According to Cole (2008), the most important lesson for educators, deriving from Williams' thought, is their deep and continuous emphasis that he placed upon culture as both a constitutive element of society as a potential means for organising social transformation.

Against the hegemonic idea – due to the policies and practices of Lifelong Learning – that the educator is simply an accompanying person, it is compulsory, and urgent, to recover the notion of an educator that helps and supports people. Freire (1984) said that we can differentiate between different type of educators only by the use that they make of a slide projector. The concept of 'organic intellectual' is very useful here. First because, as Williams affirmed, organic as itself, "indicated certain kinds of relationship" (1985, p. 227). Second, because he or she is a person that elaborates the ideas of their social group. Intellectuals are not neutral; they address important issues concerning private and social life and they choose some options and not others in a process plenty of ethical elements.

Both Williams and Gramsci are committed to the education of the working class. Instead of the obsession with a training for a job, both consider that an educated working-class is the guarantee of democracy. The last summarised this idea:

> *The system of workers democracy… would shape and discipline the masses, would be a fantastic school of political and administrative experience, would be the framework of the masses, building in them the habit of tenancy and perseverance, building in the masses the habit of considering themselves an army in the battlefield, in need of a strong cohesion if it does not want to be destroyed and reduced to slavery* (Gramsci & Bordiga, 1977, p. 70).

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Innovative Digital and Experiential Blended Learning Non-Formal Programme for Community Animators: Lessons learned

Remos Armaos[a], Joe Cullen[b], Anna Tsiboukli[c]

[a] KETHEA Department of Education, Greece, armaos@kethea.gr

[b] Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, Arcola Research, United Kingdom, Jcullen@arcola-research.co.uk

[c] National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece, atsiboukli@primedu.uoa.gr

Abstract

An innovative blended learning non-formal programme was launched in 2018-2019 for professionals and volunteers, who were encouraged to develop their own social competences in order to work directly as community animators with vulnerable groups and promote social inclusion in Greece. The intervention, which lay within an ongoing experimental European project, COMANITY, was built upon the challenges emerged from harsh economic restraints, rising demand, restricted supply and diminishing resources in our society. Within this context, youth services are urged to increase their efficiency and effectiveness, encourage civil society to fill the gaps in service provision left by 'mainstream' supply and try to support young people to 'help their peers' by getting more of them to volunteer. Community Animator's non-formal blended learning training programme was carried out online programme delivered to 109 participants out of 947 who applied and through an experiential face to face workshop that was delivered to 14 unemployed women aiming to raise awareness and critical understanding of the concepts of democracy, equality, advocacy, human rights and social cohesion. Peer learning methods and an action research methodology were employed in order to enhance young participants to act as agents for change and develop a holding environment for those youth at risk to be marginalized. By working on their own capacities and motives, personal attitudes and possible dysfunctional assumptions, young participants actively shared and confronted critically their views and concerns, realized the impact of space and time on their civic engagement and organized themselves in social action. The present study discusses the profile and satisfaction level of participants in the online digital programme and the profile and satisfaction level of participants on the blended learning experiential programme. The data suggests that blended programmes are necessary for developing action research skills and enhancing the role of community animators, even though online programmes on their own can also assist in raising awareness about the role of community animators.

Key words: volunteers, youth, blended learning, social inclusion, action research, digital education

1. Introduction

Educational institutions, social care and mental health services throughout Europe are lately experiencing demand to provide support for an increasing number of people when seeking for new pathways to adapt into the current priorities. These people are presented with increasingly more complex issues, shaped by rising youth unemployment, increased educational drop-out rates, the demise of 'community' and its replacement by precarious on-line relationships; loss of faith in mainstream institutions and a large increase in the influx of young migrants into EU countries. In 2015, there were 8.7 million young Europeans who could not find work; 13.7 million classified as NEETs and 27 million who were at risk of poverty or social exclusion (Eurostat, 2015). In 2015, more than a third of the population was at risk of

poverty or social exclusion in three EU Member States: Bulgaria (41.3 %), Romania (37.3 %) and Greece (35.7 %). Poverty rates are higher for young people than for the overall population and involuntary part-time work or protracted temporary positions expose this generation to a risk of long-term poverty. Most services have been cut across the board as governments have reduced expenditure on education, health, welfare and social services in response to the economic crisis, the financial 'crash' and the subsequent imposition of 'austerity policies'. For example, in the UK, recent research found that overall spending on youth services in England has fallen by £737m (62%) between 2010 and 2018 (YMCA, 2018). Austerity measures have led to an exodus of trained staff, because both wages and jobs have been cut, leading to a significant loss in capacity, skills and know-how (Bradford and Cullen, 2014). The third sector organisations struggle to attract volunteers in those areas where service demand is highest – in 'disadvantaged' communities.

The current youth systems fail disadvantaged and marginalized young people. They stand quite far from addressing increasingly complex, multi-dimensional issues and problems of youth. The trouble is, as demand rises, supply of quality of youth services shrinks because of 'austerity' or remaining post-austerity measures and cuts to social services. Traditional interventions with people 'on the margins' tend to be designed 'top-down', with especially young people centralised as 'the problem' (Williamson, 2007). Interventions are often constructed from the narratives of researchers, policy-makers and experts, not from the narratives of the people who participate in them (Parr, 2009). In contrast, the present programmes use participatory action research (Kemmis, McTaggart & Nixon 2014; Kemmis, 2015; Reason and Bradbury, 2001) to support trainees as 'co-producers of knowledge', actively working in collaboration with the research team in creating 'developmental' interventions, rather than applying traditional 'transmissive' behaviour change models. The approach draws on practices from radical pedagogy to support marginalised people to become architects of their own future (Freire, 1972; Vygotsky, 1978).

Therefore, the need for training a new group of professionals and volunteers and re-training the one that is already available in order to be able to respond to the new emerging needs, lead to the design, implementation and evaluation of two training non-formal programmes that were based on the notion of 'co-production' of knowledge, skills and knowhow. A digital and a blended learning experiential non-formal training programmes were planned and delivered to youth workers and volunteers, interested in becoming community animators. Volunteers, psychology or other related discipline students, novice youth workers and anyone who might have been interested in engaging European youth and creating a better future for their communities were targeted to participate. The programme, as part of an EU-funded project was planned and delivered by nine partners from four EU countries and the UK during the period 2017-2019. The idea lay on the development of an 'inclusive learning ecosystem' for marginalised and vulnerable young people through the creation of a "Community Animateur" role and programme in which 'hard to reach' youth can apply their skills, talents and creativity in participation activities that improve their communities. Hence, the programmes aimed to engage and empower trainers to act as 'community animateurs' with people on the margins and bridge the existing gap between them and mainstream institutions in order to achieve social inclusion.

1.1 The COMMANITY project

The 'Community Animateur' was thought of as a 'Social Mediator' who makes a bridge between people on the margins and other community actors and institutions. The Animateur concept was developed to work where situations of social conflict, including intense conflict, emerge between young people, residents and other groups for the use of public areas. The Animateur is typically a young 'volunteer' who comes from the community, and is trusted by his or her marginalized peer group. Animateurs act as a point of mediation between hard to

reach young people and 'the system'. They catalyse relationships between disconnected learning and inclusion entities – for example by organizing cross-sectoral, cross-agency workshops involving schools, youth organisations, local businesses and civil society actors. They organize radical – and often disruptive – inclusive learning initiatives. They valorize and build on the resources of the community to develop, in collaboration with young people, social innovations aimed at solving problems in the community.

The objectives of the project were basically to create a new youth work and volunteering role as an innovative point of mediation and integration and provide a competence framework and training programme to support that role. At the same time, the focus was on getting youth services to become more engaged with marginalised youth and getting marginalised young people to become more engaged in youth work while also making volunteering work more accessible for hard-to-reach youth. All these objectives would be reached using a digital form of training aspiring to adapt to current technology enhanced learning processes.

COMANITY had a really ambitious aim to reach. Through the four key actions, it was expected to primarily identify relevant competences and develop a competence framework for the new role of community animateur, train and provide all necessary methods for those volunteers to learn about their new role and finally disseminate the results in and out of our region. COMANITY managed to build a framework of Competences which were clustered in three broad categories. In specific, these clusters of competences were identified as a) Enabling Emotional Intelligence Competences related to intra-personal competences (such as emotional self-awareness, self-confidence, good-enoughness), inter-personal competences (such as empathy, social responsibility, relationship handling), adaptability (competences such as resilience, belief and assertiveness, initiative) and affective competences (such as anxiety management and optimism and happiness), b) community Animateur-specific Competences related to organizing and managing information and resources, mapping, networking and mediation, advice, guidance and support, delivering participation programs and empowering young people and, c) enabling Digital Competences related to networking and mediation, organizing and managing resources, program and content creation.

The programme comprised three basic components:

- The Community Animateur (Foundation) Online Training Programme, to gain the necessary skills, knowledge and attitude to become a Community Animateur; The open online course provided participants with a theoretical background and helped them to fully understand relevant concepts and develop the necessary skills and attitude to become a Community Animateur;

- The COMANITY Hub, to enable knowledge and practice sharing and creation among learners and within the wider community of stakeholders and practitioners interested in youth and social inclusion themes; This Hub allows them to create and share knowledge with other European youth workers, volunteers and stakeholders interested in the youth social inclusion themes and challenges; The COMANITY Hub is the online space where "knowledge" is shared. The interactive functionalities of the Hub will give ones the opportunity to get informed about and benefit from online resources related to empowerment of marginalised youth, social work, social exclusion and other related topics. Posts and videos uploaded by trainees in 4 different languages allowed them to fully benefit from the collaborative learning experience while using the knowledge provided in the training modules to create new content.

- The Blended Learning Experiential Training Programme for developing an Action Research Experiment, to deploy the acquired skills and promote critical thinking within a specific methodological approach in the day-to-day work of the Community

Animateur. The action research allowed them to work collaboratively on a community project using the knowledge and skills they recently acquired. The Action Research Experiment has been a very important and interesting aspect of this training programme. It intended to invite participants to apply the knowledge, competences and methodological approach acquired through the training course to the day-to-day work of a Community Animateur. The Action Research Experiment namely has been viewed as a collaborative project where trainees chose a sensitive topic that affects youth on the margins of your community/neighbourhood and work with their peers to achieve a desired goal. This goal was set by them and their peers as they were the only ones knowing the particularities and difficulties of their community.

In order to complete the Online Community Animateur training programme participants needed to take the foundation training course whilst for completing the Blended Learning Experiential Programme, participation in a non-formal training programme including online and face-to-face learning and knowledge sharing was necessary. Additionally, participants at the blended learning programme were urged to work and interact with their peers and mentor, who played a crucial role in the success of the training. Finally, they were encouraged to create their own learning materials and participate in an action research experiment (project).

2. Method

An open call across four sites (UK, Greece, Italy, Spain) was held and 14 participants were registered to attend across each site the Blended Learning Experiential Training Programme. In Greece alone, 494 applications were received for 14 places in the course. In response to the outstanding demand by the community, a decision was taken to open up an online training programme only for an extra 100 participants, to deliver with minimum requirements, as a blended learning experiential programme needed more time and commitment by trainers and participants that might affect any issues monitored during this piloting phase of the project. The number of applications received at the online training programme reached 947. The number was excessively high and the decision was taken to remain with the initial number of 100 participants at the online programme. Eventually 109 were registered for the online course on a random selection basis. All participants at both programmes, were first invited to take a self-assessment test as the initial step of their engagement to the project. Then, the first 14 of them were selected on the basis of their profile (women unemployed) to register to the blended learning training programme part of which comprised face-to-face (f2f) interaction training.

The Blended Learning Experiential training Programme Content

The content focused on critical theory and practice and aimed to assist participants develop their own action plan for social inclusion. It also drew attention to the need to promote democratic values and principles, social justice, human rights and participatory democracy. Critical theory was analysed as a method that serves the purpose of supporting groups and individuals in acknowledging, understanding and supporting their own rights for health, education and employment. In a turbulent environment, solidarity and collective actions can flourish from small groups and communities on the basis of mutual trust, social interaction and active citizenship. These actions operate as a paradigm of good practice for bottom-up development and social change.

Experiential learning as a unique source of new learning was deployed whilst active participation and self-directed learning was encouraged. The f2f programme included a series of actions and techniques, such as role mapping exercises, networking, group dynamics and action research while the focus was on resistance to change elements and aspects of enhancement of the new role to deliver through introducing trainees to the transformative

learning theory by putting personal dilemmas for their process of change in relation to the community animateur goals.

Overall, the f2f group meetings comprised a) a kick-off meeting, held in May 2019, where all participants joined the training programme, introduced themselves and became aware of the programme objectives and working methodology, b) a follow-up f2f meeting held in July 2019, based on guided open discussion, exchange of practice, sharing of opinions and experience. The action research experience conducted in their community was introduced, discussed, carried out and presented through sharing of know-how, ideas and experiences, and c) a final meeting at the end of the training programme (September 2019), where three action research initiatives conducted in their community were presented by young participants, one with refugees on Leros island (refugee intake camp site), one with drug using adolescents during a therapeutic community camp period in Western Peloponnese (Skafidia beach) and one awareness- raising initiative on youth concerns in Patras.

The Online Training Programme Content

The Community Animateur Foundation Course consisted of twelve on-line modules including theoretical background, foreseen activities and a final quiz. Participants were expected to complete at least seven out the twelve available modules. Within each training module, participants found detailed instructions and recommendations (e.g. watching recommended videos, following links to read material related to the topics they are studying etc.): follow them step by step to maximize their returns and complete all proposed activities. Each module contained 2 to 4 activities (depending on the subject and competences) and some of them required peer work. In order for each module to be considered successfully completed trainees had to complete all activities and the final quiz. While taking the foundation course they were free to explore any topic that may interest them, such as the empowerment of young people on the margins, social inclusion, youth work etc.; to start exploring, head over to the COMANITY Hub.

Since online training, relies heavily on one's own motivation and commitment, participants literally started working on a systematic way after the end of the first month of the training lifespan. The vast majority of platform visits, and engagement indices, according to platform analytics, both for blended and online trainees were surprisingly high in July and August 2019, where traditionally any activities during summer holiday break weakens in Greece.

### 3. Results
3.1 Online training programme

In relation to the online training programme, out of the 947 applicants, 272 (28,7%) worked in education, 235 (24,8%) in treatment, 69 (7,3%) in prevention programmes, 37 (3,9%) in research and the remaining 334 (35,3%) were either unemployed or engaged in activities they did not wish to report. The majority (N=647, 68,3%) had less than five years of working experience, 109 (11,5%) had between 6-10 years of working experience, 143 (15,1%) had between 11-20 years of working experience and 48 (5,1%) had more than 20 years of working experience. When asked to respond on open-ended questions about the reasons for which they applied in the programme, most participants talked about the need for increasing their knowledge and social skills, for personal and professional development and for being better equipped to work with socially vulnerable groups.

Despite the outstanding demand and interest, the programme had to randomly select from the above, 109 participants for registration. From those 36% were employed and 64% were unemployed. 54% were Bachelor's graduates and 46% were Master's holders. These were followed in relation to their preferred programme content and their overall satisfaction from the online course.

When asked about their satisfaction level, 68,8% reported being very satisfied or highly satisfied about the programme., followed by 30,3% reporting moderate or even low satisfaction from the online course while only 0.9% reported that it was not at all satisfactory.

70,3% found the programme useful or extremely useful for their professional development. Interestingly enough 66% of the participants found very (33,9%) or even highly significant (32,1%) the programme for their personal development. When asked to respond whether they would recommend their programme to others, 71, 6% responded that it was very or even highly likely to do so, while 13,8% said that they were not likely to recommend the programme to others.

Participants were asked to respond which topic from the programme content found as more relative to their own needs. The content that focused on Empathy and counseling and consultation were according to their responses the most preferred, followed by networking, empowerment and intrapersonal skills.
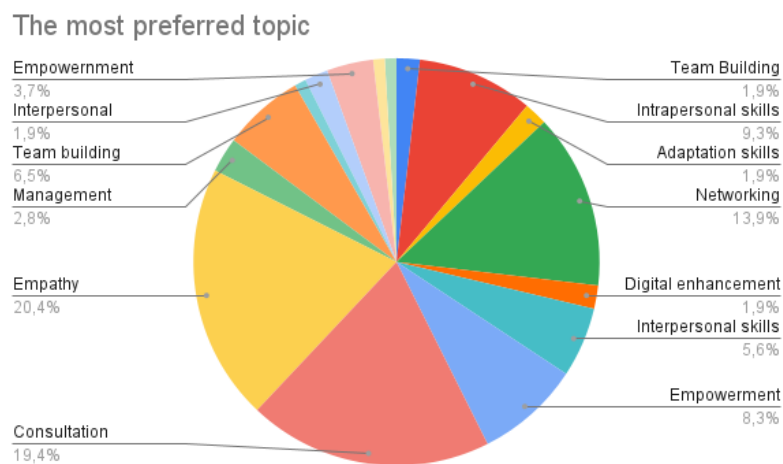
Graph 1. *The most preferred topics*

Competences from all 3 clusters were the four mostly visited ones (CA Module 1: Advice, guidance and support to promote social inclusion of young (49), EI Module 1: Intra-personal competences (45), DI Module 1: Organizing and managing resources for online self-regulated development (35), CA Module 2: Mapping, networking and mediation (35). Program aid instructions.

When asked to respond how they would rate their overall experience of the online programme, most participants (69,7%) agreed that it was very positive. However, when they were asked what would improve their experience, 43,1% of them suggested that face-to-face meetings would be very important to maintain.

3.2 Blended learning experiential training programme

All participants selected for the blended Greek training were women, aged between 19-25 years old. All but two were unemployed. Ten had a Bachelor's degree in psychology, social work, social anthropology and sociology, one was a biology student, two were high school graduates and one had a Master's degree. All were volunteers in various organizations including drug treatment organizations, refugee camps, organizations for children and adolescents with autism and organizations for former prisoners. Six of them had a proficient level of English. Interestingly enough by the end of the programme, three of them gained employment. They all reported that programme participation was very important for their

empowerment and further improvement of their social skills. Satisfaction about the blended training workshop was high (>93%). The most satisfactory elements from this training were: team spirit creation, building a shared vision, the value of experiential learning, the opportunities for dialogue and sharing ideas in the group, and networking.

In relation to topics engagement, it was clear that mapping, networking and mediation and advice, guidance and support to promote social inclusion of young people were their preferred ones.

A focus group was carried out by an independent, external researcher to figure out what were the key positive elements by participating in the programme.

In their own words, the programme was successful due to its experiential character and the emphasis placed on team building. As they characteristically said in their own words:

"I enriched my prospects regarding my professional future… I had a different experience of how this kind of team operates."

"…the way the team acted under the guidance of the moderators. Also, the freedom in expressing ourselves and discover thoughts/ideas that never expected to find in an educational programme."

"The experiential character of training and the approach of bottom-up."

As for the challenges identified in the blended programme, these referred namely to the group dynamics and opportunities generated within the process, such as interaction with others, collaboration and openness.

"To be open with the other team members."

"To cooperate and connect with the team. Maybe I just couldn't get involved and adapt."

"To express my feelings and ideas in front of the team"

"The first ice breaking exercises"

Group members collaborated very well and managed to have a substantive relationship whilst fostering a safe environment that allowed free expression and a 'home' to return to when unsure or puzzled. Mentors were all around superb both as guides and as time went by as a catalyst for collaboration and constructive meetings and setting boundaries. Consensus that boundaries were well set, but direction was not forced on the participants resulted in a free environment that might at times have felt directionless but according to the trainees encouraged and reinforced personal involvement, initiative and interest. The whole experience felt much more personal, gratifying and as though it originated from the members rather than being some external product that was then internalized by each individual.

In terms of the key positives of participation, group engagement, mentoring and, action research both as a process of learning as well as an activity, were highly appreciated. Participants considered that to be a networking experience where they had the opportunity to find peers with similar interests, tendencies and goals.

4. Discussion

The present paper suggests that the blended learning experiential training programme outweighs online-only formats, even though in relation to learner's engagement, there have been rather no significant differences with blended learning participants (in % of time while online). The face-to-face interaction with peers and mentor remain of key value in establishing productive collaboration and outcomes. Thus, emphasis on action research methodology is critical for developing initiatives for community change and therefore face to face training on action research is more than required as experiential training is key learning methodology for

the learners to engage. However, it is important to note that even online training on sensitive areas that concern most adult educators and other trainers and volunteers in non-formal settings and informal settings, has its own value for the development of social and other skills, such as empathy and networking. To this extent, transformative learning strategies appear suitable for challenging one's assumptions prior to bringing change into the community. Furthermore, evidence suggests that trainers in the youth and social inclusion fields are not sufficiently aware of the dynamics that drive youth marginalisation and social exclusion. 'Lifeworld analysis' (Cullen & Tsiboukli, 2019) and its work in action research experiments in highly marginalised communities, is significant for understanding the complex and challenging situations that socially vulnerable groups live in and experience on a daily basis.

Training programme designers and trainers themselves often tend to be preoccupied with easy to categorise 'target groups' – like NEETs, young immigrants and educational drop-outs. The reality is that these target groups are blurred – and excluded and marginalised people are faced with multiple, and mutually-reinforcing issues (like poverty, limited opportunities, ethnicity, health issues). There is, therefore, a need for trainers to become more aware of these dynamics, more reflective and more evidence-based. However, there is always a tension between the imposition of education, training and professional development standards 'from above' and creating a flexible environment in which trainers, youth workers, volunteers and young people who have no 'formal' status but are active in the community can 'learn by doing' and acquire non-formal competences which nevertheless could be subsequently recognised and accredited.

Experiential learning should be recognized if not be given equal status with traditional formal learning and training. Furthermore, there is a pressing need in general to bring down the barriers between 'society' and the formalised world of educational systems and practices; to open up formal education and take students out of the school and into civil society. Most students have little idea of what active citizenship means in practice and about what are the key issues and problems that need to be addressed through active citizenship. Such a pro-active educational approach to active citizenship could have a positive effect on people's perceptions of the need for, and the value of, volunteering – not least because they could see practical outcomes – through action research - of volunteering in the real world.

Lately, the recent COVID 19 crisis suggests that a potential way to boost well-being in a time of crisis may be to increase people's sense of 'mattering', through volunteering. And although what constitutes volunteering might be wide-ranging, covering a plethora of heterogeneous activities, a sense of social cohesion can also be grounded bringing particular benefits to all members of the community, enabling them to establish a strong social role and ties (Wilson, 2000). Being connected with a cause can be a key driver, alongside regarding it as emotionally cathartic when affected personally, and finding solace from collaborating with others towards the same goal (Tierney & Mahtani, 2020). Community animators envisioned a social role in response to 'giving back' to community, in doing something at a time of crisis, affirming one's social identity, and thus establishing a sense of solidarity through joining others in working towards a common purpose.

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Corresponding author:

Remos Armaos, KETHEA Department of Education, Greece, armaos@kethea.gr

Επαγγελματική εκπαίδευση και κατάρτιση στη σφαίρα της κοινωνικής οικονομίας: Μια συγκριτική ανάλυση πέντε χωρών της ΕΕ[2][3]

Vocational education and training in the field of social economy: A comparative analysis between five EU countries

Νικόλαος Αποστολόπουλος[α], Χρήστος Γούλας[β], Αλέξανδρος Κακούρης[γ], Ήρα Παπαγεωργίου[δ]

[α]Πανεπιστήμιο Πελοποννήσου, anikos@uop.gr

[β]ΙΝΕ ΓΣΕΕ και ΚΑΝΕΠ ΓΣΕΕ, goulas@inegsee.gr

[γ]Πανεπιστήμιο Πελοποννήσου, a.kakouris@uop.gr

[δ]ΙΝΕ ΓΣΕΕ, ira_papageorgiou@inegsee.gr

Nikolaos Apostolopoulos[a], Christos Goulas[b], Alexandros Kakouris[c],

Ira Papageorgiou[d]

[a]University of Peloponnese, anikos@uop.gr

[b]INE GSEE & KANEP GSEE, goulas@inegsee.gr

[c]University of Peloponnese, a.kakouris@uop.gr

[d]INE GSEE, ira_papageorgiou@inegsee.gr

Περίληψη

Το παρόν άρθρο αποτελεί ένα συνδυασμό κειμένου πολιτικής και ερευνητικής εργασίας καθώς, με βάση πρωτογενή στοιχεία, αναπτύσσει την κατάσταση της Επαγγελματικής Εκπαίδευσης και Κατάρτισης (εφεξής ΕΕΚ) για την Κοινωνική και Αλληλέγγυα Οικονομία (εφεξής ΚΑλΟ) και διερευνά τα συναφή εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα ως βασικό μηχανισμό υποστήριξης της ΚΑλΟ στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Επιπλέον, αυτό το άρθρο δείχνει ότι η σύνδεση μεταξύ ΚΑλΟ και εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων δεν είναι τυχαία, αλλά βασίζεται σε συγκλίνουσες αρχές αυτών των δύο πεδίων, και ειδικά στο κοινό τους αξίωμα ως προς την προοπτική μετασχηματισμού της κοινωνίας. Τα εμπειρικά δεδομένα της έρευνας προέρχονται από πέντε χώρες (Γαλλία, Ελλάδα, Ιταλία, Κροατία και Τσεχία) οι οποίες συμμετέχουν σε ευρωπαϊκό πρόγραμμα που συντονίζει το ΙΝΕ ΓΣΕΕ. Το παρόν κείμενο πολιτικής έρχεται να καλύψει ένα κενό στη βιβλιογραφία της ευρωπαϊκής ΚΑλΟ, δεδομένου ότι πρόκειται για ένα σύγχρονο, ελάχιστα διερευνημένο πεδίο γενικά, και ειδικότερα ως προς τη σύνδεσή του με την ΕΕΚ. Η σημασία αυτού του άρθρου είναι ακόμη πιο μεγάλη ενόψει

των συνεχιζόμενων κοινωνικοοικονομικών κρίσεων (π.χ. χρηματοοικονομική, υγειονομική, περιβαλλοντική κρίση), οι οποίες αναδεικνύουν το γεγονός ότι οι προοπτικές της ΚΑΛΟ δεν μπορούν πλέον να απουσιάζουν από την πολιτική ατζέντα.

Abstract

This article is a combination of policy and research as, based on primary data, it develops the situation of Vocational Education and Training (VET) for Social Solidarity Economy (SSE) and explores the relevant educational programmes as a basic support mechanism of SSE in the EU. Moreover, this article shows that the connection between adult education and SSE is not accidental, but is based on converging principles of these two fields, and especially on their common mission regarding society transformation. The empirical data of the research comes from five countries (France, Greece, Italy, Croatia and the Czech Republic) which participate in an Erasmus+ programme coordinated by INE GSEE. This policy text comes to fill a gap in the literature of European SSE, given its limited exploration in general, and in particular in relation to VET. The importance of this article is even greater in view of the ongoing socio-economic crises (e.g. financial, health, environmental crisis), which highlight the fact that the SSE prospects can no longer be absent from the political agenda.

Λέξεις – κλειδιά: Επαγγελματική Εκπαίδευση και Κατάρτιση, Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, Κοινωνική Ένταξη, Κοινωνική και Αλληλλέγγυα Οικονομία

Keywords: Vocational Education and Training, Critical Pedagogy, Social Inclusion, Social Solidarity Economy

1. Εισαγωγή

Η Κοινωνική και Αλληλέγγυα Οικονομία (ΚΑΛΟ) μπορεί να θεωρηθεί μια αναπτυξιακή εξέλιξη μεταξύ δημόσιου και ιδιωτικού τομέα, με τους φορείς της να στοχεύουν στην εξυπηρέτηση κοινωνικών σκοπών ως πυρήνα των δραστηριοτήτων τους (Amin, 2009· Defourny and Kuan, 2011· Lortie and Cox, 2018). Παρά τη μακρά ιστορία της κοινωνικής οικονομίας, οι κοινωνικές επιχειρήσεις και ο ρόλος τους εμφανίστηκαν μετά το 2000 –λαμβάνοντας ευρεία δημοσιότητα με την ανάληψη του Νόμπελ Ειρήνης από τον Muhammad Yunus (2006)– και παραμένουν ελάχιστα ανεπτυγμένες και ενσωματωμένες στα μέχρι τώρα οικονομικά μοντέλα (O'Connor, 2013). Ο αντίκτυπος των οργανισμών της κοινωνικής οικονομίας, κυρίως σε τοπικό επίπεδο, δεν έχει ακόμη διερευνηθεί πλήρως (Kelly et al., 2019· Muller and Tanguy, 2019). Αδιαμφισβήτητα, η οικονομική κρίση ανέδειξε τη σημασία των οργανισμών της κοινωνικής οικονομίας. Ωστόσο, έχει καταστεί σαφές ότι οι οργανισμοί στον τομέα της ΚΑΛΟ στερούνται γνώσεων και πληροφοριών (Apostolopoulos et al., 2019) και ως εκ τούτου χρειάζεται να αναπτυχθούν περαιτέρω οι σχετικές εκπαιδευτικές δραστηριότητες (ΚΑΛΟ, 2018).

Στο κείμενο αυτό υποστηρίζουμε ότι η εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων μπορεί να διαδραματίσει σημαντικό ρόλο στην περαιτέρω υποστήριξη των συγκεκριμένων οργανισμών. Θα μπορούσε η επαγγελματική κατάρτιση στον τομέα της ΚΑΛΟ, εφαρμόζοντας τις αρχές της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων, να παρέχει εκπαίδευση στον τομέα της κοινωνικής οικονομίας και των οργανισμών της και να εφοδιάσει με γνώσεις, δεξιότητες, στάσεις και ικανότητες τους οργανισμούς της κοινωνικής οικονομίας και τους εργαζομένους της. Αυτό κρίνεται ακόμη πιο σημαντικό, καθώς το αρχικό σύστημα εκπαίδευσης και κατάρτισης δεν προσφέρει επαρκή πρόσβαση στην απόκτηση προσόντων στον τομέα της κοινωνικής οικονομίας.

2. Διερεύνηση της σύνδεσης ΕΕΚ και ΚΑΛΟ

Η εκπαίδευση και κατάρτιση των εργαζομένων μπορεί να καταστεί μέσο για την ενεργοποίηση της οργανωτικής αλλαγής. Προκειμένου όμως να επιτευχθεί αυτό, η

εκπαίδευση πρέπει να είναι μετασχηματιστικής φύσης (βλ. Kakouris, Voudda and Pavlakis, 2012). Αυτό προϋποθέτει ποιοτική και αποτελεσματική εκπαίδευση, υιοθετώντας κατάλληλη προσέγγιση και μεθόδους εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων, ώστε να προκληθεί μετασχηματισμός τόσο σε ατομικό όσο και σε συλλογικό επίπεδο.

Η κοινωνική επιχειρηματικότητα και πιο συγκεκριμένα η μετασχηματιστική επιχειρηματικότητα (Maas and Jones, 2019· Ratten and Jones, 2018) –μια υποκείμενη ιδέα για την κοινωνική οικονομία– είναι στα πρώτα της βήματα και χρειάζεται περαιτέρω ανάπτυξη για να έχει αποτελέσματα σε μακροοικονομικό επίπεδο. Το πλαίσιο αυτό δημιουργεί την ανάγκη για περαιτέρω διερεύνηση σχετικά με την απαιτούμενη ΕΕΚ για τα μέλη σε τέτοια εγχειρήματα. Μια ανάλυση μεταξύ διαφορετικών συστημάτων ΕΕΚ στο εν λόγω πεδίο θα μπορεί να ενισχύσει την υπάρχουσα γνώση στο αντικείμενο.

Για την περαιτέρω διεύρυνση της σχέσης ΕΕΚ και ΚΑΛΟ, μια κοινοπραξία εταίρων που προέρχονται τόσο από το πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ όσο και της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων συνεργάστηκαν για να υλοποιήσουν ένα διετές πρόγραμμα, στο πλαίσιο χρηματοδότησης Erasmus+ της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής (ΕΕ), με τίτλο «Προώθηση της απασχολησιμότητας μέσω της Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας –EmploySSE». Ο κύριος στόχος του έργου EmploySSE είναι να εφαρμόσει και να προωθήσει το πλαίσιο της ΚΑΛΟ στην ΕΕΚ. Το όραμα είναι μια ολοκληρωμένη κατάρτιση και επαγγελματική ανάπτυξη, η οποία θα ενσωματώσει στις ιδέες και συμπεριφορές των εκπαιδευομένων το εναλλακτικό κοινωνικοοικονομικό μοντέλο της κοινωνικής οικονομίας. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, υπό το συντονισμό του ΙΝΕ ΓΣΕΕ, εταίροι από τη Γαλλία, την Ελλάδα, την Ιταλία, την Κροατία και την Τσεχία (ADEPES Mouvement pour l' Économie Solidaire Occitanie, DOCK Συνεργατικός Χώρος Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας, ENAIP Veneto, Green Network of Activist Groups ZMAG, Ekumenická Akademie) συνεργάστηκαν αφενός για να αναπτύξουν έναν οδηγό εκπαιδευτών ΕΕΚ για την ΚΑΛΟ, ο οποίος θα εισάγει το επαγγελματικό πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ στο σύστημα ΕΕΚ, και αφετέρου για να παρέχουν ένα πακέτο εκπαιδευτικών ενοτήτων κατάρτισης σε θέματα ΚΑΛΟ, τα οποία θα δοκιμαστούν πιλοτικά στις συμμετέχουσες χώρες. Μέσω του έργου αυτού στόχος είναι να υποστηριχθεί η συμπερίληψη των εκπαιδευτικών ενοτήτων ΚΑΛΟ στα προγράμματα σπουδών ΕΕΚ σε ευρωπαϊκό και εθνικό επίπεδο.

Για τους σκοπούς του παρόντος άρθρου, εξετάζονται τα ακόλουθα ερευνητικά ερωτήματα για τις συμμετέχουσες χώρες:

- Υλοποιούνται προγράμματα ΕΕΚ στο πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ; Εάν ναι, ποιοι τύποι προγραμμάτων παρέχονται;

- Ποια παιδαγωγική προσέγγιση και τι είδους μέθοδοι διδασκαλίας έχουν εφαρμοστεί σε αυτά τα προγράμματα;

- Ποιες γνώσεις, δεξιότητες, στάσεις και ικανότητες εκ μέρους των εκπαιδευτών απαιτούνται για την κατάρτιση στο πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ;

Τα ποιοτικά εμπειρικά δεδομένα τα οποία σχετίζονται με τα προαναφερθέντα ερευνητικά ερωτήματα συλλέχθηκαν μέσω ερωτηματολογίου ανοιχτών ερωτήσεων από τους εταίρους των πέντε χωρών που συμμετείχαν στο έργο και αναλύονται παρακάτω.

3. Προγράμματα ΕΕΚ στο πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ

Το επίπεδο διάδοσης εκπαιδευτικών προγραμμάτων και πρωτοβουλιών για την ΚΑΛΟ στις συμμετέχουσες χώρες ποικίλλει. Τα πορίσματα για σχετικά προγράμματα κατάρτισης στο τυπικό ή μη τυπικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα στις πέντε συμμετέχουσες χώρες της ΕΕ συνοψίζονται στον Πίνακα 1 και αναπτύσσονται παρακάτω.

Πίνακας 1: Εκπαιδευτικά Προγράμματα ΚΑΛΟ

Χώρα	Παρεχόμενη ΕΕΚ και άλλα εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα
Κροατία	1. Εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα εκπονούνται από άτυπα δίκτυα και συνεργατικούς σχηματισμούς φορέων. 2. Η ΕΕΚ παρέχεται από το δημόσιο φορέα AVETAE. 3. Εκπονούνται σχετικές δράσεις στο πλαίσιο των ευρωπαϊκών προγραμμάτων Erasmus+.
Τσεχία	1. Η ΚΑΛΟ γίνεται αντιληπτή στο μικρο-επίπεδο (στην κοινωνική επιχείρηση). 2. Εκπονούνται σχετικά έργα από ΜΚΟ και άλλους εταίρους (π.χ. στη γεωργική παραγωγή). 3. Έννοιες της ΚΑΛΟ έχουν συμπεριληφθεί, μερικώς, σε πανεπιστημιακά προγράμματα. 4. Ευρωπαϊκά προγράμματα και δίκτυα (π.χ. TESSEA) ενημερώνουν τους ενδιαφερόμενους και αυξάνουν την ευαισθητοποίηση. 5. Η σύνδεση της ΚΑΛΟ με την ΕΕΚ είναι ασθενής.
Γαλλία	1. Παρέχονται πανεπιστημιακά διπλώματα στο θέμα και λειτουργεί ένα διαπανεπιστημιακό δίκτυο (RIUESS). 2. Λειτουργεί το πρόγραμμα PEPITE για εκκολαπτόμενους επιχειρηματίες-φοιτητές. 3. Μικροί οργανισμοί παρέχουν άτυπη εκπαίδευση στο θέμα. 4. Υπάρχουν συγκεκριμένες συμφωνίες μεταξύ κράτους και οργανισμών. 5. Το επίσημο πρόγραμμα μαθητείας και πρακτικής άσκησης περιλαμβάνει τους οργανισμούς και τις επιχειρήσεις ΚΑΛΟ.
Ελλάδα	1. Η ΚΑΛΟ περιλαμβάνεται σε προγράμματα των Κέντρων Διά Βίου Μάθησης των δήμων. 2. Ορισμένα πανεπιστημιακά προγράμματα παρέχουν μικροπιστοποίηση (microcredentials) στο θέμα. 3. ΕΕΚ στο θέμα παρέχεται από το ΙΝΕ και το ΚΑΝΕΠ της ΓΣΕΕ. 4. Άτυπη μάθηση παρέχεται από ΜΚΟ και από σχετικές θερμοκοιτίδες επιχειρήσεων.
Ιταλία	1. Απουσιάζει η ΚΑΛΟ από το σύστημα ΕΕΚ.

	2. Παρέχεται τετραετές δίπλωμα με θέμα «Υγεία και κοινωνική εργασία». 3. Η ΚΑΛΟ καλλιεργείται από τοπικά δίκτυα (π.χ. Κοινωνική Αγροτική Συνεργασία). 4. Το θέμα προωθείται μέσω εθνικών δικτύων και εκθέσεων (π.χ. Falacosagiusta, Quattro passi, Rivestiti, Tutta un'altra cosa, ASviS, LIBERA).

Στην Κροατία, η ΚΑΛΟ εντάσσεται υπό την ομπρέλα της κοινωνικής επιχειρηματικότητας, η οποία συνδέεται με ζητήματα αειφορίας και –ως εκ τούτου– αντιμετωπίζεται διαθεματικά. Αξιοποιούνται έργα χρηματοδοτούμενα από την ΕΕ, στα οποία συμμετέχουν πανεπιστήμια και επαγγελματικά λύκεια. Διάφορα μαθήματα ΚΑΛΟ συντονίζονται από κοινοπραξίες όπως το ACT Group, το Impact Hub Zagreb, ο Πράσινος Ενεργειακός Συνεταιρισμός, ενώ άλλα χρηματοδοτούνται από το Erasmus+ και ειδικά το Erasmus για Νέους Επιχειρηματίες. Με την πάροδο του χρόνου έχει αναπτυχθεί διδακτικό υλικό. Η κύρια αδυναμία είναι ότι δεν υπάρχει άμεση σύνδεση και λειτουργικότητα μεταξύ των διαφορετικών εκπαιδευτικών προγραμμάτων.

Στην Τσεχία η εκπαίδευση για την κοινωνική επιχειρηματικότητα εντάσσεται στο μικρο-επίπεδο των κοινωνικών επιχειρήσεων. Υπάρχουν ΜΚΟ και δίκτυα που προσπαθούν να ευαισθητοποιήσουν την κοινωνία σχετικά με το πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ μέσω της υλοποίησης σχετικών έργων. Έννοιες του πεδίου αυτού ενσωματώνονται στα υπάρχοντα προγράμματα σπουδών τριτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, αλλά δεν υπάρχουν εξειδικευμένα προγράμματα αφιερωμένα στην κοινωνική οικονομία. Μεγάλο μέρος της μη τυπικής εκπαίδευσης στην ΚΑΛΟ πραγματοποιείται μέσω δραστηριοτήτων των ΜΚΟ και δικτύων που στοχεύουν στην ενημέρωση σχετικά με το ρόλο της κοινωνικής επιχειρηματικότητας στην οικονομία.

Στη Γαλλία παρέχονται στην τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση 20 προπτυχιακά προγράμματα, 40 μεταπτυχιακά προγράμματα και 19 εκπαιδευτικά μαθήματα, τα οποία αναφέρονται ως σχετικά με την ΚΑΛΟ και την κοινωνική επιχειρηματικότητα. Η ΚΑΛΟ στη Γαλλία εμφανίστηκε τη δεκαετία του '90, ενώ το Πανεπιστημιακό Δίκτυο ΚΑΛΟ λειτουργεί από το 2000, με στόχο την ευαισθητοποίηση του κοινού και τη συμμετοχή στον κοινωνικό διάλογο για το εν λόγω πεδίο. Το πρόγραμμα PEPITE για φοιτητές-επιχειρηματίες είναι ένα παράδειγμα κοινωνικά συνειδητών νεοσύστατων επιχειρήσεων. Επιπλέον, οι μικροί οργανισμοί που λειτουργούν στο πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ παρέχουν μη τυπική εκπαίδευση. Συνεργασίες για μη τυπική κατάρτιση έχουν συμπεριληφθεί στη νομοθεσία για την ΚΑΛΟ από το 2014 και έχουν επακολουθήσει συμφωνίες με δίκτυα, όπως τα CRESS, ESPER και OCCE. Από το 2016, το εθνικό πρόγραμμα μαθητείας και πρακτικής άσκησης είναι διαθέσιμο σε οργανισμούς και επιχειρήσεις ΚΑΛΟ.

Στην Ελλάδα, η νομοθεσία για την ΚΑΛΟ είναι σχετικά πρόσφατη (2011, 2016) και αναπτύχθηκε ως απότοκος της οικονομικής κρίσης. Η εκπαίδευση στο πεδίο αυτό προσφέρεται μέσω μη τυπικής εκπαίδευσης στα Κέντρα Διά Βίου Μάθησης (ΚΔΒΜ). Σχετικές με την ΚΑΛΟ έννοιες διδάσκονται και μέσω μικροπιστώσεων σε προγράμματα σπουδών πανεπιστημίων, ενώ επίσης προγράμματα κατάρτισης για την κοινωνική οικονομία οργανώνονται και από το ΙΝΕ και το ΚΑΝΕΠ της ΓΣΕΕ. Οι ιδέες της ΚΑΛΟ προωθούνται από ΜΚΟ και επιχειρηματικά εκκολαπτήρια (π.χ. Impact Hub Athens, Orange Groove, Ashoka Greece, Higgs, Development Agency of Athens), ενώ κατάρτιση προσφέρεται επίσης μέσω σχετικών πρωτοβουλιών (π.χ. Kalo, Komvos). Ένας πρόσφατος οδηγός που δημοσιεύτηκε από την Ειδική Γραμματεία ΚΑΛΟ (2017), μια εθνική έκθεση της ΚΑΛΟ στην Αθήνα (2018) όπως και μια πρόσκληση για έργα από το Ελληνικό Ίδρυμα Έρευνας και Καινοτομίας (2019) είναι ενδεικτικά της προσοχής που λαμβάνει πλέον η ΚΑΛΟ από τους φορείς στην Ελλάδα.

Στην Ιταλία η ΕΕΚ συντονίζεται περιφερειακά. Σε αυτό το οργανωμένο σύστημα ΕΕΚ, παρατηρείται έλλειψη της ένταξης εννοιών σχετικών με την ΚΑΛΟ. Παρομοίως με τη Γαλλία, οι έννοιες της ΚΑΛΟ καλλιεργούνται κυρίως από πανεπιστήμια και προωθούνται από τοπικά δίκτυα (π.χ. κοινωνικοί αγροτικοί συνεταιρισμοί). Αρκετά εθνικά δίκτυα και εκθέσεις αυξάνουν την ευαισθητοποίηση για την ΚΑΛΟ, ενώ μη τυπική εκπαίδευση στο πεδίο παρέχεται από σχετικές ενώσεις (π.χ. Equogarantito, Legacoop, CNCA).

Συνολικά, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι η κατάρτιση στο πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ παρέχεται είτε από φορείς της μη τυπικής εκπαίδευσης είτε από ακαδημαϊκά προγράμματα σπουδών. Στη Γαλλία και την Ελλάδα η ιδέα έχει υιοθετηθεί από κυβερνητικούς οργανισμούς και υπάρχει σχετική νομοθεσία. Οι ΜΚΟ και οι ενώσεις διαδραματίζουν σημαντικό ρόλο στην παροχή της μη τυπικής εκπαίδευσης στην ΚΑΛΟ. Αυτό το εύρημα είναι κοινό σε όλες τις χώρες που εξετάζονται στο παρόν άρθρο. Η έννοια της ΚΑΛΟ έχει μεγαλύτερη παράδοση στη Γαλλία, ενώ στην Ελλάδα έχει προσελκύσει την προσοχή ως απάντηση στην οικονομική κρίση. Παρ' όλα αυτά, η εκπαίδευση στην ΚΑΛΟ αντιμετωπίζεται μέσα από την έννοια της κοινωνικής επιχειρηματικότητας (δηλαδή στο μικρο-επίπεδο) και προωθείται μέσω φορέων που χρειάζονται περαιτέρω καθιέρωση σε εθνικό επίπεδο και υποστήριξη ως προς τη σύνδεση με την ΕΕΚ.

4. Εκπαιδευτικές προσεγγίσεις και μέθοδοι στο πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ

Στον Πίνακα 2 που ακολουθεί αποτυπώνονται οι προσεγγίσεις και οι μέθοδοι εκπαίδευσης, οι οποίες καταγράφεται να αξιοποιούνται στα προγράμματα εκπαίδευσης για την ΚΑΛΟ στις συμμετέχουσες στην έρευνα χώρες.

Πίνακας 2. Εκπαιδευτικές Μέθοδοι ΚΑΛΟ

Χώρα	Εκπαιδευτικές προσεγγίσεις και μέθοδοι
Κροατία	1. Επισκέψεις μελέτης και μελέτες περίπτωσης 2. Πραγματικές διηγήσεις 3. Εργασία σε μικρές ομάδες 4. Βιωματικά παιχνίδια και εργαστήρια 5. Συμβουλευτική και μέντορινγκ
Τσεχία	1. Συνεδρίες σχετικές με την αντίληψη της ΚΑΛΟ (ορισμοί και συζήτηση) 2. Επισκέψεις μελέτης σε καλές πρακτικές 3. Τεχνική world café
Γαλλία	1. Συμμετοχικές μέθοδοι 2. Μεθοδολογίες άτυπης μάθησης 3. Ποικίλες μέθοδοι που στοχεύουν στη δημιουργία πλαισίου και περιβάλλοντος μάθησης 4. Μάθηση δράσης (action learning)
Ελλάδα	1. Συμμετοχικές μέθοδοι, εργασία σε ομάδες, προσομοιώσεις, καταιγισμός ιδεών κ.ά.

	2. Τεχνική world café
	3. Τεχνολογία open space
	4. Μάθηση δράσης (action learning)
	5. Συμβουλευτική και μέντορινγκ
	6. Προσομοιώσεις
Ιταλία	1. Τεχνική world café
	2. Επισκέψεις μελέτης
	3. Ηλεκτρονική μάθηση

Παρατηρούμε ότι οι μέθοδοι προσομοιάζουν σε αυτές που απαντώνται συχνά στην εκπαίδευση για την επιχειρηματικότητα, ενώ επίσης συμπληρώνονται με ανοιχτά περιβάλλοντα συζήτησης. Η Κροατία ευθυγραμμίζεται περισσότερο με τις μεθόδους της εκπαίδευσης στην επιχειρηματικότητα, επισκέψεις μελέτης, μελέτες περίπτωσης, ομαδική εργασία, παιχνίδια και συμβουλευτική (μέντορινγκ). Οι ίδιες μέθοδοι αξιοποιούνται σε μεγάλο βαθμό και στην Ελλάδα. Στη Γαλλία, που φαίνεται να είναι η πιο αποκλίνουσα μεθοδολογικά χώρα από την παραδοσιακή επιχειρηματική διδασκαλία, εφαρμόζονται καινοτόμες μέθοδοι, όπως η μάθηση μέσω της δράσης (action learning) και η βιωματική εκπαίδευση, οι οποίες επικεντρώνονται στη δημιουργία ενός αυθεντικού και συμπεριληπτικού περιβάλλοντος μάθησης. Στις περισσότερες χώρες αναφέρεται η μέθοδος του world café, μια εκπαιδευτική διεργασία πέντε βημάτων για συζήτηση και προβληματισμό μεγάλων ομάδων σχετικά με μία συγκεκριμένη ιδέα.

Δεδομένου ότι το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της εκπαίδευσης στην ΚΑΛΟ βασίζεται στη μη τυπική εκπαίδευση, οι ανοιχτές συμμετοχικές συζητήσεις για την ΚΑΛΟ εφαρμόζονται σε όλες τις χώρες –εκτός της Κροατίας. Αυτό είναι σίγουρα ένα σημείο εκκίνησης, το οποίο συμπληρώνεται από επισκέψεις μελέτης (Τσεχία, Ιταλία), ηλεκτρονική μάθηση (Ιταλία) ή παραδοσιακές επισκέψεις και συμβουλευτική (Κροατία, Ελλάδα). Η μάθηση μέσω της δράσης (action learning) μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως βάση για πρακτική εκπαίδευση σε μικρές ομάδες. Το γεγονός πάντως που αναγνωρίζεται σε όλες τις συμμετέχουσες στην έρευνα χώρες είναι η ένταξη των στάσεων και των ικανοτήτων που απαιτούνται για την ΚΑΛΟ στην εκπαιδευτική προσέγγιση και στις μεθόδους. Ο κοινωνικός και μετασχηματιστικός προσανατολισμός της ΚΑΛΟ αντικατοπτρίζεται και στην ΕΕΚ για την ΚΑΛΟ. Αυτό είναι και το κύριο σημείο διαφοροποίησης με άλλες μορφές εκπαίδευσης στην επιχειρηματικότητα.

Παρά το γεγονός ότι οι περισσότερες από τις προηγούμενες εκπαιδευτικές μεθόδους απαντώνται τόσο στην τυπική όσο και στη μη τυπική εκπαίδευση, χρειαζόμαστε περισσότερες πληροφορίες για να αξιολογήσουμε τον αναμενόμενο αντίκτυπο στους εκπαιδευομένους. Για παράδειγμα, με ποιον τρόπο οι προηγούμενες μέθοδοι ανταποκρίνονται στις υπάρχουσες θεωρίες μάθησης (Kakouris and Morselli, 2020) ή στις διάφορες φιλοσοφικές προσεγγίσεις (Hannon, 2005); Επίσης, η βιωματική μάθηση έχει πολλές μορφές (Marsick και O'Neil, 1999); Το επίπεδο ανάλυσης (δηλαδή το άτομο, η επιχείρηση, η οικονομία) είναι εξίσου σημαντικό στη διαδικασία απόκτησης γνώσεων για την ΚΑΛΟ σε μακροοικονομικό επίπεδο και στις σχέσεις της με την κοινωνική επιχειρηματικότητα. Τα αποτελέσματα από την εφαρμογή στις χώρες που εξετάζονται σε αυτό το άρθρο είναι ενδεικτικά για τον αντίκτυπο της ΕΕΚ στο πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ και θα προσφέρουν αποτελέσματα για περαιτέρω μελέτη.

5. Γνώσεις, δεξιότητες και ικανότητες εκπαιδευτών ΚΑΛΟ

Ένα άλλο σημαντικό σημείο, βασικός πυλώνας μιας εκπαιδευτικής διεργασίας, είναι ο εκπαιδευτής. Στον Πίνακα 3 αναλύεται το απαιτούμενο υπόβαθρο των εκπαιδευτών στην ΚΑΛΟ για τις συμμετέχουσες χώρες. Το υπόβαθρο αυτό κατηγοριοποιείται στα επίπεδα των γνώσεων, των οριζόντιων δεξιοτήτων και των ικανοτήτων, δηλαδή των δυνατοτήτων να αξιοποιήσει το άτομο τις γνώσεις και δεξιότητές του για να ανταποκριθεί στην εκπαίδευση στο πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ.

Πίνακας 3: Προφίλ Εκπαιδευτή ΚΑΛΟ

Χώρα		Προφίλ εκπαιδευτών (Γ: Γνώσεις, ΟΔ: Οριζόντιες Δεξιότητες, Ι: Ικανότητες)
Κροατία	Γ	1. Διαστάσεις και αξίες της ΚΑΛΟ 2. Δικτύωση και συνεργασίες 3. Διαχείριση και οικονομική βιωσιμότητα
	ΟΔ	1. Δημιουργία συμμετοχικού και συμπεριληπτικού περιβάλλοντος 2. Δημιουργική σκέψη και επίλυση προβλημάτων 3. Δημιουργία ανοιχτών συζητήσεων και αντιπαραθέσεων 4. Συζήτηση βραχυ-/μακροπρόθεσμων αναγκών και στόχων της ΚΑΛΟ
	Ι	1. Αντίληψη εννοιών και οργανωσιακών μορφών της ΚΑΛΟ 2. Ικανότητα δημιουργίας συμμετοχικών προγραμμάτων 3. Καλλιέργεια πρακτικών της ΚΑΛΟ 4. Παροχή εκπαιδευτικού υλικού και δραστηριοτήτων
Τσεχία	Γ	1. Διαστάσεις και αξίες της ΚΑΛΟ 2. Γνώσεις καινοτόμων εκπαιδευτικών μεθόδων
	ΟΔ	1. Υιοθέτηση συμμετοχικών προσεγγίσεων 2. Δημιουργία σχέσεων μεταξύ των εμπλεκομένων 3. Δημιουργία κοινότητας 4. Εξισορρόπηση μεταξύ εμπορικών και κοινωνικών πλευρών και ζητημάτων 5. Επικοινωνιακές δεξιότητες
	Ι	1. Ικανότητα κοινωνικού μάρκετινγκ

		2. Ικανότητα άντλησης δημόσιων πόρων
		3. Δημοκρατική λήψη αποφάσεων χωρίς αποκλεισμούς
Γαλλία	Γ	1. Διαστάσεις και αξίες της ΚΑλΟ
		2. Επιχειρηματική γνώση σχετική με την ΚΑλΟ
	ΟΔ	1. Σύνδεση της τοπικής ιστορίας με την ΚΑλΟ και το δημόσιο συμφέρον
		2. Σύνδεση της ΚΑλΟ με τη μετάβαση και την παγκόσμια προοπτική
		3. Ατομική τοποθέτηση απέναντι στην ΚΑλΟ
		4. Ανάλυση της ατομικής και της συλλογικής συνεισφοράς στην οικολογία, την οικονομία, τη δημοκρατία και την κοινωνία
		5. Χρήση ατομικών γνώσεων για την προώθηση διαφορετικών οπτικών και προσεγγίσεων
		6. Αποδοχή των αντίθετων απόψεων
	Ι	1. Ικανότητα εξήγησης των βασικών στοιχείων και των προκλήσεων της ΚΑλΟ από ιστορικής πλευράς
		2. Αποκάλυψη τοπικών ή διεθνών οικοσυστημάτων (παίκτες/δίκτυα)
		3. Οριοθέτηση του τομέα της ΚΑλΟ
		4. Επεξήγηση της λειτουργίας, του σκοπού και της δράσης τοπικών κοινωνικών και αλληλέγγυων επιχειρήσεων (διηγήσεις)
		5. Σύνδεση της ΚΑλΟ με την τοπική ανάπτυξη
		6. Βασικές δεξιότητες διοίκησης επιχειρήσεων
Ελλάδα	Γ	1. Η επιχειρηματικότητα στην ΚΑλΟ
		2. Η διοίκηση στην ΚΑλΟ
		3. Οικονομικές γνώσεις
		4. Κοινωνιολογία
		5. Εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων
	ΟΔ	1. Κοινωνική ευαισθητοποίηση
		2. Ενσυναίσθηση
		3. Δημιουργική σκέψη

		4. Επίλυση προβλημάτων
	Ι	1. Κατανόηση βασικών εννοιών κοινωνικής οικονομίας
		2. Ανάληψη εκπαιδευτικών αναγκών στην ΚΑΛΟ
		3. Σχεδιασμός καινοτόμου κατάρτισης στην ΚΑΛΟ
		4. Μετάδοση πληροφοριών σχετικών με πρακτικές εφαρμογής
		5. Προώθηση βιωματικής κατάρτισης ομοτίμων στην ΚΑΛΟ
		6. Κριτική αξιολόγηση διαδικασιών σε οργανισμούς ΚΑΛΟ
		7. Κριτική κατανόηση του ρόλου της ΚΑΛΟ στην επίλυση κοινωνικών προβλημάτων
Ιταλία	Γ	1. Εθνικό/διεθνές νομικό πλαίσιο της ΚΑΛΟ
		2. Βασικές μορφές ΚΑΛΟ
	ΟΔ	1. Αντίληψη της αξιακής βάσης της ΚΑΛΟ
		2. Προώθηση της εργασιακής δημοκρατίας, συμμετοχής, ισότητας, αλληλεγγύης, αυτοκαθορισμού
		3. Προώθηση της διαφάνειας στη λήψη αποφάσεων
		4. Προώθηση της συνεργασίας, της μάθησης μέσω ομοτίμων και της ισότιμης συμμετοχής
		5. Επίβλεψη και διευκόλυνση ατομικών ή ομαδικών έργων
	Ι	1. Δημιουργία εκπαιδευτικών προγραμμάτων, περιεχομένου και μεθόδων διδασκαλίας
		2. Καθορισμός εκπαιδευτικών αναγκών φοιτητών και εργαζομένων και διαμεσολάβηση με οργανισμούς ΚΑΛΟ
		3. Επίβλεψη εργασιών των εκπαιδευομένων
		4. Σχεδιασμός καινοτόμου βιωματικής κατάρτισης στην ΚΑΛΟ

Στην Κροατία το υπόβαθρο για τους εκπαιδευτές εναρμονίζεται με τη μεθοδολογία κατάρτισης που βασίζεται στην εκπαίδευση στην επιχειρηματικότητα. Έμφαση δίνεται στις βασικές γνώσεις στο πεδίο, καθώς και στην ικανότητα των εκπαιδευτών να κατευθύνουν την προσοχή των συμμετεχόντων στην πρακτική της ΚΑΛΟ και στην επίλυση προβλημάτων. Στη Τσεχία οι εκπαιδευτές πρέπει επίσης να έχουν εκπαιδευτικές γνώσεις, ενώ δίνεται έμφαση στις ήπιες δεξιότητες, οι οποίες είναι ικανές να συμβάλουν στη δημιουργία ενός ευνοϊκού

μαθησιακού περιβάλλοντος. Στην Ιταλία οι απαιτήσεις επικεντρώνονται στις μορφές της ΚΑΛΟ, καθώς και σε σχετικά νομικά ζητήματα. Ωστόσο, αναγνωρίζεται ότι χρειάζεται να αναπτυχθεί καινοτόμος εκπαιδευτική μεθοδολογία για την ΚΑΛΟ και αυτή η ανάγκη εστιάζεται στις απαιτούμενες ήπιες δεξιότητες των εκπαιδευτών. Στη Γαλλία και την Ελλάδα τα απαιτούμενα γνωστικά αντικείμενα περιλαμβάνουν την επιχειρηματικότητα και το μάνατζμεντ. Στην Ελλάδα, περισσότερο από άλλες χώρες, τα σχετικά προγράμματα ΕΕΚ απαιτούν από τους εκπαιδευτές γνώσεις, δεξιότητες και ικανότητες στη διοίκηση και στα οικονομικά. Ωστόσο, σε αντίθεση με την Κροατία, επισημαίνονται ακόμη κοινωνιολογικά ζητήματα και η αναγκαιότητα για κριτική προσέγγιση ώστε να είναι ικανοί να εκκινούν έναν δημοκρατικό διάλογο χωρίς αποκλεισμούς. Η κοινωνική διάσταση είναι πιο εμφανής στη Γαλλία. Εκεί η ΚΑΛΟ συνδέεται άμεσα με την τοπική κοινωνία και την ιστορία, με στόχο η ΚΑΛΟ να προωθεί την τοπική ανάπτυξη. Οι απαιτούμενες δεξιότητες των εκπαιδευτών περιλαμβάνουν κριτική εξέταση εναλλακτικών απόψεων και ανοιχτή συζήτηση για το ρόλο και τις λειτουργίες των οργανισμών ΚΑΛΟ.

Συγκρίνοντας το απαιτούμενο υπόβαθρο των εκπαιδευτών στις συμμετέχουσες χώρες, παρατηρείται μια μικρή διαφοροποίηση. Οι χώρες στις οποίες εμφανίστηκε η ΚΑΛΟ πιο πρόσφατα, όπως είναι η περίπτωση της Ελλάδας, τείνουν να επικεντρώνονται στο μικρο-επίπεδο και στην πρακτική της κοινωνικής επιχειρηματικότητας. Αντιλαμβάνονται τις κοινωνικές επιχειρήσεις ως μέσο για την επίλυση κοινωνικών προβλημάτων που λειτουργούν ανάλογα με τα διαθέσιμα κεφάλαια και τις κρατικές επιχορηγήσεις. Σε αυτή την περίπτωση, το Ευρωπαϊκό Πλαίσιο Επαγγελματικής Ικανότητας Προσανατολισμένο στην Επιχειρηματικότητα (EntreComp) χρειάζεται να αξιοποιηθεί, αφού πρώτα αναλυθεί πιο διεξοδικά (Bacigalupo et al., 2016). Οι κορυφαίοι στο πεδίο, όπως η περίπτωση της Γαλλίας, επικεντρώνονται στο μεσο-επίπεδο, δηλαδή το οικοσύστημα, καθώς και στο μακρο-επίπεδο, εντάσσοντας την ΚΑΛΟ ως διαδικασία στην οικονομία και την κοινωνία.

Ως εκ τούτου, οι χώρες αυτές απασχολούν εκπαιδευτές ικανούς να αναπτύξουν το ζήτημα κοινωνιολογικά και οικονομικά με βάση καινοτόμες εκπαιδευτικές μεθόδους. Αυτό μπορεί να αποδειχθεί μετασχηματιστικό (βλ. Kakouris and Liargovas, 2020), δεδομένου ότι στοχεύει να αναδείξει τις κοινωνικές αξίες της ΚΑΛΟ και, επομένως, να επηρεάσει τη στάση των εκπαιδευομένων αναφορικά με τις έννοιες και τις διαδικασίες της. Βέβαια, η αλλαγή αναμένεται να επέλθει μέσω της ανάπτυξης των κοινωνικών επιχειρήσεων, της αύξησής τους και της «ορατότητάς» τους σε μακροοικονομικό επίπεδο.

6. Συμπερασματικές παρατηρήσεις – Προτάσεις πολιτικής

Από την παραπάνω ανάλυση μπορούμε να συμπεράνουμε ότι ο τομέας της ΚΑΛΟ στην Ευρώπη χρησιμοποιεί την ΕΕΚ, σε διαφορετικά επίπεδα, ως μηχανισμό για την υποστήριξη της θέσης του στην ευρωπαϊκή κοινωνία και οικονομία (Apostolopoulos, *et al*, 2021). Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη το στρατηγικό της όραμα, έχει καταστεί σαφές στον τομέα της ΚΑΛΟ ότι η αποστολή της μπορεί να επιτευχθεί μόνο μέσω της εκπαίδευσης των κοινοτήτων για κοινωνικοοικονομική ανάπτυξη (Quiroz-Niño and Murga-Menoyo, 2017). Αυτή η προσπάθεια τείνει να παρέχεται από δημόσιους φορείς, όπως δημόσια κέντρα μάθησης και πανεπιστήμια, αλλά και εντός του τομέα της ΚΑΛΟ μέσω των δικτύων και των ενώσεών του που προσφέρουν σχετικά προγράμματα ΕΕΚ.

Όπως ισχύει για την πραγματικότητα της ΚΑΛΟ, έτσι και η εκπαίδευση για αυτήν πρέπει να είναι μια διαδικασία συνεργασίας με δημοκρατική προσέγγιση και μια κοινή αντίληψη για το συλλογικό δυναμικό μετασχηματισμού. Άλλες αρχές και ιδιότητες της ΚΑΛΟ είναι η κοινωνική ένταξη, η ομαδική εργασία, η συνεργασία, η ενδυνάμωση, η αυτοδιαχείριση, η συλλογική δράση, η δημιουργία συνθηκών για τη βελτίωση της ποιότητας ζωής και η βιώσιμη τοπική ανάπτυξη κοινοτήτων (Quiroz-Niño and Murga-Menoyo, 2017). Αυτά όλα είναι στοιχεία τα οποία –στην ΕΕΚ για την ΚΑΛΟ– χρειάζεται να μεταφραστούν και να

ενσωματωθούν σε μεθοδολογία, κάτι που μπορεί να υλοποιηθεί μόνο μέσω της προσέγγισης κοινωνικού σκοπού της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων. Το ίδιο ισχύει για τις γνώσεις, τις δεξιότητες και τις ικανότητες που απαιτούνται από τον εκπαιδευτή.

Θα μπορούσε κανείς να υποστηρίξει ότι ιδανικά η ΕΕΚ για το πεδίο της ΚΑΛΟ είναι η σύγχρονη ερμηνεία και εφαρμογή της παράδοσης της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων κοινωνικού σκοπού. Η εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων έχει έναν ιστορικό δεσμό με την κοινωνία, επηρεασμένη από τις κοινωνικοπολιτικές συνθήκες κάθε εποχής, ενώ ταυτόχρονα προσπαθεί να τις επηρεάσει (Papageorgiou, 2012). Αυτό ισχύει ιδιαίτερα στην προσέγγιση της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων με κοινωνικό σκοπό, η οποία αντιλαμβάνεται την εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων ως πεδίο αμφισβήτησης, επέκτασης και επανεξέτασης των εννοιών της πολιτειότητας, με τη φιλοδοξία να προχωρήσει προς μια πιο δίκαιη κοινωνία (Martin, 2000· 2003). Η συγκεκριμένη αντίληψη δεν αγνοεί τους περιορισμούς της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων ως προς την επίτευξη της κοινωνικής αλλαγής. Ωστόσο, δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολία για τη μαθησιακή φύση της διαδικασίας μέσω της οποίας οι άνθρωποι γίνονται υποκείμενα αλλαγής (Thompson, 2000· Torres and Freire, 1993). Κατά συνέπεια, αυτή η προσέγγιση στην εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων διατηρεί μια διαλεκτική και οργανική σχέση με τα κοινωνικά κινήματα και τις οργανώσεις (Martin, 2000), όπως στην περίπτωση του κινήματος για την ΚΑΛΟ.

Τέλος, θα μπορούσε κανείς να συμπεράνει ότι η συγκεκριμένη εκπαιδευτική προσέγγιση –η οποία στοχεύει να υποστηρίξει την ελπίδα και να καλλιεργήσει την κοινωνιολογική φαντασία με χειραφετητικό δυναμικό που κινείται πέρα από τις οικονομικές αφαιρέσεις της «νεοφιλελεύθερης» σκέψης (Finnegan, 2008) και η οποία συνεπάγεται το μετασχηματισμό των κοινοτήτων μέσω της συμμετοχής των μελών τους σε μετασχηματίζουσα μάθηση (Markidis and Papageorgiou, 2017) μπορεί να αποδειχθεί ως το απαραίτητο μέσο για την προώθηση της ΚΑΛΟ και την αλλαγή του κοινωνικοοικονομικού περιβάλλοντος. Με αυτό τον τρόπο, η εκπαίδευση γενικά, και ειδικά η ΕΕΚ, μπορεί να συμπεριληφθεί στους μηχανισμούς υποστήριξης των οργανισμών και φορέων της ΚΑΛΟ.

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Συγγραφέας αναφοράς:

Ήρα Παπαγεωργίου, ΙΝΕ ΓΣΕΕ, ira_papageorgiou@inegsee.gr

Από αρχάριος, …ειδικός: Τροχιές απόκτησης δεξιοτήτων κατά την εργασία

From novice to expert: Trajectories of skill acquisition through work

Παρασκευάς Λιντζέρης

Ινστιτούτο Μικρών Επιχειρήσεων ΓΣΕΒΕΕ, lintzeris.paris@gmail.com

Paraskevas Lintzeris

Small Enterprises Institute Hellenic Confederation of Professionals Craftsmen and Merchants, lintzeris.paris@gmail.com

Περίληψη

Η εργασία συνιστά, από την ίδια της τη φύση, τη χωροχρονική λειτουργία και τον ρόλο της στην κοινωνική ζωή, ένα πεδίο ανθρώπινης αλληλεπίδρασης που λειτουργεί ως πηγή εμπειριών οι οποίες επηρεάζουν εξελικτικά και μεταμορφωτικά το σώμα των γνώσεων, δεξιοτήτων και ικανοτήτων που κάθε άτομο διαθέτει και ενεργοποιεί κατά την άσκησή της. Το κείμενο εξετάζει τρεις θεωρίες που αναφέρονται στους τρόπους που συντελείται η απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων για τη μετάβαση από την κατάσταση του αρχάριου σε αυτήν του ειδικού: τη θεώρηση των S.E. Dreyfus & H.L. Dreyfus, την ανάλυση του Richard Sennett και την προσέγγιση των Chris Argyris και Donald Schön. Υπογραμμίζεται η σημασία της πρακτικής εργασιακής εμπειρίας και ειδικότερα της επίλυσης προβλημάτων ώστε να υπάρξει υποκειμενική πρόσληψη, εσωτερίκευση και εμπέδωση της θεωρητικής γνώσης. Παράλληλα όμως τονίζεται η κρισιμότητα της θεωρητικής, επιστημονικής γνώσης για την κατανόηση, τον έλεγχο και τη γενίκευση της πρακτικής εμπειρίας.

Abstract

Work is, by its very nature, its spatio-temporal function and its role in social life, a field of human interaction. As such is a constant source of experiences that evolutionarily and sometimes transformatively affect the body of knowledge, skills and competences that each individual possesses and activates during the practice of his/her profession. The paper examines three theories regarding the ways in which professional / vocational skills are acquired through work aiming to succeed the transition from the state of the novice to that of the expert: the theory of S.E. Dreyfus & H.L. Dreyfus, the analysis of Richard Sennett and the approach of Chris Argyris and Donald Schön. The importance of working experience and in particular problem solving is emphasized in order the learner to have a subjective acquisition, internalization and consolidation of theoretical knowledge. At the same time, the importance of theoretical, scientific knowledge for the understanding, control and generalization of practical experience is underlined.

Λέξεις – κλειδιά: απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων, εργασιακή εμπειρία, μάθηση με βάση την εργασία, εμπειρική μάθηση, θεωρίες μάθησης, μάθηση μέσω πράξης

Keywords: skill acquisition, working experience, work-based learning, experiential learning, learning theories, learning by doing

1. Εισαγωγή

Οι στρατηγικές και οι πολιτικές παρεμβάσεις για τις δεξιότητες που αφορούν στην εργασία και την άσκηση των επαγγελμάτων επιμερίζονται συνήθως κατ' αντιστοιχία με τις φάσεις

γραμμικής εξέλιξης του κύκλου ζωής των δεξιοτήτων: *διάγνωση, ανάπτυξη* (ή απόκτηση), *αντιστοίχιση* (ή σύζευξη με τις ανάγκες της εργασίας), *ενεργοποίηση* (εφαρμογή κατά την εργασία), σταδιακή *απαξίωση* (ή αποειδίκευση / deskilling) ή -αντιθέτως- *αναβάθμιση των υφιστάμενων* [upskilling] ή *απόκτηση νέων δεξιοτήτων / επαν-ειδίκευση* [reskilling].

Οι θεωρίες μάθησης και προσωπικής ανάπτυξης εστιάζουν την προσοχή τους στο πώς *αναπτύσσονται* (οικοδομούνται) και *μεταδίδονται* οι δεξιότητες κυρίως στους χώρους εκπαίδευσης. Το ερώτημα αυτό είναι εν πολλοίς ισοδύναμο με το ερώτημα *πώς μαθαίνουν οι άνθρωποι*. Από αυτή την άποψη, παρότι η απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων, ιδίως κατά την ενηλικιότητα, δεν εξαντλείται στις διεργασίες οργανωμένης εκπαίδευσης ή κατάρτισης, αλλά συνδέεται και με άλλες πτυχές της κοινωνικής ζωής όπως η επαγγελματική εμπειρία, οι επιστήμες της εκπαίδευσης έχουν χειριστεί την έννοια της δεξιότητας συνδέοντάς την με τις εκπαιδευτικές διεργασίες στις φάσεις της νεαρής ηλικίας και της αρχικής εκπαίδευσης.

Παράλληλα, η σύγχρονη έρευνα στον χώρο της εξελικτικής και αναπτυξιακής Ψυχολογίας έχει δείξει πόσο σημαντικά είναι τα πρώτα χρόνια της ζωής του ανθρώπου ως προς την εδραίωση των προσωπικών χαρακτηριστικών και την απόκτηση βασικών δεξιοτήτων οι οποίες είτε αποτελούν αναγκαία μέσα επαφής και αλληλεπίδρασης με τον φυσικό και διανοητικό κόσμο που μας περιβάλλει (όπως η χρήση της μητρικής γλώσσας ή οι ποικίλες σωματικές δεξιότητες διαχείρισης υλικών αντικειμένων), είτε αποτελούν προϋπόθεση απόκτησης γνώσεων και δεξιοτήτων ανωτέρου επιπέδου (όπως η υιοθέτηση συμπεριφορικών προτύπων συσχέτισης με άλλους ανθρώπους ή η κοινωνικοποίηση και εξατομίκευση μέσω του παιχνιδιού). Στην αρχική αυτή φάση, συντελούνται εντατικές και πολύπλοκες διεργασίες στα επίπεδα της φυσιολογίας και της ψυχολογίας, το αποτέλεσμα των οποίων εξαρτάται σε σημαντικό βαθμό από τις γενικές συνθήκες διαβίωσης, το επίπεδο υγείας και ασφάλειας, την ποιότητα της γονικής φροντίδας, την επάρκεια και ποιότητα τροφής και στέγασης, το πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο.

Στην επόμενη ηλικιακή φάση, την περίοδο της «σχολικής ηλικίας» που σχετίζεται με την αρχική απόκτηση γνώσεων και δεξιοτήτων στο πλαίσιο της μαζικής συμμετοχής των νέων στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα ισχύουν οι εκπαιδευτικές θεωρίες εν γένει, όπως και οι εφαρμοζόμενες εκπαιδευτικές πολιτικές και η ποικιλόμορφη κριτική αυτών[4].

Όπως έχει επισημανθεί η καθοριστική σημασία της βρεφικής και νηπιακής ανάπτυξης, έτσι έχει αναδειχθεί και η κρισιμότητα της επάρκειας και της ποιότητας της αρχικής εκπαίδευσης στην ανάπτυξη της επιθυμίας και της ικανότητας του ατόμου να επιδιώκει και να επιτυγχάνει περαιτέρω μάθηση κατά τη διάρκεια της ζωής του (OECD-Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, 2010). Η βιολογικά/σωματικά, συναισθηματικά και κοινωνικά υγιής βρεφική - νηπιακή ηλικία και η επαρκής αρχική εκπαίδευση αποτελούν τα ανυπέρβλητης κρισιμότητας θεμέλια της περαιτέρω γνωστικής ανάπτυξης. Ταυτόχρονα, κερδίζει διαρκώς έδαφος η κριτική που γίνεται στα παραδοσιακά εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα αναφορικά με την συχνά μονομερή τους έμφαση στη γνωστική / διανοητική (cognitive) διάσταση της μάθησης, σε συνδυασμό με τη σχετική υποτίμηση της συναισθηματικής και αλληλεπιδραστικής (κοινωνικής και συσχετιστικής) διάστασης (Illeris, 2007, 2009b).

Δεδομένων όσων προαναφέρθηκαν, στη συνέχεια, όχι η ανηλικιότητα, αλλά η περίοδος της ενήλικης ζωής και ειδικότερα οι δεξιότητες που στοχεύουν στον επαγγελματικό τομέα και οι

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[4] Σχετικά με τις θεωρίες μάθησης υπάρχει φυσικά πληθώρα βιβλίων και άρθρων. Για μια σύντομη και περιεκτική επισκόπηση ο αναγνώστης μπορεί να συμβουλευτεί το άρθρο του Knud Illeris *An overview of the history of learning theory* (2018b) και για μια συλλογή αντιπροσωπευτικών θεωρητικών κειμένων το Illeris, K. (ed.) (2018a). *Contemporary Theories of Learning: Learning Theorists ... In Their Own Words*, second edition. Επιπλέον, παρά τις αντιρρήσεις που μπορεί να διατυπώσει κάποιος ιδίως για τη μονομερή έμφαση στις κονστρουβιστικές προσεγγίσεις της μάθησης, θεωρητική επάρκεια και πρακτικό ενδιαφέρον για τη σχολική εκπαίδευση και τις αρχές που (πρέπει να) τη διέπουν έχει το κείμενο του OECD - Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (2010) *The Nature of Learning: Using Research to Inspire Practice*.

διεργασίες μάθησης (απόκτησης δεξιοτήτων) που συντελούνται κατά την εργασία αποτελούν τα πεδία ιδιαίτερης εστίασης του παρόντος κειμένου.

2. Θεωρίες για την απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων στο πλαίσιο της εργασίας

Εδώ και δυο τουλάχιστον δεκαετίες έχει υπάρξει μια κλιμακούμενη αύξηση των ερευνών και των δημοσιευμάτων για τη *μάθηση βάσει της εργασίας* (work based learning) και τη *μάθηση στον χώρο εργασίας* (workplace learning) (βλ. ενδεικτικά Garrick, 1998˙ Billett, 2001˙ Ellstrom & Kock, 2009˙ Illeris, 2011˙ European Commission, 2013˙ Avis, 2014˙ Cedefop, 2015˙ Λιντζέρης, 2020α). Μάλιστα, στις μέρες μας, το ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον, όπως και οι πολιτικές πρωτοβουλίες για την κατανόηση των χαρακτηριστικών και για την ενίσχυση της *βασισμένης στην εργασία μάθησης,* έχουν αυξηθεί κατακόρυφα κυρίως διότι εκτιμάται ότι η ταχύτητα και η έκταση των αλλαγών που συντελούνται στα επαγγέλματα απαιτούν πιο δραστήρια και ευφυή ενεργοποίηση των διαφόρων μορφών μάθησης κατά την εργασία, αφού πλέον οι αρχικές σπουδές δεν επαρκούν για να καλύψουν τις διαρκώς μεταβαλλόμενες ανάγκες καθ' όλη τη διάρκεια του εργασιακού βίου.

Από το ευρύτερο πεδίο της βασισμένης στην εργασία μάθησης, το κύριο αντικείμενο εξέτασης στο πλαίσιο του παρόντος κειμένου είναι ο *ειδικευμένος εργαζόμενος*, βάσει της παραδοχής ότι η απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων προσδίδει στον άνθρωπο χρήσιμα εφόδια επαγγελματικής εξειδίκευσης και ταυτοχρόνως μια διακριτή κοινωνικο-επαγγελματική ταυτότητα. Παρενθετικά είναι ίσως χρήσιμο να αναφερθεί ότι η έννοια -και ακολούθως η μορφή- του *ειδικευμένου εργάτη/εργαζόμενου* δεν υπήρχε ξεκάθαρα πριν την έλευση του βιομηχανικού καπιταλισμού. Είναι ακριβώς η έννοια του *ανειδίκευτου ή «γενικού εργάτη»* που συνέβαλε -εξ αντιδιαστολής- στην υπογράμμιση της έννοιας του ειδικευμένου εργάτη, της ειδικής ως προς τη «γενική» εργασία. Η ειδικευμένη (ή «σύνθετη») εργασία κατά τη νεωτερικότητα συνίσταται στο έργο των εξειδικευμένων τεχνιτών που προέρχονται από τους μεσαιωνικούς μάστορες και τις συντεχνίες τους, ενώ η ανειδίκευτη, «απλή» εργασία αποτελεί άμεσο δημιούργημα του εκμηχανισμένου βιομηχανικού καπιταλισμού (διά της αποειδίκευσης της εργασίας και της ενσωμάτωσης ανθρώπινων δεξιοτήτων στις εργοστασιακές μηχανές), της εξαρτημένης μισθωτής εργασίας αλλά και της απώλειάς της, δηλαδή του φαινομένου της διογκωμένης ανεργίας ως «εφεδρικού στρατού εργασίας» (Streeck, 2011).

Βάσει αυτών των οριοθετήσεων θα εξετάσουμε μια συγκεκριμένη «οικογένεια» θεωρητικών προσεγγίσεων που αναφέρονται στο πώς αποκτώνται (ή πώς αναπτύσσονται) οι δεξιότητες στο πλαίσιο της ενηλικιότητας και ειδικότερα στο περιβάλλον της εργασίας μέσα από συνδυασμό θεωρητικής μάθησης και πρακτικής εμπειρίας (με προφανή έμφαση στο δεύτερο). Η δέσμη θεωριών που εξετάζουμε εστιάζεται στην ειδικευμένη εργασία και στο πώς αυτή επιτυγχάνεται. Σε αυτήν περιλαμβάνεται (α) η θεώρηση των S.E. Dreyfus & H.L. Dreyfus (1986) για τα στάδια μετάβασης από το επίπεδο του *αρχάριου* σε αυτό του *ειδικού*, (β) η ανάλυση του Richard Sennett (Σέννετ, 2011) για τη διεργασία ανάπτυξης μιας δεξιότητας στο πλαίσιο της εργασίας του τεχνίτη και (γ) η προσέγγιση των Chris Argyris και Donald Schön (1974, 1978, 1996) για τη μάθηση κατά την άσκηση της εργασιακής / επαγγελματικής πρακτικής μέσα στις επιχειρήσεις και τους οργανισμούς (organizational learning).

Η εξέταση των συγκεκριμένων θεωριών σε καμία περίπτωση δεν εξαντλεί τον ερευνητικό χώρο που εξετάζει τη συνάφεια των θεωριών μάθησης με την απόκτηση υψηλού επιπέδου επαγγελματικών δεξιοτήτων. Σχεδόν κάθε θεωρία μάθησης θα μπορούσε να συμβάλει στην κατανόηση των διεργασιών απόκτησης εργασιακών / επαγγελματικών δεξιοτήτων.

Εντούτοις, και παρά την ύπαρξη πολλών άλλων κατάλληλων προς παρουσίαση θεωριών[5], επιλέχθηκαν προς εξέταση οι προαναφερόμενες προσεγγίσεις διότι πρώτον, θεωρήθηκαν πιο συναφείς με την ικανότητα παροχής σύνθετης / ειδικευμένης εργασίας, η οποία αποτελεί τον κατεξοχήν στόχο της απόκτησης επαγγελματικών δεξιοτήτων και δεύτερον, έχουν μελετήσει την απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων / ικανοτήτων σε θεωρητικό και πρακτικό επίπεδο με επικέντρωση στην εμπειρία της εργασιακής ζωής. Οι υπό εξέταση θεωρίες ασχολούνται με τον εντοπισμό των σταδίων και των διεργασιών που οδηγούν σταδιακά τον *αρχάριο* εργαζόμενο στην κατάσταση του *ειδικού*, επομένως εξετάζουν πώς σκέφτεται και ενεργεί ο κάτοχος εξειδικευμένων και υψηλού επιπέδου δεξιοτήτων.

3. Η πρόταση των S.E. Dreyfus & H.L. Dreyfus

Η πρόταση των αδελφών Dreyfus (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1980, 1986 και Dreyfus, 2004) συνιστά ένα τυποποιημένο μοντέλο πέντε σταδίων που επιχειρεί να εξηγήσει το πώς συντελείται η απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων μέσω εκπαίδευσης και πρακτικής. Η πρόταση έχει έναν διπλό στόχο, αφενός να αξιολογήσει και να υποστηρίξει την ανάπτυξη των ικανοτήτων ενός εργαζόμενου, αφετέρου να παρέχει ορισμούς και διασαφηνίσεις που να διευκολύνουν την αποτίμηση κάθε σταδίου της μετάβασης από την κατάσταση του αρχάριου σε αυτήν του ειδικού. Στην πρώτη εκδοχή της θεωρίας (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1980) τα πέντε στάδια απόκτησης δεξιοτήτων ήταν τα εξής: αρχικό στάδιο / αρχάριος (novice), επάρκεια/ικανότητα (competence), ειδημοσύνη (proficiency), εξειδίκευση (expertise) και αριστοτεχνία (mastery), ενώ στη συνέχεια (Dreyfus, 2004) τροποποιήθηκαν ως ακολούθως: αρχάριος (novice), προχωρημένος νεοεισερχόμενος (advanced beginner), ικανός/επαρκής (competent), ειδήμονας (proficient), ειδικός (expert).

Στο επίπεδο του *αρχάριου* μπορεί κάποιος/α μόνο να ακολουθήσει συγκεκριμένους κανόνες για να αντιμετωπίσει συγκεκριμένες καταστάσεις. Δεν διαθέτει πλήρη κατανόηση των παραμέτρων της εργασίας του και χρειάζεται καθοδήγηση για να φέρει σε πέρας τα καθήκοντά του/της. Στο επίπεδο του *προχωρημένου νεοεισερχόμενου* αρχίζει να αντιλαμβάνεται τη φύση της εργασίας του και να δημιουργεί κανόνες που ισχύουν υπό συγκεκριμένους όρους εφαρμογής (conditional rules). Ξεκινά να αναγνωρίζει την εργασία του ως μια ακολουθία ενεργειών και μπορεί να εκτελέσει τα σχετικά απλά καθήκοντα χωρίς εποπτεία, ωστόσο δεν είναι ακόμη σε θέση να επιδεικνύει πλήρη προσωπική υπευθυνότητα. Στο επίπεδο του *ικανού/επαρκούς εργαζόμενου* διαθέτει πλέον μια καλή κατανόηση της εργασίας, αφομοιώνει και αξιοποιεί βασικές οργανωτικές αρχές της εργασίας του καθώς και το ευρύτερο πλαίσιο λειτουργίας της, εκδηλώνει μεγαλύτερη αυτονομία, όντας σε θέση να σχεδιάζει συνειδητά επιμέρους τμήματα της εργασίας και συνεπώς αναδύεται πλέον η αίσθηση της προσωπικής ευθύνης, ιδίως μέσω της λήψης αποφάσεων. Στο επίπεδο του *ειδήμονα* διαθέτει μια σε βάθος κατανόηση της εργασίας και μπορεί να χρησιμοποιεί πρότυπα και κανόνες για να προσεγγίσει ακόμη και σύνθετες πλευρές της. Η αυξημένη εμπειρία επιτρέπει πλέον την εκδήλωση μεγαλύτερης υπευθυνότητας όπως και την επίτευξη αποτελεσμάτων υψηλού επιπέδου. Τέλος, στο επίπεδο του *ειδικού*, εκδηλώνει ολιστική κατανόηση της γενικής φύσης και των επιμέρους πλευρών της εργασίας του, διαθέτει βαθιά σιωπηρή γνώση (tacit knowledge) που του επιτρέπει διαισθητικά να μπορεί να εξελίσσει την ίδια τη γνώση και την εμπειρία του υπερβαίνοντας υφιστάμενες ερμηνείες και πρακτικές

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[5] Για παράδειγμα, ιδιαίτερης σημασίας και αυξανόμενης επιρροής σύγχρονες προσεγγίσεις θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν οι λεγόμενες «ολιστικές» θεωρίες απόκτησης γνώσεων και δεξιοτήτων (ή ικανοτήτων), όπου περιλαμβάνονται η προσέγγιση του Peter Jarvis (2009β) για τη μάθηση του «όλου εαυτού», η θεώρηση του Knud Illeris (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c) για την ανάπτυξη των ικανοτήτων (competence development), οι θεωρήσεις της κοινωνικής μάθησης (social learning) και της εγκαθιδρυμένης / τοποθετημένης μάθησης (situated learning) όπως αναπτύχθηκαν από την Jane Lave (2009) και τον Etienne Wenger (2009), η προσέγγιση του Yrjo Engestrom για τη «διαστελλόμενη μάθηση», η θεωρία της πολλαπλής νοημοσύνης του Howard Gardner, όπως και η δομο-αναπτυξιακή προσέγγιση του Robert Kegan.

όταν αυτές δεν είναι αποδοτικές. Επίσης, διαθέτει την ικανότητα και τη δυνατότητα ολοκληρωμένου σχεδιασμού της εργασίας του και μπορεί με ευκολία να επιτυγχάνει υψηλού επιπέδου αποτελέσματα. Η -κρίσιμη για την εξειδικευμένη ποιοτική εργασία- αίσθηση της υπευθυνότητας υπερβαίνει τον εαυτό του και επεκτείνεται στους συνεργαζόμενους άλλους και στο ευρύτερο περιβάλλον.

Όπως φαίνεται από τα προαναφερθέντα στάδια εξέλιξης, βασικά κριτήρια της ανόδου από το επίπεδο του αρχάριου σε αυτό του ειδικού, δηλαδή κριτήρια αξιολόγησης του επιπέδου και της ποιότητας των αποκτηθεισών δεξιοτήτων, είναι:

- Ο βαθμός γνώσης και κατανόησης του γενικού χαρακτήρα και των βασικών επιμέρους πτυχών της εργασίας. Ο βαθμός αυτός διακυμαίνεται από την ελλειπτική και μερική κατανόηση επιμέρους βημάτων μέχρι την ολόπλευρη κατανόηση του συνόλου της εργασίας συμπεριλαμβανομένου του εργασιακού πλαισίου.

- Το επίπεδο της εποπτείας και καθοδήγησης εκ μέρους άλλων στη βάση καθορισμένων κανόνων ή -αντιθέτως- της ανεξάρτητης, αυτόνομης εργασίας, όπως επικυρώνεται από την ικανότητα σχεδιασμού, ανάληψης ευθύνης και αυτοτελούς λήψης αποφάσεων.

- Η συνθετότητα και πολυπλοκότητα των εργασιακών καθηκόντων, δηλαδή η σταδιακή μετάβαση από την απλή στη σύνθετη εργασία.

- Η ικανότητα ή/και δυνατότητα συνδυασμού του σχεδιασμού και της εκτέλεσης της εργασίας.

- Ο βαθμός ολοκλήρωσης του επαγγελματικού έργου ή, με άλλα λόγια, η ποιοτική στάθμη του εργασιακού αποτελέσματος καθαυτού.

Συμπερασματικά, οι Dreyfus παρουσιάζουν ένα μοντέλο διακριτών σταδίων κατανόησης του τρόπου με τον οποίο αναπτύσσονται οι δεξιότητες προτείνοντας κλιμακωτά μεταβαλλόμενα δίπολα ανάμεσα σε ελάχιστες ή πλήρεις γνώσεις και εργασιακές εμπειρίες, ετερονομία ή αυτονομία της εργασίας, μερική ή πλήρη επίγνωση και συμπερίληψη του εργασιακού πλαισίου, απλή ή σύνθετη εργασία και συμβατικό ή ολοκληρωμένο ποιοτικό εργασιακό αποτέλεσμα.

4. Η συμβολή του Richard Sennett

Σε ένα παραπλήσιο πλαίσιο ο Αμερικανός κοινωνιολόγος Richard Sennett (Σέννετ), παρότι δεν διατύπωσε κάποια διακριτή θεωρία μάθησης, ερεύνησε και ανέλυσε το *πώς μαθαίνεται η εργασία του τεχνίτη*. Βάσει της εννοιολογικής συνάφειας μεταξύ των όρων του *τεχνίτη* και του *ειδικευμένου εργαζόμενου*, δηλαδή του κατόχου εξειδικευμένων επαγγελματικών δεξιοτήτων, η συγκεκριμένη ανάλυση έχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον και σημαντικές συνεπαγωγές για τη φύση των δεξιοτήτων. Συγκεκριμένα, ο Σέννετ (2011) εκτιμά ότι, στα πρώτα στάδια, μαθαίνει κάποιος να *εκτελεί* μια εργασία. Όσο ακόμη είναι αρχάριος και βρίσκεται σε πρόωρο στάδιο εκμάθησης, χρειάζεται να σκέφτεται τις ενέργειες που κάνει και να εκτελεί πολλές επαναλήψεις. Στη φάση αυτή, η γνώση του είναι *ρητή (σαφής, εμφανής)* (explicit). Όταν πλέον κάποιος μάθει να εκτελεί την εργασία, η γνώση γίνεται *υπόρρητη (σιωπηρή)* (implicit, tacit). Ο συντονισμός μυαλού και σώματος συντελείται «αυτόματα», χωρίς σκέψη. Η *εμπέδωση* αποτελεί ουσιώδη διαδικασία της δεξιότητας που μετατρέπει τις πληροφορίες και τις πρακτικές σε υπόρρητη / σιωπηρή γνώση (Σέννετ, 2011: 50). Όταν, ωστόσο, προκύψει μια νέα πρόκληση, με συνέπεια μια εργασία να μην μπορεί να εκτελεστεί με τον συνήθη τρόπο, τότε η γνώση ξαναγίνεται *ρητή*, δηλαδή χρειάζεται να ενεργοποιηθεί μια διαδικασία «επίλυσης προβλήματος», κάτι που επιβάλλει το να «διαχωριστεί» συνειδητά η σκέψη (ο υποθετικός στοχασμός για τη φύση του προβλήματος) από τη «σωματική» εκτέλεση του έργου (πρακτική αναζήτηση λύσεων μέσω δοκιμής - λάθους) και η εργασία να

επαναληφθεί ξανά και ξανά μέχρι να «εσωτερικευθεί» και να μην απαιτεί τη μεσολάβηση της εμπρόθετης νοητικής προσπάθειας. Η πρωτοτυπία και η δυσκολία επίλυσης ενός προβλήματος είναι το στοιχείο που κινητοποιεί τη δυναμική εκμάθησης μιας δεξιότητας. Επιπλέον, μια τέτοια διαδικασία επίλυσης προβλήματος, που δεν είναι προκαθορισμένη, μπορεί να παραγάγει ποικιλία αποτελεσμάτων, δεδομένου ότι συχνά υπάρχουν πολλοί τρόποι να εκτελέσει κάποιος μια δραστηριότητα για να φτάσει στο επιθυμητό αποτέλεσμα. Η διερεύνηση και εμπέδωση ακριβώς τέτοιων διαφορετικών, εναλλακτικών τρόπων προσέγγισης και αντιμετώπισης προβλημάτων στην πορεία προς ένα επιδιωκόμενο εργασιακό αποτέλεσμα αποτελεί συστατικό στοιχείο και, εντέλει, απόδειξη και επιβεβαίωση της ολοκληρωμένης κατοχής μιας δεξιότητας.

Συνοπτικά, ο πυρήνας της προσέγγισης του Sennett συνίσταται σε τρία σημεία:

i. Η απόκτηση της δεξιότητας, στην περίπτωση του *τεχνίτη* -και, διασταλτικά μιλώντας, στην περίπτωση του κάθε ειδικευμένου εργαζόμενου- συντελείται μέσω μιας ακολουθίας *ρητής – υπόρρητης – ρητής* γνώσης, σε μια τροχιά συνεχούς εξέλιξης της μάθησης.

ii. Η εκμάθηση μιας δεξιότητας δημιουργεί την προοπτική περαιτέρω μάθησης, ανοίγοντας ένα πεδίο γνώσης που δεν υπήρχε πριν. Στην πράξη, επειδή ακριβώς μπορούμε (ή έχουμε πλέον την ικανότητα) να εκτελέσουμε μια εργασία, είναι δυνατόν να αντιληφθούμε και να αντιμετωπίσουμε άλλα, επιπρόσθετα αναπάντητα προβλήματα. Έτσι, *η λύση ενός προβλήματος* ολοκληρώνει έναν κύκλο που βασίζεται συνήθως σε πρότερη γνώση και *η εύρεση (διαπίστωση) ενός νέου προβλήματος* ανοίγει έναν καινούργιο κύκλο μάθησης. Με τον τρόπο αυτό η *εύρεση*, και όχι η *λύση*, ενός προβλήματος είναι η βασική «αναπτυξιακή» κίνηση που επεκτείνει τον ορίζοντα της μάθησης[6].

iii. Η ολοκληρωμένη εκμάθηση μιας δεξιότητας και η ποιοτική εκτέλεση της αντίστοιχης με αυτήν εργασίας χρειάζεται τον *αργόσυρτο χρόνο* (slow time), δηλαδή έναν ρυθμό στο πλαίσιο του οποίου η συνείδηση και οι αντιληπτικές δυνατότητες του ανθρώπου να μπορούν αφενός να διακρίνουν τα επιμέρους βήματα που συνιστούν την όλη εργασία στην οποία αντιστοιχεί μια δεξιότητα, αφετέρου να στοχαστούν σχετικά με τη σημασία τους. Μόνο έτσι γίνεται αντιληπτό το πώς μια δραστηριότητα έχει συσταθεί, άρα και να γίνουν κατανοητές οι γνωστικές προϋποθέσεις, δηλαδή η αναγνώριση των επιμέρους ενεργειών και ο στοχασμός επί αυτών, για την ποιοτική εκτέλεσή της.

5. Οι προσεγγίσεις των C. Argyris και D. Schön

Τα θέματα της ρητής - υπόρρητης μάθησης και του στοχασμού κατά την εκτέλεση μιας εξειδικευμένης εργασίας μάς οδηγούν στην επόμενη προσέγγιση, η οποία προηγείται χρονικά αυτής του Sennett και προέρχεται από το κοινό έργο των C. Argyris και D. Schön (1974, 1978, 1996), αλλά και από την ιδιαίτερη προσέγγιση του Schön (1983) για τον *στοχαζόμενο επαγγελματία* (reflective practitioner). Οι καινοτόμες αυτές συμβολές εστιάζονται στο *πώς μαθαίνει δρώντας* ο ειδικευμένος εργαζόμενος ενώ στοχεύει στην αντιμετώπιση κάποιου προβλήματος ή στη βελτίωση της ποιότητας και της αποτελεσματικότητας του επαγγελματικού έργου. Επομένως, οι προσεγγίσεις αυτές, εφόσον ερευνούν τον τρόπο που ενεργεί ο ειδικευμένος και έμπειρος επαγγελματίας, μπορούν να

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[6] Η ιδέα αυτή έχει πολλά κοινά στοιχεία με την προσέγγιση του Peter Jarvis (2006, 2009α) για τη *δυσαρμονία* ως αφετηρία της εμπειρίας ουσιαστικής μάθησης καθώς και με την προσέγγιση της διευρυνόμενης μάθησης του Yrjö Engeström που θεωρεί την *αντίφαση* ως κινητήρια δύναμη για την επέκταση της μαθησιακής διεργασίας (βλ. Engeström, 2009· Λιντζέρης, 2020β).

θεωρηθούν άμεσα σχετιζόμενες με το θέμα της ανάπτυξης, ωρίμανσης και μεταβολής των δεξιοτήτων.

Τα βασικά στοιχεία που χαρακτηρίζουν την προσέγγιση των Argyris και Schön είναι:

I. Η ιδέα ότι η (σύνθετη) εργασία του ειδικευμένου επαγγελματία πλοηγείται όχι τόσο από τις όποιες *ρητά διατυπωμένες* θεωρίες για την άσκηση της ειδικότητάς του, όσο από (προ)διαμορφωμένους νοητικούς χάρτες (mental maps) που καθορίζουν το πώς να υλοποιήσει (σχεδιάσει, ασκήσει και αξιολογήσει) την πρακτική και πώς να ενεργήσει σε συγκεκριμένες καταστάσεις. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, οι Argyris και Schön (1974) πρότειναν την ύπαρξη δύο ειδών *θεωριών δράσης* (theories of action), αυτών που είναι *υπονοούμενες* αναφορικά με την εργασία των επαγγελματιών και συνίστανται σε εμπειρικώς βιωμένα και πρακτικώς εφαρμοστέα νοητικά πλαίσια («αυτό που η έμπρακτη συμπεριφορά των ανθρώπων δείχνει ότι κάνουν, ενεργώντας κατά την εργασία τους») και αυτών που είναι *εκπεφρασμένες σε ρητές θεωρητικοποιήσεις* («αυτό στο οποίο οι άνθρωποι πιστεύουν και δηλώνουν ότι κάνουν κατά την εργασία τους»). Ονόμασαν τις πρώτες, *θεωρίες-σε-χρήση* (theories-in-use), ενώ τις δεύτερες *ενστερνισμένες θεωρίες* (espoused theories). Οι δύο αυτές θεωρίες δράσης μπορεί να ταυτίζονται, μπορεί και όχι. Στην περίπτωση που υπάρξει παρατηρήσιμη ασυμφωνία μεταξύ της θεωρίας-σε-χρήση και της ενστερνισμένης θεωρίας (δηλ. μεταξύ της αντίληψής μας για την εμπράγματη δράση μας και του θεωρητικού υποδείγματος που ενστερνιζόμαστε για τη συγκεκριμένη εργασία) τότε, με τη μεσολάβηση του στοχασμού, προσπαθούμε να αποσαφηνίσουμε τα υπονοούμενα στοιχεία της θεωρίας-σε-χρήση ώστε να άρουμε την ασυμφωνία (βλ. Παυλάκης, 2019).

II. Η ιδέα ότι η μάθηση -επομένως και η απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων- περιλαμβάνει την ανίχνευση και διόρθωση λαθών που συμβαίνουν κατά την άσκηση της εργασίας ως *ασυμβατότητες μεταξύ σκοπού και αποτελέσματος*. Εδώ εισάγονται οι έννοιες της *μάθησης απλού και διπλού βρόχου*. Η έννοια της *μάθησης διπλού βρόχου* (double-loop learning) (Argyris & Schön, 1978) συντελείται όταν κατά τη διαδικασία διόρθωσης λαθών δεν ακολουθούνται απλώς στρατηγικές δράσης (action strategies) στο πλαίσιο υφιστάμενων κανόνων και καθιερωμένων πρωτοκόλλων, όπως συμβαίνει στη μάθηση μονού βρόχου (single-loop learning), αλλά αμφισβητούνται κριτικά και μεταβάλλονται οι συνηθισμένες πρακτικές, ακόμη και οι ίδιες οι κανονιστικές μεταβλητές (governing variables) του προβλήματος, προκειμένου να αντιμετωπιστεί η σύνθετη προβληματική κατάσταση και να επιτευχθεί το ζητούμενο αποτέλεσμα. Η διεργασία αυτή προϋποθέτει άρση των πρότερων παραδοχών αναφορικά με το ποια είναι η βέλτιστη διαδικασία για να προσεγγίσουμε και να κατανοήσουμε τη φύση ενός προβλήματος. Με όρους ανάπτυξης δεξιοτήτων, η μάθηση απλού βρόχου εμπεδώνει τη χρήση των δεδομένων γνωστικών πόρων μέσα στα όρια των καθορισμένων κανονιστικών πλαισίων, ενώ η μάθηση διπλού βρόχου, προκειμένου να αντιμετωπίσει δυσλειτουργίες, ενεργοποιεί πρόσθετο μαθησιακό δυναμικό, αναπτύσσει νέες γνώσεις και δεξιότητες, και χρησιμοποιεί την κριτική αξιολόγηση της κατάστασης ώστε να αναπλαισιώσει την όλη λογική της εργασίας, από τη στοχοθεσία και τις στρατηγικές δράσεις μέχρι το αποτέλεσμα και τις συνέπειες αυτού. Η μάθηση διπλού βρόχου είναι κατά τον Argyris κρίσιμη και αποτελεσματική για τους οργανισμούς και τα άτομα ιδίως όταν βρίσκονται σε διαδικασίες γρήγορης αλλαγής και σε καταστάσεις αβεβαιότητας (Σταυρακοπούλου, 2005: 49).

Σε συνέχεια των κοινών τους παρεμβάσεων, ο Schön (1983), όπως σημειώνει η Καλαϊτζοπούλου (2001), μελέτησε τη *δεξιοτεχνία* που διακρίνει ορισμένες εργασιακές πρακτικές και την επαγγελματική γνώση η οποία συνδέεται με αυτή τη δεξιοτεχνία. Αυτό που

χαρακτηρίζει συχνά την επαγγελματική γνώση όταν προσκρούει σε ασυνήθιστες καταστάσεις ή όταν μεταβάλλεται ένας θεμελιώδης σκοπός του επαγγελματικού έργου είναι ο *στοχασμός κατά τη δράση* (reflection in action) (Μέγα, 2007). Σε τέτοιες περιπτώσεις, οι άνθρωποι αφενός στηρίζονται στην εμπειρία τους με ένα καθαρά διαισθητικό τρόπο, αφετέρου αντιδρούν είτε παρακάμπτοντας το πρόβλημα (εάν μπορούν), είτε σκεπτόμενοι κριτικά πάνω στην πρακτική τους. Η διεργασία του στοχασμού επί της πρακτικής αίρει κατά κάποιον τρόπο τη διάκριση μεταξύ θεωρίας (θεμελιώδους έρευνας για τη φύση των καταστάσεων) και επαγγελματικής πρακτικής, επομένως δύναται να επεκτείνει και να εμβαθύνει συγκεκριμένες δεξιότητες του ατόμου και γενικότερα τις ικανότητες αποτελεσματικής εργασίας. Ο στοχασμός μπορεί να λάβει χώρα *μετά την ολοκλήρωση* μιας δράσης ή *κατά τη διεξαγωγή* της. Πρόκειται για μια ενέργεια καταρχάς *διανοητική* (*σκέψεις γύρω από μια κατάσταση, «εσωτερικός» διάλογος με το αντικείμενο του προβληματισμού*), *συνειδητή* (ενσυνείδητα το υποκείμενο–άνθρωπος σκέφτεται το αντικείμενο–κατάσταση) και *κριτική* (εξετάζονται κριτικά και αμφισβητούνται οι προφανείς και παρωχημένες ερμηνείες του φαινομένου) και έτσι οδηγεί σε *ανατροφοδότηση της δράσης* (νέες δοκιμές, πειραματισμός και επανεκτίμηση της κατάστασης) (βλ. επίσης Κόκκος, 2017)

6. Σχόλια και επισημάνσεις για τη μάθηση μέσω της εργασιακής πρακτικής

Οι προσεγγίσεις των Sennett και Schön συνδέονται άμεσα με το φιλοσοφικό ρεύμα του *πραγματισμού*, και ως τέτοιες συνηχούν με τις ιδέες του Dewey αναφορικά με τη σχέση μεταξύ επίλυσης και εύρεσης προβλημάτων, τον σημαντικό ρόλο της εμπειρίας, τη σημασία της εστίασης στο πρόβλημα και τον πειραματισμό (Ντιούι [Dewey], 2016˙ Καραλής & Ράϊκου, 2019).

Οι τρεις προσεγγίσεις που παρουσιάστηκαν, των Dreyfus & Dreyfus, Sennet και Argyris & Schön εξετάζουν τη διεργασία μάθησης και απόκτησης επαγγελματικών δεξιοτήτων διά της μετάβασης από την «απλή» στη «σύνθετη» εργασία και κατά τη φάση επίλυσης προβλημάτων ή αντιμετώπισης πολύπλοκων εργασιακών καταστάσεων. Στις περιπτώσεις αυτές, η φύση των εργασιακών καθηκόντων εμφανίζεται ως μια κλίμακα αύξουσας πολυπλοκότητας ή/και ως διαδικασία διαχείρισης και αντιμετώπισης δυσλειτουργιών, η οποία επιδιώκει (και έτσι δημιουργεί τις προϋποθέσεις για) την ανάπτυξη δεξιοτήτων, δηλαδή τη γνωστική επέκταση και εξειδίκευση.

Από μια διαφορετική αφετηρία, ο Peter Jarvis (2009a: 100) επικυρώνει τη σημασία της πράξης για την επίτευξη *αληθινής γνώσης εκ μέρους του μανθάνοντα*, σημειώνοντας ότι η μεταφορά δεδομένων και πληροφοριών που μπορεί να αποτελέσει αντικείμενο εκπαίδευσης ή επαγγελματικής κατάρτισης δεν συνιστά (πραγματική) γνώση και σοφία (knowledge and wisdom). Για να συντελεστεί η γνώση σε προσωπικό επίπεδο, για να γίνει *γνώση για μένα,* πρέπει να μεσολαβήσει μια διεργασία *υποκειμενικής πρόσληψης περιεχομένων* που συντελείται κυρίως με την *πράξη* (by doing) και όχι με τη σκέψη. Αυτό δεν έπαψε ποτέ να ισχύει, ακόμη και στις σύγχρονες κοινωνίες με τα εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα που δίνουν έμφαση στη γνωστική διάσταση της μάθησης. Εξάλλου, στις μέρες μας, δεν έχουν όλες οι γνώσεις την ίδια «αξία». Οι γνώσεις και δεξιότητες που σήμερα κατά κανόνα θεωρούνται «χρήσιμες», άρα και αναπτύσσονται με προνομιακό τρόπο από την εκπαίδευση και την κατάρτιση, είναι οι επιστημονικές και τεχνικές γνώσεις που κρίνονται απαραίτητες για την αποτελεσματική προσαρμογή των ατόμων στον κόσμο της «οικονομίας της αγοράς». Πρόκειται για τις δεξιότητες που άμεσα (ειδικές τεχνικές επαγγελματικές δεξιότητες) ή έμμεσα (εγκάρσιες, κοινωνικο-συναισθηματικές δεξιότητες) σχετίζονται με την εργασιακή και οικονομική απόδοση των ατόμων, και οι οποίες επιδιώκεται τόσο να εμποτίζουν τον τρόπο σκέψης (πεποιθήσεις, αξίες, αντιλήψεις και συμβατικές επαγγελματικές γνώσεις), όσο και να μπορούν να εφαρμόζονται αποδοτικά στην πράξη.

Η ωφελιμιστική διάσταση της επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης και η έμφαση στο πρακτικό μέρος της γνώσης που συνδέεται με την εργασία έχει επιφέρει την αύξηση των διαφόρων μορφών της *βασισμένης στην εργασία μάθησης* όπως η μαθητεία και η πρακτική άσκηση. «Η πρακτική γνώση έχει γίνει η κυρίαρχη μορφή γνώσης στους χώρους εργασίας και αποτελεί κάτι που το άτομο πρέπει κυρίως να μάθει παρά να διδαχθεί» (Jarvis, 2009a: 102).

Βάσει αυτών προκύπτουν δύο σημαντικές για την απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων διακρίσεις: (α) η διάκριση μεταξύ του «*μαθαίνω ότι*» (knowing that) και του «*μαθαίνω πώς*» (knowing how) και (β) η διάκριση του «*μαθαίνω πώς*» (knowing how) και του «*είμαι σε θέση να*» (being able to). Η διαφορά μεταξύ των τριών θέσεων που ορίζουν οι δυο διακρίσεις είναι εμφανής και συνεπάγεται ότι ακόμη και εάν κάποιος μπορεί να αποκτήσει μέρος της «*γνώσης του ότι*» και της «*γνώσης του πώς*» μέσω της εκπαίδευσης, δεν μπορεί να υλοποιήσει ολοκληρωμένα ένα επαγγελματικό έργο χωρίς πρακτική εμπειρία. Στη βάση αυτών των διακρίσεων, τονίζει ο Jarvis (2004: 315), πρέπει να αναρωτηθούμε «*ποια είναι η σχέση ανάμεσα στην πραγματική εκτέλεση της πράξης και στη γνώση που υπάρχει στον νου*». Το εύλογο αυτού του ερωτήματος προκύπτει ακόμη και από την κοινή εμπειρία η οποία υποδεικνύει, για παράδειγμα, ότι το να ξέρει κάποιος να κάνει ποδήλατο δεν συνεπάγεται ότι μπορεί να διατυπώσει τους νόμους των φυσικών δυνάμεων που τον κρατούν σε θέση ισορροπίας, ούτε -αντιθέτως- το γεγονός πως κάποιος γνωρίζει αυτούς τους νόμους συνεπάγεται ότι μπορεί να κάνει ποδήλατο. Η διάκριση που ορίζει η διατύπωση του ερωτήματος μοιάζει, από μια άποψη, με τον διαχωρισμό ανάμεσα σε *θεωρίες-σε-χρήση* (theories-in-use) και *ενστερνισμένες θεωρίες* (espoused theories) των Argyris και Schön.

Η πρακτική γνώση από τη φύση της προϋποθέτει την *εξοικείωση*, μέσω επαναλαμβανόμενων δοκιμών, με ένα ρεπερτόριο πρακτικών ενεργειών που εντυπώνεται στη μνήμη, αναπτύσσει ειδικές σωματικές δεξιότητες (εάν χρειάζεται) και σταδιακά παρέχει την ικανότητα και την αυτοπεποίθηση της ορθής εκτέλεσης του έργου. Με τον τρόπο αυτό, όπως έδειξε ο Σέννετ [Sennett] (2011), η πρακτική μετατρέπεται σε υπόρρητη γνώση (tacit knowledge) και ο εργαζόμενος ενεργεί «αυτόματα», χωρίς να σκέφτεται ή να προσχεδιάζει την κάθε ενέργεια, μέχρι ένα νέο πρόβλημα να προκαλέσει εμπρόθετη νοητική ενέργεια (σκέψη, στοχασμό) για την επίλυσή του. Αυτός ο συνδυασμός πρακτικής γνώσης μέσω της εμπειρίας και εμπρόθετης σκέψης για την ενεργοποίηση της ευρετικής διεργασίας επίλυσης προβλημάτων χαρακτηρίζει τον «ειδικό». Κατά συνέπεια, δεν μπορεί να υπάρχει πλήρης απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων χωρίς την πρακτική γνώση μέσω της εμπειρίας και δεν μπορεί η κατοχή των δεξιοτήτων να είναι ολοκληρωμένη χωρίς την ικανότητα αξιοποίησης της θεωρητικής γνώσης.

7. Μια διαφορετική οπτική για τη φύση της εμπειρικής μάθησης

Η προαναφερόμενη συλλογιστική θα μπορούσε ίσως να ωφεληθεί από μια σύντομη συμπληρωματική αναφορά στον επιστημονικό διάλογο για το θέμα της «απόκτησης γνώσης από την εμπειρία» προερχόμενη από διαφορετική αφετηρία. Αναφορικά με την ιδέα περί του σημαντικού ρόλου της εμπειρίας στη μάθηση και ειδικά στην απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων, παρότι κανένας θεωρητικός της μάθησης δεν διατυπώνει, επί της αρχής, αντίθετη άποψη, ορισμένοι σημαντικοί ερευνητές (βλ. Young, 2015· Wheelahan, 2015) επισημαίνουν τον κίνδυνο, ο υπερτονισμός, ή ακόμη περισσότερο η αποκλειστική επικέντρωση στη σημασία της εμπειρίας, να οδηγήσει στην παραμέληση της αξίας της «θεωρητικής» -με την έννοια της *βασισμένης στην τρέχουσα επιστημονική θεμελίωση- γνώσης*. Σύμφωνα με τον Young (2015), η μάθηση δεν είναι ένα γενικό (generic) φαινόμενο αλλά πάντα συνδέεται με το *τι είναι αυτό που κάποιος μαθαίνει και πώς το μαθαίνει μέσα σε διαφορετικά πλαίσια*. Από την άποψη αυτή η μάθηση είναι πρωτίστως μία *επιστημική δραστηριότητα «οικοδόμησης γνώσης»*. Η μάθηση δεν είναι αποτέλεσμα μεταφοράς γνώσεων από τον «κάτοχο» (εκπαιδευτής) στον «μη κάτοχο» (εκπαιδευόμενος) (βλ. Freire, 1977), αλλά η *ανασυγκρότηση της γνώσης από τον ίδιο τον εκπαιδευόμενο*. Πώς συντελείται αυτή η «οικοδόμηση γνώσης»; Αποτελεί η

εμπειρία μια μορφή γνώσης; Φυσικά αποτελεί! Ιδίως δε η εργασία, σε όλες τις κοινωνίες, περιέχει μεγάλο φορτίο εμπειρικής μάθησης. Εντούτοις, η *μάθηση από την εμπειρία* είναι ταυτοχρόνως *αναγκαία* και *περιορισμένη*. Η μεγάλη ιστορική αλλαγή που οδήγησε στη ραγδαία συσσώρευση γνώσης, όπως τονίζει ο Young (2015), συντελέστηκε όταν κάποια είδη εργασίας άρχισαν να απαιτούν γνώσεις (άρα και διαδικασίες μάθησης) που δεν μπορούσαν να βασιστούν *μόνο* στην εμπειρία. Οι περιορισμοί της μάθησης από την εμπειρία οδήγησαν, μεταξύ άλλων παραγόντων, στην ίδρυση εξειδικευμένων θεσμών συστηματικής παροχής εκπαίδευσης, όπως τα σχολεία. Σε τι συνίσταται, όμως, ο περιορισμένος ορίζοντας της εμπειρικής μάθησης;

- Η μάθηση από την εμπειρία είναι πάντοτε εξαρτημένη από το πλαίσιο (context-dependent) μέσα στο οποίο εφαρμόζεται, κάτι που σημαίνει ότι κατά κανόνα δεν μπορεί η εφαρμογή της να γενικευτεί και να μεταφερθεί εκτός του πλαισίου απόκτησης. Άρα, έχει συχνά περιορισμένη γενικευσιμότητα.

- Η εμπειρία, από μόνη της, σπάνια παρέχει στους μανθάνοντες τη δυνατότητα γνώσης των εννοιών, των αρχών και των κανόνων με τη χρήση των οποίων θα μπορούσαν να υπερβούν (να πάνε «πέρα από») την εμπειρία και να γίνουν ικανοί να αναπτύξουν εναλλακτικές θεωρήσεις.

- Η εμπειρική μάθηση είναι αυθόρμητη από την άποψη ότι αντιλαμβάνεται τον κόσμο με τους όρους του καθημερινού πρακτικο-βιωματικού λόγου (Κουζέλης, 2005) και όχι με βάση τα δεδομένα της επιστημονικής γνώσης. Η μάθηση στον χώρο εργασίας βασίζεται στη *μίμηση* και την επαναλαμβανόμενη συμμετοχή σε εδραιωμένες πρακτικές χωρίς άμεση προσφυγή στο γνωστικό και επιστημονικό πλαίσιο που προϋποτίθεται της πρακτικής. Άρα, αυτό που μαθαίνει κάποιος είναι να εφαρμόζει μια αλληλουχία κινήσεων ή καταστάσεων (διαδικαστική γνώση) χωρίς να γνωρίζει σε βάθος τη λογική που τις διέπει. Έτσι, δεν διαμορφώνεται επαρκώς το νοητικό υπόβαθρο βαθύτερης και ευρύτερης κατανόησης ενός αντικειμένου, στοιχείο που σε συνδυασμό με την εμπειρία θα μπορούσε να οδηγήσει σε αυξημένη ικανότητα προσαρμογής σε μελλοντικές, μεταβαλλόμενες και άγνωστες σήμερα συνθήκες εφαρμογής (Λιντζέρης, 2020α: 25).

Από την άλλη μεριά, χωρίς τη γνώση των δεδομένων της επιστήμης μπορεί ευκολότερα το άτομο που μαθαίνει να «εξαπατηθεί» από τις «επιφανειακές» εντυπώσεις της εμπειρίας η οποία είναι εκτεθειμένη σε λάθη και υποκειμενικές συνήθειες. Αντιθέτως, όπως σημειώνει η Wheelahan (2015), η θεωρητική (επιστημονική) γνώση είναι *ισχυρή γνώση* διότι προσφέρει επιστημολογική πρόσβαση στα αντικείμενα που διερευνούμε, ακόμη και παρά το γεγονός ότι η ισχύουσα κάθε εποχή επιστημονική γνώση αποτελεί διαρκώς αντικείμενο ελέγχου προς επιβεβαίωση ή διάψευση και διόρθωση από νέα επιστημονικά δεδομένα.

Κατά την άποψη του Young (2015) οι σύγχρονες εκπαιδευτικές πολιτικές, με την πολύ συχνά άκριτη έμφασή τους στις δεξιότητες και ιδίως στη σημασία της απόκτησής τους μέσω της πρακτικής εμπειρίας, φαίνεται να αντιλαμβάνονται τη γνώση κυρίως ως *γεγονότα* και όχι ως *έννοιες*. Η υπερβολική επικέντρωση στην «εξαρτημένη από το πλαίσιο» μάθηση, όπως είναι η πρακτική επαγγελματική εμπειρία, λησμονεί ότι τα *γεγονότα* (της εμπειρίας) μεταβάλλονται πιο γρήγορα (έχουν πολύ μικρότερη σταθερότητα και εξηγητική δυνατότητα) από τις (επιστημονικές) *έννοιες* και παραγνωρίζει την αξία της «ανεξάρτητης από το πλαίσιο» μάθησης, όπως η οργανωμένη εκπαίδευση που βασίζεται σε έλλογα και σκόπιμα σχεδιασμένο εκπαιδευτικό πρόγραμμα.

7. Επίλογος

Θεωρώντας ως βασική προϋπόθεση κάθε ουσιαστικής και αποτελεσματικής μάθησης κατά την ενήλικη ζωή την επαρκή απόκτηση των θεμελιωδών γνώσεων και δεξιοτήτων κατά τη

βρεφική, παιδική, εφηβική και νεαρή ηλικία θέσαμε το ερώτημα του πώς αποκτά ο ενήλικος εργαζόμενος επαγγελματικές δεξιότητες στο πλαίσιο της εργασιακής εμπειρίας.

Δεδομένου ότι το συντριπτικά μεγαλύτερο μέρος της απόκτησης προσωπικών, κοινωνικών και επαγγελματικών γνώσεων και δεξιοτήτων κατά την ενήλικη ζωή συντελείται έξω από πλαίσια οργανωμένης εκπαίδευσης και κατάρτισης, διαπιστώνουμε ότι ο χώρος εργασίας συνιστά, από την ίδια του την υπόσταση και λειτουργία, αλλά και από το γεγονός ότι απορροφά το μεγαλύτερο χρονικά τμήμα της καθημερινής ανθρώπινης δραστηριότητας, ένα πεδίο ανθρώπινης αλληλεπίδρασης, μια πηγή εμπειριών που επηρεάζουν μεταμορφωτικά το σώμα των γνώσεων, δεξιοτήτων, ικανοτήτων και ταλέντων που κάθε άτομο διαθέτει και ενεργοποιεί κατά την άσκηση της εργασίας.

Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο η επίδραση της διαχρονικής εργασιακής εμπειρίας εξετάστηκε ως μια μετάβαση από την «απλή» στη «σύνθετη» εργασία, ως μια τροχιά «ανόδου» από το επίπεδο του νεοεισερχόμενου, του άπειρου, του αρχάριου προς το επίπεδο του έμπειρου, του εξειδικευμένου και του ολοκληρωμένου ειδικού, χωρίς να παραγνωρίζεται το γεγονός ότι η πορεία αυτή δεν είναι εκ των προτέρων διασφαλισμένη, περιέχει πολλά εμπόδια και αντικίνητρα μάθησης και εξέλιξης και φυσικά δεν ολοκληρώνεται επιτυχώς για όλους τους εργαζόμενους. Επίσης, δεν αποτελεί τόσο μια «ατομική διαδρομή», όσο μια διαλεκτική, αμφίδρομη και πολύπλοκη συσχέτιση του ατόμου με άλλα άτομα, με τα μέσα εργασίας και το περιβάλλον (πλαίσιο, θεσμοί, συνθήκες, χώρος και χρόνος).

Επίσης, η απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων δια της εργασιακής εμπειρίας εξετάστηκε ως μια ακολουθία *σιωπηρής - ρητής* γνώσης με βάση την αντίστοιχη ακολουθία *συνήθους επαγγελματικής πρακτικής - μη συνήθους επαγγελματικής πρακτικής* (όπου προκύπτει ανάγκη επίλυσης προβλήματος), αλλά και ως μια διαρκή συσχέτιση μεταξύ *θεωριών-σε-χρήση* και *ενστερνισμένων θεωριών*.

Η επίτευξη του συνδυασμού πρακτικής γνώσης από την εμπειρία με την ικανότητα κινητοποίησης της θεωρητικής γνώσης και σκέψης για την επίλυση των προβλημάτων της εργασιακής πρακτικής φαίνεται να είναι το μέτρο της επάρκειας και ολοκλήρωσης του ειδικού. Αντιθέτως, η διάρρηξη της ισορροπίας ανάμεσα στη θεωρητική (επιστημονική) γνώση και την πρακτική εμπειρία μπορεί να επιφέρει ελλειπτικές ή προβληματικές μαθησιακές εμπειρίες και υποβάθμιση της ποιότητας του επαγγελματικού έργου.

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Social interconnection as a factor of the effectiveness of Second Chance Schools. A case study from a Detention Center in Greece

Amalia Stoumpou[a], Natassa Raikou[b]

[a] Hellenic Open University, amalia.stoumpou@gmail.com

[b] University of Patras & Hellenic Open University, araikou@upatras.gr

Abstract

This paper refers to the importance of social interconnection between a Second Chance School (S.C.S.) in a detention center and the local community. The research was based on the qualitative approach and on the tool of the semi-structured interview for the collection of research data. Six trainers, eight trainees and the Director of the 2nd S.C.S. of Patras, were the sample of the research, while the technique of content analysis was chosen for the analysis of the data. The results of the survey show that there is a positive effect of the school's openness in achieving its educational objectives. In particular, social interconnection actions contribute to personal development, professional and educational vigilance, the acquisition of social skills, the change of attitudes and, to a lesser extent, to post-internment re-socialization. In addition, in order to improve the effectiveness of these actions, it is proposed that they are organized on a more stable and regular basis, as well as to focus mainly on vocational guidance.

Keywords: prison education, social interconnection actions, school-society relationship, Second Chance Schools in prisons

1. Introduction

The central role of social interconnection of S.C.S.s is increasingly being discussed nowadays due to its great importance. The statutory goal of S.C.S.s is the development of students' personal and social competences, as well as improving their employment opportunities (Article I.2, Presidential Decree No. 2373/2003). This issue acquires special importance in S.C.S.s in detention centers taking into account that prison education is considered as one of the means that promote re-socialization during confinement, while increasing the possibility for social and professional reintegration after release.

In order to examine the significance of social interconnection between S.C.S.s in detention centers and the local community, this article provides a conceptual clarification and, additionally, an overview of theoretical approaches related to this subject, while using a research example in order to draw conclusions on this subject.

In particular, this paper initially situates the concept of social interconnection of schools within a wider concept. Especially, it stands on social interconnection of S.C.S.s, as well as the connection with local community through educational programs in detention centers and also considers the conditions for effective education for prisoners. Following these introductory sections, a case study of the 2nd S.C.S. of Patras is presented. The purpose and the methodology of the study are described, followed by an analysis of the findings from interviews. Drawing on these results, it concludes with a summary of findings and a discussion

of possible implications in conjunction with theoretical approaches and the relevant literature review.

1.1 Key terms and theoretical framework

Since the inmates are in an environment that by its nature does not offer opportunities and further options, school staff is actively engaged in developing networks of partnerships with local community. To better understand social interconnection of S.C.S.s in detention centers and what fosters their development, it is crucial to study the forms of community partnerships chosen (such as visits by community members, agencies, organizations), but also their impact on the effectiveness of the school unit.

In the present study, social interconnection is defined as any meaningful cooperation with community bodies, that focuses on students, and supports the cognitive, social, emotional, and intellectual well-being of them, directly or indirectly (Willems & Gonzalez-DeHass, 2012). This connection incorporates partnerships with educational and research bodies, businesses, NGOs, health care organizations, cultural and entertainment bodies, volunteer groups or individuals that promote development and social well-being. Specific examples of such actions include (but are not limited to) recreational activities related to the school, visits in the context of projects, scientific workshops, experiential actions, speeches and presentations during school festivities and voluntary actions undertaken by the school.

The theoretical focus on the issue of social interconnection between S. C. S.s in detention centers and the local community, is still in the early stages of development. Most of the research that has been done in our country and abroad, mainly investigates the social interconnection of schools in general without focusing on S.C.S.s and especially those schools that are located inside a detention center. Consequently, even the issue of effectiveness of these actions has not so far produced significant research, with researchers generally highlighting the key components for the more effective organization of educational programs in detention centers.

1.1.1. Principles of effective prison education

In order to be effective, prison educational programs require special attention to be given to their planning, implementation and evaluation of their operation. Existing literature on the effectiveness of prison educational programs does not provide information on program characteristics—such as curricula, dosage, and staffing—that is necessary to determine best practices (MacKenzie, 2008).

Dimitrouli & Rigoutsou (2017), claim that on the basis of the characteristics of the trainees in prison, the conditions prevailing and what education for prisoners symbolizes, prison education can be effectively organized, if the educational program is well structured and arranged, educational goals are clear and linked to the needs of prisoners, and highlights the special qualifications required by trainers.

Similarly, MacKenzie (2008), referring to correctional training in general and not specific to education, emphasizes additional efficacy parameters such as the qualifications and the training of the staff involved, the importance of program dosage and the appropriate staff-to-student ratios. She concludes that the most effective programs emphasize individual rehabilitation through skills building, cognitive development, and behavioral change. These program models should be based on a clear theoretical framework, as well as the program elements and methods should be grounded in research.

Other researchers, such as Cullen and Gendreau (2000), underline factors that focus mainly on the benefits learners receive after release. In their outline of effective educational program design, they note, in addition to the above, the importance of acquiring skills that enhance employability, as well as monitoring and evaluating the educational process and its results. They consider that without careful planning, implementation and evaluation, it is impossible to know whether and how the programs are effective in order to maintain or improve its effectiveness.

1.2.1. Social interconnection of S.C.S.s

In our country, the primary direction of the openness of S.C.S.s is highlighted in the statutory framework for their organization and operation: "S.C.S.s collaborate and seek to collaborate with all relevant social bodies, both to raise awareness of the social groups to which the school program is addressed, and to implement the curriculum" (Article 3, Presidential Decree No. 2373/2003, issue of Greek Government Gazette [FEK] Β΄ 1003/22-7-2003). The same provision is also found in Article 3 of Presidential Decree No. 260/2008 on the organization and operation of S.C.S.s (issue of Greek Government Gazette [FEK] Β΄ 34/16-1-2008). In addition, it is pointed out in Article 9 that the creation of cooperation networks between local authorities and social bodies to support the operation of schools is necessary in order to achieve the objective of S.C.S.s.

Vergidou (2016), in her survey, emphasizes that in the majority of S.C.S.s significant educational actions were carried out. Especially in schools operating in detention centers, the Directors developed collaborations with institutions such as high schools, universities, colleges and partnerships with various institutions such as the Eugenides Foundation etc. Antoniadou (2014) outlines that trainers and trainees are involved in programs that favor the opening of their school to society, bringing the trainers in contact with activities that allow the school to collaborate with organizations outside its boundaries.

In line with the above the results of the research of Anagnou and Vergidis (2008) suggest that at the initiative of the Directors, the S.C.S.s develop multi-faceted cooperation with local community bodies. However, according to the same researchers, the development of a network of cooperation with the local community, dictated by the institutional framework mentioned above, manifests itself unilaterally, having as a starting point the S.C.S.s. Interconnection initiatives come mainly from the Directors of the S.C.S.s and are being implemented either to a greater or lesser extent, bearing witness to the lack of a wider plan on the part of the local community, which would combine appropriate educational, cultural, productive and political activities.

1.2.2 Social interconnection with local community through educational programs in detection centers

The active role of local society is considered to be decisive in education. It is generally accepted that this interconnection is particularly useful and necessary, since it aims to fulfill multiple needs of prisoners such as employment, education, physical and mental health, family reconnection and social reintegration in general.

Improving and, therefore, expanding educational programs is a policy issue that requires strategic planning and is built through the formation of partnerships with a variety of bodies (Lawrence et al., 2002). Various partners, with different orientation, related to employment, education, health, culture and social welfare, businesses, NGOs, etc., can agree on a common goal, that of addressing the needs of prisoners, offering them motivation through designed

educational actions. Literature can identify types of programs that provide full coverage of the needs of prisoners (such as S.C.S.s), as well as programs designed solely to serve some specific needs of prisoners such as education, employment, counseling, etc. (Presidential Decree No. 2357, issue of Greek Government Gazette [FEK] B' 327/8.2.2019).

In our country, the first, as well as the sole, official agency providing ex-prisoners with "after-care" services to be established in Greece is «EPANODOS», a non-profit legal entity of private law supervised by the Greek Ministry for Citizen Protection. According to its founding act (Presidential Decree No. 300/2003), it aims at prisoners and ex-prisoners vocational support, as well as at the preparation and promotion of their social reintegration in a broad sense.

Furthermore, given that the content of education includes sporting and cultural activities, the Strategic Plan for the Penitentiary System in our country, points out as a key action of the 4th strategic goal, cultural activities, in cooperation with local cultural institutions. For example, collaborations have been developed with the National Theater for the creation of a theater group, with the National Opera for the implementation of educational programs of music and dance, as well as with the Ministry of Culture for the construction of a permanent museum exhibition. Apart from the cultural axis, sports programs in cooperation with the General Secretariat of Sports are already being implemented and are expected to expand to more detection centers.

In addition to the practices mentioned above, researchers such as Tsilikis and Gakou (2018) propose the design of a coherent reintegration framework, which utilizes existing programs and tools, and combines collaborative entrepreneurship, with social and employment reactivation of prisoners. In this direction, the interconnection of prison and local society is established, as the prisoners prepare themselves to take on roles other than those required by the incarcerated environment.

In conclusion, it is obvious that social reintegration is a question of "collective effectiveness" of the community that welcomes people released from prison (Visher & Travis, 2003). They need – in addition to their personal effort – facilitation and supporting by local community towards their effort. Preparation for this purpose is clearly starting from the incarcerated life and the S.C.S., which can play a primary role in the implementation of that objective.

2. Method

The purpose of this survey is to explore the views of trainers, trainees and the Director of the 2nd S.C.S. of Patras within the detention center of Agios Stefanos, on the effectiveness of social interconnection with local community. More specifically, it is a case study, that analyzes how the interconnection between school and society satisfies the pedagogical, educational and social role of the school and the corresponding needs of the trainers.

In terms of the methodology used, the qualitative approach was chosen, which allows a detailed and in-depth approximation of the subject. Quality researchers focus on processes and results, as they seek to build a holistic and comprehensive picture of a subject, conducting the study in its physical context (Creswell, 2011). Additionally, as Creswell argues (2011, p.17), qualitative research is best suited to addressing an issue for which the available literature provides little information and needs participants' views to be demonstrated through investigation.

Through semi-structured interviews with trainees, trainers and the school Director, attempts are made to highlight the views of all participants of the school unit regarding the issue. The

semi-structured interview is a form of interview that moves between a strictly structured interview and a free discussion. It allows to modify the content and the order of the questions depending on the respondent, as well as further penetration on some issues with participants that are considered well-qualified (Isari & Pourkos, 2015).

The sample of this survey consists of six (6) trainers (of which 3 are school trainers in the year 2019-2020, while the remaining three worked in the school year 2018-2019), eight (8) trainees (7 in the school year 2019-2022 and 1 in the school year 2018-2019) and the Director of the school in the school year 2019-2020. This is a set, which constitutes a sample of convenience for the present investigation, which almost certainly does not represent the trainees, trainers and directors of the S.C.S.s in detection centers in their entirety. However, this research is a first approach to the issue in our country, which, in no way, aims to generalize the results. Therefore, the data resulting from the selection of a convenience sample can provide the basis for further research or allow for correlations with already existing findings in the field (Bryman, 2017).

In order to derive meaning from the data collected from the semi-structured interviews and answer the research questions, content analysis was used. It is a method of systematic evidence study that focuses mainly on the expressed ideas and the obvious content of texts and less on their expression. Belerson (as cited in Bryman, 2017) argues that, content analysis is a research technique for objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

3. Findings

The results of the survey highlighted information and the participants' views on the social interconnection actions implemented in the specific S.C.S. In particular, with regard to the social interconnection actions offered in the 2nd S.C.S., the following categories emerged after the analysis of the data according to the thematic area of interest:

1. Education and research bodies
2. Cultural and entertainment bodies
3. Health, safety and social reintegration bodies
4. Employment agencies and professionals
5. Volunteering and environment
6. Individuals

The findings of the survey show that the initiative of their organization is collectively taken by the Director and the school's trainers in cooperation with the Social Service of the detention centre, in order to issue the necessary permits, as characteristically stated by the School Director in the following passage, while it is also noted that the degree of initiatives that each school can take vary, depending on its management and the teachers' association:

"Social interconnection actions are organized other times collectively by the Director, who is responsible for the pedagogical course of the school unit, and the Teachers' Association, and other times by the trainers, with prior information from the Director and the Association, and are included in the subject they teach." (Director)

As regards views on the forms of social interconnection already implemented and considered effective, cultural actions are distinguished. A common perception, mentioned by four of the six trainers, the Director and three of the eight trainees, is that they distinguish actions that

their thematic area focuses on culture. The content of this type of actions included dance, music, constructions (digits, ceramics, etc.), cinema. During their implementation, as mentioned, they had the opportunity to work creatively - forgetting for a while the plight of internment, to be entertained, to participate actively and to develop new skills or to cultivate what they already know. It should also be noted that two of the trainers' report actions in the context of cultural activities but emphasize that through them the trainees had the opportunity to give their impression to the outside society, which enabled their re-socialization and extroversion.

The Director considers that of the actions already offered to the school, particularly effective are those that offer some certification of the knowledge they provide, which can be used as a qualification both during their confinement and after their release. He characteristically states:

"The actions that have the greatest impact and acceptance on our students are those from which they will be granted some certification, which may be useful to them when serving their sentence or after their release."

This view is not expressed by the trainers but is in line with what four of the eight trainees have said, who distinguish actions that focus on health and safety issues. The trainees consider that by participating in actions of this type, such as those organized with the participation of the Red Cross (which offered certification) and the Fire Brigade, they contributed to developing skills, gaining knowledge, expanding their skills and being able to offer assistance, which will have an impact both within the detention centre and in the "outside" society.

Interestingly, none of the trainees mentioned actions in which they participated and focus on vocational guidance. Two of the six trainers and the school Principal stand out in such actions. As they point out, they are suitable for the creative use of their time, but mainly for the cultivation and development of skills that will be useful after their release, in order to maintain their contact with the needs of the labour market.

Regarding the benefits of social interconnection actions, the findings of the research show that through those actions the teaching of cognitive subjects is complemented, new knowledge is acquired in various subjects and especially in those of particular concern to learners such as culture, health, professions. In addition, experienced scientists contribute to updating the knowledge already acquired before internment, especially in scientific and professional matters.

With regard to the skills acquired through practical openness and participation in it, the respondents gave weight to the development and cultivation of skills already acquired, to the discovery of new aptitudes and areas of interest, but above all to the acquisition of social skills. As regards the latter, both trainees and trainers stress the development of cooperation, organizing, targeting, decision-making and social intelligence capacities within the framework of action plans and activities involving local community bodies.

Nevertheless, the most important benefits of the social interconnection of S.C.S.s are found in the part of the attitudes cultivated. It should be noted that the actions support the re-socialization of prisoners attending school, because within them, they come into contact with people who socialize with them equally. It is estimated that learners derive psychological benefits from participating in enjoyable activities, thus becoming more communicative and extroverted. They are easier to open up to those around them, creating relationships of trust. They also acquire a collective consciousness and function as a group. Trainees also detect

changes at the individual level, drawing on self-confidence and self-esteem through actions. They reflect, remove stereotypes and accept school more as a social institution.

As regards the benefits to the relationships developed between the trainees and trainers engaged in actions involving social interconnection, these are visible on both sides. Both consider that the relations between them are tightened and become more equal, thus developing confidence and creating a pleasant and creative climate. The impact of the actions on the relationships between the trainees is also visible. This lies in principle with the better acquaintance of each other but above all in the possibility of cooperation and the creation of groups that promote, on the one hand, the exchange of knowledge and experience and, on the other hand, the motivation and encouragement of each other in the creative process.

Focusing on the potential benefits of post-release actions, the research findings show that it is difficult to know precisely how and to what extent the benefits of education in a Detention Centre affect the long-term, often, life outcomes of prisoners after confinement. This difficulty is even more evident in this study, which attempts to approach more specialized research fields. As research progresses in educational structures within detention centers, more safe conclusions are likely to be drawn linking the openness of education to a better life after incarceration.

On proposals to enhance the effectiveness of actions, all participants refer to issues relating to improving the organizing of actions. Joint proposals that can contribute to improving the effectiveness of actions are relevant to the duration, number of meetings and role of logistics. Trainers and trainees are also proposing a stable network of partnerships with the local community, with trainers pointing out in particular that this could operate within an established framework, so that social interconnection initiatives come from the institutions themselves and are not entirely dependent on the Director and the school's teaching staff.

Another common assessment to improve the effectiveness of the actions is to target them on issues that will concern the trainees after their release. It is reported that an action can be more effective when focusing on professional rehabilitation. In addition to the targeting of actions in the professional reintegration of prisoners, the issue of social reintegration is also mentioned. Trainers and trainees suggest that this could be prepared through actions, during their internment, if the actions offered can allow learners to make their mark on outside society. Trainers say this could arise in the context of actions, from the participation of trainees in cooperative schemes of productive purpose, such as social enterprises, which could last after their confinement. Characteristic is the following excerpt from an interview with a school trainer:

"*The outflows I think are very important and could be done in the context of a social enterprise perhaps not only with an ultimate professional purpose but a social purpose. Again, when students feel they are producing something and offering and producing it for the outside, which means that when they come out, they will have something ready, there will be some imprint of them outside. From what we have read there are several such moves in some other countries*."

4. Conclusions

This research highlights the effectiveness of social interconnection in the 2nd S.C.S. of Patras, which operates within the detention centre of Agios Stefanos. It is noted, as in the surveys of Anagnou & Vergidis (2008) and Vergidou (2016), that in schools operating in a detention centre, the Directors develop manifold collaborations and carry out remarkable actions with

local community bodies. The findings of the survey show the positive impact of the school's openness on the achievement of its educational objectives and seem to confirm what has been mentioned in the existing surveys on the benefits of education in a Detention Centre in general, but also especially on the benefits of the openness of educational structures.

Social interconnection actions contribute more to the personal development, as well as the professional and educational vigilance of learners within them (Dimitrouli & Rigoutsou, 2017). Moreover, the very nature of openness that bridges the "outside" with the "inside" lends a transformative character to educational function on a psychological and especially social level. As far as the psychological part is concerned, the sense of carefreeness from participating in pleasant activities is stressed by all the respondents. Accordingly, referring more generally to the training provided in S.C.S.s, many researchers (Dimitrouli & Rigoutsou, 2017; Vergidis, etc., 2007; Tewksbury & Stengel, 2006), note that education motivates the prisoner to creatively utilize his free time, significantly reducing his psychological burden from confinement.

On a social level, almost all interviewees referred to the strengthening of socialization and extroversion within prisons as well as re-socialization through contact with the outside world (Dimitrouli & Rigoutsou, 2017; Brazzell et al., 2009). A common finding of the majority of trainers and trainees is that they open up, build relationships of trust and feel that they can be useful to those around them (Michelle et al., 2001; Brazzell et al., 2009).

However, with regard to the potential benefits of post-release actions, the general conclusions from the responses given in the interviews are in agreement with those of the existing studies on the results of education in general in a Detention Centre after release, in that these benefits exist but are not easily visible and detectable (Bushway & Reuter, 1997; Lawrence et al., 2002).

In order to improve the effectiveness of actions, it is proposed that they should be organized on a more stable and regular basis, as well as their focus should mainly be on vocational guidance, issues raised by other researchers who generally refer to the educational programs offered in prisons (MacKenzie, 2008; Dimitrioulis & Rigoutsou, 2017). In addition, it is stated that trainees can prepare their professional rehabilitation during their confinement if they are involved in actions through which they will be able to go out on their own through an outflow system (Tsilikis & Gakou, 2018).

Finally, trainers and trainees consider that the actions would have been more effective if their implementation had been formally planned, organized and established, following research and diagnosis of the needs of the trainees. In a broader context of education in a Detention Centre, Lawrence et al. (2002) consider that the improvement and expansion of education programs is built by establishing relationships with a variety of actors and is a policy issue requiring strategic planning. More specifically, surveys concerning prison S.C.S.s show the lack of a broader plan on the part of the local community (Anagnou & Vergidis, 2008), while it is necessary for the state to take more initiatives in relation to the interconnection of the school (Kofini, 2017).

As regards the limitations of research, the research approach, the research strategy and the sampling method chosen constitute a restrictive element with regard to the generalization of its findings, since an attempt was made to understand various aspects of the effectiveness of the actions in a context that concerns only the specific school. However, as has already been mentioned, the field under consideration has been little explored in our country, so the research carried out is essentially a first approach to the subject.

Case studies like this in other schools, as well as a larger range of surveys with a richer and random sample, in more than one prison school, could confirm or disprove the findings of this research. In any case, however, they would enable its conclusions to be broadened and enriched. So future researchers seeking to address the issue of social interconnection and its effectiveness in the education of prisoners, have a wide range of research fields that gather all the evidence that has emerged from the results of the work.

In particular, there is a need to understand more deeply the concept of social interconnection both in terms of its content and in terms of its implementation. One of the research requests arising as a result of this study could be the identification of those elements of outside society that need to be connected to the prison society. What would be their direction and for what purpose in particular? The consequence of this issue is to further study the effectiveness of social interconnection actions in order to investigate which of them are effective and how. An integrated approach could identify whether the limits of this effectiveness stop within the school or extend beyond prison or even after release. Another level of study concerns the expressions of effectiveness in human relations, personal development, vocational guidance and social reintegration of learners. From then on, a wide range of variables involved in this research can be explored so that future researchers can formulate more clear correlations.

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Corresponding author:

Amalia Stoumpou, Hellenic Open University, amalia.stoumpou@gmail.com

Educational needs

(Educational Needs Assessment)

Dimitris Vergidis

University of Patras, vergidis@upatras.gr

Freire's view that the content of education cannot be based on what educators think is best to be taught to the learners, gets to the heart of the matter of adults' needs assessment in a very concise way.

The baseline for organizing the programmatic content of adult education, according to Freire, should be the existing concrete situation, which is problematized, i.e. it is posed as a problem. In order to define the thematic content of the adult education programs within an area, specific investigation is required. The assessment team, at first, exploits secondary sources to register and analyze the current situation in the area. Afterwards, the team cooperates with volunteer informants, gathering more facts on the important data of the area. Participatory research continues with on-the-spot visits of the investigators, in order to approach the population's reality, through discussions with the habitants and observation. The research material is gathered and analyzed by the investigators, the informants and representatives of the habitants, aiming to organize the programmatic content of the educational action.

During the second stage of the investigation, the team codifies the problems and contradictions that have been chosen. These codifications (schemes, photographs, posters, short texts, sketches, etc.) should present situations that are familiar to the population of the area (existential situations), given that, according to Freire, the habitants engage actively when codifications are directly relevant to their needs. However, as he points out, it is common that the participating local habitants do not realize the relation between their needs and the direct and indirect causes of those needs.

During the third stage of the investigation, thematic cycles of investigation are scheduled. In every cycle of investigation, a maximum of twenty people may participate from the local habitants, apart from the coordinator, along with a psychologist and a sociologist. According to Freire, 10% of the local population should participate in the "cycles of investigation".

In the last stage of the investigation, the themes that have emerged from the discussions with the participants (generative themes) are classified by the investigators into the various social sciences, by conducting a cross-sector/ interdisciplinary study. After the codification of the issues and their classification into chapters has been completed, the educational material should be prepared (photographs, posters, slides, movies, texts, etc.).

When the necessary resources to carry out the thematic investigation are not available, Freire specifies that educators may, based on the available secondary sources, choose certain core issues for the first educational meetings. Moreover, they structure any further thematic investigation together with the participants, so that the content of education reflects their needs.

Diametrically opposed to Freire's approach on educational needs is Parsons' Structural Functionalist approach. According to Parsons, what is socially expected becomes individually required. Culture (common values, rules, knowledge and beliefs) define social structure: social positions (status) and social roles performed by individuals. The individuals during their socialization acquire implicit needs that require them to fulfill the expectations and demands
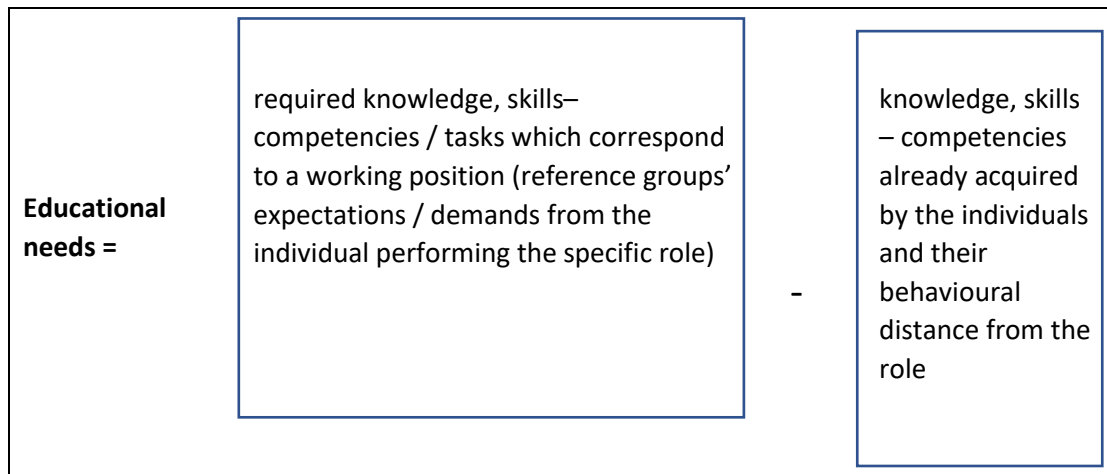
of the reference groups, which constitute their role. Consequently, the individuals' educational needs are socially predetermined and consist of the expected knowledge, competencies and attitudes they role bearers should have in order to effectively perform it. The needs expressed as the people's explicit requests derive from the social structures – they are a subjective expression of the objective needs – and it is thought that they should converge with the functional prerequisites of social structure. Any dysfunctions and structural tensions within a social organization create new educational needs.

The concept of "need", according to the above, should not be confused with any related concepts, such as:

- Necessity, which leads to the uncritical acceptance of any educational program which is presented as a "necessity". Necessities by definition are not subject to collective investigation, dialogue and negotiation.

- Wish, which points to subjectivism without any criteria.

- Demand, which points to automatisms of the market and the sum of individual or collective requests.

- Preferences, which are based on the assumption of people's rational choice.

In the area of continuing vocational training, in order to define the educational needs we may exploit the available professional profiles or perhaps carry out task analysis or skill needs analysis for the specific occupations and working positions. The aim is to determine the knowledge and skills – competencies which are required to pursue a specific occupation or a working position and, more generally, to effectively perform a role. The deficit of adults in relation to the demands of the occupation, working position or role is represented schematically below.

Scheme 1

Educational needs =	required knowledge, skills– competencies / tasks which correspond to a working position (reference groups' expectations / demands from the individual performing the specific role)	–	knowledge, skills – competencies already acquired by the individuals and their behavioural distance from the role

According to the deficit theory, the difference between the actual and the satisfactory is required in order to pursue a profession, an occupation or a role. The educational program should make up for this deficit.

This approach downplays or even negates the contribution of the participants (individual and/or collective) to defining, signifying and highlighting their educational needs, within their own space and time and in their lived reality.

The educational needs may have a subjective dimension, which is illustrated by the experiences, any personal and professional problems, any changes in the participants' lives, their signification, their differentiation in performing a role and assuming new roles (individuals interacting with the natural and social world and bestowing meaning to them). Moreover, they may have an objective dimension which is illustrated by the developments and changes in the labour market, the technological advances, social and/or working problems (structural tensions), changes in culture (problematization of the current situation).

The web and spectrum of the roles that participants are asked to assume, often involve contrasts and contradictions concerning the expectations and demands of the reference groups, and as a result, conflicting needs emerge. In these cases, negotiation of the participants' group needs is required. In addition, even when participants have realized their educational needs, they may not express them explicitly. Based on the above, the needs may be categorized as follows:

a. conscious and expressed, which are expressed either as demands or as requests,

b. conscious but not expressed, which are not expressed either due to the silence culture, or due to other reasons,

c. latent, implicit or emerged, which are illustrated by the problematization of the situation of the participants (their lived reality), the assessment of their experiences and the contradictions of their field or area.

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Some indicative, interesting books in the field of Adult Education recently published

Expanding Transformation Theory offers a deeper understanding of the philosophy, principles and major components of Transformation Theory, which was developed by Jack Mezirow. It provides a thorough comprehension of the affinities of the theory with other emancipatory theoretical views and provides the readers with an expanded insight of the core theoretical framework that will support their research and educational practice.
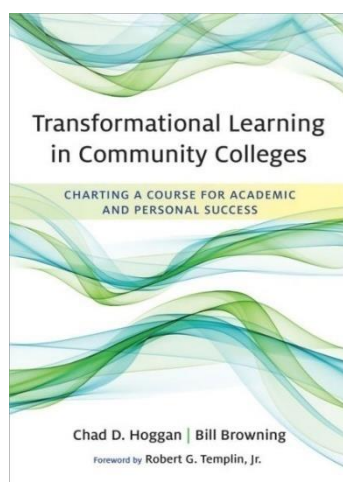
The book juxtaposes Mezirow's perspective with those of ten major emancipatory educationalists – Dewey, Freire, Gould, Marsick, Socrates, Kegan, Greene, Argyris, Illeris, and Jarvis, respectively, who all share the idea of learning with the aim of changing problematic perceptions and behaviours. Such issues as convergences and divergences among the theoretical perspectives, as well as the impact of the theoretical ideas that Mezirow incorporated in his work, are addressed. The work of Mezirow is further reviewed in order to pinpoint the dimensions which appear to have been confirmed and endure over time, and, in turn, those that seem to need expansion or even revision.

This book will be of great interest to researchers, academics, students, and adult educators who are interested in transformative learning theory and emancipatory education.

The book is available from Routledge at:

https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/edit/10.4324/9781138489226/expanding-transformation-theory-alexis-kokkos

2020 Cyril O. Houle Award for Outstanding Literature in Adult Education (AAACE)

***Transformational Learning in Community Colleges* details the profound social and emotional change that nontraditional and historically underserved students undergo when they enter community college.** Drawing on case study material and student observations, the book outlines the systematic supports that two-year institutions must put in place to help students achieve their educational and professional goals.

Chad D. Hoggan and Bill Browning articulate the transformative changes that many community college students experience—or need to experience—in order to successfully navigate post-secondary education and launch professional careers. The authors provide a window into the student experience of transformation by drawing on research, theory, and the voices of students. They offer practical guidance on how a renewed focus on student transformational learning can complement the skills curriculum, accelerate current community college reforms, and help lead to higher student success rates in college and careers.

The book offers recommendations, classroom practices, and action points that can be integrated systemwide across departments and programs, and tapped by faculty, administrators, staff, and leadership eager to champion student success. These institutional changes, the authors contend, will render the community college a more robust, nimble entity, one capable of supporting students at each critical stage of their academic and emotional development.

At a time when community colleges are being called to account for the measurable success of their students—in college and in the workforce—this book is a call to change how they approach their work so that they can fulfil their mission to promote social and economic equity for all of their students.
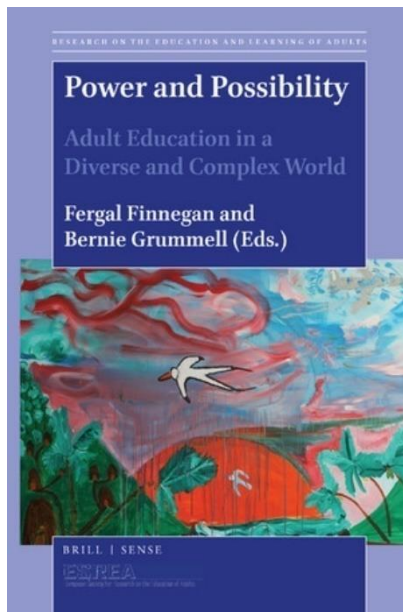
Power and Possibility: Adult Education in a Diverse and Complex World

Editors: Fergal Finnegan and Bernie Grummell

Power has been a defining and constitutive theme of adult education scholarship for over a century and is a central concern of many of the most famous and influential thinkers in the field. Adult education has been particularly interested in how an analysis of power can be used to support transformative learning and democratic participation. In a fragile and interdependent world these questions are more important than ever. The aim of this collection is to offer an analysis of power and possibility in adult education which acknowledges, analyzes and responds to the complexity and diversity that characterizes contemporary education and society.

Power and Possibility: Adult Education in a Diverse and Complex World explores the topic of power and possibility theoretically, historically and practically through a range of perspectives and in relation to varied areas of interest within contemporary adult education. It is concerned with addressing how power works in and through adult education today by exploring what has changed in recent years and what is shaping and driving policy. Alongside this the book explores ways of theorizing learning, power and transformation that builds and extends adult education philosophy. In particular it takes up the themes of diversity and solidarity and explores barriers and possibilities for change in relation to these themes.
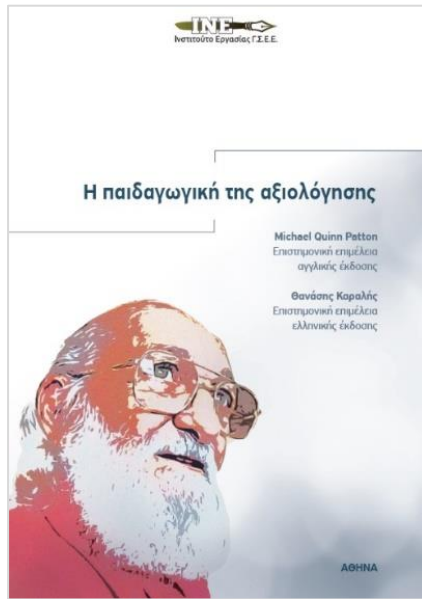
The book **Pedagogy of Evaluation** was published in Greek by the Labor Institute of the Trade Union Confederation of Greece (INE GSEE) to commemorate Paulo Freire's centennial. In fact, the book is a **translation into Greek of the 155 issue of *New Directions for Evaluation***, where distinguished scholars from the field of Evaluation as well as colleagues of Paulo Freire investigate the impact of Paulo Freire's ideas to the theory and practice of Evaluation. The original version of the book is edited by Michael Quinn Patton, while the Greek one is edited by Thanassis Karalis.

The chapters of this book could be divided into two broad categories. The first one includes articles with a mainly theoretical orientation, dealing with the interconnections of Freire's ideas to the theoretical approaches and models concerning Evaluation. The other category is about implementation of Freirean inspired evaluations in diverse socio-economic settings. All chapters contribute to a critical dialogue between certain evaluation approaches and the ideas of Paulo Freire.