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UVODNIK

VLOGA ANDRAGOGA PRI SPODBUJANJU PRILOŽNOSTNEGA UČENJA V SKUPNOSTI

Ko govorim o aktivnosti odraslih v skupnosti, imam v mislih radikalno in kritično prakso, ki si prizadeva za večjo socialno pravičnost, vključenost in večjo enakopravnost različnih skupin, z namenom, da vsak prispeva svoj delež na način, ki ga zmore. Gre za reševanje vsakodnevnih neenakosti, nepravičnosti in neupoštevanja potreb prebivalcev skupnosti, skrb za večje spoštovanje izključenih, gibanja za pravice žensk, pravice zapostavljenih in brezpravnih delavcev, pravice migrantov. Pogosto gre za nove oblike skupnostne demokracije, ki uvaja javno razpravo o lokalnih problemih in participativno demokracijo kot obliko odločanja o skupnostnih zadevah, lahko pa tudi za upor proti uveljavljeni konservativni praksi in stereotipom, ki se širijo z vladajočo politiko. Gre za pritisk prebivalcev v skupnosti glede novih dejavnosti, urejanja okolice, želja po novih možnostih odločanja; gre za delovanje v javnem prostoru, ki postaja hkrati forum za družbene in osebne spremembe ter »tranzicijski prostor« (Bourgeois, 2002; Wildemersch, 2012), in za sistem odnosov, ki nastaja iz delovanja, govorjenja in učenja. Kot pravi Torres (2013, str. 62), se skozi delovanje v javnem prostoru ljudje borijo za priznavanje, duh solidarnosti ter za načelo državljskega izobraževanja in učenja namesto načela potrošništva.

A razmere za tako delovanje niso ugodne. Živimo v dobi, ko nas družba vodi, usmerja, določa, katero znanje bo pomembno in kako ga bomo pridobili. Naša aktivnost se sicer nagiba bodisi k družbeni regulaciji bodisi k družbenemu osvobajanju, a prva prevladuje nad drugo (Santos, 2014, str. V). Obliki znanja, ki ob tem nastajata, sta »znanje kot osvobajanje« in »znanje kot regulacija« (nadzor), pri čemer znanje kot osvobajanje niha med kolonializmom (stanje ignorance) in solidarnostjo (stanje znanja), znanje kot regulacija pa se vzpostavlja med kaosom (stanje ignorance) in redom (stanje znanja). Moč znanja, ki teži k redu, »hrani« moč znanja solidarnosti, in obratno. V zahodni družbi se je prvič zgodilo, da je kanibalizacija družbene osvoboditve vodila h krizi emancipacije in regulacije, in sicer tako, da je znanje kot regulacija prevladalo. Obe obliki znanja se sicer dinamično uravnavata in skozi čas sta se uravnotežili tako, da je družbeno emancipacijo »utišala« družbena regulacija (Santos, 2014, str. V); red je postal hegemonski način znanja in kaos je postal hegemonski način ignorance. Kot ugotavlja Santos, je dosegati znanje, ki osvobaja, danes skoraj nedosegljivo, solidarnost je nekaj, česar si ni mogoče zamisliti, je nepotrebna in nevarna. Santos nas torej spodbuja – ali bomo razmišljali emancipatorno ali pa se bomo pustili »ujeti« v postopke, ki nas bodo sčasoma zaslužnili. Oliviera (2017)

dodaja, da čeprav lahko vidimo norme in pravila v vsakem socialnem modelu in za njim, družbene prakse, ki se razvijajo v različnih interaktivnih prostorih, vendarle imajo osvojitvene dimenzije, in ravno zato možnosti izbire so! Danes smo priča mnogim razpravam o pomenu kritične pedagogike in andragogike, a zdi se, da gre zgolj za teoretično diskusijo o tem, kako zadeve definirati in se jim navidezno upirati. Že Apple (1986) je pred 30 leti govoril podobno kot Santos danes: da je izobraževanje tehnično naravnano in da je zelo oddaljeno od izobraževanja o svobodi. Izobraževanje je postalo izobraževanje za delo, postalo je tržni prostor, kjer prosperirajo tisti, ki se prilagodijo danim zahtevam. Kar ugotavlja Santos danes, torej drži, a pred nas postavlja nova vprašanja, na katere iščemo odgovore: kaj nam povedo razlike med severom in jugom, med kolonialisti in prvotnim prebivalstvom, med izobraženimi in neizobraženimi, med bogatimi in revnimi, med vsemi, ki imajo moč, in tistimi, ki moči nimajo? Kako se upreti tem razlikam, temu utišanju pravic? V tem procesu so pomembni vsi, zlasti pa intelektualci, ki s svojim ravnanjem omogočajo suspenz nekaterih temeljnih človekovih pravic (Gregorčič, 2017, str. 24). S teoretiziranjem se krivic ne dotikajo, ne posežejo vanje, temveč jih le od daleč obsodijo in prepustijo uničenju. A ravno posamezniki so danes tisti, ki se jih zlahka regulira in nadzira (Santos, 2014, str. V); ravno učitelji in drugi ljudje, ki sodelujejo v izobraževalnem procesu, so tisti, ki lahko naredijo največ v smislu uresničevanja omenjenih zadev. To nas navaja k premisleku, da se vse to lahko razrešuje le v skupnosti, zunaj izobraževalnih organizacij, zunaj organiziranega in k ciljem usmerjenega izobraževanja, ki ljudi pogosto naredi majhne in nemočne. Učenje, o katerem govorim, poteka priložnostno, ob reševanju drugih vprašanj, stihijsko in nenačrtovano.

Učenje, ki poteka v takem prostoru, je nenamembno, pogosto tudi nezavedno, spodbuja pa razrast tihega znanja. To znanje je zelo pomembno, pravzaprav ključno pri boju za pravice, osebnostno ter skupnostno rast in razvoj. Gre za preseganje politično vsiljenega znanja, za kritičen premislek o neoliberalnih pritiskih in zmotah ter posledicah, ki jih imajo za naše vsakdanje življenje. Priložnostno učenje v skupnosti ni formalno niti neformalno izobraževanje, lahko poteka tudi v izobraževalnih institucijah, a zunaj uradnega kurikulumu, saj gre večinoma za nasprotovanje vsiljevanju znanja kot regulacije (javno veljavnega znanja). Schugurensky (2000) priložnostno učenje definira kot tisto, ki vodi k razumevanju, znanju in spretnostim, a ker ni namembno in pogosto ni zavedno, ostaja neidentificano. Sicer je priložnostno učenje lahko namembno in zavedno (samostojno učenje), lahko je nenamembno in zavestno (naključno učenje) ali pa nenamembno in nezavedno (socializacija) (Mündel in Schugurensky, 2008, str. 50). Čeprav gre večinoma za nevidno učenje s tihim znanjem, gre hkrati za izredno pomembno učenje, ki poteka ob vsakodnevnem delovanju posameznikov, ki želijo vplivati na kakovost svojega življenja, na demokratične prakse, na svoje osebno, lahko pa tudi strokovno življenje. Učenje je vedno sestavljeno iz dveh integralnih procesov – interakcije in ponotranjenja; hkrati pa učenje obsega kognitivno, emocionalno ter družbeno oziroma socialno komponento (Illeris, 2002, str. 19). Priložnostno učenje vključuje vse tri komponente in hkrati odpira vrata pravemu, živemu znanju, ki posameznike povezuje z aktualnimi problemi v družbi, z ljudmi, ki jih rešujejo, z voljo in strastjo. Tako učenje večinoma poteka ob delovanju v

prostovoljskih organizacijah, v skupnostnih in političnih organizacijah, medgeneracijskih skupinah v knjižnici in drugih javnih prostorih, pri aktivnostih v javnem prostoru, na cesti; poteka v organiziranih in neorganiziranih dejavnostih, stihijsko in načrtno, z določenim namenom in brez njega. Da je tako učenje realnost, kaže tudi raziskava o participativni demokraciji v Mariboru (Gregorčič in Jelenc Krašovec, 2017; Jelenc Krašovec in Gregorčič, v tisku). Tako tiho učenje je z vidika izobraževalca odraslih dejavnost, ki jo je treba ozaveštevati, o njej razpravljati in jo spodbujati.

Kaj bi torej lahko bila vloga andragoga pri spodbujanju učenja v javnem prostoru? Gre za javnega andragoga? Javno delovanje podobnih profilov definirajo nekateri avtorji; Biesta (2012) meni, da javni pedagog niti ne poučuje niti ne spodbuja političnega delovanja, temveč odpira možnosti za sodelovanje, za »ljudsko pripadnost«, skozi katero se pojavi svobodno delovanje (Biesta, 2012). Tako s pomočjo javnega pedagoga prostori postajajo javni, odprti in dostopni; ravno »dejstvo, da vsak vidi in sliši iz druge pozicije, daje pomen temu, da nas vidijo in slišijo drugi, kar daje smisel javnemu skupnemu bivanju« (Arendt, 1996, str. 59). Vprašanje pomena pojavnosti javnega pedagoga sprožata ravno privatizacija in depolitizacija javnih prostorov, hkrati pa tudi potekajoča privatizacija izobraževanja; izobraževanje naj bi vendarle bilo kolektiven in političen »projekt« in ne zasebna korist (Biesta, 2012, str. 684). Po drugi strani Burawoy (2013) vzpostavlja javno sociologijo kot vez med sociologijo in javnostjo, ki skozi javne nastope, angažirano delovanje in skupnostne prakse definira svojo pozicijo. Pri tem postavi v ospredje problem, ali ne gre v primeru, ko sociologija postane preveč povezana z življenjem, samo za »zdravo pamet«. Avtor to zanika in trdi, da javna sociologija temelji na raziskavah, je povezana s politično sociologijo in kritično sociologijo, kljub vsemu pa postane sociolog javni sociolog, ko ne piše več za strokovnjake, temveč za javnost, za ljudi, za njihove potrebe. Gre za boj za pravice prvotnega prebivalstva, Romov, za antisemitistični, antirasistični in antiteroristični boj, gre za boj proti kolonializmu in za solidarnost (Burawoy, 2013). Razlika med javno sociologijo in političnim aktivizmom je zelo majhna, kajti javna sociologija deluje na polju sociologije, medtem ko politični aktivizem deluje na polju politike. Burawoy (2013) pravi, da je javna sociologija način »poučevanja«, kjer se zdrava pamet kultivira in kjer postane družba učilnica za razvoj kritičnega družbenega ozaveščanja.

Če torej poskušamo definirati vlogo »javnega« andragoga, naj bi bila to oseba, ki govori in posluša, a se hkrati tudi uči in piše o pomenu ohranjanja javnosti ter učenju skozi javno komunikacijo in delovanje. Ohranjal naj bi razdaljo do trga, do države in obdržal kritično stališče do političnih in ekonomskih vplivov, saj je to bistveno za njegovo verodostojnost. Verjetno sta ključni tudi moralna odgovornost in politična predanost ustvarjanju prostora za javno razpravo, kot predlaga Torres (2013, str. 79). Te ideje so blizu teorijam javnega intelektualca pri spodbujanju učenja v družbenih gibanjih, ki zagovarjajo avtonomno učenje, samoorganizacijo učenja (od spodaj navzgor) in odprto učenje (Hall, 2012, str. 134). Kot spodbujevalec ali iniciator učenja naj bi se zavedal, da je vzajemno učenje različnih družbenih skupin, medgeneracijsko, medkulturno, medrasno, v nekaterih predelih tudi zagovor prvotnega prebivalstva, nujno potrebno. Poleg organiziranih in strukturiranih

izobraževalnih in učnih dejavnosti, ki potekajo v skupnosti, potrebujemo odprto areno za boj za pravičnost v javnem prostoru, za grajenje širokega spektra preteklih izkušenj in spominov iz različnih življenjskih potekov, tudi za pričakovanja in upe glede prihodnosti, kot predlaga Harvey (2011). V tem smislu moramo ostati odprti za različnost ljudi in idej, ne glede na starost, družbeno vključenost, socialno-ekonomski položaj, izobrazbo, ne glede na barvo kože in poreklo. Javni andragog naj bi zagovarjal pomen javnega proti zasebnemu, odprtega proti zaprtemu, nestrukturiranega proti strukturiranemu in priložnostnega proti formalnemu. Wilhelmson (2002, str. 192) zagovarja osrednji pomen andragoga v spreminjanju pogledov javnosti, kar spodbuja diskusijo skozi »družbeno udeležbo, kjer člani ustvarjajo novo znanje in presežejo individualno perspektivo«. Iz tega sklepamo, da je javni andragog oseba, ki spodbuja in ozavešča učenje, njegove učinke verbalizira, opozarja nanje in hkrati spodbuja njihovo nastajanje. Kot del mreže znanja ali znanja v omrežju, kot del našega medosebnega omrežja lahko upamo, da nam bo v različnih strukturnih družbenih prostorih (v skupnosti, na trgu, doma, kot državljani, kot proizvajalci, kot člani sveta) uspelo izkoristiti možnost izbire (Olivera, 2017), in sicer, da izobraževanje in učenje ne bosta potekali le v izobraževalnih institucijah, temveč na vsaki ravni družbenega življenja, v vsaki pori našega bivanja, v vsakdanjih dejavnostih, trajno in dinamično. Ravno to je cilj in naša učna naloga.

V tej številki se prepletajo pomeni vloge andragoga v skupnosti in v organiziranih oblikah, kar kaže na raznolikost vlog, pomenov in delovanja andragoga v različnih pojavnostih. Stuart Moir in Jim Crowther z Univerze v Edinburghu pišeta o radikalizaciji izobraževanja za državljanskost in ugotavljata, da tovrstno izobraževanje izginja, vsaj v smeri radikalnega osmišljanja vloge aktivnih državljanov v skupnosti v smislu kolektivnega odločanja. Ugotavljata, da je izobraževanje v celoti podrejeno trgu, da se zlasti ravna po minimalistični paradigmi državljanskosti in zlasti poudarja individualno odgovornost posameznika. Mladi ljudje so razumljeni kot homo apoliticus, homo sociologicus v smislu nerazmišljajočih in neodločajočih se oseb. Kje je torej prostor za politično pismenost, kritično avtonomijo, aktivno vključevanje?

Marta Gregorčič v prispevku z naslovom *Participacija starejših odraslih v praksah skupnosti in v skupnosti prakse* predstavlja analizo stanja v občini Ajdovščina glede položaja in možnosti učenja starejših moških. Prikazuje analizo dela fokusne skupine s predstavniki občine in nevladnih organizacij, v kateri raziskuje, kakšna je vloga starejših (moških) v skupnosti, kje se srečujejo, v katere aktivnosti so vključeni. Ugotavlja, da se povezanost med člani skupnosti izboljšuje, a da so ljudje potrebovali čas, da so se postavili na svoje noge in začeli iskati možnosti za soočenje s težavami. Skupnost je sicer povezana, a med aktivnimi večinoma ni starejših moških, ki se samomarginalizirajo. Avtorica ponuja nekaj idej za rešitev te situacije.

Naslednji prispevek z naslovom *Initiatives of community members in public open spaces: Two case studies from Slovenia*, ki govori o aktivnosti in učenju odraslih v odprtem javnem prostoru, je nastal kot učni proces v povezavi univerze in skupnosti, kjer so študentke (Željka Bosanac, Sara Dalila Hočevar, Neža Vrhovec, Nuša Zankolič) pod mentorstvom

dveh profesorice (Sabine Jelenc Krašovec in Sonje Kump) proučevale javni prostor in njegovo oblikovanje s strani državljanov in skupnostnih organizacij. Ugotovile so, da se razlika pojavi glede na to, od kod pride ideja za dejavnost in kakšno vlogo imajo pri tem odrasli člani skupnosti. Prepletata se namreč pristop »od zgoraj navzdol« in pristop »od spodaj navzgor«, ki uporabljata različne formule in imata temu primerne različne učinke.

Martin Hugo in Joel Hedegaard sta v prispevku *Education as habilitation: Empirical examples from adjusted education in Sweden for students associated with high-functioning autism* pisala o pomenu nekoliko drugačnega izobraževanja za osebe z avtizmom, natančneje za osebe z Aspergerjevim sindromom na Švedskem. Ugotovila sta, da je ključna ravno vloga andragoga, ki mora biti bistveno drugačna od klasične vloge učitelja odraslih v skupini, zlasti pa bistveno bolj prožna, odprta in gibljiva. Učitelj mora biti ravno prav umaknjen, a hkrati angažiran, da spodbudi aktivnost odraslih oseb z avtizmom in jih hkrati motivira za lastno aktivnost. Tudi sodelujoči v raziskavi so poudarili, da bi marsikdo v izobraževanju odraslih potreboval drugačen pristop in bi potemtakem tudi izobraževanje ne bilo tako neuspešno.

Joanna Malinowska v prispevku *Change of Students' Activities in the Process of Becoming a Teacher* predstavlja del raziskave o izobraževanju učiteljev na Poljskem. Gre za proučevanje epistemološke ovire pri ustvarjanju sodelovanja, ki je pomembno za uspešno izobraževanje učiteljev. S kritično analizo diskurza je proučevala vlogo institucije, kjer poteka to izobraževanje, in skozi diskusijo, ki je potekala med študentkami in študenti po opravljeni nalogi, poskušala pripraviti priporočila za uspešno delo in izobraževanje bodočih učiteljev. Zanimivo je, da se tudi skozi ta prispevek kaže prenašanje nadzorne funkcije izobraževalne institucije na tiste, ki se učijo, kar se izraža v uporabi študentk in študentov takim ukrepom.

Leonida Brezovec v svojem prispevku z naslovom *Mladi v ujetništvu vseživljenjskega učenja* – predstavitev izsledkov raziskave o doživljanju zahtev po vseživljenjskem učenju med mladimi odraslimi analizira vlogo neoliberalne politike in njen vpliv na potrebo po stalnem učenju mladih, ki so že zaposleni, ali tistih, ki zaposlitev še iščejo. Gre za analizo stanja, ki ga ponujajo naš trg delovne sile in delodajalci, ki stalno pritiskajo na mlade z različnimi zahtevami. Avtorica s kvalitativno raziskavo prouči mnenja mladih ljudi in ugotovi, da so zahteve po fleksibilnosti, prilagodljivosti in stalnem učenju, ki jih postavljajo delodajalci, v skladu z neoliberalno politiko. Mladi to občutijo kot stalen pritisk, kot težnjo po stalnem učenju in prilagajanju.

Vesna Gorenc v svojem članku *Jezikovna izobraževanja za odrasle priseljence na primeru francoskega nevladnega sektorja* opisuje projekt za izobraževanje priseljencev, imenovan »jezikovno izobraževanje za odrasle migrante«. Gre za raznoliko skupino migrantov, ki prihajajo v državo z različnimi nameni in cilji, z različnim predznanjem in z različno uporabo jezika. Prikaže metodo sociolingvističnih delavnic za učenje jezika, ki poskušajo odraslim jezik predstaviti čim bolj aktivno in povezano z vsakdanjim življenjem. Pri tem odpira mnoge dileme, zlasti pa poudarja pomen ustrezne usposobljenosti osebe, ki dela

z migranti, saj je za uspeh programa – poleg drugih dejavnikov – zelo pomemben pravi pristop.

Številka prinaša tudi intervju s prof. dr. Barryjem Goldingom o vlogi delavnic za moške (Men's Sheds) v skupnosti, ki prikaže pomen te alternativne oblike in gibanja za združevanje in delovanje moških v Avstraliji.

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EDITORIAL

THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATORS IN FOSTERING INFORMAL LEARNING IN THE COMMUNITY

To me, activity of adults in the community means a radical and critical practice striving for greater social justice, inclusion and greater equality for different groups, with a view to everyone contributing their share in the way they can. This is about solving everyday inequities, injustices and the lack of accounting for the needs of community residents, showing concern for those who are excluded, fostering women's rights movements, the rights of disadvantaged and disenfranchised workers, the rights of migrants. Often it is about new forms of community democracy introducing public discussion about local problems and participatory democracy as a form of deciding community matters, but it can also include resistance against established conservative practices and stereotypes spread by the powers that be. It is about the pressure of community residents regarding new activities, spatial planning, the desire for new decision-making options; it is about acting in the public space, which at the same time becomes a forum for social and personal change and a 'transitional space' (Bourgeois, 2002; Wildemersch, 2012), and about a system of relations built on acting, speaking and learning. As Torres (2013, p. 62) states, people act in the public space as they struggle for recognition, the spirit of solidarity, and the principle of citizen education and learning instead of the principle of consumerism.

But the current conditions are not favourable to acting in this vein. We live in an era when we are led and directed by the society which determines which knowledge is important and how we should acquire it. Our activity might lean either towards social regulation or towards social emancipation, but the former dominates over the latter (Santos, 2014, p. V). The two forms of knowledge being produced are 'knowledge as emancipation' and 'knowledge as regulation' (control), where knowledge as emancipation vacillates between colonialism (state of ignorance) and solidarity (state of knowledge), while knowledge as regulation is constituted between chaos (state of ignorance) and order (state of knowledge). The power of order-oriented knowledge 'feeds' the power of solidarity knowledge, and vice versa. In the Western civilization we saw for the first time the cannibalization of social liberation leading to a crisis of emancipation and regulation with the result that knowledge as regulation has prevailed. The two forms of knowledge strive towards dynamic equilibrium, however, and in time they have reached an equilibrium where

social emancipation has been ‘silenced’ by social regulation (Santos, 2014, p. V); order has become the hegemonic manner of knowledge, and chaos has become the hegemonic manner of ignorance. According to Santos, obtaining liberating knowledge is almost impossible today, and solidarity is something that cannot even be imagined, it is unnecessary and dangerous. Santos therefore encourages us – will we think in an emancipatory way or will we let ourselves be ‘caught up’ in procedures that will act to enslave us in time? Oliviera (2017) adds that although we can see norms and rules in every social model and underlying it, the social practices that develop in various interactive spaces nevertheless have liberating dimensions; and that is precisely why there are possibilities of choice! Today we can witness many discussions on the significance of critical pedagogy and andragogy, yet it seems this is only a theoretical debate on how to define things and present an appearance of resistance. Already thirty years ago, Apple (1986) talked about similar issues as Santos today: that education was technically oriented and very remote from education about freedom. Education has become education for work, a marketplace for those who adjust to the given requirements to prosper. What Santos says today, is therefore true, but it puts forth new questions in need of answers: what can we infer from the North-South divide, the differences between colonialists and native populations, between the educated and the uneducated, between the rich and the poor, those with power and those without it? How do we stand up to these differences, this silencing of rights? Everybody plays an important role in this process, and even more so intellectuals, whose behaviour enables some basic human rights to be suspended (Gregorčič, 2017, p. 24). By theorizing they do not touch the injustices, do not interfere, but instead only judge from a distance and let destruction take its course. Yet it is individuals today who are easily regulated and controlled (Santos, 2014, p. V); it is teachers and others involved in the process of education who can do the most in terms of realizing these issues. This leads us to think that all of this can only be resolved in the community, outside of educational institutions, outside of organized and goal-oriented education, which often renders people small and powerless. The kind of learning meant here takes place informally while other issues are being solved, in an unplanned and uncontrolled manner.

Learning taking place in such a space is unintentional and often unconscious, encouraging the growth of tacit knowledge. This knowledge is very important, even crucial, in the struggle for rights, personal and community growth and development. What is at stake is surmounting politically imposed knowledge to rethink critically the neoliberal pressures and errors as well as the consequences they have for our everyday lives. Informal learning in the community is neither formal nor informal education, it can also take place in educational institutions but then outside of the official curriculum as this is mostly about resisting the imposition of knowledge as regulation (publicly certified knowledge). Schugurensky (2000) defines informal learning as learning that leads to understanding, knowledge and skills, but since it is not intentional and is often not conscious, it remains unidentified. Nonetheless informal learning can be intentional and conscious (self-directed learning); it can be unintentional and conscious (incidental learning); or unintentional and unconscious (socialization) (Mündel & Schugurensky, 2008, p. 50). Despite the fact

that this is mostly invisible learning involving tacit knowledge, this learning is at the same time very important and takes place during everyday actions of individuals who want to influence the quality of their lives, democratic practices, their own personal and possibly also professional lives. Learning is always composed of two integral processes – interaction and internalization; at the same time, learning comprises cognitive, emotional and social components (Illeris, 2002, p. 19). Informal learning includes all three components and simultaneously opens the door to real, active knowledge that connects individuals to the topical problems in the society, the people solving them, to willpower and passion. Such learning mostly happens while participating in volunteer organizations, community and political organizations, intergenerational groups in libraries and other public spaces, in activities taking place in the public space, in the street; it happens in organized and unorganized activities, in a planned or uncontrolled manner, with a purpose or without it. That such learning really does happen is shown also by the study of participatory democracy in Maribor (Gregorčič & Jelenc Krašovec, 2017; Jelenc Krašovec & Gregorčič, in press). From the point of view of adult educators, this kind of tacit knowledge is an activity that needs to be brought to awareness, discussed and encouraged.

What could therefore be the role of adult educators in fostering learning in the public space? Are we talking about the public andragogue? Some authors define the public activity of similar profiles; Biesta (2012) believes that the public pedagogue neither teaches nor encourages political activism but instead opens up the possibility for cooperation, for ‘human togetherness’ which makes it possible for freedom of action to appear (Biesta, 2012). In this way, the public pedagogue helps make spaces public, open and accessible; it is precisely that “[b]eing seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position. This is the meaning of public life” (Arendt, 1996, p. 59). The importance of the appearance of the public pedagogue is instigated precisely by the privatization and depoliticization of public spaces as well as the concurrent lasting privatization of education; after all, education is supposed to be a collective and political ‘project’ and not a matter of private gain (Biesta, 2012, p. 684). On the other hand, Burawoy (2013) establishes the field of public sociology as a link between sociology and the public that defines its position through public performances, engaged actions and community practices. In doing so, he points out a problem – when sociology becomes too closely connected to life, is this not simply a case of ‘common sense’? The author rejects this and claims that public sociology is research-based, linked to policy sociology and critical sociology, but nevertheless a sociologist becomes a public sociologist by switching from writing for experts to writing for the public, the people and their needs. It is about fighting for the rights of native populations, the Roma, about fighting against semitism, racism and terrorism, about fighting against colonialism and for solidarity (Burawoy, 2013). There is only a minor difference between public sociology and political activism, since public sociology operates in the sphere of sociology while political activism operates in the sphere of politics. Burawoy (2013, p. 297) says that “public sociology is a form of ‘teaching’ in which common sense is cultivated and society itself becomes a classroom, a classroom for developing a critical social consciousness.”

If we now try to define the role of the ‘public andragogue’, this is to be a person who speaks and listens but at the same time also learns and writes about the importance of keeping the public and learning through public communication and acting. They are to keep their distance to the market and the state, and ought to maintain a critical stance in relation to political and economic influences as that lies at the core of their integrity. As suggested by Torres (2013, p. 79), moral responsibility and political dedication to creating space for public discussion is also crucial. These ideas come close to theories of the public intellectual in terms of fostering learning in public movements which advocate autonomous learning, self-organisation of learning (bottom-up) and open learning (Hall, 2012, p. 134). As somebody who encourages or initiates learning, they should be aware that mutual learning among different social groups – intergenerational, intercultural, interracial, in some parts also a defence of native populations – is of absolute necessity. Besides organized and structured educational and learning activities taking place in the community, we also need an open arena to fight for justice in the public space, to build a broad spectrum of experience and memories from various biographies, as well as for hopes and expectations for the future, as suggested by Harvey (2011). This requires us to remain open to the diversity of people and ideas, regardless of age, social inclusion, socioeconomic status, education, regardless of skin colour, ethnicity and origin. The public andragogue should stand up for the importance of public versus private, open versus closed, unstructured versus structured, and informal versus formal. Wilhelmson (2002, p. 192) advocates the central role adult educators have in changing public views, fostering discussion through “social interaction where participants create new knowledge going beyond the individual perspective of each person.” This leads to the conclusion that the public andragogue is somebody who fosters learning and brings it to awareness, verbalizes its effects, points them out and at the same time encourages their development. As a part of a knowledge network or knowledge embedded in a network, as part of our own interpersonal network, we can hope to succeed in exploiting the possibility of choice (Olivera, 2017) in different structural social spaces (in the community, on the market, at home, as citizens, as producers, as members of the world), and learning do not only take place in educational institutions but on every level of social life, in every fibre of our existence, in our everyday activities, permanently and dynamically. This is our goal and our task.

In this issue, the relevance of adult educators in the community intertwines with their significance in organized forms of education, which brings to light the diversity of roles, meanings and modes of acting of adult educators in their various guises. Stuart Moir and Jim Crowther from the University of Edinburgh write about the radicalization of citizenship education and find that such education is disappearing, at least in the sense of ascribing radical meaning to the role of active citizens in the community in terms of collective decision-making. They find that education has been fully subjugated by the market, aligning itself in particular with the minimalist paradigm of citizenship and putting particular emphasis on individual responsibility. Young people are understood as *homo apoliticus*, *homo sociologicus* in the sense of people marked by non-thinking and non-decision. Where can then space be found for political literacy, critical autonomy, active inclusion?

In her paper entitled 'Participation of older adults in communities of practice and practices of community', Marta Gregorčič provides an analysis of the current state of the situation and learning possibilities of older men in the municipality of Ajdovščina. She presents her analysis of a focus group with representatives of the municipality and non-governmental organizations, where she shows the role of the elderly (men) in the community, where they meet, which activities they participate in, etc. She finds cohesion among the community members is improving but it took people some time to stand on their own feet and start looking for options to face their issues. The community is close-knit but there are almost no active older men as they are caught up in self-marginalization. The author offers some ideas on how to resolve this situation.

The following paper entitled 'Initiatives of community members in public open spaces: Two case studies from Slovenia', which talks about the activity and learning of adults in open public space, is the result of a learning process linking the university and the community. Students Željka Bosanac, Sara Dalila Hočevár, Neža Vrhovec, and Nuša Zankolič, advised by two university teachers, Sabina Jelenc Krašovec and Sonja Kump, analysed public space and its creation by citizens and community organizations. They found that there is a difference depending on who the idea for an activity comes from and what role adult community members play in it. This is namely a combination of two approaches, 'top-down' and 'bottom-up', which use different formulae and consequently produce different effects.

In their paper 'Education as habilitation: Empirical examples from adjusted education in Sweden for students associated with high-functioning autism', Martin Hugo and Joel Hedegaard write about the importance of a somewhat different kind of education for people with autism, specifically people with Asperger syndrome in Sweden. They find that it is precisely the role of the adult educator that is crucial to the programme, as it needs to be essentially different from the classic role of a teacher of adult groups and at the same time significantly more flexible, open and malleable. The adult educator must strike a happy medium between distance and engagement to foster activity in adults with autism and at the same time to motivate them for self-initiated activity. The research participants also stressed the need of many in adult education for a different approach that would mean less educational failure.

Joanna Malinowska presents a part of her research on teacher education in Poland in her paper 'Change of Students' Activities in the Process of Becoming a Teacher'. Her focus is on the analysis of an epistemological barrier impeding cooperation creation important to the success of teacher education. Using critical discourse analysis, she examines the role of the institution where teacher education takes place; she uses a post-task student discussion to provide tentative recommendations for future teachers' successful work and education. Interestingly, this contribution also shows the transfer of the control function from the educational institution to those learning, which is reflected in the students' resistance against such measures.

Leonida Brezovec's paper 'Young people in the prison of lifelong learning. Presentation of results on how young adults experience requirements of lifelong learning' analyses the role of neoliberal policy and its effect on the need for constant learning in young people who are already in employment or still looking for it. She offers an analysis of the current state of the Slovenian labour market and employers who keep pressuring young people with their various demands. The author's qualitative research investigates the opinions of young people and finds that the employers' requirements fit the neoliberal policy of flexibility, adaptability, and permanent learning. Young people feel this as constant pressure, a tendency to keep learning and adapting.

'Language courses for adult immigrants: The example of the French non-governmental sector' by Vesna Gorenc discusses the significance of a project for the education of immigrants called 'language education for adult immigrants'. It addresses a diverse group of migrants entering the country with different goals and intentions, different levels of previous knowledge, and different language uses. The author presents the method of sociolinguistic workshops dedicated to adult language acquisition which strive to present language as actively as possible in relation to everyday life. There are many dilemmas present, most importantly the question of adequately qualified staff working with migrants as – aside from other factors – the right approach is crucial for success.

The present issue also includes an interview with Prof. Barry Golding on the role of workshops for men (Men's Sheds) in the community, showing how important this alternative form and movement is for bringing together and promoting activity among men in Australia.

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Stuart Moir, Jim Crowther

RADICALISING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

ABSTRACT

Democracy faces two key threats today. The first is evident in the growth of authoritarian, right-wing, populism which is evident in a number of European countries and beyond. The second has been the undermining of democratic life by neoliberalism. Liberal democracy has aided the latter by the separation of economics from politics and the focus on the individual at the expense of the public sector and the common good. At the same time, some of the virtues of liberal democracy – the separation of powers, for example – are threatened by authoritarianism. We argue the importance of a critical engagement with current versions of democracy by drawing on a more participatory and active democratic tradition. This has significant implications for how we view citizenship and citizenship education. The dominant version of citizenship education in Scotland and the UK (possibly in Europe too) embodies a 'minimalist' model of citizenship through a curriculum for taking personal responsibility. This is inadequate for the challenge democracy faces. We argue the need to ground citizenship education in more radical soil, to nurture a critically engaged and active citizenry capable of challenging the democratic threats of right-wing populism and neoliberal subjectivity.

Keywords: *democracy, citizenship education, neoliberalism, populism, radical tradition of adult education, 'really useful knowledge'*

RADIKALIZACIJA DRŽAVLJANSKE VZGOJE – POVZETEK

Demokracija se danes sooča z dvema glavnima grožnjama. Prva je očitna, to je vzpon avtoritarnega desnega populizma, ki ga vidimo v številnih evropskih in drugih državah. Druga grožnja je spodkopavanje demokratičnega življenja prek neoliberalizma. Temu pomaga liberalna demokracija z ločevanjem ekonomije od politike in z osredotočanjem na posameznika na račun javnega sektorja in javnega dobrega. Hkrati so pod udarom avtoritarnosti nekatere kreposti liberalne demokracije – na primer ločitev oblasti na tri veje. V članku zagovarjamo pomen kritičnega angažmaja v sodobnih različicah demokracije, tako da pri tem črpamo iz bolj participativne in aktivne demokratične tradicije. Takšno delovanje ima pomembne posledice za to, kako vidimo državljanstvo in državljsko vzgojo. Dominantna različica državljske vzgoje na Škotskem in v Veliki Britaniji (morda tudi v Evropi nasploh) pooseblja »minimalistični« model državljanstva, kjer učni načrt poudarja osebno odgovornost. Ta koncept ne zadostuje za izzive, s katerimi se danes sooča demokracija. Trdimo, da moramo državljsko vzgojo presaditi v

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radikalnejši prostor, ki bo odprl pot za kritično angažiranje in aktivne državljane, kakršni se bodo znali spopasti z desnimi grožnjami demokraciji in neoliberalno subjektiviteto.

Ključne besede: *demokracija, državljanska vzgoja, neoliberalizem, populizem, radikalna tradicija izobraževanja odraslih, »res koristno znanje«*

INTRODUCTION

Across Europe citizenship education, particularly in the context of schooling, has grown in prominence for over two decades or more. At the same time, in recent years we have seen a surge in right-wing populism supported by inward-facing nationalist trends and a discourse of prejudice and hatred against migrants. The Brexit result in the UK is one expression of this and, of course, Trump's victory in the US elections is another. In this article, we question how citizenship education is framed by arguing it typically lacks a critical account of democracy or, when the links between citizenship and democracy are articulated, a liberal democratic model is assumed unproblematically. In our view, this is inadequate and is part of the problem that has to be addressed in renovating citizenship education for the future.

Citizenship education without a critical view of democracy and society is more about social control rather than social change whereas the real challenge for citizenship education is to be relevant to the inculcation of an open, participatory democratic culture that contributes to individual and collective agency, whilst making connections between 'personal troubles' and 'pubic issues' (see Mills, 1959). In the UK, this type of social purpose was noticeable in the best of the liberal and radical traditions of adult education (see Fieldhouse, 1998). However, there is not much of this type of adult or citizenship education around particularly as a 'human capital' agenda has dominated lifelong learning (see Biesta, 2006).

We argue the need to reassert the relevance, values and purpose of the kind of education which saw itself as enabling citizens to be critically engaged actors in changing society. If we do not take heed of this, the regressive nationalism evident across parts of Europe, the US, India and Turkey, which poses a threat to liberal democracy, may well end up extinguishing the social and political freedoms we associate with it and, as a consequence, other traditions of democracy too. We need to overcome the limitations of liberal democracy (but not throw out what is useful in it) by resourcing a more radical and participatory democracy which requires a process of collective engagement in public life. We develop this position by exploring the contested conceptions of citizenship education and by reviewing some evidence of the limitations of the dominant conception of citizenship education in the context of schooling. We also draw on field research being conducted by Moir on learning critical citizenship – in and outside schools – to introduce some selective quotes which reflects our position. We do not assume these quotes are representative of the wider population, more that they serve the purpose of vivifying academic arguments rather than empirically substantiating them. It is the nature of the formative experiences

and prefigurative educational work done with young adults that potentially offers us a source of hope for the future.

One further qualification. Whilst our argument has, we believe, a European wide relevance we draw mainly on sources which have a UK reference point and specifically a Scottish one. It is not that we are uninterested in events elsewhere but simply that we are more familiar with our own contexts and we anticipate the ability of readers elsewhere to draw from this account relevant aspects. We look forward, of course, to accounts which extend and enrich our own horizons.

THINKING ABOUT CITIZENSHIP

McLaughlin (1992, p. 236) argues that citizenship can be mapped on a continuum ranging from minimal to maximal conceptions. He makes the valid point that this range of understandings are linked to *'...different political beliefs and interpretations of democracy'*. This can be illustrated by drawing on what he claims are the four key characteristics of citizenship; the nature of the identity conferred on an individual by citizenship, the virtues that are required to be a citizen, the extent of the political involvement individuals are required to show, and lastly the particular social prerequisites necessary for effective citizenship.

In the minimal view, the nature of identity mainly relates to an individual's formal legal status and the civic rights and obligations that are conferred on them, such as being able to vote, hold a passport and having a sense of *'an unreflective nationality'* (ibid., p. 236). A maximal interpretation is seen in much fuller terms. It includes the need for individuals to recognise the rights and responsibilities they have as a member of civic society, yet it is also seen as being much more than this. Individuals should acquire a critical consciousness and contribute to a dynamic, shared, democratic culture. They need a sense of *'the common good and fraternity'* (ibid., p. 236) and the active role they have in creating this. Furthermore, this notion of the common good is *'dynamic rather than static'* as it should continually be debated and refined, particularly in recognition of the way that citizenship relates to notions of equality of access in that participation can be undermined by inequalities of social class, race, gender or disability for example.

In relation to the virtues required by citizens, the minimal approach focuses on *'loyalty and responsibility'* (ibid., p. 236) to be law abiding with a focus on doing good works such as volunteering or being a good neighbour. The virtues required in the maximal interpretation require *'a more extensive focus for their loyalty and responsibility'* (ibid., p. 236), with citizens having a responsibility for engaging in critical questioning about existing social conditions and working towards improved social justice and the empowerment of all citizens.

The political involvement of citizens in the minimal interpretation frames citizens as essentially private and passive with an obligation to vote when required. Alternatively, a citizen in maximal interpretations would be involved in much more than just voting. They would be expected to engage actively in a participative democratic culture and by doing so they

also sustain and develop it. The social prerequisites involved in the minimal approach are simply the awarding of the legal status of citizen. In the maximal interpretation equality is the key social prerequisite. Therefore, society should do all it can to counter circumstances such as social disadvantage, which can undermine the ability of citizens to participate fully.

McLaughlin's framework problematises the underlying assumptions informing a specific conception of citizenship, and the wider purposes to which the related citizenship education (CE) is being harnessed. Particularly, what kind of citizen is CE being deployed to create? McLaughlin (1992, pp. 241–242) introduces two kinds of citizen, the 'autonomous' and the 'autarchic'. The autonomous citizen and their activity would be characterised by critical reasoning and, where required, a challenging of the status quo associated with the maximal conception. The autarchic citizen, however, is framed as being more individualist and self-reliant and their activity would be more limited in scope and in particular would not extend to '*calling into question fundamental matters...such as the prevailing social and political structures*' (ibid., p. 241). The autarchic citizen would be associated more with the minimal conception. Thus McLaughlin's framework presents the purpose of CE as being either minimal, pacifying people to except the status quo or maximal, developing critical awareness to promote change. However, it has been the former that has tended to be deployed – at least in the UK – as the interest in CE has grown. This minimalist emphasis is, however, part of the problem that can lead to authoritarian political reactions as democracy and citizenship education appears to merely shore-up liberal political and wealthy elites rather than result in substantive democratic and egalitarian outcomes. A number of factors have influenced the growth of citizenship education for young people, as we now turn to consider.

THE PROMINENCE OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Osler and Starkey (2006) highlight the renewed interest in CE, both in the UK and internationally. By drawing on a systematic review of the literature between 1995 and 2005, they identify 'six contextual factors' which explain this growth in interest. We briefly summarise these six factors below.

The first factor relates to the notion that education should contribute to helping people understand and challenge global injustice and inequality. This is influenced by the recognition that there is a growing link between inequality and injustice, and the growth in terrorist movements across the world. A key policy driver here is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which contains within it an aim for education focused on developing respect for human rights and freedoms and to equip people to live a responsible life in a free society.

The second factor relates to the educational response to globalization and the resultant migration. As nation states and geographic communities become increasingly multicultural, there is a tension between the need for education to promote national unity and the need to include and accommodate increasing cultural diversity. Therefore, to promote social

cohesion, CE should inculcate a set of democratic values and ideals such as human rights, justice, equality and tolerance of diversity that all citizens can support and embrace.

The third factor relates to the ‘paradigm of disengagement’: the perceived erosion of the civic and political engagement of young people. This perception views young people as apathetic, ignorant and indifferent to the political process. As Biesta (2011, p. 12) comments, young people are seen as lacking the ‘...*proper knowledge and skills, the right values and correct dispositions to be the citizens that they should be*’.

The fourth factor focuses on another perceived youth deficit, this time in relation to their lack of appropriate morals and values. For example, there is widespread public concern about the perceived rise of a range of risky and problematic behaviour such as alcohol consumption, drug taking and sexual behaviour amongst some young people. All of which are seen as emphasising a need for CE to help young people develop the appropriate views, values and morals (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998, p. 15).

The fifth contextual factor leads on from the end of the Cold War and the subsequent rise and development of liberal democratic states across the world. Education for citizenship is seen here as a key means of helping to develop and sustain these new democracies.

The sixth factor comes from the need to address the rise in anti-democratic and racist movements, particularly in Europe. Anti-racism is therefore seen as an important element of and motivation for CE.

Not all of these factors are as relevant or play an equal role in shaping the interest in CE in particular nations where the interplay of history and contemporary issues interact in particular ways. In the Scottish context, it would seem appropriate to suggest that all but the fifth factor, focused on rebuilding democracy after the Cold War, are relevant. Importantly, however, some of these contextual factors are also contradictory in relation to the perceived purpose of CE. For example, one factor emphasises respecting rights and learning knowledge and skills to participate actively in the democratic process. Yet, on the other hand, there is a concern about anti-social behavior which leads to a focus on moral duties and individual responsibilities. For example, Wood (2009, p. 149) states; ‘*Citizenship education, in this mould becomes nothing more than a programme of addressing a young person’s individual political, social and moral deficits*’.

We now turn to discuss the policy developments for CE in the United Kingdom (UK) with particular reference to Scotland. Whilst some of the policy language resonates with the kind of maximal view of citizenship previously discussed, the reality on the ground, as we shall see is more towards a minimalist version of citizenship.

THE SCOTTISH (AND UK) POLICY CONTEXT

Munn and Arnott (2009) argue that the work of British political theorist Bernard Crick has had a significant role in shaping the theory, practice and goals of CE across the constituent parts of the UK. They identify these three key goals as; ‘*developing political*

literacy, community involvement and social and moral responsibility in young people' (Munn and Arnott, 2009, p. 444). These key goals are reflected in the current Scottish context and CE and the creation of 'responsible citizens' is one of the four key purposes of the curriculum. The others being 'successful learners, confident individuals, and effective contributors' (see Education Scotland, no date). In Scotland, CE is embedded as a cross curricular theme within the context of the national 'Curriculum for Excellence', rather than for example in England where Citizenship Education is a discrete subject area.

Four of the contextual factors previously outlined by Osler and Starkey (2006) have influenced developments in CE in Scotland specifically, the challenge of inequality, the perceptions of youth deficits in political engagement and morals, and the focus on rights and justice education.

The key policy development in Scotland began in 1999, directly after the re-enactment of a Scottish Parliament with devolved responsibilities for creating legislation in specific areas (including education). The then Scottish Executive (after 2007 renamed the Scottish Government) established a working group to report on how Scotland could develop education for citizenship. This working group produced a report titled 'Education for Citizenship: A Paper for Discussion and Consultation' (LTS, 2000). A range of further influential papers and reports were produced which focused on the development and implementation of the ideas in the original LTS paper and included the embedding of CE in the curriculum for excellence as a core purpose of education in Scotland (see LTS, 2002; Scottish Executive, 2004).

For Biesta (2013, p. 101) the LTS 2002 paper was the most significant in shaping the way education for citizenship developed in Scotland, as it not only specified in detail how citizenship should be conceived and how education can contribute to this, but also as it became the framework for further developments in the field. Given the significance of this paper, it is important to highlight some of the key ideas which emerge from it. For example, the overall stated goal of the Scottish Government is to develop young people's capacity for *'thoughtful and responsible participation in political, economic, social and cultural life'* (LTS, 2002, p. 5). To support this capacity, schools are directed to promote learning opportunities focused on four aspects; knowledge and understanding, skills and competencies, values and dispositions and creativity and enterprise (See Biesta, 2013 or Munn and Arnott, 2009). An important conceptual principle was also established, which positions young people as *'citizens of today rather than citizens in waiting'* (LTS, 2002, p. 8) with the rights and responsibilities that go along with this status. Furthermore, it was argued that young people learn most about citizenship when they are actively involved in the process (LTS, 2002, p. 3) and so schools should function in ways that promote democracy and democratic relationships, including enabling young people to apply their rights and responsibilities, such as participating in all the decision making processes that effect their lives in and outside school.

The paper conceived of citizenship and CE as being about acquiring capacity through developing skills and knowledge, but importantly it also argues that young people should

be motivated to use this capacity to make decisions ‘...and where appropriate take action’, infused with a sense of social and environmental responsibility (LTS, 2002, p. 11). Developing young people’s capability for citizenship also included the need for political literacy and the development of political views and values. Yet the paper also recognised that conflicts in values and power relationships exist and so young people would need to develop a critical awareness of these ideas and values. As Munn & Arnott (2009, p. 447) argue, the report saw developing ‘critical autonomy’ in young people as a key element in helping them understand and actively apply their citizenship.

This brief overview of some of the core ideas presented in the paper would seem to reflect a ‘maximal’ conception of CE with ideas such as developing critical awareness, active involvement and taking action, all being prominent. However, a minimal conception is a more accurate description of the Scottish approach in practice.

CRITICISM OF THE SCOTTISH APPROACH

Biesta (2013) makes some important criticisms of the way CE is conceived of and practiced. We draw on two here. He claims there is a strong individualist tendency in the Scottish approach, which undermines collective responsibility. The emphasis is on developing the appropriate capacities and values to participate individually in society, but not to challenge the existing norms. Linked to this criticism, Biesta also argues that despite the rhetoric of taking action and developing critical awareness, this emphasis on individual responsibility limits the potential for developing effective political action for change. Therefore, he argues that CE, as it is conceived and subsequently practiced, is at risk of being individualised and apolitical, by focusing on young people’s individual responsibilities and underplaying the need to help them learn about and promote their active political engagement in the issues that affect their lives.

Of course, this critique is not something unique to Scotland. For example, in the English context, Cunningham and Lavalette (2004, p. 258) make a similar criticism about this individualistic and apolitical tendency as they claim young people are ‘...seen as problems to be managed, moulded and reformed rather than as active citizens capable of thinking and making decisions about issues that concern them’. The minimalist version of citizenship dovetails with the premises of liberal democracy which, as we have seen, has been one source of authoritarian populist reaction.

There is also an echo of these criticisms emerging in the views and experiences of a group of young political activists taking part in Moir’s ongoing doctoral research¹. This research

¹ This research takes a qualitative approach and involves interviews with between 14 and 18 young activists. The research question is; How do young political activists learn for democracy & critical citizenship? In particular the study is focused on identifying the significant factors the young people in the sample claim led to their political activity and to what extent did any educational experiences influence their becoming active? Moir is currently conducting a detailed analysis of the interview data working towards writing up his thesis in early 2018.

is exploring how these young activists account for their activism and what role their educational experience played in this. The activists taking part in the study are members of three organisations; The Young Communist League, Scottish Labour Young Socialists and Young activist in the Trade Union Movement.

Speaking on the aims of Citizenship education in Scotland one respondent comments:

“I think they’re great aims and I can get behind them, but I suppose in my view, if this was in place while I was at school, you know, just from what I know from friends...the aspirations (of CE) didn’t match the reality for so many students. And I think, for example it says here about citizens of today, not citizens in waiting, but people aren’t taught how to register to vote even. For example in my view something schools fail to do, I think you should be able to register to vote at your school, especially now sixteen and seventeen year olds are eligible to vote. I think there should be support from, citizenship education or even modern studies² teachers or whatever to help pupils, you know, register to vote. And again, coming back to this point not citizens in waiting, we’re not, schools don’t tell pupils how the political system actually works, how you can get involved. Like, it doesn’t talk about trade unions, like how you connect, it doesn’t even talk about civil society in the sense of how you can get involved in that sense...”

He went on to express his concern at his experience of CE commenting;

“...so I do worry in a sense, like, reflecting back on what my friends have told me that we essentially have a generation of young people in Scotland who aren’t being, you know, geared towards citizenship or activism, and I think that’s to the detriment of our political process in Scotland.”

Another respondent reflecting on the difference between the policy rhetoric and the aims of CE and his lived experience said;

“...I think the school, the discipline of school, the hierarchy within school, this is all through primary school, all through high school, does the opposite I think it reinforces just like being subdued, reinforces that discipline. And this isn’t anything conscious by the teachers in any sense, it’s just when you’re brought up and you’re not taught to think critically.

Another respondent also emphasized the lack of criticality and an inability to challenge ideas in school. She comments;

2 Modern studies is a subject unique to the Scottish secondary school curriculum. The focus of Modern Studies is to develop learners’ knowledge and understanding of contemporary political and social issues in local, Scottish, United Kingdom and international contexts.

"...our teacher, she was a really good teacher but I do remember her having very distinct...distinct definitions of what capitalism was and what communism was. And I remember her describing them as two very different things and how capitalism, you know, was described as something that allowed people to start their own businesses and communism was kind of described as this awful ideology that kind of imprisoned people but at, at the time...there was kind of no awareness that we could challenge that view. There was a kind of...this is just it, like we'll just accept this as it is. And there was no appetite for anybody else to challenge the view that was kind of being taught to us, I suppose. And as someone that's now been involved in left wing politics for a while and read more about it... there was no real opportunity to challenge... prevalent ideas or key ideas".

Another respondent reflected on the content of the curriculum and his experience of it commenting;

"...I guess, there is a set curriculum, there is only so much you can teach, it would have been nice to have learned a bit more about trade unionism and the labour movement. And I can understand why it is limited as there is so much to teach a class...I guess...the schools are fearful of radicalizing students. I guess from the top down they don't want to cultivate a sense of workers solidarity and get people interested in politics..."

What lies behind these critiques and the experiences of these young activists is the notion that citizenship and CE are 'essentially contested' concepts which '*...inevitably involves endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users*' (Gallie, 1956, p. 169). Citizenship and CE are not neutral. The particular approach adopted at any one time represents a choice from a spectrum of different, and often diametrically opposed, interpretations of citizenship and, more importantly, the nature of democracy.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Carr and Hartnett (2002, p. 11) argue that there is a tension '*...between the 'liberal' commitment to individual freedom and the 'democratic' commitment to a more equitable distribution of power*'. The tension, of course, is between how we value liberty or equality and the balance between the two.

Carr and Hartnett compare and contrast what they term as the 'contemporary' conception of democracy and the 'classical' conception based on Athenian participatory and direct democracies. Carr and Hartnett's view of contemporary conceptions of democracy see citizenship in a minimal way. For example, there is a representative democratic culture and merely formal notions of equality. A core principle is the development and maintenance of a social system that allows individuals to pursue their own private self-interest with a minimum of state interference. This positions citizens as little more than politically

passive voters. Alternatively, for Carr and Hartnett, classical conceptions of democracy frame citizens in a maximal way and encourage their active participation in the political and decision-making process. People are seen as active political beings in a participative democratic culture who share in the deliberations that shape and develop their world.

These differing conceptions of democracy, and the citizens required to enact them, have a significant impact on the particular function of CE. According to McLaughlin (2006, see also Carr and Hartnett, 2002), pluralist liberal democracies like the UK are characterised by a diversity of beliefs and values, but especially a diversity in what should constitute the appropriate public virtues, identities, principles and loyalties that shape and sustain the good and just society. Consequently, there is a tension in the operation of a pluralist society between the ability of individual citizens to pursue their private lives and the extent to which this is constrained by the desire to maintain or enforce particular social norms. As there are these countervailing forces at work in a pluralist democracy there is always a difficult balance to be struck between ‘cohesiveness and diversity’, between our public and private lives and the values which inform them (McLaughlin, 1992, p. 240).

McLaughlin suggests that CE in pluralist societies therefore have two key, but contradictory roles, to enable students to develop an understanding of and commitment to the various shared public virtues and dominant ideas that characterise society, but also to encourage a critical examination of these public virtues and norms and, when required, change them. Education which focuses on the latter is therefore critical today.

The problematic nature of CE therefore follows on from this tension, as it depends where on the minimal/maximal continuum those who are promoting CE choose to draw their particular conception of citizenship from and the purpose this education is thought to serve. Any position taken will be normative, informed by the particular view a person holds on political economy and their view of democracy and citizenship. However, a key test should be to what extent any approach helps to promote and sustain a vibrant democratic culture and challenge inequality and injustice, which is claimed to lie behind the recent interest in CE.

A TYPOLOGY OF CITIZENS: STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP & DEMOCRACY

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) draw on their own empirical research in the United States to develop a typology of citizens and CE (see also Veugelers, 2007 and Johnson and Morris, 2010), which is in many ways consistent with McLaughlin’s maximal and minimal conceptions. Westheimer and Kahne suggest three types of citizen: the Personally Responsible Citizen, the Participatory Citizen and the Justice Oriented Citizen.

These conceptions reflect different ontological and epistemological assumptions about what a good citizen is and what learning supports them. All three conceptions promote the development of individual knowledge and skills such as how democracy and government institutions work. However, the Personally Responsible conception differs sharply

from the other versions. Personally Responsible citizenship is focused solely on building individual skills and capacities and promoting traits such as developing good character, behaving responsibly, obeying the law, volunteering and charity giving; a minimal interpretation in McLaughlin's terms. Participatory citizenship emphasises community leadership and action, whereas Justice Orientated citizenship as well as involving these things, would also emphasise the development of critical awareness and structural analysis of social problems. These would be more closely aligned to a maximalist conception.

In relation to the key test of promoting and sustaining a democratic culture, Westheimer and Kahne state that an exclusive emphasis on Personally Responsible citizenship is '*... inadequate for advancing democracy*' (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004, p. 248). They argue that whilst some of the traits associated with the Personally Responsible citizen, such as '*fostering honesty, good neighbourliness and so on*' (ibid., p. 244) are in themselves good things for people living together in communities to have, they are not inherently democratic. Emphasising the problem, they go on to argue that '*...government leaders in a totalitarian regime would be as delighted as leaders in a democracy if their young citizens learned the lessons put forward by many of the proponents of personally responsible citizenship*' (ibid., p. 244).

Westheimer and Kahne argue that the Personally Responsible conception is the dominant conception in the United States. Our experience of educational practice would suggest that this is the case in Scotland as well. Biesta (2013) also argues that although drawing on elements of all three of Westheimer and Kahne conceptions '*the Scottish approach is predominantly that of the personally responsible citizen*' (Biesta, 2013, p. 113). The policy documents relating to Scotland could be seen to promote the idea that CE should be about creating and sustaining a '*healthy and vibrant culture of democratic participation*' (LTS, 2002, p. 11), were by '*taking action*' (ibid., p. 11) '*issues of social injustice*' and '*inequities*' will be addresses (ibid., p. 6). However, in our view and from the findings of Westheimer and Kahne and Biesta, it would seem that serious doubt is cast over the ability of CE, as it is currently conceived in Scotland, to achieve these ends.

THE DOMINANCE OF THE PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE (NEOLIBERAL) CITIZEN

The dominance of a personally responsible interpretation of citizenship presents a fundamental challenge to those interested in CE and its potential for developing a participative democracy and a more socially just world. However, to understand the dominance of this interpretation we need to understand the wider context from which this dominance arises. According to Hollis '*Education is a process of shaping society a generation hence*' (quoted in Carr and Hartnett, 2002, p. 17). The particular shape this takes at any one time is related, dialectically, to the dominant political and economic ideas of the time. The choices we make about education today can lock us into a particular set of social and economic relations for the future.

The dominant political economy of today is globalised neo-liberalism, and education policy and practice are being distinctively shaped by its particular nostrums, values and limitations (Garret, 2009; Olsen and Peters, 2005; Crowther, 2004). According to Harvey (2005, p. 2) neoliberalism is;

... a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices.

For Harvey (2005, p. 5) neoliberalism, by serving the interest of a small but powerful elite, exacerbates inequalities already inherent in capitalist society in which the opportunities for the majority of people to fully develop and flourish are limited or negated. However, to help understand some of the factors sustaining the dominance of neoliberalism, it is important to look more closely at the particular relationship between the role of education and the economy that neo-liberal ideas foster.

Ball (2012, p. 2) suggests that neo-liberalism has changed how we think about the nature and purpose of education today, including CE. One of the significant effects of this change on education is a tendency towards economic reductionism. For example, Aspin and Chapman (2000) argue that education has a 'triadic nature' which includes an economic purpose for employability and prosperity and a personal element, which relates to an individual's personal development and growth. It also includes a democratic element, which should foster social inclusiveness, democratic understanding and activity which will help develop and sustain a *'more democratic polity and set of social institutions'* (ibid., p. 17). Yet crucially, the key for Aspin and Chapman is that these elements are interrelated and indivisible, with a *'complex interplay between all three'* (ibid, p. 16). However, Biesta (2006) and Crowther (2004) argue that there has been a significant realignment in both the priorities and understandings of this triad over the last three decades.

As a result of the dominance of neoliberalism, the economic dimension is now pre-eminent in education policy, marginalising the other two dimensions of education. As Crowther claims (2014, p. 26), *'In these neoliberal times the justification for almost everything to do with public policy is measured in terms of its economic value'*. The purpose of education therefore has shifted from being focused on 'learning to be', aimed at developing full, rounded humans and a socially just society, to 'learning to be productive and employable', focused on the individual development of human capital, employability and the subservience of education to needs of the economy (Coffield, 1999; Crowther, 2004; Biesta, 2006)

This economic reductionism has important consequences for the purpose of education, and by implication, for CE in particular. Part of neo-liberalism's project is an attempt to remoralise society by nurturing a new sense of 'flexible' individualism which shifts the

responsibility for prosperity and welfare from the state to the individual, so people will ‘self capitalise’ over their lifetime (Lingard, 2009, quoted in Ball, 2012, p. 3). For Sennett (1999) this has fundamental implications for human beings leading to the very ‘corrosion of their character’. Education is a key contributor to this remoralisation. However, as Crowther (2004, p. 127) argues, there is a ‘*hidden agenda*’ in education framed in this way, which involves the ‘...*creation of malleable, disconnected, transient, disciplined workers and citizens*’. The result of this over emphasis on the economic dimension and on ‘learning to be employable’, reinforces the status quo as education becomes ‘...*adaptive rather than transformative...*’ (Walker, 2012, p. 386). Rather than creating ‘active subjects in politics’ (Shaw and Martin, 2000, p. 402), who can think critically about the world and their place in it so they can act to change it, the individuals who are disciplined and shaped by this neoliberal discourse in education are positioned as ‘objects of policy’, that is passive economic actors, and so they would resemble in McLaughlin’s term, autarchic citizens. This is also the outcome of the dominance of a Personally Responsible or minimal conception of citizenship, which emphasises the individual over the collective and tends towards the creation of individualised, apolitical and uncritical citizens.

‘MERELY’ USEFUL KNOWLEDGE OR “REALLY USEFUL (CITIZENSHIP) KNOWLEDGE”

Carr and Harnett (2002, p. 44) argue that the purpose of CE is directly linked to particular concepts of citizenship, democracy and economic relations. For them a contemporary conception of democracy reflects the ‘*political requirements of the market economy*’. The purpose of CE therefore is to produce the ‘*political ignorance and apathy of the masses*’. Pedagogically, relationships would be authoritarian or transmissive and focused on developing attitudes and knowledge which fit people submissively into the status quo and prepares them for their role as workers and consumers in a market economy. On the other hand, a classical conception would seek to develop knowledge and attitudes in people that would facilitate political participation and critical awareness, allowing them to ‘*reappraise existing social norms and reflect critically on the dominant social, political and economic institutions of contemporary society*’ (ibid, p. 44). The pedagogical relationships here would be democratic and participatory, focusing on democratic deliberation and the problematising of lived experience, which could lead to transformation and emancipation, not adaptation to the status quo.

The above perspective on the purpose of education reflects an important 19th century debate in adult education about the development of Mechanics Institutes in the United Kingdom (See Fieldhouse, 1998). These Institutes were a notable innovation in education for working adults. In the context of poor economic growth, education was seen as both the problem and solution. The economy was not growing effectively due to the lack of technically skilled workers. In order to overcome this shortfall in skilled labour industrialists and philanthropists were instrumental in creating many – but not all - ‘Mechanics institutes’. However, whilst the education on offer may have benefited people individually,

these institutes were not designed to develop the critical consciousness of workers. As Engels once asserted;

Mechanics' Institutes...offer classes in the brand of political economy which takes free competition as its God. The teachers of this subject preach the doctrine that it does not lie within the power of the workers to change the existing economic order...they must resign themselves to starving without making a fuss. The students are taught subservience to the existing political and social order. (Engels, quoted in Fieldhouse 1998, p. 27)

As the quotation above highlights, on one side of this historical debate were those who saw education as being primarily about providing workers with the appropriate skills and attitudes to serve the needs of the economy to increase prosperity. On the other were radicals who saw this education as domesticating people into an exploitative socio-economic situation. For radicals, the education of the mechanics institutes provided 'merely' useful knowledge which was instrumental, individualised and adaptive. What the radicals wanted was 'really' useful knowledge, which would help people understand their current situation and raise awareness of how they could change it for the better (Johnson, 1988). This debate about the core educational function of these institutions has deep resonance with today.

The inter-relationship between conceptions of democracy, the economy and education is crucial in understanding the core purpose of the education that emerges from this relationship. They have to be considered as a dynamic inter-related and reciprocal totality, rather than static separate elements. Any change in one will influence and reinforce changes in the others. As a result, there is always a struggle, or 'long revolution', as Raymond Williams (Carr and Harnett, 2002) describes it, between those who control and benefit from power and wealth and want to maintain this privileged situation, and those who are exploited by the current status quo and need to change things. This struggle lies at the heart of the contested nature of citizenship and CE.

We argue that in the context of a dominant, global neoliberal political economy, it is the 'contemporary conception' of democracy that is shaping the nature and purpose of CE and we need to change it too. This creates the conditions for the prominence of a 'minimal' or personally responsible approach to CE thereby facilitating a process where young people are being locked uncritically into a world that prepares them '*...for a new economic reality designed by others.*' rather than preparing people to '*... shape social reality in more progressive and socially just way.*' (Hyslop-Margison and Thayer, 2009, p. xvii).

CHALLENGING EDUCATION FOR PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP

We need to change what CE means and what kind of democracy it needs to serve; unless we do this, there is no educational challenge to the growth of right-wing populism.

We need to ground CE in more radical soil if it is to be an effective challenge to the limited form of CE that are dominant and, at the same time, present an immanent critique of liberal democracy. The philosophical principles of the kind of radical education we are highlighting are especially drawn from the work and ideas of Karl Marx and those involved with the Frankfurt School such as Max Horkheimer and Theodore Adorno (Johnson and Morris, 2010; Darder, Baltodano and Torres, 2003). The work of Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire are also influential. Although radical education is informed by a set of 'heterogeneous ideas' (Darder et al., 2003, p. 10), there are some core perspectives or principles, which can help to characterise its nature and purpose. For example, it is an overtly political and radical educational philosophy and practice (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2002). It seeks to directly challenge the political economy and social relations of capitalist society, which is characterised by significant inequality and injustice for the majority, limiting their ability to develop to their full potential and become '*fully human*' (Freire, 1990, p. 21).

Radical practice challenges the idea of neutrality in education (Freire, 1985; Apple, 1990). The role of dominant traditions in education in capitalist society '*...remains one of reproducing...inequality...and act[ing] to legitimate its rule and to train people to fit into the social-economic hierarchy*' (Youngman, 1986, p. 21). Therefore, an important idea in social transformation is the concept of hegemony (Quintin, 1971). In developing the concept of hegemony Gramsci drew on this key idea from Marx and Engels (2004, pp. 65–66);

Each new class which puts itself in the place of the one ruling before it, is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aim, to represent its interest as the common interest of all the members of society...it has to give its ideas the form of universality, and represent them as the only rational, valid ones.

Hegemony involves the active consent of people in their own subordination. The role of education in this process is crucial, both in terms of sustaining as well as challenging this hegemony. As Gramsci claims '*Every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship*' (Quintin, 1971, p. 350). This opens up the opportunity to develop what Gramsci calls a 'counter hegemonic' project; key to this is his distinction between 'common' sense and 'good' sense. For Gramsci, 'common' sense is the uncritical view of the world which most people have and which means they unquestionably accept the key hegemonic claims made about the world and their place in it. The key for Gramsci was to develop in people the critical consciousness of 'good sense' (i.e. renovating and making critical what people already know) so they can become aware of their situation and come together to act to change it. It is the development of good sense that will help build an enlightening counter hegemonic project.

This process of enlightenment is referred to by Freire as conscientization: '*the process in which people, not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociohistorical reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to*

transform that reality' (Freire, quoted in Carr and Kemmis, 1986, pp. 157–158). For critics, particularly those who value objectivity and neutrality in pedagogical relationships, such a view of education is overtly motivated by a radical politics which therefore leads to the indoctrination of the people educators work with (Burbules and Berk, 1999; Darder et al., 2003). This criticism is somewhat undermined by the idea that all education is political (Allman and Wallis, 1995). As Freire (1985) argues, claiming to be neutral is in itself political, as this is to side with the powerful and so help maintain their power and privilege and an unequal and unjust world.

More importantly, it is essential to re-emphasise the centrality of dialogue as an epistemological category as well as a pedagogical practice, in Freire's vision of education. Educators who see themselves as 'enlightening the masses' miss the point that knowledge has to be created openly and actively between people who are equals; people bring to the educational relationship different types of experience and expertise, but it is only through dialogue as a pedagogical process that genuine 'acts of knowing' occur. Missionary practices to teach people what is best for them are self-defeating and useless; educators without humility and reflexive awareness are, ultimately, 'part of the problem' rather than 'part of the solution'.

CONCLUSION

If education is to play any role in defending and extending democratic life, in the context of contemporary capitalism, it needs to also challenge the limits of liberal democracy and the kind of minimal citizenship ideal that it fosters. The very fact that liberal democracy obscures the role of economic inequalities in political outcomes is a root problem.

This account has demonstrated that ideas about CE and its relationship to democracy and the economy are complex and contested. As discussed above, ideas of CE range between minimal conceptions that provide 'merely useful knowledge' and which act to pacify people and reinforce an unjust status quo, and maximal conceptions providing 'really useful knowledge' and which aim to raise people's critical awareness of injustice and work towards developing a more equal and just society. We have also suggested that in Scotland, within the context of a dominant neoliberal political economy, there seems to be some disjunction between policy and practice. On the one hand, the aims of policy evoke a maximal conception of CE, and on the other, the interpretation and impact of policy in practice, reflects a more minimal or 'personally responsible' approach. If citizens are going to be equipped, however, to combat the ideological messages and false promises of right-wing populism they will need to be far better prepared than this model of citizenship caters for.

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Marta Gregorčič

PARTICIPACIJA STAREJŠIH ODRASLIH V PRAKSAH SKUPNOSTI IN V SKUPNOSTI PRAKSE

POVZETEK

Članek predstavlja analizo fokusne skupine, ki je bila marca letos izvedena v občini Ajdovščina v okviru projekta Old Guys Say Yes to Community. V projektu z evropskimi partnerji ugotavljamo vključenost starejših odraslih (zlasti moških 60+) v prakse skupnosti in skupnosti prakse, v članku pa analiziramo, kako udeleženci fokusne skupine iz Ajdovščine opažajo in razumejo vključevanje starejših odraslih v svojem okolju ter kje vidijo ovire in možnosti za večjo vključenost moških 60+ v tovrstne prakse. Z metodo odprtega kodiranja in identificiranjem preliminarne tematske kategorije ter prek selektivnega kodiranja in sintetiziranja konceptualnih kategorij je bilo ugotovljeno, da so udeleženci fokusne skupine svoje družbeno okolje opredeljevali prek socioloških vidikov in socialnih vrednot, najranljivejših populacij (kamor so prištevati tudi starejše odrasle) in preživetvenih strategij ter ustvarjalnosti kot prispevka starejših občanov k razvoju skupnosti. Izzive in vizije za kakovostno in dostojno življenje starejših odraslih so oprli zlasti na varstvo in skrbstvo, medtem ko so možnosti za skupnosti prakse videli v raznolikih že obstoječih in drugih izobraževalnih in učnih programih, informiranju in ozaveščanju o njih ter premišljanju o nadomestnih aktivnostih za vključevanje moških (60+) v družbeno življenje. Poudarjeni so bili še vloga ozaveščanja moških o pomenu iskanja novih družbenih okolij že v procesu upokojevanja, pripravljenost za prenos dobrih praks v svoje lokalno okolje itn. Ugotovitve analize fokusne skupine so relevantne za nadaljnje raziskovanje vključenosti starejših moških v skupnost v Sloveniji in Evropi, kjer se tovrstni razmisleki šele vzpostavljajo.

Ključne besede: starejši odrasli, moški 60+, učenje, vključenost, družbena participacija, blaginja, prakse skupnosti, skupnosti prakse

PARTICIPATION OF OLDER ADULTS IN PRACTICES OF COMMUNITY AND IN COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE - ABSTRACT

The paper presents the analysis of a focus group conducted in March 2017 in the municipality of Ajdovščina as part of the project Old Guys Say Yes to Community. In collaboration with European partners, this project investigates the inclusion of older adults (particularly men over 60) in practices of community and communities of practice. The analysis in the present article relates to the ways the participants of the focus group in Ajdovščina notice and understand the participation of older adults in their local

environment, and the barriers and opportunities they see for greater inclusion of men over 60 in such practices. Using the method of open coding and identifying preliminary thematic categories as well as selective coding and synthesizing conceptual categories, the research found that the focus group participants defined their social environment through its sociological aspects and societal values, its most vulnerable populations (which in their estimation included older adults), and survival strategies and creativity as the contributions senior citizens make to the development of the community. They mainly related the challenges and visions of a life of dignity and quality for older adults to care and services, while they saw possibilities for communities of practice in the already existing and diverse educational and study programmes, spreading information and awareness about them, and a reconsideration of replacement activities for the inclusion of men (over 60) in social life. In addition, emphasis was given to the importance of raising men's awareness about the meaning of looking for new social milieus already during the process of retiring, the readiness to implement good practices in the local environment, etc. The findings of focus group analysis are relevant for further research into the inclusion of older men in the community anywhere in Slovenia and Europe where such thinking is only beginning to gain a toehold.

Keywords: *older adults, men over 60, learning, inclusion, social participation, welfare, practices of community, communities of practice*

UVOD

Besedilo je nastalo v okviru triletnega projekta Erasmus+ z naslovom *Old Guys Say Yes to Community*,¹ ki ga koordinira Filozofska fakulteta in prek katerega s partnerji iz Portugalske, Poljske in Estonije ugotavljamo, kako povečati vključenost starejših odraslih v skupnostne dejavnosti, v prakse skupnosti in skupnosti prakse (Lave in Wenger, 1991).² Ciljna skupina so moški 60+, v projektu pa raziskujemo, kako zlasti v tistih organizacijah, ki niso prvenstveno namenjene izobraževanju in učenju, okrepiti priložnostno učenje in družbeno vključevanje starejših moških v skupnost z namenom, da bi povečali njihove možnosti za dostojno in ustvarjalno življenje v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju. Prednosti vseživljenjskega učenja in vključenosti starejših odraslih v skupnostne prakse se namreč ne kažejo le v pozitivnem vplivu na samopodobo, v novih znanjih, spretnostih, vrednotah in stališčih, temveč tudi v krepitvi posameznikovih družbenih omrežij in socialnega kapitala (Merriam in Kee, 2014; Schuller in Desjardins, 2007; Tett in MacLachlan, 2007), izboljšanju kakovosti življenja, povečanju kognitivnega in mentalnega kapitala (Golding, 2011a, 2011b; Foresight Mental Capital and Wellbeing Project, 2008), emocionalne blaginje (Williamson, 2011) itn.

1 Strategic Partnership for Adult Education, številka sporazuma: 16-KA204-021604 in številka zadeve KA2-AE-9/16.

2 Termina »prakse skupnosti« in »skupnosti prakse« se bosta pojavljala skozi vse besedilo. S prvim označujemo politične, kognitivne, socialne in druge relevantne pridobitve skupnosti (združenj, društev, iniciativ itn.), ki na kolektivni oziroma skupinski ravni premikajo in prispevajo k blaginji skupnosti (torej ne mislimo individualnih in subjektivnih praks, temveč kolektivne procese ter njihovo relacijo in interakcijo v socialnem okolju); z drugim pa zlasti priložnostno in neformalno učenje posameznikov prek vpetosti v skupnost, kot sta ga opredelila Lave in Wenger (1991).

Prva študija, ki je celostno obravnavala problematiko vključenosti (starejših) moških v skupnost, v izobraževalne in učne dejavnosti, je nastala leta 1999 v Veliki Britaniji (McGivney, 1999). Nanjo so se oprle številne raziskave (Department of Education and Skills, 2009; Golding, Brown idr., 2007; O'Connor, 2007; Owens, 2000; Jelenc Krašovec in Radovan, 2014; Reynolds, Mackenzie, Medved in Roger, 2015), ki so zlasti na Irskem, v Avstraliji, Kanadi in na Novi Zelandiji prepoznale težo problematike ter pomen vključevanja starejših moških v prakse skupnosti in tudi v skupnosti prakse. Številne raziskave so namreč dokazale, da so starejši moški negativno ocenjevali svoje preteklo formalno šolanje, kar je odločilno vplivalo na njihovo identiteto in vzorce učnega obnašanja tudi v tretjem življenjskem obdobju (Golding, Brown idr., 2007; Mark in Golding, 2012; McGivney, 1999, 2004; Carragher in Golding, 2015; Owens, 2000), pri čemer so poudarjali tudi feminizacijo učnih programov in osebja (Carragher in Golding, 2015; Owens, 2000). Ti vidiki v tem prispevku niso obravnavani, saj lahko tovrstne analize pridobimo le prek intervjujev s starejšimi moškimi, zato jih bomo predstavili v drugih analizah naše obsežne raziskave. So pa v tem članku podrobneje predstavljeni deli analiz, ki potrjujejo tudi že pridobljene ugotovitve prejšnjih raziskav: da imajo starejši moški v tretjem življenjskem obdobju manj izoblikovano družbeno omrežje kot ženske in da so bolj podvrženi odtujenosti in osami (McGivney, 2004; Williamson, 2011), saj so bili skozi celotno življenje socializirani za vlogo tistega, ki zagotavlja preskrbo in blaginjo družine (Hanlon, 2012; Owens, 2000). Moški imajo med delovno aktivnim življenjem tudi rutinizirane aktivnosti, ki opredeljujejo njihovo identiteto (Mann, 2006), z upokojitvijo pa se, kot kažejo številne in raznovrstne raziskave (McGivney, 1999; Jelenc Krašovec in Radovan, 2014; Krajnc, 2016), umaknejo iz družbenih aktivnosti in so tako bistveno manj udeleženi v izobraževalnih in drugih programih, predvsem pa se pogosteje kot ženske soočajo z osamo, različnimi psihološkimi stiskami, težnjami samomorilnosti, raznovrstnimi boleznimi, slabšim zdravjem, krajšo življenjsko dobo itn.

Nekateri raziskovalci pa poudarjajo, da so poleg ovdovelosti, negativne ali zelo negativne percepcije lastnega zdravja ter umskih sposobnosti pomemben napovedovalec osamljenosti predvsem psihološke stiske in da je za preprečevanje njihovih posledic, ki se kažejo v večji obolevnosti in umrljivosti, treba poiskati socialne in psihološke odgovore ter intervencije (Ribeiro, Paúl in Nogueira, 2007). Hrvaška raziskava³ je opozorila tudi na spolno pogojene razlike med starejšimi odraslimi, zlasti kar zadeva proces staranja in samo razumevanje starosti (Bertić, Telebuh in Znika, 2016). Ženske so bolj izražale strah pred družbeno izločenostjo, pred svojim videzom v starosti, doživljanjem starosti ter soočanjem z njo ter strah pred nezmožnostjo, ko bi postale družbeno nekoristne, oziroma strah pred tem, da bodo postale breme bližnjim. Moški pa so bolj poudarjali, da se bo s starostjo izgubil smisel življenja, radost, in so sklepali, da bodo osamljeni (Bertić, Telebuh in Znika, 2016, str. 35), torej so omenjali vse tisto, kar Krajnc (2016, str. 49) opredeljuje kot preživele družbene stereotipe. Čeprav so moški stremeli k daljši življenjski dobi kot ženske,

3 Raziskava je vključevala 48 naključno izbranih članov Združenja za boj proti raku v Bjelovarsko-bilogorski županiji, ki so bili stari 60+ in od katerih je bila polovica moških in polovica žensk.

so se v starosti videli negativno, kot neproduktivne, fizično nezmožne in neučinkovite. Ženske pa so poleg vseh že omenjenih kazalnikov, ki so jih ocenjevale bolj pozitivno kot moški, navajale, da želijo v starosti doseči tudi modrost in izkusiti nova doživetja oziroma tisto, kar Krajnc (2016, str. 41) poimenuje nova podoba starosti, torej tisto, kar v tem članku uvrščamo pod skupnosti prakse. Rezultati raziskave, sicer pridobljeni od specifičnih udeležencev (aktivnih v združenju proti raku), nas napeljujejo na sklep, da moški bolj kot ženske sprejemajo starost, a jo projicirajo kot nekaj, kar bo negativno, in kot nekaj, kar bo trajalo dalj časa, ob tem pa v nasprotju z ženskami ne zanikajo procesa staranja.

Kot smo nakazali, se pri starejših odraslih kaže spolna disonanca, zato je bil naš namen ugotoviti, kako udeleženci fokusne skupine iz Ajdovščine ocenjujejo kakovost življenja starejših odraslih v svojem lokalnem okolju; opredeliti prednosti in pomanjkljivosti vključevanja starejših odraslih v lokalnem okolju; razumeti vlogo in pomen, ki ju udeleženci fokusne skupine pripisujejo starejšim odraslim. Hkrati pa tudi, kakšen položaj imajo v svoji občini moški 60+: kje se srečujejo; kam se vključujejo; katere (učne) dejavnosti jih opredeljujejo; koliko so vpeti v družbena omrežja itn. Osrednje vprašanje pa je bilo, ali se v konkretnem lokalnem okolju sploh kaže potreba po obravnavanju skupnosti prakse za moške 60+, po ozaveščanju o pomenu izobraževanja v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju, po koordiniranju obstoječih in razvijanju potencialnih novih dejavnosti. V tem delu raziskave smo želeli oceniti, koliko se sami predstavniki občinskih institucij in nevladnih organizacij zavedajo pomena vseživljenjskega učenja starejših odraslih in potrebe po njem ter ali v tem pogledu v svojem okolju sploh prepoznavajo marginaliziran položaj moških 60+.

METODOLOGIJA

Projektni partnerji smo v prvi polovici leta 2017 vsak v svoji državi izvedli 100 poglobljenih polstrukturiranih kvalitativnih intervjujev z moškimi 60+ ter dve do štiri fokusne skupine s predstavniki lokalnih skupnosti, nevladnih organizacij in iniciativ. V Sloveniji je pretežni del raziskave potekal na dveh izbranih območjih, in sicer v četrtini skupnosti Ljubljana Bežigrad in v občini Ajdovščina, manjši del raziskave pa je vključil sociokulturne animatorje iz različnih lokalnih okolij.⁴ V tem članku, kjer gre za delne ugotovitve širše mednarodne raziskave, ki je trenutno v fazi obdelovanja obsežnega podatkovja, analiziramo fokusno skupino iz Ajdovščine, ki smo jo izvedli 13. marca 2017.

Nabor vprašanj, ki smo jih naslovili na udeležence fokusne skupine, je bil sestavljen iz štirih tematskih sklopov, vsak od teh pa iz pet do šest dodatnih podvprašanj. Najprej smo udeležence prosili, da opišejo svojo občino oziroma skupnost, pri čemer smo jih spodbudili z različnimi predlogi dihotomij (vključujoča vs. izključujoča; bogata vs. revna;

⁴ S partnerji smo kot kriterije za izbor raziskovalnih terenov določili socioekonomske kazalnike oziroma blaginjsko lestvico, zastopanost urbane in ruralne populacije v raziskavi, oceno potencialov za študije primerov pozitivnih praks in pripravljenost za sodelovanje starejših moških ter odzivnost samega lokalnega okolja in institucij.

ustrezna vs. neustrezna za potrebe starejših itn.). Drugi sklop jih je spraševal o problemih in izzivih, s katerimi se srečujejo starejši prebivalci, tretji pa o dejanskih možnostih za aktivnosti, namenjene starejšim odraslim (s poudarkom na moških 60+). V zadnjem sklopu smo jih prosili za predloge in vizije za izboljšanje položaja moških 60+ v njihovi skupnosti z vidika večjega vključevanja v prakse skupnosti in skupnosti prakse.

Za analizo fokusne skupine smo uporabili odprto in nato selektivno oziroma fokusirano kodiranje (Glaser, 1978, 1992), pri čemer smo z odprtim kodiranjem najprej poiskali preliminarne tematske kategorije prek neposrednih izjav udeležencev fokusne skupine, v drugi fazi pa s fokusiranim kodiranjem razvili konceptualne kategorije, ki sintetizirajo večje število podatkov oziroma kod (prav tam).

V fokusni skupini je sodelovalo sedem udeležencev, od katerih so bili trije predstavniki občinskih institucij (župan, vodja oddelka za družbene zadeve in predsednica krajevne skupnosti Črniče; v nadaljevanju označeni z U1, U2, U3), predsednica javnega socialnega varstvenega zavoda za institucionalno varstvo starejših (doma starejših občanov, v nadaljevanju označena z U4) ter trije predstavniki društev oziroma nevladnih organizacij (vodja Karitasa, predsednik Združenja borcev za vrednote NOB Ajdovščina in Vipava ter predsednik planinskega društva, v nadaljevanju označeni z U5, U6 in U7). K sodelovanju je bilo sicer povabljenih 22 potencialnih udeležencev, a je bil odziv očitno pozitiven zlasti pri tistih, ki dejavno vplivajo na dinamiko razvoja svoje skupnosti. Dva od udeležencev (U5 in U6) sta delovala tudi na nacionalni ravni.

Dva predstavnika občine (U1 in U2) sta pripadala srednji generaciji, ostali so se prištevali med generacijo 60+. Med sodelujočimi so bili štiri ženske in trije moški. Ker je bila raziskava postavljena v srednje veliko pol urbano, pol ruralno skupnost z 18.950 prebivalci, so se udeleženci med seboj dobro poznali, saj so zlasti starejši sodelovali v družbenih in političnih aktivnostih v lokalnem okolju že okrog 30 let. Razprava je potekala tekoče in profesionalno, brez potrebe po dodatnem pojasnjevanju, prekinjanju ali spodbujanju sodelavnikov, ter se je končala po dveh urah.

PREDSTAVITEV REZULTATOV Z DISKUSIJO

Občina Ajdovščina leži v goriški regiji v zahodnem delu države in sodi med območja z uravnoteženo blaginjo (Rovan, Malešič in Bregar, 2009). Čeprav sta jo v zadnjih 30 letih pretresli dve gospodarski krizi, občina kot tudi goriška regija po socioekonomskih kazalnikih ne odstopata bistveno od slovenskega povprečja ne v pozitivno in tudi ne v negativno smer, kar so poudarili tudi udeleženci fokusne skupine.⁵ Prvi gospodarski pretres je Ajdovščina doživela leta 1993, ko je brezposelnost narasla na 12 odstotkov in se za

⁵ Vendarle pa je treba poudariti, da je imela Ajdovščina še do nedavnega, kot tudi ves zahodni del države, višjo kakovost življenja v primerjavi z regijami v vzhodnem delu Slovenije že vse od osamosvojitve naprej (Gregorčič in Hanžek, 2001), a analiza različnih statističnih podatkov o blaginji v goriški regiji v zadnjih dveh desetletjih kaže, da so številne prednosti že usahnile oziroma da se po večini blaginjskih kazalnikov danes uvršča v nacionalno povprečje.

polovico zmanjšala šele do leta 2006, drugega pa po globalni krizi leta 2008, ko je brezposelnost prav tako zrasla in se leta 2013 ustavila pri 14,7 odstotka ter se nato do leta 2017 postopoma zmanjševala in trenutno pristala pri devetih odstotkih (SURs, 2017). Ob zadnji krizi so propadla (in/ali se prestrukturirala) gonilna podjetja regije.⁶ Statistični podatki kažejo, da je goriška regija kljub slabšanju številnih socialnih in ekonomskih kazalnikov v zadnjih dveh desetletjih vendarle največji pretres doživela prav po letu 2012. Še leta 2011 je imela najmanjše tveganja socialne izključenosti (13 odstotkov, medtem ko je bila na nacionalni ravni ta stopnja 19,3 odstotka) ter ga za tem izrazito poslabšala (nad državno povprečje, ki je 20 odstotkov), medtem ko je večina drugih regij to stopnjo v obdobju kriz celo zniževala ali pa jo ohranjala na ravni kot pred krizo (SURs, 2017).

Oba gospodarska pretresa sta zahtevala visoko ceno zlasti med predstavniki starejše generacije, tistimi, ki so izgubili zaposlitev le nekaj let pred upokojitvijo, in tudi tistimi, katerih pokojnine so zaradi neplačanih prispevkov podjetij zelo nizke.⁷ Ob tem so breme kriz, kot so poudarili udeleženci fokusne skupine, večinoma nosile ženske, kajti moški so kmalu po upokojitvi umrli ali pa so umrli že kmalu po izgubi zaposlitve (U5, U6, U7).⁸ Zato ni presenetljivo, da so udeleženci fokusne skupine bolj poudarjali deprivilegiran položaj starejših žensk kot moških. Obširno so razlagali o ženskah, ki so se v zadnjem življenjskem obdobju soočile z ekonomsko in materialno prikrajšanostjo, bile na robu revščine ali celo v revščini. Da moški 60+ niso bili v tolikšni meri zajeti v njihov premislek, kot bi si glede na zastavitev naše raziskave želeli, pa je simptomatično ne le za Ajdovščino, temveč tudi za druge regije v državi in za večino evropskih držav, saj se na spolno determiniranost (in diskriminacijo) še vedno gleda zgolj prek delovno aktivnega življenjskega obdobja (da so ženske nižje plačane za enako delo, daasedajo nižje položaje itn.). Spoznanje, da se moški v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju samomarginalizirajo (ali da so marginalizirani) in da živijo manj kakovostno življenje, se namreč v zadnjih desetletjih z različnimi raziskavami šele vzpostavlja.

Ajdovščina je bila z vidika naše raziskave zanimiva tudi v nekaterih drugih pogledih, saj se občina umešča v regijo, ki ima največ prebivalcev, starih nad 80 let, hkrati pa tudi največji delež tri- in večsobnih stanovanj (73 odstotkov) ter največjo povprečno uporabno površino stanovanj (SURs, 2017). Hkrati ima največje število osebnih avtomobilov, a je tudi starost avtomobilov v povprečju najvišja (SURs, 2017). Ti podatki nakazujejo, da starejša populacija morda ostaja »ujetnik« prevelikih stanovanj ali hiš, kar so omenili tudi

6 Propadli so gradbeni gigant Primorje, ki je še leta 2010 ustvaril največji dobiček med podjetji v goriški regiji, lesno podjetje Lipa, tekstilni podjetji Tekstika in IKA; prestrukturirali sta se živilski podjetji Fructal in Mlinotest ter zaprla nekatera nagrajena in perspektivna mlada podjetja (npr. Fluid in Aforma).

7 Ta nezakonita praksa lastnikov podjetij se je v Sloveniji začela odkrivati šele v zadnjih letih, pri čemer se je pokazalo, da so se tovrstne anomalije množično dogajale že v času, ko so gospodarske družbe dosegale največje dobičke. V obdobju recesije pa so to prakso kljub opozarjanju inšpektorjev in drugih služb ter kljub sankcioniranju nadaljevale.

8 Glede na statistične podatke, dostopne za zadnjih 15 let, imajo moški v goriški regiji (kot tudi v Sloveniji) v povprečju za devet let krajšo življenjsko dobo kot ženske (SURs, 2017) in njihova umrljivost glede na bolezni, nesreče pri delu ali druge merljive dejavnike umrljivosti bistveno ne odstopa od slovenskega povprečja.

udeleženci fokusne skupine. To tematiko so s potrebo po varovanih stanovanjih in sistemu skrbstva izpostavili udeleženci fokusne skupine, kar bo predstavljeno v nadaljevanju.

Ugotovitev, da je participacija žensk v neformalnih in priložnostnih oblikah učenja bistveno večja kot pri moških (Jelenc Krašovec in Radovan, 2014; Krajnc, 2016, idr.), se je potrdila tudi v Ajdovščini, ki ima kljub izjemno bogati ponudbi učnih in izobraževalnih programov, prostočasnih in drugih dejavnosti za starejše odrasle (v okviru univerze za tretje življenjsko obdobje, ljudske univerze, društva upokojencev, številnih drugih občinskih in nevladnih organizacij, regijskih pobud, dogodkov, festivalov itn.) izjemno majhno udeležbo moških 60+ (U1, U2, U3, U5, U6, U7):

U7: Razlike (po spolu) so! To je evidentno, da so. Ženske ste bolj aktivne. To je opaziti na vsakem koraku. Na ljudski univerzi tu imamo nešteto izobraževanj. Ponudba ogromna. Kdor hoče, lahko pride sem in preživi lep dan aktivno (...) Ampak 80 odstotkov žensk, 20 moških. Gremo na pohod, 70 odstotkov žensk, 30 moških. Gremo na kulturno prireditev, trije moški in vse ostalo ženske. (...) Ko imamo tu izobraževanja brezplačna, razno razna, veste, na krožniku jih imaš tukaj, samo sem prideš. (...) Človeku je včasih kar nerodno. Dva taka kot jaz sva in drugo so ženske. (...) Kaj in zakaj, pa nisem kvalificiran, da bi sodil, ampak tako je.

Pokazalo se je tudi, da je šele naše podrobno preizpraševanje obravnavane tematike med udeleženci prebudilo zavedanje in identificiranje problema marginalizacije (ali samomarginalizacije) moških 60+, vendarle pa tudi, da so jih bolj kot vključevanje moških v skupnosti prakse zanimala vprašanja splošne blaginje starejših odraslih, problemi v skrbstvu ter osamljenost in nesamoiniciativnost moških 60+.

Razumevanje okolja in skupnosti ter vključenost in aktivnost starejših odraslih

Družbeno okolje lahko pomembno determinira vključenost starejših odraslih v skupnost (WHO, 2002). Prav tako pomembno vpliva na motivacijo za učenje in sodelovanje pri učenju (Ryan in Patrick, 2001). Udeleženci fokusne skupine so vključenost starejših odraslih v lokalno okolje in širšo skupnost predstavili prek socioloških vidikov in societalnih vrednot (Musek, 1993), z izrazitim poudarkom na individualni, kolektivni in institucionalni solidarnosti ter z izpostavljanjem transformativnih potencialov med starejšimi odraslimi. Prav tako so skupnost definirali prek najšibkejših in najranljivejših populacij (begunci, migranti in starejše ženske) in jo namesto prek blaginjskih kazalnikov interpretirali prek preživetvenih strategij, saj so poudarjali, da obstoječi pokojninski sistem in sistemi socialnih in drugih pomoči ne omogočajo dostojnega življenja v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju. Kot zadnje, a nič manj pomembno pa so vključenost in aktivnost starejših odraslih opredeljevali glede na možnosti za ustvarjalnost in samouresničevanje v svoji lokalni skupnosti.

Opredelevanje skupnosti prek socioloških vidikov in societalnih vrednot

V številnih študijah zlasti s področja zdravja in psihologije, v katerih so raziskovali, kako bi starejšim odraslim izboljšali fizično, psihično in mentalno zdravje, zmanjšali tveganje za demenco, depresijo, diabetes ali vrsto drugih bolezni, zmanjšali samomorilnost in tudi na splošno podaljšali življenjsko dobo, so prišli do ugotovitev, ki so bolj kot same zdravstvene ali psihološke kazalnike postavljale v ospredje sociološke vidike kakovostnega staranja. Kot izjemno relevantna kazalnika sta se v tem pogledu v različnih študijah pokazali »družbena povezanost« in »družbena participacija« (Giles, Glonek, Luszcz in Andrews, 2005; Hays, Steffens, Flint, Bosworth in George, 2001; Wang, Karp, Winblad in Fratiglioni, 2002; Ybarra idr., 2008; Cachadinha idr., 2011; Golden, Conroy in Lowlor, 2009; Reynolds idr., 2015). Angažiranost starejših odraslih pomembno pripomore h kakovosti življenja v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju. To spoznanje poudarja tudi aktivnostna teorija (Havighurst, 1961; Lemon, Bengston in Peterson, 1972; Longino in Kart, 1982), po kateri je za blaginjo v poznih letih življenja treba premišljati o nadomestnih aktivnostih, prek katerih bi se starejši lahko vključevali v družbeno življenje tudi v zadnjem življenjskem obdobju.

Zanimivo je, da so udeleženci fokusne skupine v Ajdovščini pri opredeljevanju svoje skupnosti izrazito poudarjali prav sociološke vidike skupnosti in societalne vrednote (Musek, 1993), bistveno manj pa ekonomski vidik, četudi je občina v zadnjih devetih letih doživela gospodarsko recesijo in propad gonilnih gospodarskih družb. Temeljne vrednote, prek katerih so definirali svoje lokalno okolje, so bile »sooblikovanje« in »soodločanje« v skupnosti (U1, U7), kar se je ne nazadnje pokazalo tudi v sami lokalni politiki, ki je leta 2016 prvič izvedla participatorni proračun (soodločanje občanov o delu občinskih proračunskih sredstev). Nadalje so poudarili »aktivacijo« prebivalcev in prebivalcev (U1, U2, U7) ter »osebno identificiranje problemov in potreb v skupnosti« (U7). Izjemen pomen so pripisali »sobivanju« in »povezovanju« (U3, U4, U5, U6, U7) s poudarkom na prehajanju razlik ter »solidarnosti« (U2, U4, U5, U6), ki se je nanašala na institucionalno, karitativno, individualno, spontano itn., kot tudi »vzajemni pomoči« (U1, U3, U6) ter prepoznavanju in »vključevanju« najranljivejših v skupnosti (U1, U2, U4, U7). Vidneje sta bili izpostavljeni še »medgeneracijska rast« (U7) in »ustvarjalnost« (U4, U5, U7). Tkanje vezi in aktivna solidarnost z najranljivejšimi populacijami (starejšimi odraslimi kot tudi z mladimi, brezposelnimi, drugimi ranljivimi skupinami, migranti itn.) sta prežemali celotno razpravo in različne vidike obravnave, kar kaže, da gre za občino in okolje, v kateri obstaja velika subtilnost do teh problematik ter tudi izjemno močna podporna mreža institucij in posameznikov.

Čeprav so se izjave udeležencev o položaju in vlogi starejših odraslih v njihovi skupnosti pri razumevanju in opredeljevanju njihovega okolja sicer nanašale tudi na krizo, je bila ta interpretirana v izvirnem grškem pomenu besede, kriza kot sprememba (Gregorčič idr., 2011), ki jim je (nenačrtovano) ponudila tudi nove priložnosti in jim prinesla »moralno bogastvo«, kot kaže naslednja izjava:

U6: (...) Če gledamo materialno, je bila naša občina pred leti zelo bogata. Že ko si prišel v mesto, si videl Fructal, Primorje. Imeli smo prestiž. (...) Potem pa je kar naenkrat vse padlo in jaz mislim, da ne samo materialno (...) Zdaj opažam, da se stvari izboljšujejo. Če samo gledam število prejemnikov pomoči, 100 družin je manj lani, kot jih je bilo predlanskim. To je en krasen pokazatelj. Spet bom rekla, tisto bogastvo, ne da so ljudje ne vem kakšne dohodke pridobili, začeli so se postavljat na svoje noge. (...) Tako da je kriza v naše okolje tudi prinesla, in sicer tisto moralno bogastvo.

Da so se udeleženci fokusne skupine tudi pri opisovanju krize sklicevali na vse zgoraj našete vrednote, najbrž niti ni presenetljivo, saj so z nami govorili predstavniki generacije, ki je delala in politično delovala skozi vse svoje delovno aktivno (in upokojsko) življenje. A ob tem so izpostavljali prav družbeno povezanost in angažiranost, dejavnika torej, ki sta, kot so dokazovali številni že omenjeni avtorji, izjemno pomembna ne le za družbeno transformacijo, temveč tudi za kakovostno življenje v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju.

Opredelitev skupnosti prek najranljivejših populacij in preživetvenih strategij

Bolj presenetljiva pa je druga kategorija, ki izhaja iz kodirnega postopka, to je, da so udeleženci fokusne skupine svoje okolje opredeljevali prek »najšibkejšega člana« (U6) in da so v tem primeru skupnost razumeli v širšem nacionalnem in ne lokalnem kontekstu (U4, U5, U6). Refleksija, ki so jo ponudili, je poudarila vsesplošno revščino starejše generacije, generacije, ki je pred 40, 50 in 60 leti v državi ustvarila materialno bogastvo, postavila infrastrukturo, vse tisto, kar zdaj pred očmi te generacije tudi propada (pri čemer so njih same doletela različna oškodovanja na delovnem mestu, kot so neizplačane plače ali nizke pokojnine, ker delodajalec ni plačeval prispevkov, pa tudi razdrte socialne vezi, bridka identifikacija s poklicem in podjetjem, za katerega so živeli, v katerega so vložili svoje zdravje, energijo, življenje).

U5: (...) Jaz o blaginji zato ne bi govoril. Mi vemo, da če hočeš preživeti, moraš dodatno delat, absolutno.

Da upokojenke in upokojenci danes prejemajo pokojnine, s katerimi zelo težko preživijo, potrjujejo tudi statistični podatki (SURS, 2017). V tem pogledu so udeleženci trdili, da danes o blaginji v Sloveniji ni več smiselno govoriti, da je treba ta koncept opustiti in namesto tega premišljati preživetvene strategije (U4, U5, U6). Pri tem so izhajali iz osebnih in terenskih izkušenj prebroditve kriz in recesij v okviru svojih združenj in organizacij (U4, U6). V ospredje so postavljali predvsem visoko umrljivost moških ter velike psihične in socialne stiske starejših moških, ko so se znašli med brezposelnimi tik pred upokojitvijo.

U6: Mi smo imeli delavnice z ljudmi, ki so zgubili službo. To so bile težke travme. Veliko bolj so trpeli moški kot ženske.

Poudarjen je bil tudi strah pred stigmatizacijo prejemnikov socialne pomoči, zlasti pri moških, za katere se v slovenskem vrednotnem vzorcu še vedno predpostavlja, da bi morali s trdim delom zagotoviti preživetje družini (Gregorčič in Hanžek, 2001). Zavračanje vsakršne pomoči, materialne, psihosocialne, tudi participacije, včasih celo interakcije, pogosta odtujenost ali umik v osamo, kar so udeleženci navajali za starejše Ajdovce, je nedvomno pogojeno z že omenjeno socializacijo moških za preskrbo in blaginjo družine (Hanlon, 2012; Owens, 2000), z identiteto moških v delovno aktivnem življenjskem obdobju (Mann, 2006).

Udeleženci fokusne skupine so v kontekstu razprave o krizi, negotovosti in ranljivosti med starejšimi pripadniki svoje skupnosti priklicali tudi pomen vpetosti Ajdovščine v programe integracije jugoslovanskih beguncev iz devetdesetih let 20. stoletja (U4, U5, U6). Ob tem so se navezali tudi na aktualno odrekanje solidarnosti novodobnim beguncem. Ta poudarek je relevanten, saj so starejši odrasli reflektirali lastne zgodovinske izkušnje, ki so temeljile na drugačnih vrednotah, kot jih promovira novodobni neoliberalizem, in lastno vpetost v lokalno okolje, v katerega so vgradili identiteto, ki je danes v veliki disonanci z aktualnimi politikami.

U4: (...) poleg te solidarnosti med nami (...) moram reči, da (...) je bila občina sposobna tudi velike solidarnosti do drugih (...) Ajdovščina je sprejela enormno količino beguncev glede na svoje prebivalstvo v času vojne v BiH in na Hrvaškem. Bilo je obdobje, ko je bil vsak deseti Ajdovec begunec. In to obdobje smo vendarle preživeli zelo normalno, zelo lepo. Takrat so se postavili eni temelji tudi za potem, za nadaljevanje te solidarnosti. Zdaj vprašanje je, kaj bi blo v zdajšnjih časih, ko smo malo bolj strahopetni glede določenih narodov ali pa narodnosti, ampak to v Ajdovščini do danes ni bilo problem.

Večina udeležencev je kot ranljivo skupino v lokalni skupnosti navedla tudi starejše odrasle (U1, U2, U4, U5, U6), predvsem zaradi mizernega ekonomskega položaja ter posledično majhnih možnosti dostojnega življenja v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju. Pri tem so izpostavljali zlasti starejše ženske z izrazito nizkimi pokojninami, kot so kmetice, vdove, ki se finančno ne morejo vzdrževati, nekdanje negovalke in skrbnice, ki so pri svojem delu omagale (U2, U4, U5, U6) in so danes v nezavidljivem položaju.

U6: Bom malo povedala za hec, vendar bo razumljeno vsem. Če midva z možem seštejeva najine pokojnine, bova vsak 14 dni v domu. In to je problem. (...) Veste, vsaka občina, vsaka država je toliko močna, kot je najšibkejši člen močen. In najšibkejši člen je v starejši populaciji. V glavnem so pa to ženske. Moški so prej umrli.

Moški v opredelitve ranljivosti niso bili tako močno zajeti, saj so umrli prej kot ženske in se v tem začaranem krogu revščine in nemoči nikdar niso niti znašli (U5, U6, U4, U2). Kot kaže naslednja izjava, pa se tudi s starejšimi moškimi in njihovimi tegobami v

zadnjem življenjskem obdobju ukvarjajo zlasti (starejše) ženske, ki jim med drugim omogočajo dostojno oskrbo na domu, med svojci, in do zadnjega dne:

U4: (...) Ženske smo ble vedno v vlogi tega, da mormo poskrbet za druge (...) Zdaj prišlo tudi malce bolj do tega, da moramo poskrbet najprej same zase, da bomo lahko potem poskrbele še za druge (...) Ker vedno skrbimo še za (...) moški del, oni čutijo v tem eno varnost. In če jaz gledam populacijo, ki prihaja v Dom starejših občanov Ajdovščina, je dve tretjine žensk, ki so omagale in so ostale same, ker so do konca skrbele za moškega, moža, partnerja in še za vse ostale, ne. So v manjšini moški, ki ostanejo v taki situaciji. Je pa to verjetno tista zgodovinska vloga, ki smo jo prevzele ali nam je bila dana in zdaj so še generacije, ki ta vzorec nadaljujejo (...)

Analiza fokusne skupine pa je razkrila tudi, da so se udeleženci pri sklicevanju na primere osamljenosti, izločenosti ali nedejavnosti vedno referirali na moške, pri ustvarjalnosti in participaciji pa na ženske, kar dokazujejo tudi različne druge raziskave (Bertić, Telebuh in Znika, 2016; Krajnc, 2016) in kar obravnava tudi naslednje poglavje.

Ustvarjalnost in prispevek starejših odraslih k razvoju skupnosti

Udeleženci fokusne skupine so poudarili, da je ustvarjalnost v tretjem in četrtem življenjskem obdobju izrazito pozitivno vrednotena, da je to tisto, k čemur stremijo, in da je to tisto, kar v svojih dejavnostih tudi iščejo (U3, U5, U6, U7). Pri tem so se nanašali na individualno ustvarjalnost, saj so menili, da jih je povojno socialistično obdobje opeharilo prav možnosti samoizražanja in samorealizacije. V drugi vrsti pa so se nanašali na družbeno in politično ustvarjalnost, ki se, kot smo že omenili (Havighurst, 1961; idr.), napajata v družbeni aktivaciji in angažiranju. Kot razkriva naslednja izjava, so tako poudarjeno ustvarjalnost starejših odraslih povezovali s pomenom politične, družbene in socialne vloge starejših odraslih za razvoj lokalne skupnosti:

U4: Jaz gledam na starejšo populacijo kot tisto, ki je vedno močnejši kreator našga življenja oziroma dogajanja v okolju. Kot prvo niso več v tako klasični vlogi varuške, ker so se ti intervali malce zamaknili, so pa odlično mašilo, ko neke družbene skupine ali pa institucije ne uspejo slediti. Imamo ogromno društev, karitativne organizacije, ki večinoma bazirajo prav na starejših, ne. In so pomemben sokreator življenja v naši občini. Jih vidim tako.

Udeleženci fokusne skupine so prek svojih izjav definirali, da je »starejša generacija *de facto* razvojni člen ali gonilo občine« (U1) in političnega življenja, ki ima poleg karitativnih in drugih že nakazanih vlog tudi »največji politični vpliv na politiko občine« (U1), na delovanje »nevladnega sektorja v občini« (U7), da so »motor za otroke, da niso prepuščeni šoli, televizorju in tablici« (U7), »motor za mlade starše, da sploh lahko odidejo od doma« (U7), »da so motor delovanja raznoraznih institucij in društev« (U7), da »so

nabavniki« (U5), »spremljevalci« (U5) itn. Pri tem so poudarili tudi novo, emancipirano podobo starejših odraslih, še zlasti moških, do katere so prišli prav prek nove vloge v okviru spremenjenega načina življenja, kar ponazarja naslednja izjava:

U5: (...) Ta zadeva (vloga starejših moških) se je v teh letih neverjetno spremenila. Zdej vidite, da so nabavniki starejši, so spremljevalci vnukov. Neverjetne stvari, resnično, se počenja za otroke. Vključujejo jih v družbo, vključujejo jih v športne aktivnosti, jih spremljajo. Rekli smo, naloge staršev presegajo te njihove sposobnosti, da bi jih vodili. Zato tu res vidim emancipacijo starejših ljudi, sploh moških, ki prej niso hodili v trgovino, niso skrbeli za nego otroka (...)

Ustvarjalnost starejših odraslih in njihova vpetost v življenje mlajših generacij, kot so ju opredelili udeleženci fokusne skupine, kaže na moč socialnega, kulturnega in človeškega kapitala v družini in širši skupnosti, ki je neprecenljiva za individualni razvoj in soočanje s krizami ter negotovostmi kot tudi za razvoj širšega okolja. A po drugi strani so udeleženci fokusne skupine izpostavljali tudi vidik odklanjanja vsakršnega angažiranja pri moških 60+, zavračanje ustvarjalnosti, primere samoosamitve, predstavljali vidike večnih samotarjev, ki želijo tudi v starosti ostati samotarji, kar smo že omenili v prejšnjem poglavju. Pri teh poudarkih so imeli udeleženci fokusne skupine v mislih zlasti tiste moške 60+, ki so v slabem ekonomskem in socialnem položaju, ter tiste, ki živijo s slabo izoblikovanimi socialnimi omrežji ali brez njih. O neaktivaciji moških, njihovem odklanjanju pomoči in podpore bo govor tudi v naslednjem poglavju, in sicer v zvezi z vprašanjem skrbstva in nege, ki se je med udeleženci fokusne skupine izkazal za zelo pereč problem starejših odraslih (zlasti moških) in so ga opisovali kot glavni izziv svoje skupnosti.

Izzivi in vizija za kakovostnejše življenje moških 60+ v lokalni skupnosti

Pri premisleku izzivov za dejavno vključevanje starejših moških v skupnostne prakse in skupnosti prakse ne moremo mimo prostora kot zbirališča in stičišča vsake skupnosti. Eden najbolj odmevnih primerov dobre prakse nudenja prostora samorealizacije in samoaktivacije starejših moških, njihovega povezovanja in vzajemne podpore je postalo hitro rastoče avstralsko gibanje *Men's Sheds* (delavnice za moške) (Golding, idr., 2007; Mark in Golding, 2012; Golding, 2011b; 2011c, idr.). Moške delavnice, ki so pred tremi desetletji najprej zaživele v Avstraliji in se zelo hitro razširile v številne druge države, so zapolnile potrebo po simbolnem in fizičnem neformalnem prostoru moških v skupnosti (Ricardo, Tavares, Coelho, Lopes in Fragoso, 2014). Ta primer dobre prakse je pokazal, da je lahko »moški učni prostor« (Carragher in Golding, 2015), moška delavnica ali zbirališče eden od pomembnih ključev do njihove večje vključenosti in participacije tako v skupnostnih dejavnostih kot tudi v skupnostih prakse. Zato nas je zanimalo, kako je s prostorom, mobilnostjo in dostopnostjo v Ajdovščini in ali se tudi tam kažejo možnosti uspeha primerljivih praks. Kot drugo pa, kaj je s samimi vsebinami dejavnosti, ki se ponujajo starejšim odraslim, koliko zadovoljujejo potrebe starejših moških in ali so o njih tudi primerno obveščeni in ozaveščeni.

Fizični, simbolni in neformalni prostori starejših odraslih v skupnosti ter pomen bivanjskega okolja

V krajevnih skupnostih občine Ajdovščina in po okoliških vaseh se moški udeležujejo zlasti gledaliških iger, rekreacijskih in športnih aktivnosti ter dejavnosti v cerkvenih institucijah. Dejavnosti potekajo v prostorih, ki niso determinirani po spolu (v novoustanovljenih domovih krajanov, v cerkvi in na kmečkem turizmu) (U1, U3, U6), medtem ko so v urbanem okolju srečevanja starejših moških dogajajo predvsem v treh gostinskih lokalih (U1, U2, U4, U5, U6, U7) ter ob moških poklicih ali hobijih (veteranska društva, društvo starodobnikov, balinarji) (U1, U5, U6). Udeleženci fokusne skupine so s primeri utemljevali, da v Ajdovščini »prostor« za starejše odrasle ne zaživi, če v njem niso na voljo strukturirane vsebinske in rutinizirane aktivnosti, ki pa se jih na koncu spet udeležujejo pretežno ženske (U1, U2, U4, U5, U6, U7). Občina je leta 2014 odprla center za tretje življenjsko obdobje, ki naj bi prerasel v prostor druženja starejših odraslih, a ni zaživel, dokler niso vanj »postavili organiziranih aktivnosti« (U1), ki se jih zdaj udeležujejo pretežno ženske. Številni so navedli, da sam prostor (razpoložljivost, ustreznost itn.) nikdar ni bil ovira pri dejavnosti katerekoli generacije (U7, U6, U1), prej nasprotno, da celo sama društva iščejo in vabijo pobudnike novih aktivnosti ali dogodkov (U7). Vseeno pa so udeleženci fokusne skupine omenili tudi, da Ajdovščina ne premore večjega »kulturnega centra za večje kulturne dogodke«, čemur je nekoč služil narodni ali kulturni dom (U5, U6, U4).

Večja aktivnost in udeležba moških 60+ je bila torej izpričana v ruralnih okoljih, saj je večina krajevnih skupnosti v občini Ajdovščina v zadnjih letih dobila prenovljene ali povsem nove domove krajanov, ki so postali zbirališča, prostori srečevanja in so tudi zaživel kot prostori skupnosti. V teh prostorih se danes izvajajo mnogi programi priložnostnega učenja, rekreacija, različne predstavitve, pogovori, sestanki, delavnice. Kot kaže naslednja izjava, so jih sprejeli tudi moški iz lokalnih skupnosti, saj se, kot so zatrjevali nekateri udeleženci, udejstvujejo bolj kot njihovi vrstniki v bolj urbanem delu Ajdovščine.

U3: (...) Te dvorane oziroma domi krajanov, te telovadnice, so spravile, če govorimo o starejših – starejše moške, ki niso recimo igrali nogometa ... Pri nas jih vidiš zdaj 20, ki ob sredah zvečer igrajo nogomet. Kje bi ga ... Ženske smo tam, ki znamo tečt, okoli po dvorani, ki drugače, kje bi se ena ženska spravila po ulici laufat, tam po vasi, k bi rekli, se ji je zmešalo. Tam pa je organizirano in se to dogaja.

Medtem ko je bila ustvarjalnost v urbanem kontekstu predstavljena kot širša družbena in politična ustvarjalnost, ki se prenaša na mlajšo generacijo in odzvanja v lokalnem okolju, pa je bila v ruralnem kontekstu interpretirana predvsem prek prostora in infrastrukture, ki jo sploh omogočata. Prav tako je bila razumljena kot individualna izpolnitev, rekreacija, ne pa kot širša družbena in politična dejavnost. Moški se v ruralnih okoljih veliko bolj spontano in priložnostno povezujejo tudi v kmetijstvu, kulinariki, turizmu, cerkvenih

organizacijah, balinanju in podobnih prostočasnih dejavnostih, torej pogosto tudi ločeno od žensk, kar poleg že navedenih vidikov nakazuje, da bi vsaj v urbanem okolju veljalo vzpostaviti pilotni projekt »moškega učnega prostora« (Carragher in Golding, 2015) ali v obliki delavnice ali kakšnih drugih moških dejavnosti. Kot je pokazal avstralski primer dobre prakse, so moške delavnice služile predvsem pogovorom moških o zdravju (zlasti mentalnem zdravju) in drugih vidikih staranja, ki jih moški doživljajo drugače kot ženske (Mark in Golding, 2012; Bertić, Telebuh in Znika, 2016; Carragher in Golding, 2015; Owens, 2000, idr.).

Kot drug problematičen vidik pa so se tako v ruralnem kot urbanem okolju pokazale dostopnost aktivnosti, namenjenih starejšim odraslim, mobilnost (prometna povezava med urbanim in ruralnim delom kot tudi znotraj mesta in med mesti ter sama dostopnost in premikanje po mestu) in potreba po varovanih stanovanjih (U1). Večina udeležencev je izpostavila potrebo po »alternativnem sistemu pomoči na domu« (U1, U2, U4, U5, U6), katerega vzpostavitev bolj kot finančne ovire zavirajo sama stališča in dojemanja starejših odraslih (zlasti ko se soočijo z negativnimi zdravstvenimi in psihološkimi vidiki starosti kot odgovor na socialne stiske, ki med drugim izvirajo tudi iz prevelikih in neustreznih stanovanj ter osame v zadnjem življenjskem obdobju). Alternativni sistem res ni povsem enostavna rešitev, najprej zato, ker je sam pojem »pomoči« (U5, U6) za starejše odrasle pogosto negativen, saj se težko sprijaznijo z nemočjo in odvisnostjo. V drugi vrsti pa bi bilo treba ne le vzpostaviti sistem varovanih stanovanj, temveč starejšo generacijo na to tudi pripraviti (U4, U5, U6, U7), saj starejša generacija kljub veliki potrebi po pomoči tega ni pripravljena sprejeti in zaradi zelo različnih, predvsem tradicionalnih nazorov ni pripravljena odpreti vrat že obstoječim izvajalcem tovrstnim storitev.

Čeprav so udeleženci v pogovoru o materialni prikrajšanosti upokoјencev izrazito izpostavljali revne ženske, pa so v razmišljanju o »sistemu za dnevno varstvo« večinoma govorili o potrebah starejših moških. Pri tem so ocenjevali, da težava preskrbe in oskrbe starejših veliko bolj kot v finančni nezmožnosti tiči v »kulturnih preprekah« (U4) oziroma tradicionalnih pogledih na dom, gospodinjstvo in starost, pri čemer so poudarili željo po dosmrtni samostojnosti starostnikov, zlasti moških (U5), ki jo marsikdo spremeni šele takrat, ko je že zelo pozno. Večina udeležencev je zato razmišljala o možnosti vzpostavitve neke vrste alternativne mreže asistence in solidarnosti s starejšimi odraslimi, nove institucije, ki bi omogočala recipročno pol zaposlitveno, pol prostovoljno izmenjavo potreb in storitev z namenom, da starejši odrasli ohranijo dostojanstvo, varnost in samostojnost, druge ranljive skupine pa prek javnih del dobijo možnost participacije na trgu dela in potreb.

Predvsem starejšim moškim, ki so večji ujetniki svojih stanovanj in osame kot ženske, bi tak sistem lahko prinesel nove izkušnje, nove interakcije, ki bi se dogajale kar pri njih doma. Vsakršna interakcija pa lahko vodi tudi v spreminjanje pogledov, stališč, vrednot udeleženih v tem procesu. Prav tako bi tak sistem lahko omogočil nova poznanstva, krepitev socialnih stikov. Nekateri udeleženci so omenili tudi učne prakse, ki bi jih potrebovali zlasti starejši moški, kot so tečaji kuhanja in drugih gospodinskih opravil ali pa

vrtnarski tečaji kot nekaj, kar prinaša radost starejšim ljudem, ki so še močno vpeti v svoje ruralne kontekste, iz katerih izhajajo. Z vsem tem bi lahko dalj časa ostali samostojni in neodvisni. Vendarle pa so to aktivnosti, ki že obstajajo v ponudbi za starejše odrasle v Ajdovščini, pa se jih starejši moški ne udeležujejo. A že omenjena vprašanja, ki se dotikajo samega bivanjskega okolja starejših moških, so prav z vidika nizkih pokojnin in nezmožnosti plačevanja oskrbnine v domovih starejših občanov pomemben determinator kakovosti življenja v njihovem zadnjem življenjskem obdobju.

Ozaveščanje o pomenu družbenega okolja v zadnjem življenjskem obdobju in o pomenu (samo)aktivacije starejših moških

Ali lahko informiranje in ozaveščanje starejših moških o pripravi zlasti na četrto življenjsko obdobje prispeva k večji participaciji moških v priložnostnih in drugih učnih dejavnostih ter ali se jim bodo te aktivnosti res obrestovale skozi bolj kakovostno življenje v zadnjem življenjskem obdobju? To je pravzaprav vprašanje, s katerim smo ta prispevek začeli in katerega odgovor smo iskali skozi celotno razpravo v fokusni skupini. Udeleženci so ponudili nekaj zelo relevantnih premislekov k tej tematiki, četudi je prav problematika večje vključenosti starejših moških v skupnost ostala zastrta z več vprašanji kot odgovori.

Čeprav ima Ajdovščina močno mrežo solidarnostnih in karitativnih dejavnosti, so udeleženci fokusne skupine premišljali, zakaj se starejši odrasli bolje in pravočasno ne pripravijo na svoje zadnje življenjsko obdobje. Zatrjevali so, da bi morala tudi od samih moških 60+ priti neka samoaktivacija in pobuda (U5, U6, U7), saj vsega potrebnega dela v svojem zadnjem življenjskem obdobju (skrbstvo itn.) ne morejo prelagati zgolj na partnerico ali družino ali celo zgolj na karitativne, zdravstvene in socialne ustanove. Ugotavljali so, da bi bilo zato treba starejše moške (kot tudi druge generacije) o tem ozaveščati (U5, U7) in da je pomemben »prvi korak v aktivnost« (U7) tudi dodatno »izobraževanje organizatorjev in mentorjev različnih skupin za aktivacijo starejših moških« (U7). Predvsem pa informiranje in ozaveščanje moških o pomenu ustvarjanja »lastne družbene sredine« (U5) že pred upokojitvijo oziroma od upokojitve naprej: torej kdo so in kdo želijo postati v zadnjem življenjskem obdobju, komu pripadati itn. Razprava je tu pokazala na veliko nemoč starejših moških, ki si, kot so trdili udeleženci, teh vprašanj očitno sploh ne zastavljajo, temveč so z njimi soočeni, ko je že prepozno.

Pri tem so bili dani različni predlogi »moških« vsebin, s katerimi bi se ti lahko identificirali, kot denimo »brezplačne športno-rekreativne pobude in spodbude za seniorje« (U5) v oblikah, kot so bile nekdanj vzpostavljene za mladince, ter nekatere vsebine, vezane na moške poklice, a so udeleženci pri tem ostali kratke sape, saj so zatrjevali, da je ponudba res množična in raznovrstna, tudi za moške, in da je težava zgolj v njihovi lastni neaktivnosti. Menili so, da je to dejansko največji korak, ki bi ga morali narediti tako v okviru občine, nevladnih organizacij, našega projekta kot tudi državnih institucij. V tem pogledu so poudarili pomen našega projekta za ozaveščanje starejših moških o potrebah v pozni starosti ter o pripravi na starost. Ta priprava na zadnje življenjsko obdobje bi

morala vključevati: ozaveščanje o večjem tveganju za osamljenost in izločenost starejših moških; aktivnosti v smeri krepitve socialnih vezi; pripravo na kakovostno življenje v starosti predvsem z vidika primernosti stanovanj, dostopnosti itn.

Med izzive so udeleženci fokusne skupine prištevali tudi potrebo po večji informiranosti starejših moških o vsebinah, ki jih različne organizacije že ponujajo, in potrebo po koordinaciji številne in raznolike ponudbe za starejše odrasle:

U2: Pred novim letom smo imeli delavnice, na katerih smo pripravljali strategijo občine za vsa področja, tudi področje starejših, ki je prav posebej izpostavljeno področje. In na teh delavnicah je bilo (s strani starejših odraslih) izpostavljeno, da manjka neka informacijska publikacija, ki bi starejšim dala nek vpogled, kakšne so sploh možnosti v naši občini in glede pomoči, ki so jim nudene in katere institucije delajo za njih. In kot drugo pa tudi neka potreba po koordinaciji, saj različna društva nudijo podobne stvari tudi za starejše (...), da se med sabo uskladijo in fokusirajo na svojo dejavnost (...)

Kot kaže zgornja izjava, je za majhno participacijo moških 60+ kriva tudi slaba informiranost, ki je pogosto posledica uveljavitve sodobnih elektronskih načinov komuniciranja in informiranja, ki jih starejši odrasli ne uporabljajo (ali ne znajo uporabljati). Pri premisleku o koordinaciji ponudbe za starejše odrasle pa je bilo med udeleženci čutiti veliko nelagodje, saj so v tem videli ogromno dodatnega dela za ponudnike storitev, izražali so tudi velik dvom, da bi taka koordinacija v praksi sploh zaživila. Poudarjeno je bilo, da bi morala pobuda priti od starejših moških samih, saj bi potem projekt koordinacije vsebin ali pa konkretne dejavnosti, ki bi bila predlagana, tudi dejansko zaživel. Zadržke pri koordinaciji ali predlaganju novih tematik »na slepo« so utemeljevali zlasti z že omenjenim neuspešnim poskusom vzpostavitve učnega prostora v okviru centra za starejše odrasle in z drugimi primeri predlaganih ali ponujanih aktivnosti, ki niso zaživele, če za njimi niso stali in jih razvijali konkretni pobudniki s svojimi interesi.

SKLEP

Analiza fokusne skupine v Ajdovščini je pokazala, da so udeleženci svoje družbeno okolje opredeljevali prek a) socioloških vidikov in societalnih vrednot; b) najranljivejših populacij in preživetvenih strategij ter c) ustvarjalnosti kot prispevka k razvoju skupnosti. Med izzivi za dostojno in kakovostno življenje starejših odraslih so identificirali več tematik ter med razpravo izoblikovali dve viziji, ki bi lahko bili uporabni na različnih področjih za občinsko politiko, za nevladni sektor na lokalni in nacionalni ravni ter za vse, ki prihajajo v stik s starejšo generacijo. To sta bili pobuda za neke vrste alternativno mrežo asistence in solidarnosti s starejšimi odraslimi v zadnjem življenjskem obdobju ter pobuda o večjem ozaveščanju starejših odraslih o starosti in pomenu (samo)aktivacije. Prav tako so predlagali nekatere spremembe, ki jih občinske politike že načrtujejo (zlasti z vidika mobilnosti in varstva ter pomoči) ter večji kulturni center v Ajdovščini.

Raziskava je pokazala, da kljub izjemno močnim socialnim omrežjem starejših odraslih v Ajdovščini in kljub njihovem vplivu na razvoj lokalnega okolja ter ob močnih programih za najranljivejše populacije in delu z njimi udeleženci fokusne skupine do naše razprave vendarle niso zaznavali, da je problematika izključenosti, alienacije in neprisotnosti, neangažiranosti starejših moških relevantna tudi v njihovem okolju. Na podlagi preteklih izkušenj so se nagibali k ideji, da bi bila potrebna večja samoiniciativnost starejših odraslih (zlasti moških), predlagali so večje ozaveščanje o tej tematiki z raznovrstnimi deležniki v občini in večje informiranje ter pokazali izjemno zanimanje za predloge, ki bi jih izoblikovali starejši moški sami. Bili so prepričani, da bi se za vzpostavitev potencialnega prostora, programa ali dejavnosti, namenjenih starejšim moškim, pobuda oziroma vizija morala izoblikovati med samimi moškimi – kot taka bi imela večjo vrednost in večjo možnost, da zaživi. Ne nazadnje pa so pokazali veliko željo po informiranju o primerih dobrih praks iz drugih slovenskih krajev in drugih držav, ki bi jih bili pripravljeni smiselno prenesti v svoje okolje in svoje organizacije.

Naše nadaljnje delo pri projektu nam bo omogočilo, da bomo prek analize 50 intervjujev s starejšimi moškimi 60+, ki smo jih v Ajdovščini izvedli marca in aprila 2017, ugotovili dejansko stanje, potrebe, želje, probleme, izzive in vizije samih moških 60+, s čimer bomo lahko identificirali področja, dejavnosti, tematike ali dejavnike, ki pred starejšimi moškimi stojijo kot prepreke do boljše kakovosti življenja in blaginje tudi v pozni starosti. Na podlagi celotne raziskave in že identificiranih dobrih praks v partnerskih državah pa bomo ob koncu projekta ponudili tudi zelo obsežne in konkretizirane vpogleds v obravnavano problematiko kot tudi ocene možnosti in ustreznosti za implementacijo preverjenih in že izoblikovanih alternativ.

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COMMUNITY MEMBERS' INITIATIVES IN PUBLIC OPEN SPACES: TWO CASE STUDIES FROM SLOVENIA

ABSTRACT

The paper deals with public spaces as open, everyday arenas where people share experiences beyond their immediate circle of friends, family and age group. Public space is understood as a forum for social and personal change (Harvey, 2011; Lefebvre, 2013; Arendt, 1996; Habermas, 1989; 2001). Questions are analysed from the point of view of community members, who are strongly attached to the space and who are interested in belonging and in proactive changes in their living environment (Iecovich, 2014; Kohn 2004; Mean and Tims, 2005). The paper is based on the presumptions that public space has an important role in generating ideas and activities of community members and that it is an important venue for community members' informal learning. Ethnomethodological research in two public spaces (the Tabor community in Ljubljana and a small community in the coastal town of Izola) show that there are differences between both public spaces regarding top-down initiatives and bottom-up, self-organized activities. However, although the activity initiators were in one case different associations rooted in the community, and in the other the local people themselves, most of the activities were conducted by people living in the selected communities/public spaces themselves as is typical of grassroots activities. It was confirmed that learning was not often mentioned by members of either community and was mostly a hidden activity, resulting in tacit knowledge.

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¹ The research was conducted by MA students of Andragogy for the purpose of experimental ethnomethodological research. The findings were later presented at the ESREA network conference 'Between Global and Local', which was held in Ljubljana in June 2015. The research was conducted under the mentorship of Assoc. Prof. Sabina Jelenc Krašovec and Prof. Sonja Kump.

Keywords: *public open space, participation in community, top-down and bottom-up approach, informal learning in community*

INICIATIVE ČLANOV SKUPNOSTI V JAVNIH ODPRTIH PROSTORIH: DVE ŠTUDIJI PRIMERA IZ SLOVENIJE - POVZETEK

V prispevku se ukvarjamo z odprtim javnim prostorom, z vsakdanjimi prizorišči, kjer ljudje delijo svoje izkušnje zunaj najožje skupine prijateljev, družine in starostne skupine. Javni prostor razumemo kot forum za družbeno in osebno spreminjanje (Harvey, 2011; Lefebvre, 2013; Arendt, 1996; Habermas, 1989, 2001). Vprašanja analiziramo z vidika članov skupnosti, ki so tesno povezani s prostorom in ki jih zanimajo pripadnost in proaktivne spremembe njihovega življenjskega okolja (Iecovich, 2014; Kohn, 2004; Mean and Tims, 2005). Članek temelji na predpostavki, da ima javni prostor pomembno vlogo v tvorjenju idej in dejavnosti članov skupnosti ter za njihovo priložnostno učenje.

Etnometodološko raziskovanje dveh javnih prostorov (skupnosti Tabor v Ljubljani in majhne skupnosti v obmorskem kraju Izola) kaže, da med tema javnima prostoroma obstajajo razlike glede iniciativ od zgoraj navzdol in od spodaj navzgor kot samoorganiziranih dejavnosti. A čeprav so bili organizatorji dejavnosti v enem primeru različne skupnostne organizacije in v drugem ljudje kot posamezniki, so večino dejavnosti izvajali ljudje sami, tisti, ki so živeli v teh skupnostih. Potrdimo lahko, da člani nobene od skupnosti učenja večinoma niso omenjali, tako da je šlo najpogosteje za prikrito dejavnost, ki se je izražala v skritem znanju.

Ključne besede: *javni odprti prostor, sodelovanje v skupnosti, pristop od zgoraj navzdol in od spodaj navzgor, priložnostno učenje v skupnosti*

INTRODUCTION

Meaning of public open space for participation and learning in community

Public open spaces are everyday arenas where people share experiences beyond their immediate circle of friends, family and age group. We argue that people co-create these spaces with their initiatives, ideas, actions and solidarity; among those activities, informal learning has an important role, although it is often hidden and unconscious.

Harvey (2011, pp. 173-174) defines public open spaces in three ways: as absolute space, which is unchangeable and static, in a social sense this is the exclusive space of private property; secondly, as relative space, which is defined as the space of processes and movement and is measured by distances in this space; and thirdly, as relational space, where processes form their own space and time (the concept of 'spacetime'). In this paper we will deal with space as relational space, created by everybody included, where identity becomes open, changeable, multiple and indefinite. Harvey believes that space is defined by human practice relating to space. Conflicts among different groups arise in absolute space and time, but relations among them become real in the non-material relational spacetime where they meet. He ascertains that relational space is 'nobody's land', created by everybody included. Space is defined by human practice relating to space.

Areas traditionally deemed public open spaces include high streets, street markets, parks, playgrounds and allotments, which provide the necessary bandwidth for the flow of information among people. What is meant is the spaces where people can learn who they live with, and if the space is open enough, what people think and dream of; however, the 'public sphere' is different from the private domain of 'love, friendship and personal connection' and from the market domain of 'buying and selling' (Marquand, 2004 in Biesta and Cowell, 2012, p. 49). Between public open spaces and private, controlled spaces (homes, company offices) are privately owned social spaces which mix aspects of both public and private spaces (shopping centres, arts centres, car boot sales, markets etc.) (Kohn, 2004). Many of these look very much like conventional public spaces, but each carries a different set of expectations and obligations with implicit or explicit limits on who can use it and for what reason. These processes are defined as the progressive (radical) privatisation of public space, where everybody is attached to this subjectivity and which brings alienation and the disappearance of a common world. In a social space people are encouraged to congregate and interact, but subject to various limits and regulations. In this sense it is necessary to stress that particularly when a space becomes 'private', its possibility to be used by all groups becomes limited for undesired groups/persons, possibly found unacceptable due to their practices of using this space. If the space comes under exaggerated surveillance, some groups might not be accepted. Some communities build a bordered absolute space with certain rules of social participation, where the line between progressive communitarian policy and exclusionary and authoritarian practices can sometimes be very thin (privileged and underprivileged people; protection of spaces, bodies and property, even collectively, for example, in secure neighbourhoods). It is important how people understand space and time – are they victims of it or active creators of relative and relational space?

Arendt (1996) speaks about public space as a condition of politics and as a space which enables the political; as a common world, public space brings human beings together, and at the same time prevents their mutual destruction. By sharing experience with people beyond their immediate circle of friends, family and work colleagues on a daily basis, people collectively define what public interest is to be (Mean and Tims, 2005, p. 16).

Phenomenological and ethnomethodological research helps to understand learning processes through communication in public (open) spaces, where social structures, cultural meanings and values are understood as products of social interaction and communication. Habermas (Habermas, 1989; 2001, p. XI) puts the question of communication at the core of his theoretical model of society, which is based on the theory of communicative action. He connects the individual observer, actor and speaker with other observers, actors and speakers in the field of intersubjectivity, which explains how the participants' interaction with one another gives rise to their mutual interpretations of social situations. An individual is in fact not isolated but is instead involved in interpersonal relations in which he/she is defined as a personality and actively participates as a subject. Public space in this sense is an inner space where people follow their interests ('inter-est') and which only disappears

when people establishing it disappear, and when activities which define the space stop (Arendt, 1996, p. 189, pp. 210-211). Public open spaces, filled with diverse people and uncontrolled events, therefore provide communicative and learning experiences forcing us to move beyond the self and to consider the plight of the other. Defence of public space in the name of social good through the fostering of mutual cooperation and learning, and exchange of ideas and knowledge is crucial; we agree that public open space is a forum for social and personal change, i.e., a 'transitional space' (Bourgeois, 2002; Wildemeersch, 2012). It is a system of relations that arises from acting, speaking and learning; as Torres (2013, p. 62) ascertains, through public space, people fight for recognition, social justice, the spirit of solidarity, and individual and collective well-being. They defend the principle of citizenship education and learning instead of the principle of consumerism.

The learning process in public spaces is linked to self-reflection, perspective transformation and a chance to address community problems by using the public space as an environment in which to struggle freely against all forms of regulation and control. Educational environments in educational institutions emphasise the notion of power, prescribed goals and authoritarian relations (Torres, 2013, p. 26), but learning in public spaces is emancipatory, democratic, civic and bottom-up. Learning interaction in public spaces, as compared to traditional (structured, regulated) learning environments, is changeable, open and formed by citizens through discussion; learning is unpredictable, multi-layered, and in a way more demanding, because its course and results are dependent on a participant's skills to perform it. Hence, such learning is natural, experiential and based on the problems of the citizens. Therefore such learning: a) can have an extremely important emancipating role; b) can encourage adults to retain control over their own lives and possibilities; c) can be empowering, transformative, liberating and transitional (Torres, 2013; McLaren, 2000; etc.); d) has the potential to be an activity for the development of critical consciousness (Freire, 1970; 1994), contributing to the empowerment of community members. To be a part of the speaking and acting process in public spaces, one has to have the will, desire and certain skills which can be learned only through the democratic process itself. Learning experiences in a public space are not always comfortable or joyful; they can be defined by hesitation, disjunction, discontinuity and conflict between participants (Wildemeersch, 2012).

The skills of interaction with others are very much needed in negotiations and in conducting dialogue; they enable the translation of private issues/interests into public/common concerns. In the neighbourhood citizens mix and learn from and through this diversity. Mezirow (1997) stresses that transformative learning can take several forms involving either objective or subjective reframing². It is rooted in the way human beings communicate and is a common learning experience which involves learning to make "our own

2 A frame of reference includes cognitive, conative and emotional components and encompasses 'habits of mind' and 'points of view'. Habits of mind become articulated in a specific point of view – with the development of values, beliefs, attitudes and feelings (Mezirow, 1997, p. 6). The aim is to become critically reflective about self-oriented and collective actions.

interpretations rather than act on the purposes, beliefs, judgments, and feelings of others” (Mezirow, 1997, p. 5). As mentioned, a social context marked by trust is needed which enables dialogue and reflective discourse, (Mezirow, 2000); if circumstances are favourable, these goals could be realised by learning in public open spaces. Such learning gives us a voice, and consequently, helps us construct the meaning of the world for ourselves (Dirkx, 1998). This could be, by definition, at the core of learning in public spaces, which are open, unstructured, free spaces.

In this paper we analyse the use, co-creation of and learning in two public spaces in different towns in Slovenia: in the Tabor community, located in one of the neighbourhoods in Slovenia's capital city Ljubljana, and a small community, i.e., a street, in the coastal Slovenian town of Izola. The purpose of the research is to establish the similarities and differences between the two selected public spaces regarding: i) the users/participants of both public spaces ii) the origin of the initiatives leading to actions and/or the organization of activities; iii) the kinds of actions, initiatives, events taking place; iv) the relations between participants in the public space; v) the environmental influence on the 'atmosphere' in the public space; vi) the role of acting, speaking and learning and their perception by participants in the public spaces. We expected that differences would appear between revitalisation processes in a big and a small town regarding top-down vs. bottom-up initiatives. Another presumption was that in a big town the activities might include organised educational activities but that in a small town mostly informal learning would take place. The research was a snapshot of two public spaces at a certain time.

RESEARCH AND FINDINGS

Methodology

To analyse two different public spaces and the activities of the participants in those public spaces, we conducted ethnomethodological research. As is often stressed, ethnographic research as a specific form of qualitative inquiry is not a uniform approach (Hammersley, 2006; Larrson, 2006) and its dimensions depend on the kinds of methods employed. As 'a form of social and educational research that emphasises the importance of studying at first hand what people do and say in particular contexts' (Hammersley, 2006, p. 4), our ethnographic research included two case studies and we conducted active participation, open (uncovered) observation and interviewing. Initially the main goal was to develop understanding of people's perspectives through the study of various documents about selected communities; however, later research was based particularly on participant observation in relevant settings, personal discussions with members of the communities and four open-ended interviews.

According to the general idea developed by Garfinkel, we as a first step observed and analysed everyday activities to find out how people make sense of 'potentially ad hoc collocations of scenic features that make up everyday situated activities' (Garfinkel, 1996 in Freebody and Freiberg, 2011, p. 80). Our observation was focused on living and learning

in two selected public spaces: the Tabor community, located in one of the neighbourhoods in Slovenia's capital city Ljubljana, and a street (a defined, bordered public space) in the coastal town of Izola. We built on the premise that social life is the outcome of the joint effort of members of a society as they engage in it and work alone or with others to make sense of their everyday activities with and for others (Muršič, 2011). As researchers we were part of the public space and we observed life, actions, communication, learning, and cooperation of the participants in the selected public spaces.

Later we conducted non-structured interviews in both selected public open spaces in Ljubljana and in Izola: in Tabor we conducted interviews with two activists and initiators of social activities in the neighbourhood, an activist in the Tabor Cultural Quarter Association (Društvo kulturna četrt Tabor – KČT) and an activist in the Prostoroz cultural association³, and in Izola with two active participants in the public space (one was the head of the Association of Izola People, and the other an active cultural worker living in Ljubljana Street, also one of the initiators of social actions in this area). The observation lasted the whole academic year 2014-15 in Tabor but was focused on April and May 2015 in Izola. The interviews were conducted between 17 and 20 April 2015. All in all, the research directly and indirectly involved more than 100 people (depending on how many citizens took part in different activities and events).

We used an open coding system, but in later stages the gathered research material was structured according to the main interest categories. The research result was a story based on the understanding of the life-stories and happenings in social context (Atkinson, 1992). We tried to understand the deeper social forces that operated in these settings and to analyse what in these stories influenced the relations and cooperation among the participants in the selected public spaces, their actions and results.

Short descriptions of selected public spaces

Tabor (Ljubljana)

The Tabor neighbourhood is one of the town quarters in Ljubljana. There was a tendency of decline of the community momentum in the neighbourhood. The Tabor Cultural Quarter Association (Društvo kulturna četrt Tabor – KČT) was established on 1 March 2001 to foster culture, education and sports activities for the local population, to promote sustainable development and to solve the spatial problems of the neighbourhood, but mainly to foster connections between individuals and organizations in the Tabor neighbourhood and their participation. In the year 2012 additional organizations joined the Tabor initiative and they now act in the framework of Tabor Cultural Quarter Association. KČT and other organizations are using cultural content to connect the neighbourhood, which many of local residents considered to be transient and grey. The initiators of KČT activities do not see the neighbourhood as a degraded space which needs urgent intervention, instead recognising it as a space for action which can still be improved. Individuals with their own

3 For description cf. Footnote 2.

specific backgrounds and experience have already started working out the solutions to problems which the local inhabitants consider critical and in need of improvement. With this in view, many different projects have been initiated. With the help of spatial intervention and numerous events, Tabor Park has regained its lively character.

Ljubljana Street (Izola)

Ljubljana Street is located in the old Mediterranean town of Izola, which lies on the south-west shore of the Gulf of Trieste, where the ancient traditions of fishing and winemaking, mysterious traces of the past, and the welcoming character of the locals merge together to form an unforgettable mosaic of experiences. The Association of Izola People organizes a number of activities, events and exhibitions in Ljubljana Street aimed at locals, random walk-ins and tourists. The Association of Izola People keeps a gallery called Plac Izolanov, which is located in Ljubljana Street. The gallery is a small but valuable space which is actually “an extension of the street with a roof” and where various exhibitions and other performances take place. The locals in a nearby bar help to manage and take care of several exhibitions. Many cultural and social events take place in Ljubljana Street known as “Largo pr’ Spini”. Throughout the year locals host free live concerts here. Ljubljana Street is also well-known for its street garden with many types of basil. Each year the ‘Association of Izola People’ organizes the traditional “Bazilikjada”, where visitors can taste a variety of dishes with basil prepared by local chefs and caterers. In 2015, when the research was conducted, the seventh Bazilikjada was held, on its way to becoming one of the most recognisable ethno-culinary events in Izola.

Findings and discussion

Initiatives for activities in selected public spaces – Tabor (Ljubljana) and Ljubljanska Street (Izola)

The initiative for the revitalization of the Tabor neighbourhood in Ljubljana came from the non-profit cultural organization Bunker. In order to find out about the needs and wishes of the locals regarding the revitalization of their neighbourhood, Bunker activists conducted sociological research with community members. The findings showed that the identity of the Tabor neighbourhood was being lost. Inspired by their sense of social responsibility, they reached out to other cultural, artistic and educational organizations located in Tabor to discuss how to revitalize the neighbourhood. From the very beginning, Bunker tried to pass on the initiative and the organization of events to other local organizations, like ProstoRož⁴, which eventually coordinated bigger events, such as garage sales, and organized activities in frequent contact with the inhabitants. Afterwards ProstoRož passed on most of the Tabor neighbourhood events to the Tabor Sports Society, which is also located in the neighbourhood and is the owner of Tabor Park.

⁴ Prostoroz is a cultural association based in Tabor and active in the field of public urban space. They believe that public spaces should be open to everybody, and in ten years of activities they have conducted more than 50 projects (for more see: <http://prostoroz.org/>)

Unlike the Tabor neighbourhood in Ljubljana, the initiative for the revitalization of Ljubljana Street in Izola came from active local people who were willing to do something socially valuable themselves. They spontaneously gathered in an informal way and started to organize various self-initiated activities within a small community where everybody knows each other. The main initiators were cultural workers, intellectuals, and musicians, who created a critical mass and consequently included other neighbours. When asked how to attract neighbours to participate in revitalizing their street or neighbourhood, they simply state:

„Go to the nearest café for some coffee and simply talk about your street/neighbourhood. The greatest value of life is living in community.“

Activities in Tabor and Ljubljana Street

The initiators of activities in Tabor NGO Zavod Bunker detected a number of needs in the neighbourhood such as a desire for more public green spaces, lack of parking places, and a wish to have a swimming pool, bicycle tracks, and more activities that would make their neighbourhood alive. Although the revitalisation initiative came from the organization (top-down), it was based on the needs and wishes of community members. One of the initiators of the revitalization of the Tabor neighbourhood emphasizes:

„Bunker cannot solve all the problems and grant all the wishes, so we asked ourselves a question: Which are the problems that we can solve? A couple of these quickly became clear to us, like the lack of green surfaces. So together with another association (KUD Obrat) we started the project „Beyond the Construction Site“, a community garden for temporary use of land.“

The citizens of Ljubljana Street in Izola also had a tradition of living by the saying *each for himself*. The change appeared some decades ago when immigrants from Bosnia came to Izola in search of work; they brought with them their authentic culture of socializing with neighbours. The present initiators of activities also moved to Ljubljana Street (Izola) from other parts of Slovenia and were welcomed by this hospitable neighbourhood. A group of cultural workers started the initiatives to bring more life to Ljubljana Street and revitalize it with various activities. They generally live according to this social outlook:

‘As human beings, we have a need for socializing with others. As people, we need other people to comfort us, help us when in need.’

In order to discover the needs of their neighbours, the activity initiators just listened to them and observed them on a daily basis. They talked to each other spontaneously and everyone could express themselves. This is in congruence with Habermas's (1989) ideas of communicative action through which participants interact in social and interpersonal situations and where people follow their interests ('inter-est') (Arendt, 1996, p. 189,

p. 210-211) and define the space. As a result, visitors keep coming back to socialize and nurture friendships. They describe this immigration phenomenon with the following metaphor:

„As you know, just like the river does not stop at the narrows but continues to flow, in the same way people don't stick around and connect with others in an inconvenient place, but in the space where the river spreads and consequently moves slower. It is the same with people who slow down their speed of movement and enjoy spontaneity in a comfortable environment.“

To revitalize open public spaces there are many activities offered throughout the year in the Tabor neighbourhood (Ljubljana) and in Ljubljana Street in Izola. The activities in Tabor are as follows: slackline, fencing, yoga, thai chi, film screenings, free concerts, garage sales, and a celebration of the international „Neighbour Day“. On „Neighbour Day“ citizens „open their doors“ and organize activities for others, for example making a photo exhibition, cooking dinner for others, planting flowers, working with clay, reading poetry etc. More than 30 activities take place in Tabor during the celebration of „Neighbour Day“.

As mentioned before, there are also many activities organized in Izola, in Ljubljana Street. Some of these activities are organized with the aim of celebrating various thematic events such as the Coffeeshop Feast, Briscoliad (a card game), 'Šalšijada' (making tomato sauce in the street), a competition in making 'golaž' (a spicy dish originally from Hungary), various concerts, photo, art and other exhibitions, lectures, storytelling for children, making tea in public, Bingo, etc. The most visited is the „Basil Feast“. The organizers buy more than 25 different kinds of basil, the neighbours plant them in pots in Ljubljana Street. Many people participate in cooking more than 50 kinds of basil dishes. The event is public and passers-by are welcome to taste the dishes.

In some cases, the performers of different activities in the Tabor neighbourhood (Ljubljana) are hired professionals, like musicians and technicians, but despite the initiative coming from Bunker, most often the activities (such as yoga, poetry reading or thai chi) are run by the locals themselves who want to share their knowledge with their neighbours. Similarly, activities in Ljubljana Street (Izola) are performed by the initiators (community members) themselves (like the "Silk Road" association, whose members monthly cook food from different parts of the world and share it with neighbours and passers-by) and by various invited Slovenian musicians. The organizers of Ljubljana Street events emphasize:

"Everybody takes care of the activities they know and are good at.“

It is important to stress that as a result, the above mentioned interventions in public open spaces in Tabor and Ljubljana Street (Izola) influence the architecture in the community. In Tabor, there has been partial regulation of traffic arrangements, the painting of a street

with local Tabor kindergarten children, and a community garden project "Beyond the Construction Site", which allows neighbours to temporarily use the land for planting. In Izola, in 2014 the local authorities wanted to remove all of the basil pots and build concrete sinks instead. The idea was to make the town 'super modern'. Ljubljana Street residents organized themselves and successfully rejected this intervention unlike other residents of nearby streets in Izola, who had no such will and intention. This is how Ljubljana Street locals emphasize the importance of this process:

"It would be strange for us, as those sharp shapes of concrete sinks do not suit the street which has an old-time homely, Mediterranean spirit. It is not necessary for every public space to be 'super modern'."

We can confirm that 'skills of civility', as defined by Bauman (2002), are necessary for acting and speaking in a public space, but they are difficult to learn and preserve. Interaction with other citizens and local authorities is very much needed for negotiations and conducting dialogue; they enable the translation of private issues/interests into public/common concerns. In the neighbourhood, we mix daily with others who do not necessarily speak the same language and share the same memory or history; from this and through this, we learn (Bauman, 2005, p. 23). The learning process therefore includes evaluation of individuals' knowledge, values, desires, dreams and its transformation and reformulation according to collective goals and concerns.

To be part of the speaking and acting process in public spaces, one has to have the will, desire and certain skills which can only be learned through the democratic process itself. Learning experiences in a public space are not always comfortable or joyful; they can be defined by hesitation, disjunction, discontinuity and conflict between participants (Wildemersch, 2012). In our research, the participants in the community activities in the Tabor neighbourhood are not just local residents but also people who come from different parts of Ljubljana. They are a heterogeneous group, including older people from a local home for the elderly, children from local kindergartens, passers-by and people who have intentionally come to attend some of the events. Similarly, participants who attend events in Ljubljana Street (Izola) are diverse, for Izola is known as a multicultural city with members from at least 12 different cultures.

Informing about activities in Tabor and Ljubljana Street

Information about events in the Tabor neighbourhood (Ljubljana) is shared with neighbours through the use of various channels: distributing flyers and written invitations, e-mail, Facebook and Newsletter, whereas local organizations are informed via regular meetings. Some effective ways of spreading information include an info board located in Tabor Park (the central happening area) and a zoetrope (a spinning wheel with printed copies of the event programme in it), but also mouth to mouth. Particularly the latter applies to Ljubljana Street, too, in addition to information conveyed through the local magazine Mandrač, a tourist agency and online.

Problems and barriers in the process of conducting activities

The Tabor neighbourhood has a negative connotation because of the vicinity of a methadone centre and Metelkova City, an autonomous social centre. After partying in Metelkova, young people regularly come to Tabor Park and organize their own after-parties. The local residents are reluctant to undertake spatial interventions in the park due to their worries that this would consequently invite even more drug addicts to the area. As Harvey (2011, p.174) ascertains, relational space is 'nobody's land', created by everybody included and should be inclusive and open. But our research shows that community members can also be exclusive to some groups; they want to preserve peace and quiet and are not ready to 'open' the space to 'different' youngsters. They are not ready to think about alternative solutions and possibilities to face these issues constructively.

Additionally, the organizers of Tabor events faced some problems with the legal owners of Tabor Park during the first period of their initiatives. One specific problem was the political and bureaucratic system which slowed down the process of event realization.

When looking at the situation in Ljubljana Street in Izola, we see a marked difference; in Izola no notable barriers appeared as their only responsibility with regard to the local authorities is to preserve order and cleanliness of the public space in Ljubljana Street.

Financial support and cooperation with local authorities

Events in the Tabor neighbourhood are financially supported by local, national and European funds. They also include volunteer work when organizing various cleaning and work activities. For example, the municipality of Ljubljana funded the construction of a children's playground, which was an example of positive cooperation with Ljubljana local authorities. However, the perception of Tabor activists is that the local government has been generally unresponsive, as year after year they are receiving fewer and fewer funds for their activities.

On the other hand, Ljubljana Street activities in Izola were not financed by the local authorities until the Society of Izola Residents in 2002 was founded. Since then, some of their basic expenses have been covered. But when the authorities tried to install stone benches in Ljubljana Street as a part of the 'urban renovation' of Izola, the socially active residents of Ljubljana Street gathered more than 320 signatures against it and consequently stopped the project from being executed in Ljubljana Street. The neighbours emphasize:

"Politicians often suggest some activities to be performed in Ljubljana Street with the aim of becoming profit-oriented tourist events. We don't want it and we don't support it."

There are obvious differences between bottom-up, self-organized activities and top-down initiatives. When people are organizing events out of their own initiative and on a smaller scale, they are ready to invest their energy, ideas and also some funds. In the case of outside initiatives, people do not identify enough with the suggested ideas for community actions and they are not as proactive as they could be. This entails a bigger need for money

and some external incentives. If Tabor inhabitants took initiative to make changes, the situation would be different. Such examples include self-organized local/district communities in Maribor, where citizens of a big city organize civic actions on their own, without external incentives (Gregorčič and Jelenc Krašovec, 2016).

Experiences and knowledge acquired in selected public spaces

The organizers of Tabor events, such as the association ProstoRož, educate students, individuals and groups active in their local environment with the intention of activating and motivating such groups and individuals to transfer their knowledge based on accumulated experience. They also connect with other organizations in their local environment in order to learn from each other. An activist from Zavod Bunker emphasizes:

"Education is a side effect of the fact that we want to offer cultural content and make it publicly accessible. We organize lectures and conferences in the area of art and education."

The influence of the initiatives in Ljubljana Street in Izola on the wider society is smaller than in Tabor; they mostly connect neighbours from nearby streets who support each other's events. There are hardly any educational activities, but it seems considerable informal learning is happening through their social activities. This is mostly un-conscious and un-intentional learning, happening while preparing basil dishes, learning how to organize various events, communicating with invited cultural workers, etc. Schugurensky (2000) conceptualises informal learning as a residual category for learning activities, including self-directed learning, incidental learning and socialization. In Ljubljana Street we can observe self-directed learning (learning how to prepare dishes, how to plant herbs, etc., which is intentional and conscious), considerable incidental learning (learning by participating in different events, which is unintentional but conscious), but also socialization as a change of values, attitudes, and dispositions (happening while coordinating events, discussing future actions, cooperating, opposing local authorities' decisions, which is mostly unintentional and unconscious) (Mündel and Schugurensky, 2008, p. 50). Most acquired knowledge is tacit but still important (Ličen, 2012; Schugurensky, 2006). Our research results confirm that it strongly influences the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of people involved in such learning (Gregorčič and Jelenc Krašovec, 2016; Mündel and Schugurensky, 2008; Vrečer, 2014; Schugurensky, 2006; Foley, 2001).

CONCLUSION

The observation and analysis of two different public spaces offers interesting findings. Our presumption that people co-create public spaces with their initiatives, ideas, actions and solidarity is partially confirmed by our research, because many interpersonal relations developed and much cooperation took place; both public spaces could be defined as relational spaces (Harvey, 2011). We find that although the activity initiators were in

one case different associations rooted in the community, and in the other the local people themselves, most activities were conducted by people living in these selected communities/public spaces, as is typical of grassroots activities. They were the main creators, fighters and negotiators in community activities, which particularly holds true for the selected public space in Izola.

We also find that in bigger communities public spaces are more difficult to revitalize only through the initiatives of local inhabitants; but in the case of Ljubljana Street in Izola, which is a very active small public open space, activities are bottom-up. In this case we can observe self-initiated activities giving power to members of community but at the same time showing openness also towards visitors and other people coming to their neighbourhood. The findings show that people appreciate community activities and are willing to participate in them, but they sometimes need a push or a launch to become active participants in the public space. Initiatives can come from above (from community associations) or from below, from members of community. In the latter case local community members are more strongly involved in the preparation and organization of activities; they are the necessary part of the link.

Even though the activities in the two communities were not oriented towards wider social changes, we can observe that self-organization is an important way of influencing the local community, but also changing personal mind frames (Mezirow, 1997). It can be argued (Biesta, 2012; Biesta and Cowell, 2012) that learning in a public sphere (space) could be defined as civic learning; it refers to the processes and practices of learning that are at stake in the public sphere and could be understood "in a way that strives for a single-voice consensus and in a way in which such learning processes remain tied to a democratic commitment to plurality and difference" (Bista and Cowell, 2012, p. 48).

As we expected from the beginning, learning is something which is hidden and its results are tacit (Schugurensky, 2006), which explains why it was not often mentioned by members of the two communities; however, the changes happening in both public open spaces would doubtless not have been possible without constant informal, mostly incidental learning. Because it is difficult to verbalize this, it is difficult to confirm and analyse its effects. However, Schugurensky (2006) stresses the importance of community meetings and activities as educational spaces or learning environments where citizens exchange experiences, socialize the difficulties and challenges, encounter and identify priorities, etc. This was obvious also in our research through their narratives that emphasised collaborative planning, sharing knowledge, internalizing the meaning of social actions, becoming empowered and therefore initiating new actions. Many actions involved community development activities and some social change; Foley (2001, pp. 71-72) defines this kind of learning as social, cultural and political. It can be maintained that learning happening through social activities is informal, authentic and experiential. It is focused on the connection of community members and the quality of their everyday lives. However, in Tabor there were also some organized educational activities, where they mentioned educating the wider public as an important part of cohabiting.

We can confirm that the selected public spaces played a vital role in the social life of communities. However, the discussion of the importance of preserving the public space, resistance against the marketization and privatization of the space came to the forefront also in our research. Through the words and actions of our 'co-speakers' it becomes clear that actors in the public space should keep a distance from the market and the state, should avoid institutionalized ways of thinking about learning and education, and should preserve their critical stance towards political and economic influences. They have to show moral responsibility and political commitment to create a sphere of public debate, as suggested by Torres (2013, p. 79). These ideas are close to the theories on the role of public intellectuals which advocate autonomous learning, self-organisation of learning and open learning (Hall, 2012).

Finally we would like to stress the limitations of this research. First of all, the student-led research conducted in both public spaces was a learning process, which also holds true of the process of writing this article. We have learned a lot about communication in a team, cooperation and division of tasks, and particularly about field research and the abilities necessary to come close to the people living in the community. In a sense we have also conducted autoethnographic research, because our experiences were important in reflecting the data and connecting them with our perception. With this in view, we moved to Izo-la as a team for some time and tried to get in touch with the environment. The limitations of the study are mostly related to the learning process. To be able to say more about the informal learning happening in the selected public spaces, another study with a different instrument would be needed. This is something left to new generations of students to do.

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EDUCATION AS HABILITATION: EMPIRICAL EXAMPLES FROM ADJUSTED EDUCATION IN SWEDEN FOR STUDENTS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGH-FUNCTIONING AUTISM¹

ABSTRACT

This article draws upon findings from an educational program in Information Technology for young adults associated with high-functioning autism. The aim of the program was to make the students employable. Data was collected through participant observation and research interviews. Of the twelve students who completed their education, five had made transitions to employment and three held internship places. Because of this training and the adaptations that were made within the educational program, the well-being of the students improved, and their need for home support and medication decreased. Important adjustments included the provision of individual work places, the clear structure of the work that was to be performed, and the creation of an environment where the students were seen, acknowledged, and understood.

Keywords: *adjusted education, habilitation, high-functioning autism, interpersonal relations, social learning*

IZOBRAŽEVANJE KOT HABILITACIJA: EMPIRIČNI PRIMERI PRILAGOJENEGA IZOBRAŽEVANJA ZA UDELEŽENCE Z VISOKOFUNKCIONALNIM AVTIZMOM NA ŠVEDSKEM – POVZETEK

Članek črpa iz ugotovitev izobraževalnega programa informacijske tehnologije za mlajše odrasle z visokofunkcionalnim avtizmom. Program je bil usmerjen v zaposljivost udeležencev. Podatke smo zbrali s pomočjo opazovanja z udeležbo in raziskovalnih intervjujev. Med 12 udeleženci, ki so končali to

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izobraževanje, jih je pet prešlo v zaposlitev, trije pa so opravljali prakso. Usposabljanje in prilagoditve znotraj izobraževalnega programa so izboljšali počutje udeležencev, prav tako se je zmanjšala njihova potreba po podpori v domačem okolju in po zdravilih. Med pomembnimi prilagoditvami so bili omogočenje individualnih delovnih prostorov, jasna struktura pričakovanih delovnih nalog in ustvarjanje okolja, kjer so bili udeleženci videni, upoštevani in razumljeni.

Ključne besede: prilagojeno izobraževanje, rehabilitacija, visokofunkcionalni avtizem, medosebni odnosi, socialno učenje

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to highlight empirical examples of habilitating effects from an adjusted education program within the field of Information Technology (IT) for young adults associated with high-functioning autism. Furthermore, our ambition was to allow the participants/students to describe their experience of the program in their own words.

People associated with different disabilities are, to a large extent, excluded from and even discriminated against in society. This can be observed in the context of school, health care, and in the labour market. Internationally, previous research shows that people associated with disabilities experience socio-economic hardship (Goodley, 2017; Houtenville, Brucker and Lauer, 2016), violation of rights (Lang, 2009; Meekosha and Soldatic, 2011; Priestley, 2007; World Health Organization and The World Bank, 2011) and a higher incidence of destructive lifestyles (for instance in terms of smoking and obesity) than those not associated with disabilities (Houtenville, Brucker and Lauer, 2016). The exclusion and discrimination of people associated with disabilities incurs considerable individual and societal costs. In the Swedish society, people associated with disabilities face great difficulties in getting a foothold in the labor market (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2015; Socialstyrelsen, 2012). Breaking down the alienation of people associated with disabilities so that they can find work in the regular labour market is a major challenge. Besides preventing individual stigmatization, breaking down this alienation is estimated to allow for social savings of between SEK 11-14 million (approximately USD 1.2-1.6 million) for each young individual that is subsequently included in society (Nilsson and Wadeskog, 2012). However, the group of persons with disabilities is very heterogeneous and there are wide variations in unemployment rates.

The increasingly deregulated labor market in Sweden has contributed to streamlining the process of working life with an increased work pace, upskilling, and slimmer organizations and businesses. These changes have primarily (negatively) affected the ability of vulnerable and marginalized groups to enter the labour market (Ahrne, Roman and Franzén, 2013). For people associated with neuropsychiatric disabilities this has been especially challenging – this group has the second lowest employment rate (Lindqvist, 2012). Furthermore, once they enter the labour market, they are four times more likely to be subjected to discrimination compared to the general population (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2015).

The situation is no different for people associated with high-functioning autism. Many of these individuals experience difficulties in obtaining a job, and keeping it (Hendricks, 2010; Krieger, Kinébanian, Prodingler and Heigl, 2012; Larsson Abbad, 2007; Roux et.al., 2013; Roy, 2015). It is estimated that between 10 and 15 percent of people associated with high-functioning autism were gainfully employed in Sweden in 2006 (Andersson, 2006). Even for individuals who have the training and skills required, it is a great challenge to be seen as 'employable' (Andersson, 2008), the reason being that people associated with high-functioning autism are seen as having poor social skills and lacking empathy and relationship building abilities (Attwood, 2008; Volkmar, Klin and McPartland, 2014; Wing, 1981).

For people with disabilities, the process of exclusion begins already during their early education. Previous research has shown that young people who have been diagnosed with high-functioning autism do not get their special needs met to the extent desired; this significantly impinges on their ability to do well at school (Attwood, 2008; Jackson, 2011; Simmeborn Fleischer, 2012). This may discourage participation in future education programs, since previously experienced failure reduces the tendency of people to engage in a similar activity (Bandura, 1982; Cron, Slocum, Vandevall and Fu, 2005). As argued in Antonovsky's *Sense of coherence* (1987), people need to feel fulfillment in their encounters with the world of education and work so as to prevent new failures from occurring. People associated with high-functioning autism often need specially-designed support functions with respect to both formal *and* informal learning (Adolfsson and Simmeborn Fleischer, 2013; Anthony and Unger, 1991; Börnfelt, 2014; Giarelli and Fisher, 2013; Mowbray, 2000; Unger, Anthony, Sciarappa and Rogers, 1991). Consequently, students need to feel that their studies are meaningful, they understand the goal of their studies, and are able to cope with the educational challenges they face. This requires adapted teaching and effective support in order to prevent new failures, to build trust, and to strengthen the students' confidence in their studies (Aspelin, 2012; Hugo, 2007; 2013; Johnson, 2008).

This article reports on several findings from a unique Swedish IT education project called the *IT-track* for young adults associated with high-functioning autism. This project is an example of an initiative that was established with the intention of breaking down the isolation and exclusion that people associated with high-functioning autism are subject to, in favour of future inclusion. The set-up of the educational project with its various adjustments is in fact an example of an excluding (and exclusive) environment in that only students associated with high-functioning autism attend the program. So, it is a matter of inclusion through exclusion (Lozic, 2014); the exclusion precedes the inclusion. The aim of the *IT-track* is to offer students the specific educational conditions that will enable them to break their isolation and subsequently enter the labour market. It is an example of a *habilitation* project, since it concerns a group of participants/students in lack of previous experience of higher education and/or regular work after finishing upper secondary school, and who need to develop or gain certain skills (besides formal IT-skills) in order to become employable. The term habilitation is more suitable here than the term

rehabilitation. The latter term would focus on the return to work after a period of absence and the re-gaining of certain skills that were temporarily lost.

The *IT-track* was founded by the European Social Fund (ESF), Region Jönköping, Högländets Coordinating Association and Eksjö Municipality, and started in January 2012 in Eksjö. The cost of the IT-track was approximately SEK 2 million per year (approximately USD 0.23 million). When the funding from the ESF ended in 2015, the other three financiers took over the funding responsibility. Region Jönköping, Högländets Coordinating Association, Finnvedens Coordinating Association and Södra Vätterbygdens Coordinating Association funded the IT-track in 2016 and 2017.

This educational program was made available to young people (19-30 years old) who were diagnosed with high-functioning autism. In addition to high-functioning autism, nine of the students also have additional diagnoses, such as schizophrenia, obsessive-compulsive disorder, and bipolar disorder.

The IT-track accommodates 15 students and offers upper secondary and university level courses in programming, CAD, and computer systems, as well as an internship experience. On completing the courses, the students get formal upper secondary school grades. For the university courses they receive a non-formal certificate as they are not formally qualified to attend them. The following staff members support the students during their participation in the program; a head teacher (working full-time), a university teacher (working part-time), an occupational therapist/coordinator, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, and a contact person from the Employment Service. The head teacher is responsible for establishing and maintaining internship contacts and the occupational therapist/coordinator is responsible for contact with various authorities.

METHODS

The study is inspired by ethnographic methodology (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), where researchers reside within the environments and situations they want to learn about. We resided in the specific culture of the IT-track in order to gain knowledge about the students' lived experiences (Van Manen, 1990). According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), the actions of individuals can only be understood from within the context that they are situated in. By taking part in the practice, observing what happens, listening to what is said, and by asking questions, the researcher can come to an understanding of the participants' experiences and the learning that takes place in this context. The observations in this study were used to enable an understanding of the context, and they also helped us to get to know the prospective interviewees and to develop a trust-based relationship with them that subsequently enabled the interviews. The context of the present study was limited to the delivery of the IT-track in the autumn of 2014 and a follow up study in the autumn of 2016.

Data collection

Data were collected in four ways: (a) participant observation and natural conversations (see Van Manen, 1990) in the autumn of 2014, (b) 14 research interviews with students, (c) one focus group interview with the staff, and (d) a follow up interview two years later with the occupational therapist/coordinator. Participant observation and natural conversations were conducted by the two researchers together. During the observation period, the experiences of the respondents were shared with the researchers during actual learning situations. Van Manen (1990) describes this approach as ‘close observation’, in which the researchers bridge the distance between the researcher and the participant(s) by entering the lifeworld of the participant(s). Research interviews were conducted with the students. Fourteen of the 15 students who were enrolled in the project during the autumn of 2014 took part in interviews that lasted between 20 and 60 minutes. The students are further described in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Overview of student characteristics

Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Age	26	27	25	26	29	27	29	26	25	22	22	30	21	30
Age receiving AS-diagnosis	14	?	10	24	5	24	29	24	18	18	22	29	19	23
Other diagnosis	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Attended the IT-track	2012	2012	2013	2013	2014	2012	2014	2014	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013

Source: own

Thirteen of the interviews were recorded and transcribed, while notes were taken during one of the interviews since the student did not want to be recorded. The research interviews were semi-structured, lifeworld interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Lantz, 1993). An interview guide with seven open-ended questions was used together with possible follow-up questions. Notwithstanding this, the interviews were open, since the respondents’ answers influenced the direction that the interviews took (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Hydén and Bülow, 2003). A focus group interview (Halkier, 2008; Hydén and Bülow, 2003) was conducted with the staff of the IT-track and lasted 80 minutes. A follow up interview was conducted in autumn 2016 with the occupational therapist/coordinator and lasted 60 minutes. Both researchers were present on these two occasions. The authors translated the transcripts from Swedish to English and a professional translator then checked the accuracy of the translation.

Interpretation of the data

The data is rich and distinctive since information can be found on two different levels. The first level relates to the researcher who experienced, interpreted, and documented what took place at the IT-track. The second level relates to the participants themselves, who

described their experience in their own words, (the content of which was later interpreted by the researcher). This combination of two levels of data enables an authentic interpretation of the students' experiences (see Hedegaard, Ahl, Rovio-Johansson and Siouta, 2014; Hedegaard, Rovio-Johansson and Siouta, 2013; Hugo, 2007, 2013).

With the help of many citations that express the students' own words, our intention is to provide a rich description of the students' experience of the IT-track. As we interpret the field notes that were made during the observations, we describe what emerges in the collected data material. According to Kvale and Brinkman (2009), it is of importance that we describe what takes place as accurately and completely as possible. Bengtsson (2005) argues that the empirical material should be expressed in its own terms, within the framework of the question that is being answered.

A continuous hermeneutic interpretation (Van Manen, 1990) of the observations and interviews took place during the autumn of 2014, during both the actual data collection process and during the processing and analysis of the collected material. This meant that the interpretation was not only limited to the transcribed interviews or the field notes, rather it was an on-going interpretation that started when we first attended the IT-track. The next step was to formalize the interpretation through a qualitative content analysis with a focus on the latent content, where we interpreted the empirical material and created themes that described the central content (Krippendorff, 2004). The analysis comprised three steps inspired by Creswell (2014). Step 1: The material was transcribed and a first read-through was carried out. Step 2: A more thorough read-through of the transcribed material. This read-through generated an overview of the material and contributed an insight into the meaning that appeared in the material. Step 3: The material was coded based on keywords and statements. Thereafter, we constructed six central themes.

Ethical considerations

All of the participants were informed about the purpose of the study and gave their consent to be included in the study. However, one student did not want to be recorded during the interview, so we took notes instead. The participants provided written approval for the use of empirical data in future publications. The respondents' right to privacy meant that they were treated and described confidentially. It is, however, not possible to fully avoid the possibility that people in such a distinct group might be able to identify each other. In summary, in the observations and interviews with students and staff we followed the ethical requirements of the Humanities and Social Sciences (Swedish Research Council, 2002, 2005).

RESULTS

In the result section, the six themes that emerged from content analysis are presented: Adjustments in the work environment; Structure and clarity in the work; To be seen, acknowledged and understood; Structure in everyday life; Better social functioning and Extended horizons of possibility.

Adjustments in the work environment

Some adjustments were identified in the work environment. The IT-track students had a private entrance to the school building and they also had specially-adapted premises such as individual work places with their own computers, flexible work hours and small study groups. During the student interviews, we noted the importance of the adaptations in the work environment which were tailored to suit the students' needs. Several students reported that they found it difficult to concentrate if there was a lot of noise in the environment, and thus highlighted the importance of having their own work place. One of the students described it as follows:

You have your own work place... it's great... instead of having, a computer lab work while sitting in a large computer room... I find it very hard to concentrate when there are lots of people around. (S7)

In the *IT-track*, this entailed that all of the students either had their own room or the opportunity to screen off their work place completely with movable screens. They could choose for themselves whether they wanted to have contact with other students or not. The students wanted to be left alone during much of the time when they worked, but they did not want to be alone. One of the students said:

I'm like that... I hate people, it's the worst thing I know [...] I keep to myself and never take any breaks or anything, I rather sit at the computer and there I am. Is anybody talking to me, then it's obvious that I'm talking to them... but I would never be able to begin a discussion [...] I think it's a blast to sit here and work with programming and even cozier to sit when there's not a bastard left [...] silent everywhere... just me... then you get a calm feeling in the body that is unbelievable. (S2)

Structure and clarity in the work

Other adjustments identified were that the students had individual study plans and that they encountered a clear and structured educational training with the same format each day and each week. The daily lectures were 25-50 minutes long and were always linked to laboratory work based on the content of the lectures. It was crucial for these students that they had teachers who provided structure to their lessons and were very clear in describing the tasks that the students were expected to perform. Being engaged with several different tasks at the same time often created problems for the students. It was best that a teacher distributed one task at a time so that the students could focus on that task until it was completed, and then be assigned a new task. This scheduling of tasks was a success factor in the *IT-track* where the students usually completed one assigned task at a time within the framework of one course. Students did not start the next course until the previous course was completed. Several of the students described one of the problems they experienced with elementary school as being that they had to take many different

subjects at the same time. Several students achieved significantly better study results in upper secondary school when they had a mentor who was able to make adjustments to their study schedule so that only one or two subjects were taken at the same time. The structure of the course schedule in the *IT-track* was appreciated by the students and one of them specifically reported this:

What I like here is how we have only two courses and not on the same day... On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, it's an upper secondary school course, On Thursdays, I have a University course and on late Friday's, it's mostly the University course. But if you're behind in the upper secondary school course... well then it's one of those days that you just work up. This structure is important for me... then it's not too many different subjects that you have to keep track of. (S12)

To be seen, acknowledged, and understood

One of the most important aspects of the educational program was the students' experience of being in a social context where they felt appreciated by others. Whilst they were enrolled in the *IT-track*, the students told us that they felt appreciated and that their confidence had grown. The teachers were described as the most important support function within the program. Experiencing trust, being seen and acknowledged, and being treated with respect for who they were, were the most prominent aspects. One of the students said: "When you came here, it was great because they know exactly how they'll handle us and they're good people" (S9). Another student reported: "I've been treated better here than I've ever been in any other place" (S11). One student told us that the teachers' attitude made them feel calm and welcome:

He gets me feeling serene here. He gets me feeling calm. And he gets me to feel welcome [...] and it's thanks to that he's there and he's himself and he's as calm as possible, and he gets me to feel calm. You get, when you're near him, calm energy and then you feel calm... and it's probably the greatest support he has given me (S1).

The *IT-track* gave the students the opportunity to experience participation and alignment. According to 13 of the students, the *IT-track* was fully adapted to their needs and circumstances, and they experienced being part of a meaningful and participatory social context for the first time in their lives.

I'll be honest with you, I appreciate it really much [...] For it's really good stuff that they've done here and really puts adults with Asperger in focus and try to help our needs [...] it's tricky when there are exactly the same requirements for all people and it should be done in the exact same order [...] It's so damn fun here... it's probably why I come back every day just because I know that here I'm surrounded by cool teachers and disturbed students (laughter) (S2).

All the students were happy with the attitudes displayed by their teachers:

This is the way I want it, I want it at a level where the teacher trusts that I know what I'm doing. I understand my own talents and limitations. (S1)

Structure in everyday life

Because of their participation in the *IT-track* and the adaptations mentioned earlier, the students reported that they felt better and that their need for home support and medication had decreased. Five of the students reported that they had learned how to structure their time better and thereby manage to do more in their everyday life outside school:

Before I started here, I had great need for home support... when I started here, I decided that I didn't want it. The result was that I clean, wash, and do the dishes. Those things have never worked before [...] I have regained control of my life (S1).

Now there's a structure [...] it feels damn nice because I've never had a routine in my life. That's something people with Asperger have a problem with... getting routines. It feels damn good to finally have found a routine on something... that works... that's what is so incredible (S2).

Five students stated that they had learned to take more responsibility for their studies and were working more independently now. Thirteen students also told us that their confidence had progressively increased and that they had learned to take on more challenges and tasks: "The biggest problem when you got here... you didn't try yourself... but I've learned a sensible thing when I've been here... and that's try yourself, you will make it" (S2).

Better social functioning

The students described various aspects of their learning. Through social learning, they could develop social skills that allowed them to function better with others. For instance, all of the students reported that they felt comfortable with their classmates in the *IT-track*. However, feeling comfortable with their classmates did not necessarily entail that they talked to each other. Twelve students preferred to be alone and work by themselves, and four students did not know the names of their classmates. Eight students spoke about a lack of interest in spending time with the others, but at the same time, they felt that they did get along well with each other and they felt respected by their classmates.

If I'll be honest, I've hardly spoken to that many. Well I'm not very social... but when you meet others when you sit in a room like this, it's very good I think... and when we sit in our cubicles, there is no problem either (S8).

I've not talked to many of my classmates so I don't remember any names (laughter). But the ones I have talked to have been very nice (S13).

However, eight students reported that they had become more interested in socializing with others as the *IT-track* progressed. Three students even reported that they lived together in an apartment.

It has also given a lot socially [...] in a regular school that I went to before, it was marked that I was special... I don't connect with the people. But since we've come to this school aware that people do not connect... then we've not had any panic regarding socializing. We were three that lived together... I still live with one from this school, and then I'm dating one of the others. It works great... it's things like that you don't think should work, because you have Asperger and know what limitations you have. But since it has become a more humble social constellation, it becomes much easier to not feel any social pressure (S1).

This interest in socializing with each other is described by S1 as the most important learning experience from the *IT-track*. The teachers' attitude toward, interest in, and commitment to the students resulted in the students' developing empathy for each other. A special social safety net had been built for some of the students:

We had a guy who was about to kill himself last year... and then... we do have some small groups that keep tabs on each other... we are four people who have keys to each other [...] Don't think that we'd come up with this if we'd not seen what a difference it made. [...] It's one of the major important stuff that the teacher has helped with. Before, we always thought: I can do better by myself. We're several who have been able to stop with the home support because we motivate each other instead (S1).

Moreover, seven students said that they regularly met at a gaming association during their leisure time. For four of these students, this was the first time in many years that they had enjoyed social interaction:

When I started this, I didn't even wanted to talk [...] I've socialized a little bit now... played together and so... card games actually. He (one of the students) is the gaming organizer here downtown... so I've been there (S11).

The students also told us about the additional social skills that they had learned, such as asking for help, talking to groups, and structuring their everyday life. They stated that they had never asked teachers or classmates for help before their participation in the program; but after some time in the program, they had learned to ask their classmates for help. Six students also stated that they had learned to work together in solving different tasks:

[...] what I like here is if you have some problems with anything and you don't really know how to solve it... then ask someone else who's in the same course... then you start to think together about how to solve the problem... I think it's

important to be able to do so because it's how to do it out in the workplace [...] To dare asking for help is a good thing to be able to (S12).

Speaking in front of others was a big challenge for most of the students in the *IT-track*. Five students said that during their stay in the *IT-track*, they had learned to dare to talk to their fellow students, even in front of the class when between 5 and 10 other students were present: "It's something I also learned... talking to the group... I couldn't before because it was really tough and it's still really hard, but after a while you felt that they're almost listening" (S2).

Extended horizons of possibility

Twelve students in the *IT-track* told us that they had experienced difficulties in finding a job after leaving upper secondary school. Moreover, only four of them were eligible for higher education at the time. Three students had continued with their studies, either in adult education or in the Swedish folk high school system. Two students had started university courses from which they had subsequently dropped out. Six students had been gainfully employed but only for short and irregular periods. Five of the students said that after they had left upper secondary school, they had not really done anything organized. Four of them sat at home hardly meeting other people, which led to a feeling of marginalization and exclusion from society. For many of the students, attending the *IT-track* resulted in breaking a long period of isolation:

I haven't had a real job... it's starting to feel a little awkward when you're thirty and haven't really found your place (S14).

I didn't really know what to do because I didn't finish Upper Secondary school... I couldn't cope with the last year there... and then it became that I sat at home and did nothing (S13).

Five of the students also spoke of previous long-term depression:

Then I got my bad period of depression... so I was out of a job... ended up in a pre-stabilizing and then "climb up" process... that went on until this day... it was a long time where I really didn't do anything... I've had contacts with a psychologist and then I ended up here eventually (S12).

Ten of the students stated that attending the *IT-track* was 'a new start in life': "It's probably the best thing that has happened to me" (S12). Another student said that he had developed a routine and felt that there was finally something happening in his life:

I've started to get going again, much better... I get a lot more done... it's very nice [...] You start to get some routines again... start coming back ... it works better with the circadian rhythm as well [...] I'd been sick for a long time ... before I got my examination. Then when the sick leave ran out, I went for some time there [...] Now I have some routines and begin to get back working and learning to use the working memory again (S7).

By attending the *IT-track*, the students developed a sense of a more meaningful existence in which they felt more involved as part of a social context. Thirteen students reported that they had developed new hope in life and they looked more positively toward the future. “I was very down when I started here but now I’m ready again ... everything seems to resolve itself... maybe I can even have a job within a few months,” said S11. Another student told us that the future did not feel that impossible anymore after attending the *IT-track*: “It’s better than I thought [...] I went from thinking I’ll probably get sickness benefits to considering becoming an engineer. Only to dare thinking that it doesn’t need to be as it always has been before... I could do something with my life [...] The future doesn’t seem impossible anymore” (S1). Overall, the *IT-track* led to a situation where the students could replace a lack of confidence and poor self-esteem with a greater confidence in themselves, their skills, and general abilities.

The follow-up interview with the coordinator in autumn 2016 showed that twelve of the students had completed the *IT-track* two years after the study in 2014. At that time, two of the students were still attending the *IT-track*. Of the twelve students who had completed the *IT-track*, five had found jobs and three held internship places. Of the five students who had found a job, three held full time paid jobs in 2016, and two had jobs partly funded by the government. Four of the students had not made any transitions to employment after they left the *IT-track*. These outcomes are described in Table 2.

Table 2: Overview of student achievement, October 2016

Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Completion of the <i>IT-track</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
In work/employment	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	-	-
In internship				X	X			X					-	-

Source: own

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Previous research has highlighted the difficulties that people associated with high-functioning autism face as they try to enter the labour market (Hendricks, 2010; Krieger et al., 2012; Larsson Abbad, 2007; Roy, Prox-Vagedes, Ohlmeier and Dillo, 2015). In this study, five of the students were gainfully employed two years after the study was conducted, which has both human/individual and economic consequences. According to calculations by Nilsson and Wadeskog (2012), these employments could realize societal savings of approximately SEK 34 million (approximately USD 4.5 million). In addition, we found other habilitative effects from the *IT-track*:

- (a) the students’ need for home support and medication decreased
- (b) the students developed their ability to empathize with others

- (c) they began to function better socially with other students and teachers,
- (d) the students stated in the interviews that they had learned to ask for help,
- (e) talk in front of a group, and
- (f) socialize with each other outside the school.

These social skills (b-f) may help to increase the possibilities for the students to obtain jobs.

The exclusion and marginalization of people associated with high-functioning autism is often linked to such individuals not having their special needs met in school (Attwood, 2008; Jackson, 2011; Simmeborn Fleischer, 2012). This failure to meet their needs is especially apparent regarding the lack of specially-designed support functions, with respect to both formal and informal learning (Adolfsson and Simmeborn Fleischer, 2013; Anthony and Unger, 1991; Börnfelt, 2014; Giarelli and Fisher, 2013; Mowbray, 2000; Unger et al., 1991). We note that a clear and continuous structure that includes short lectures followed by practical application work and access to individual workplaces where the students can work alone was a favorable arrangement for this student group. Of the support functions that were available in the *IT-track*, the students reported that the teachers constituted the most important support function. In particular, the students described the teachers' ability to create a safe and meaningful learning environment in which the students felt that they were seen, acknowledged, and understood. In other words, the teachers in the *IT-track* contributed to a definite increase in the students' sense of comprehensibility, manageability, and meaningfulness (Antonovsky, 1987) through the relationships they built with the students (Aspelin, 2012; Johnson, 2008). The teachers' social competence in an interpersonal relation to create a feeling of being taken seriously and of being safe among other students is described by van Manen (1992) as 'the tact of teaching'. This means that the teacher perceives and understands the importance of meeting the students' desires and curiosity by being able to read their physical state. In traditional upper secondary education in Sweden, students usually meet at least 6-8 teachers. In the *IT-track* the students only meet two teachers, which increases the possibility of developing meaningful and safe relations. One risk associated with extending the students' horizons of possibilities is that those students who did not make any transitions to employment after the *IT-track* may relapse into solitude and isolation from society, as their optimism for the future is shattered. Therefore, it is important that this type of educational program also include a safety net with subsequent support functions for those who do not get jobs or internships in a timely manner after the program is completed.

Limitations and Future research

The study has some limitations, for instance concerning the student group. The students in this study were carefully selected by the staff in the *IT-track*. This meant that the students had been identified as having a strong interest in IT and a desire to work in the field, as well as having the capacity to learn the content of the different courses. Thus, it is reasonable to believe that the level of motivation within this group of students was high to

begin with, and their ability to complete the education was good. It is important to keep in mind that other student groups might not be as high-functioning as this group and that the selection process prior to the start of the IT-track influenced the results. Future research should therefore examine other educational programs directed toward a broader selection of people associated with high-functioning autism. Another limitation is that this study only concerns the educational part, the environment in which the habilitation is occurring. We have not studied how the habilitated students function in a work environment. Future research should therefore investigate the internship and work places where some of the students now work in order to examine the sustainability of the habilitating effects. It would also be of importance to study the adjustments made in these work and internship environments, and the student experiences thereof.

Implications for practice

The support and understanding of the students that was shown by the staff in the IT-track is difficult to find in the open labour market. Individuals associated with high-functioning autism are usually described as having the potential to develop expertise in the areas they are interested in (Volkmar, Klin and McPartlanc, 2014). For employers, the challenge is to make environmental adjustments to create conditions where individuals associated with high-functioning autism are given the chance to become high-performing within their areas of interest. In the IT-track we found three aspects that were important to the students; a) individually adjusted work places, b) structure and clarity in the work, and c) a teacher who understands the individuals. These aspects can also be useful for employers when they try to create an inclusive work environment for individuals associated with high-functioning autism.

CONCLUSIONS

The environment in the IT-track provided the students with supportive conditions to succeed in their studies and in their social development. Hence, the conditions surrounding the individual(s) needed to be 'normalized', and not the individual(s) (see Nirje, 1994 on the 'normalization principle'). One of the main findings of the study was the social learning, in terms of the development of social and emotional skills, that took place. Due to the symptoms attributed to individuals associated with high-functioning autism (problems in the areas of socialization, communication, and imagination), and the fact that the diagnosis is often described as 'static' (Helles, Wallinius, Gillberg and Billstedt, 2016), it is noteworthy how much the students learned in these 'problem' areas during their time in the IT-track.

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CHANGE OF STUDENTS' ACTIVITIES IN THE PROCESS OF BECOMING A TEACHER

ABSTRACT

The article presents a part of research focused on teacher education in Poland. Becoming a teacher is a process that takes place in the space of universities and schools as educational entities in which two discursive communities meet. The distinctness and the hermetic character of the communities are an epistemological barrier to the creation of cooperation, which is essential for effective teacher education. The research is directly related to the need to introduce changes in this area and to define the conditions for these changes to occur.

The purpose of the research is to establish how an institution which trains teachers functions. In order to achieve this goal, the author reconstructs a set of rules of discursive practices which were revealed during a group discussion among the students. In the research, a reconstructive formula based on critical discourse analysis was adopted. On the basis of the analysis, recommendations for the practice of teacher education are offered.

Keywords: *becoming a teacher, discursive community, critical discourse analysis*

SPREMEMBA DEJAVNOSTI ŠTUDENTOV, KO POSTAJAJO UČITELJI - POVZETEK

Članek predstavlja del raziskave, ki se osredotoča na izobraževanje učiteljev na Poljskem. Proces, v katerem nekdo postane učitelj, se odvija v prostoru univerz in šol kot izobraževalnih entitet, kjer se srečujeta dve diskurzivni skupnosti. Specifičnost in hermetična narava teh skupnosti pomenita epistemološko oviro za ustvarjanje sodelovanja, ki pa je za učinkovito izobraževanje učiteljev nujno. Raziskava se neposredno navezuje na potrebo po uvajanju sprememb na tem področju in po definiranju ustreznih pogojev, da bi do teh sprememb lahko prišlo. Namen raziskave je ugotoviti, kako deluje inštitucija, ki usposablja učitelje. Za namen doseganja tega cilja avtorica rekonstruira množico pravil diskurzivnih praks, kakor so se razkrila skozi skupinsko razpravo med študenti. V raziskavi je bila uporabljena formula za rekonstrukcijo, ki temelji na kritični analizi diskurza. Na podlagi analize so podana priporočila za prakso izobraževanja učiteljev.

Ključne besede: *postati učitelj, diskurzivna skupnost, kritična analiza diskurza*

INTRODUCTION

Polish educational policy regarding preparation for the teaching profession is defined in a document entitled Teacher Education Standards (2012), which has been in force since the academic year 2012/2013. In Poland teacher education is administered by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. The Ministry of National Education (responsible for the education of children and young people) does not have any influence on the process. Although educational reports emphasize the fact that effective teacher training is the starting point for meeting the challenges of the 21st century and for effective school education in Poland, the division into the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education means that there is no current coordination. The specific demands in the area of teacher education are not analyzed from the perspective of the needs of modern schools. This is why modernization is necessary in the approach to vocational teacher training within the existing educational policy. Such changes are possible to accomplish despite the division of competences between the individual ministries.

From the point of view of becoming a teacher, it is very significant is that the students who are preparing for a new career role are on the threshold of early adulthood. This is a dynamic period during which they make choices that determine the future of their lives and their position in the generational structure; the greater the students' personal commitment and experience in identifying and solving problems, the greater the efficiency of learning. Meta-systemic and relativistic thinking are characteristic of this period. At the basis of such thinking lies the conscious and hierarchical structure of values, which influences how students create their own vision of the world. In situations where students experience values different from their own, contradictions that can block the change of thinking about the world manifest themselves. In this context, it is worth looking into the conditions in which candidates hoping to become teachers of young children build their professional identity and their own vision of functioning in the education system.

The issue of becoming a teacher, which is analyzed in the article, is located at the border of two worlds of education: teacher-practitioners and teacher-candidate students. During their internship, students face the necessity of using scientific thinking about education (academic approach) in interpreting real-school educational reality (Szempruch, 2013). These questions emerged during the implementation of the new professionalism-related teacher education concept. A special place in this concept is given to the teaching internship that is part of the learning process.

In this paper, we propose to combine the undergraduate internship – understood by Peter Jarvis (2012, p. 19) as reflective practice – with the bachelor thesis requirement. The proposal is based on the belief that becoming a teacher is a process which takes place in the space of universities and schools, which are educational entities¹. The results of such an

¹ The proposal refers to students of pedagogy with a specialization in early school and pre-school education at the Institute of Pedagogy, University of Wrocław. This procedure promotes reflective action and, as a consequence, improves a broad spectrum of competences that future teachers acquire. An integral part of the

approach to teacher education have been promising: the students have proven themselves able to overcome stereotypes and abandon the previously observed applicative and instrumental method of planning educational activities; a tendency to copy ready formulae has disappeared over time.

There has also been a change in the way students approach knowledge. Recognizing connections between academic knowledge and the possibility of using it in their own work, students evinced a high level of intrinsic motivation to seek sources of information outside their formal education and to complement and expand their knowledge (Malinowska, 2014). At the same time, students – while undergoing teaching practice – experienced contact with a different way of understanding the world of education, resulting from a different type of knowledge which is presented by the teacher. Since each form of knowledge is its interpretation through which an attempt is made to organize the educational reality, teachers and students organize this reality from different perspectives. Therefore, they form small distinct communities based on the fact that during the course of experiences and everyday life they formulate their own thinking styles, understandable within the particular group, and even *mental coercion* (Zemło, 2006, p. 171).

For that reason we may say that the two communities meet in the school space. Each of the communities is rooted in its shared meanings and practices². In each community events are interpreted in specific contexts and, as a result, the intra-group specificity of constructing the worlds makes them hermetic and closed off from the other worlds, which is the result of interpreting events. As outsiders, with their knowledge different from knowledge which is shared by teachers (Mannheim, 2008), students experience discomfort while placed within the school reality. That is because it is the teacher who evaluates the students' comments on their actions on the basis of her own world. In this sense, a student in school is subjected to the teacher's knowledge or power. In contact with the students' perception of the education world, which is different from their own, teachers adopt the strategy of leveling and breaking otherness (Bauman, 2000). The aim of the strategy is to impose on the students specific frameworks of reality interpretation. Teachers seek validation of the presented posture in discursive negotiation of meanings and in assigning dominant meanings to certain values. Therefore, the world of education has a discursive character. Segregation of threads/motives which are present, absent or poorly outlined in the discourse is the basis for the construction of this world. Ewa

thesis is a program of educational activities which is developed by students during their seminars. During the undergraduate internship (continuous internship after the fifth semester), students have the opportunity to give lessons which are based on the prepared program. After they have finished teaching, they evaluate their own activities. Pedagogical reflection, self-evaluation and description of areas that require changes are all reflected in the final part of the thesis. This organization of students' work aims to create optimal conditions for the construction of the students' own educational theories. Furthermore, it combines two learning strategies: learning before taking action and learning while taking action.

2 The concept of practice is used in the sense of conscious and committed actions of individuals. These actions are shaped by values and meanings which are socially constructed in the discourses. See: Beck, Giddens and Lash, 2009.

Rodziewicz (2011) describes the phenomenon as a peculiar supervision of meanings in the educational space.

Assuming that learning which involves conversion of previous knowledge into a different kind of knowledge is a discursive experience, we might say that during the process of becoming a teacher, a student's knowledge is generated under conditions of inequality of social relations and domination by school teachers and academics who impose their meanings. Therefore knowledge is constructed as a result of interpretative coercion (Zemło, 2006). In this perspective, the institutions of school and university are the centers of power students are subjected to and the space where the identity of future teachers is formed.

For an effective implementation of the proposed model of teacher education, cooperation between teachers, students, and teachers of teachers (academics) is required. The manifested difference of education worlds is a type of epistemological obstacle in building this cooperation, because authentic change cannot be initiated by an external stimulus and the subjects must be deeply involved in the creation of the new quality. This type of engagement can be achieved in the process of social arrangements that have a negotiating character in agreement-oriented interactions and are free of domination. Cooperation requires then, on the one hand, a reduction in the autonomy of groups and individuals, and the preservation of their identities, on the other. The subject of the research – the process of becoming a teacher – has a direct relationship with the need to introduce changes into teacher education and with the determination of the conditions for these changes to occur. The aim of the research is to discover how an institution that trains teachers functions by recognizing the way discourse participants act, think and feel (Kubinowski, 2010). This draws attention to the educational discourse in which the process of becoming a teacher takes place, and to the search for answers to the following questions:

- What discursive community do students build in the process of becoming teachers?
- In what educational discourses do students build their teacher identity?
- What way of thinking about the teacher does student discourse reveal?

The answers to these questions may be found in discursive practices, i.e., the ways of producing and receiving texts in communication activities. Therefore critical discourse analysis, which allows to reconstruct a set of rules of discursive practices present in the analyzed texts, was used in the research (Gee, 2014).

RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

To adopt a clear and coherent research procedure, a conceptualization of discourse is necessary. This work is carried out under the assumption that the semantic scope of discourse as a concept includes a clash of ideas, interpretation of meanings and multiplication of alternatives which are supported by arguments. Therefore in discourse, views and opinions are revealed, meanings are communicated, events and their importance are determined. According to Foucault, discourse is a structured whole which reflects the complex interrelationship of knowledge/power.

With regard to educational discourse, we might claim that power/knowledge is based on the well-established way of thinking about education and its subjects/participants, and is represented by the experts. It is they who impose patterns of concepts and ways of thinking. Understood in these terms, the identification of discourse requires the discovery and disclosure of the mechanisms of power abuse and domination.

According to Teun A. van Dijk, discourse is a communication event which comprises “(a) the use of the language, (b) the transmission of ideas and (c) interaction in social situations” (2006, p. 1021). In this approach, discourse can be understood as an interactive event which is equated with the determination of the meaning of education and/or which takes place during education. The construction of teacher identity occurs during these interactions. Identifying this type of discourse requires taking into account the educational interests of the participants, types of knowledge about education which they represent, and their competence in the use of this knowledge (Hejnicka-Bezwińska, 2008, p. 467).

Combining both positions, I assume that discourse occurs in social interactions and it is the deliberate use of language by education participants in order to communicate in which unbalanced relationships among education entities are evident. It is thus an organized and relatively structured form of expression; it is revealed in the language and mode of action of persons by means of language. The content and form of linguistic behavior are determined by the cognitive concepts of discourse participants, as well as by the practical conditions of formulating utterances (Foucault 2002, p. 16).

Discourse refers to subjective interactive relationships among the participants that form a discursive community. Therefore discourse is the collective structuring and practice of knowledge. Communication which creates a sense of connection between the members is made simple within the discursive community. Because “a discourse community recruits its members by persuasion, training or relevant qualification” (Swales, 1990, p. 24), we might say that in the course of their studies, students become such a community, which is characterized by – according to Swales – defined communication objectives and determined mechanisms of internal communication. The implementation of these objectives by community members is done using a language (*ibid.*) that does not belong to the sphere of the individual but to the sphere of the community (Gadamer, 2000). A sense of community can always be observed from the outside through the analysis of community members' utterances.

Discourse may be examined – depending on the goals – using different analytical approaches (Bosančić and Keller, 2016). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) does not belong to a particular theory of discourse or research school (Jabłońska, 2013). The point of CDA is to promote social change. By approaching communication integrally (*i.e.*, taking into account the linguistic, psychological and sociological aspects), CDA studies the transfer of ideas and the impact language usage may have on people in the context of power abuse, domination or inequalities that the discourse expresses or reproduces (van Dijk, 2001).

The phenomenon of becoming a teacher, which is a fragment of educational reality, is immersed in context. Certain ways of thinking of discourse participants are formed in a given social context, but at the same time they influence the context (Carr and Kemis, 1995).

The social context, which refers to the communication situation, has a complex hierarchical structure that consists of two levels. The local level refers to the characteristics of the participants, situation, place and time of the meeting and the course of the event during which the world is built up again. As a result, the situation is changeable (Rancew-Sikora, 2007). At the same time, the situation is embedded in a global context level, which comprises institutions or social macrogroups.

Knowledge of the situational context and its analysis is essential for understanding utterances produced by discourse participants. It makes possible the discovery of the justification for actions undertaken “here and now”. Access to discourse is only possible through texts. The unit of CDA analysis is the discourse – the whole text understood as a material product of language activities. Therefore also the language context is analyzed. This is pointed out by Van Dijk, who highlights the fact that the dimensions of discourse (speech acts, ideas, interactions) are also elements of the discourse context (Bielecka-Prus, 2012).

RESEARCH DESCRIPTION

Taking into account the theoretical references to discourse and using the CDA approach, I adopt the research procedure proposed by Ian Parker (2004). It consists of the following stages.

The text which is to be analyzed should be turned into a written form, if it is not already.

- In the next phase cultural networks accessed by free association to varieties of meaning should be noted down.
- The objects, usually marked by nouns, should be systematically itemized in the text or selected part of text.
- Distance from the text should be maintained. This can be achieved by treating the text as the object of research rather than what it seems to “refer” to.
- The “subjects” (i.e., characters, personas, role positions) specified in the text should be systematically itemized.
- The rights and responsibilities of “subjects” specified in the text should be reconstructed.
- The networks of relationships should be mapped into patterns. These patterns in language are ‘discourses’ and may be located in relations of ideology, power, and institutions.

In order to gather empirical material, a focused group interview was conducted with a natural group which included 16 students of early school and pre-school education. The participants share experience regarding the education process (Lisek-Michalska, 2013). In the interview, the dynamics based on mutual interactions of the group were used. The discussion, which was part of seminar classes, took place a week after the students had finished their undergraduate internship. The moderator’s participation was reduced to a secondary role and consisted of presenting the topic of discussion; however, she did not

direct the discussion. The question regarding the students' vision of themselves as good teachers of children opened the discussion. The discussion ended naturally after 90 minutes. When communicating with each other, students agree on the shape of the education world and talk about issues related to their educational practice. Because of the roles students play, they are part of the education world, and therefore they acquire general abilities to act (Habermas, 1986).

An empirical analysis was performed on the text of the recorded conversation of last semester undergraduate students. By taking into account connections between the actions of individuals and the structure which determines these actions, it is possible to reveal discursive practices. It is therefore important to define the institutional context that surrounds the emergence of discourse. The students who participated in the discussion began their studies and studied at the time curriculum changes were introduced. The changes included a new concept of teacher education.

In order to adapt the educational offer to the national qualifications framework, particular emphasis was placed on the development of prospective teachers' competences. This approach was reflected in the intended learning outcomes. The curriculum content and methods of working with students were constructed in relation to the requirements of the labor market and the social constructivist model of school education. At the same time, students joined the discussion on the possibility of implementing this model in schools, which had been ongoing in academic circles, through participation in open debates, scientific conferences and seminars.

The volume of the analyzed text is 42,138 characters without spaces. The transcription of the recording is not a perfect reflection of the discussion. Therefore the text analysis was complemented by an analysis of the recorded audio material. The participants in the discussion communicate using natural language, which is the main carrier of meaning. The language of the students is constitutive of their world, because "it provides implicature frameworks that create context, at the same time it establishes the possible connections which are ready for language users" (Niżnik, 1996, p. 29).

The colloquial style reflects the students' knowledge about "educational processes, including educational paradigms expressed in the form of pedagogical doctrines, educational ideologies or reconstructed hidden curriculums" (Hejnicka-Bezwińska, 2008, p. 263). The language-based process of putting order into the world of language education results in the creation of a semantic field that determines activities and learning situations. The choice of register is conditioned by the communication situation. During the discussion, the strategy of direct communication was assumed – message exchanges occur in a natural everyday situation (the students are an educational group) and between equal partners who are familiar with each other. The syntax, vocabulary and structure of the content are characteristic of spoken text which is created spontaneously. Colloquial expressions can be found in the text next to pedagogical terminology. This shows that the terminology was integrated into everyday language. The aim of the discussion was to

determine the changes that had occurred in the manner students thought about teachers, to look at themselves in the role of the teacher from the perspective of the student experience and self-assessment of their own functioning in the classroom. The subject of the analysis and reflection is the change of the participants' practices in the process of becoming a teacher. An overview of this change is done from two perspectives: internal (of the students themselves) and external – from the perspective of the researcher³. Interpretation does not apply to individual practices but to collective beliefs and patterns of action.

The presentation of the analysis is part of ongoing research on the issue of becoming a teacher. With regard to the adopted theoretical perspective and research purposes, I focus on the following:

- analysis of the thematic-rhematic structure,
- analysis of the discursive strategies,
- analysis of selected speech acts.

Selected categories of analysis will allow us to define the conceptual frame as a way of interpreting events and their transformation in the discourse, as well as to determine the manner in which the students persuade others to share their point of view. This, in turn, will allow us to answer the research questions. In the present article it is not possible to present all the detailed analyses. Only elements that justify the conclusions and recommendations regarding the concept of undergraduate internship were selected for presentation.

RESEARCH RESULTS

The global theme of the discourse was chosen as a result of the analysis of specific topics included in the ensuing paragraphs of text. The division of the text into paragraphs was based on the idea of marking the moment when new speakers who pick up and develop a new thread are joining the discussion and of marking the moment when a new topic is introduced. As a result of the thematic analysis, which involved combining specific topics into thematic bundles, a map of discourse content was created. The global topic was the preliminary information known to students (the role of the teacher in the context of implementing the social-constructivist model of education), which provided a frame of reference for bringing into the discussion new elements which helped to expand the topic.

From among the individual utterances/paragraphs, several topics were selected. The analysis of these topics reveals four evaluative theses posed by the students:

- for years, teachers have been recreating existing patterns of action,
- there are no good role models,
- students cannot pursue their vision of a good teacher, they must fit into the existing scheme,
- young teachers who start work have no freedom of action,

³ I was present during the student discussion, but I did not participate in it in order not to interfere with its course. As a researcher, I could not only analyze the text but also observe participants, their reactions and non-verbal behavior.

leading to the following conclusion: in order to make changes, you need to cheat/swindle and be crafty.

A rhematic analysis allowed us to determine what the most important informative part of the utterance is, what the message is regarding being a school teacher and the ability to pursue the students' own vision of a good teacher. The necessity of cheating, writing lesson plans as a meaningless activity, fraud as the only strategy that allows changes – these are the topics that emerged at the beginning of the conversation. These topics were emphasized by the fact that the following speakers referred to them and elaborated on them. This thematic persistence indicates that they are of great importance to the participants of the discussion. Rhematization becomes evident in the syntax structure of the text: contrast is used in a large number of sentences (*I will not do any of the things the teachers did; there was no teacher I could look up to, or even the other way round; this is one of the things that I definitely will not do in the future; I will not be like the teachers I have met so far*), the sentence pattern is changed (*this I won't do, teachers; unbelievable things she comes up with*). Utterances on this subject are accompanied by raised intonation and lively gestures of the interlocutors/speakers.

The character of the chosen themes is not neutral, their analysis shows the far-reaching critique of the attitudes and behaviors of contemporary teachers. At the same time the students –future teachers – present themselves as those who can introduce changes. Therefore the analysis reveals the so-called “group polarization scheme” (van Dijk, 2000, p. 35) based on two discursive strategies: emphasizing the students' own good qualities and actions (positive self-presentation), and emphasizing the bad qualities and actions of school teachers (negative presentation of others). Negative predicates regarding the teacher were used (*uncompromising, incompetent, unfair, irresponsible, infallible, all-knowing*) while positive predicates were used in self-presentation (*a true teacher, a teacher by vocation*). The aim of this treatment is to build up the differences between teachers-practitioners and students –future teachers.

The evaluative theses, the manner in which they were argued for, and the presented image of students were constructed using emotional arguments. The arguments were based on individual experience; however, due to the fact that they were invoked by all students, they constitute a commonly shared view of the students' reality. The analysis of argumentative structure shows that the students define the situation themselves and they are ready to reject any other definition that might arise. This emotion-loaded way of imaging reality imposes an interpretation which is consistent with the speaker's intention: the desire to convince others of their theses and conclusions. Furthermore, basing theses on the so-constructed mental schema does not require providing justification for the declared strategy of making changes included in the conclusion (*to make changes you need to cheat/swindle and be crafty*).

Cataloguing evaluative expressions makes it possible to discern the presuppositions that may be expressed by the following statements: it is us who have a vision of a good teacher,

it is us who are prepared to implement the long-pending changes in education. Although they are not verbalized, they are present in the utterances (e.g., *fortunately the old teaching personnel is going to retire soon, in 20-30 years' time the situation will be different; eventually others will act as I do; I will show them what it means to be a teacher by vocation; our lessons will exhibit our competences; unfortunately they do not give us any chance to present our abilities; they make us write these nonsense lessons plans*). These presuppositions are tentative and unverifiable. Emotion-loaded arguments are used to confirm the recipient in the conviction that the arguments are true and indisputable, since the adoption of such a perspective is a prerequisite for accepting other statements as true.

Table 1. Image of self and others presented in an evaluative manner

We – what we are like	They – what they are like
we succeed, a real teacher, teacher by vocation, we have will, we know, we are suppressed, like coffee and sugar, I will be fair, I will be a good teacher	an obvious example of what not to do, the first thing that strikes me is the incompetence, they believe they are infallible, their knowledge is incomplete, completely irresponsible, they think they are the wisest people in the world, they are not committed, they don't realize civilization has changed over the years, the teacher-guru, there are not teachers by vocation, they feel unpunished, why do they work in school at all, they think they know it all, young teachers are old-fashioned too
We (will) do	They do
show teachers what they are doing wrong, inspire to act, not demand obedience and replication of my thoughts, have a partner relationship with pupils, focus on communication rather than teaching, I will teach using my methods, clash with these teachers, I am driven by a desire to show that other methods are possible, my lessons will be different, I will achieve the goals I have set, If I am to teach I will do it well, we will not copy the old patterns, I will fight off any attacks	evaluate unfairly, require unbelievable things from students, blindly follow guidebooks, function as part of the system, act schematically, do their duties, go home and are no longer bothered

Source: own

The conceptual structure used by the students in their thinking processes and their interpretation of the facts builds a conceptual frame which, at the same time, expresses their attitude toward the presented world. This world is properly expressed in figurative language. Among figures of speech, metaphors deserve special attention as a way of constructing the world, the way it is categorized and conceptualized and as a tool of persuasion.

Metaphor is a type of knowledge representation which characterizes human intellectual activity and reflects our thinking. "Metaphors provide the only way to perceive and experience much of the world" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1988, p. 226) and "give structure to our everyday system of concepts" (ibid., p. 239). Therefore the linguistic metaphor is a reflection of the conceptual metaphor. In the analyzed text, framing is based on using metaphors in relation to the teacher, education, school, school authorities and lesson. The analysis of metaphors helps us understand the experiences which are the basis for the conceptualization of these notions. The analysis of metaphors used in the text leads to the discovery that:

- school is stress; rigid model,
- a teacher is walking incompetence,
- classrooms/lessons are like bedlam,
- students are at the teacher's mercy for knowledge,
- students are strangled by teachers,
- teaching is a vicious circle, paperwork,
- the authorities put the skids under the teachers⁴.

DISCUSSION

The metaphors reveal that the constructed image of the world is a simplified version of the educational reality, it polarizes and categorizes the participants of the educational situation. Teachers are blamed for the difficult position of pupils in school, their irresponsible behavior, following the curriculum "blindly", their routine and obedience to the authorities. Students perceive themselves in the role of teachers as *smothered by the authorities (a lot of paperwork, it is difficult to be satisfied with the work when there is always something you have to do, the curriculum is outdated – it does not bring in anything new, the curriculum is imposed by the authorities, we have no influence on the shape of the curriculum, we choose the government, we choose our president, but we do not decide what the school curriculum looks like)*.

Metaphorical saturation evokes emotions that enhance the persuasive impact. Speech act analysis allows us to assess the effectiveness of utterances. Due to the objectives of the research, commissive and directive speech acts were analyzed (Zdunkiewicz, 1993; Kaproń-Charzyńska, 2014). Commissives comprise utterances by which the speaker defines her behavior in the future. In the analyzed text commissives express readiness to make changes. The statements take two forms:

- promises to take action, but without any obligation to the recipient (*I want to show teachers what they have done wrong for all these years, I want to clash with those teachers; I will be a just teacher; we will write all these lessons plans, but do our own thing in the classroom; we will fight against this rigid model, I have this desire to show that it is possible to be a good teacher; I will be the true teacher we are talking about:*

4 The metaphors were translated into English but their intended meaning was preserved.

the one who develops students' passions and shows the way to acquire knowledge; I will build relationships with students and teach classes in a way that is different from what we have seen; our lessons will be the best proof of our competence; I will teach using my own methods; I will refute criticism by presenting some evidence; I will pay attention to the fact that each student has a different approach to knowledge and thinks differently; I will do that so eventually other teachers will follow my example; these rigid lesson plans are horror; I am obliged to write them and I will write them, but I won't use them in the classroom; we will cheat; I will be a crafty teacher; I will achieve the goals I have set);

- and promises to abandon certain practices (*I will not do any of the things my teachers did; I will not demand obedience and replication of my thoughts; I will not show the students that only I am right*).

Directives take three forms:

- non-binding commands that take on the nature of advice addressed to teachers (*put your college notes in the dustbin and do not use them in the classroom; create something new; more variety, less copying during classes – do not be like: now we are going to read, discuss, write; open up to discussion, it is a good method of work – it is not disorganization; be flexible; dear teachers, read what group work is all about; do not be such a bore; do not judge too quickly; allow students to have their own opinion; make students interested in the topic; do not expect only standard answers from your students*)
- complaints that are not addressed to a specific recipient (*nobody does anything about the stupidity of teachers; such a reform makes no sense at all; the department should react, make a difference, but they will not; the curriculum is inadequate for the reality; they do not do anything about it because they do not feel the need to do it – that is the way it is and that is what you should do*)
- complaints-questions (*where do you send us to do our undergraduate internship, where and with whom?!; why doesn't anybody do something about it?!; how am I supposed to fight against this rigid model when I am obliged to implement it?!*).

The analysis of commissives may indicate that the construction of changes has a general character. Promises are not substantiated here, most of them are built on an opposition to the current state of affairs. However, since negation of existing work practices is documented in the discourse, it may be concluded that the pieces of “good advice” addressed to teachers and included in directives are likely to be fulfilled in the future because students express approval of these rules explicitly. The analysis does not reveal any intention to enforce the recommendations; moreover, there are no intentions to persuade teachers to apply them. This is not due to the asymmetric relationships that characterize both education participants (students and teachers), but due to the belief which is included in the presupposition.

The analyzed discourse is a digressive discourse which is characterized by associative cohesion. A straight line of narrative progression cannot be determined, enumeration and

emotionally charged expressions occur. Utterances are built in the language of “I” and “we”. References to the past and present are dominated by utterances in the first person plural, references to the future are in the first person singular. The analysis enables the consideration of the following question: what kind of cognitive and emotional discursive community do the participants form? It is the question of who the author of the discourse is. The author is not identical with the person who delivers a text but it is defined as

the unifying principle in a particular group of writings or statements, lying at the origins of their significance, as the seat of their coherence. (...) The author is he who implants, into the troublesome language of fiction, its unities, its coherence, its links with reality (Foucault, 1972, pp. 221-222).

The author of the examined discourse is the representative of the young future teachers who are ready for changes in education. She thinks and speaks of herself as the guarantor of change. This community is based on emphasizing the differences and variances between members of the community and school teachers. This leads to the formation of confrontational and competitive attitudes. A significant increase in this feature promotes the growth of internal cohesion of the group and makes affiliation with this group more attractive.

By giving themselves the right to make changes, members of the community perceive themselves as experts. Such a procedure validates and legitimizes their actions and practices. They realize that their community is temporary, soon it will disperse when they enter the labor market to join the new community as novices. While within their community they create a professional discourse system, the fact that they stand up against the practices of the teacher community may suggest that after they have entered the labor market they will be placed in a new community, understood as an institutional discourse system. The only thing they will share with teachers will be their place of work – school as the institution.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The presented analysis carried out within the framework of critical discourse analysis complements research on teacher education in the context of becoming a teacher. According to the principle that the researcher does not announce the truth, but instead only suggests interpretations and solutions to problems, several conclusions and recommendations for the practice of teacher education can be drawn. Studying and familiarizing oneself with the new concept of teacher practices changes the students' way of thinking about the role of the teacher in the social-constructivist model of education and builds critical skills and competences of the students. These in turn favor the change of activity of future teachers. The emancipatory influence of education may also be found in the discourse and is reflected in the manifestation of resistance to the old order. Not only do students refuse to accept externally imposed constraints and to fit in the already-existing

patterns of action, but they also declare their readiness to take the risk of change. They define and design these changes.

The analyzed discourse represents one group's image of the world, it reflects its goals and values that are built in isolation from others. The uniformity of the world is complex and it results from common experiences, distrust and some sort of rebellion against the defined order. A distorted picture of the teacher and the school is built upon a lack of confidence in the authorities, the perception of others as enemies and a lack of faith in the possibility of joint action. In the analyzed text we find fragments that fit within the current stereotypes of "bad" schools and teachers who are reluctant to change. These stereotypes are common in social consciousness. A one-dimensional image is the starting point for the construction of a strategy which students will adopt in order to achieve their goals in the future. Because of the fact that the strategy is ethically questionable and embedded in stereotypes (*all great things have their beginning in small frauds*), it causes concern. Due to the high level of mistrust, it leads to polarization, impedes the entry to the labor market, and prevents building understanding and cooperation in teams.

The problem areas which were revealed in the analysis lead to the conclusion that it is necessary to introduce further changes in the undergraduate internship in pedagogy. The main change suggested would be the introduction and organization of activities based on a partnership between students-interns and teachers-tutors. A collaborative design of activities and the implementation of these projects in the classroom will help students to understand the teachers' working conditions and help teachers to incorporate elements of the new model of education into their own practices. It is also important that these meetings be cyclical – in the long term, they should contribute to the breaking down of the barrier of distrust and the monopoly of competence. Learning organized in such a way can break the patterns of meaning and help to organize experience in a different way. A confrontation of scientific and practical views of reality and the use of different perspectives in solving real-world problems also favor the creation of *the third type of knowledge* (Urbaniak-Zajac, 2003, p. 287).

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Leonida Brezovec

MLADI V UJETNIŠTVU VSEŽIVLJENJSKEGA UČENJA

Predstavitev izsledkov raziskave o doživljanju zahtev po vseživljenjskem učenju med mladimi odraslimi

POVZETEK

V prispevku obravnavamo vpliv družbenih zahtev po stalnem učenju in izobraževanju na življenje mladih odraslih. Pri tem pod drobnogled postavljamo neoliberalni koncept vseživljenjskega učenja, ki učenje in izobraževanje odraslih pojmuje kot ključno orodje za prilagajanje spremembam na trgu dela ter orodje za večjo konkurenčnost, učinkovitost in gospodarski razvoj. Zaradi negotovosti zaposlovanja se vseživljenjsko učenje vedno bolj razglaša za temelj preživetja na trgu dela, s tem pa tudi vedno bolj pomika v območje socialne prisile in nujnosti. Mladi, zlasti tisti, ki šele vstopajo na trg dela, so tako tudi tisti, ki so najbolj pod udarom teh teženj in za katere je bitka za stalno pridobivanje novega znanja in kompetenc že postala način življenja. V raziskovalnem delu obravnavamo izsledke raziskave, izvedene med populacijo mladih odraslih, ki je pokazala na visoko raven zavedanja o pomenu vseživljenjskega učenja ter tudi precej visoko motivacijo za stalno učenje med obravnavano ciljno skupino. Pri tem se je pokazalo, da motivi za učenje v veliki meri izhajajo iz zahtev in pričakovanj družbe po stalnem učenju, kar se najizraziteje kaže pri učenju za področje delovne kariere ter vpliva tudi na občutenje določenega pritiska oziroma obremenitve.

Ključne besede: mladi odrasli, neoliberalni koncept vseživljenjskega učenja, učenje kot prisila, delovna kariera

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE PRISON OF LIFELONG LEARNING Presentation of results on how young adults experience requirements of lifelong learning - ABSTRACT

The paper deals with the impact that the social requirements of continuous learning and education have on the lives of young adults. In this regard, we take a close look at the neoliberal concept of lifelong learning, which considers adult learning and education a key tool for adapting to changes in the labour market, as well as a tool for enhancing competitiveness, efficiency and economic development. Due to uncertainty in the field of employment, lifelong learning is becoming proclaimed more and more as the basis for survival in the labour market; for this reason it is increasingly moving into the area of social coercion and necessity. Young people, especially those who are just entering the labour market, are also

the ones feeling the greatest impact of these aspirations and for whom the battle for constant acquisition of new knowledge and skills has already become a way of life. The research section deals with the results of research carried out among young adults who showed a high level of awareness of the importance of lifelong learning as well as considerable motivation for continuous learning in the investigated target group. It shows that the learning motives largely derive from the requirements and expectations of the society in terms of continuous learning, which is most evident in learning in the field of career, and which also engenders a certain sense of pressure or burden.

Keywords: *young adults, neoliberal concept of lifelong learning, learning as compulsion, career*

UVOD

Subjekt postmoderne družbe je vržen iz stabilnih družbenih in kulturnih okvirov svoje eksistence (Ule, 2000), kar je posledica kompleksnih družbenih procesov, na čelu z globalizacijo, individualizacijo in vse večjo izbirnostjo življenjskih poti. Ti procesi pomembno spreminjajo življenjske poteke posameznikov, še zlasti močno pa vplivajo na mlade, ki so za tveganja sodobne družbe še toliko bolj dovzetni. Njihova življenja so zaznamovana s stalnimi spremembami in negotovostjo, ki jo dodatno pogloblja kapitalistično naravnana družba s svojimi zahtevami po visoko usposobljeni delovni sili, ki se je za potrebe trga dela prisiljena neprenehoma učiti in izobraževati. To odpira prostor konceptu vseživljenjskega učenja, ki sloni na neoliberalnih načelih ter tako izrazito podpira učenje in izobraževanje za potrebe trga dela. Za mlade, ki šele vstopajo v svet dela, je tako stalna skrb za učenje pravzaprav eksistencialnega pomena, kar se povezuje tudi z dejstvom, da formalna izobrazba danes izgublja svojo simbolno moč. Mladi so tako postavljeni pred dejstvo, da je stalno učenje in izobraževanje praktično edina garancija za varno prihodnost, kar vseživljenjsko učenje postavlja v območje družbene prisile in nujnosti.

Osrednja tema našega prispevka je tako vprašanje, kako zahteve po nenehnem učenju in izobraževanju zaznamujejo življenjske poteke mladih odraslih, ki se na prehodu v odraslost srečujejo z mnogimi izzivi, pa tudi tveganji in protislovji postmoderne družbe. Povečana odgovornost za oblikovanje lastnega življenjskega poteka se tesno povezuje zlasti s težnjo po oblikovanju izpolnjujoče delovne kariere, ki se danes kaže kot neke vrste vrednota in kjer neoliberalna naravnost koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja pride še toliko bolj do izraza.

V prvem delu prispevka tako obravnavamo koncept vseživljenjskega učenja v luči neoliberalne paradigme, ki predstavlja vodilo družbe znanja in s tem enega ključnih elementov na področju oblikovanja posameznikove delovne kariere. Osredotočimo se zlasti na občutke pritiska in obremenitve, ki jih zahteve po stalnem učenju povzročajo pri mladih, in v drugem delu predstavimo nekatere ključne ugotovitve raziskave, ki temeljijo na analizi desetih intervjujev s predstavniki mladih odraslih.

NEOLIBERALNI KONCEPT VSEŽIVLJENJSKEGA UČENJA IN MLADI V NJEGOVEM PRIMEŽU

Čeprav so izhodiščne ideje koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja stare že krepko čez sto let (Jelenc Krašovec, 2010), pa se zdi, da danes nihče ne more ubežati njegovi vsenavzočnosti in s tem zahtevam po stalni pripravljenosti na učenje. Flint in Needham (2007) govorita o »*ne-potešljivem apetitu po vseživljenjskem učenju*«, ki se po mnenju številnih avtorjev najtesneje povezuje z vstopom neoliberalne paradigme na številna področja našega življenja. Kot pravi Rizvi (2007), je neoliberalni koncept vseživljenjskega učenja danes dominanten, celo hegemoničen, za kar so v veliki meri zaslužne številne mednarodne organizacije, kot so OECD, Evropska unija, Svetovna banka, APEC in UNESCO, ki so ideji vseživljenjskega učenja zelo uspešno pripisale poseben pomen. V tesnem sodelovanju z nacionalnimi izobraževalnimi sistemi so razvili specifičen diskurz vseživljenjskega učenja, ki izhaja iz potreb globalizirane ekonomije znanja po mobilnih, fleksibilnih, učinkovitih delavcih, zmožnih spoprijemanja z vsemi inovacijami in hitrimi družbenimi spremembami. Celotno izobraževanje se tako, izhajajoče iz teorije človeškega kapitala, postavlja v domeno ekonomske izmenjave ter s tem vpliva na razumevanje pojmov učenja, dela in tudi življenja v skupnosti (prav tam). Pravzaprav je vseživljenjsko učenje danes vodilo načina organiziranja družbe (Autor, 2013), ki se v večini tehnološko in gospodarsko visoko razvitih držav pojavlja kot ključni politični pojem ter je stalnica v najrazličnejših političnih dokumentih (Jelenc Krašovec in Kump, 2005).

S pomočjo vlad, mednarodnih organizacij in podjetij je bil neoliberalni koncept vseživljenjskega učenja torej potisnjen v središče političnih in ekonomskih razprav ter dokumentov (Kump, 2008; Milana, 2012) in na ta način sprva z velikim odobravanjem sprejet v krogih izobraževalcev odraslih (Kump, 2008). Toda kaj kmalu so številni začeli izražati ogorčenje nad ekonomsko kolonizacijo izobraževanja, ki tradicionalnim idejam izobraževanja odraslih, povezanim s socialnimi nameni, političnim angažmajem, vizijo boljšega sveta, ne daje več prostora (prav tam). Kritike večine avtorjev se tako vežejo na koncept vseživljenjskega učenja, ki temelji na neoliberalni doktrini in iz nje izhajajoči teoriji človeškega kapitala. Teorija, ki izobraževanje obravnava kot ekonomsko investicijo, poudarja ekonomski samointeres posameznika, da deluje v okviru prostega in konkurenčnega trga dela ter vlaga v lasten človeški kapital (Rizvi, 2007). Znanje tako postaja najpomembnejši element človeškega kapitala, izobraževanje pa investicija vanj in njegovo akumulacijo (Krašovec in Žagar, 2011). To je tudi ključna značilnost t. i. družbe znanja kot enega osnovnih ideologemov sodobnega kapitalizma, ki vsebuje tako teorije, ki na specifične načine pojasnjujejo vlogo in rabo znanja v družbi, kakor tudi načrte raznih reform in politik na področju izobraževanja (Krašovec, 2013). Problematična je prav zaradi svoje navidezne nevtralnosti (prav tam) in na prvi pogled nekoliko dvoznačnega pomena¹

¹ Družba znanja je mnogokrat interpretirana kot družba, ki bo z implementacijo znanja in novih znanstvenih dosežkov prispevala k obćemu napredku družbe in hkrati s tem tudi h kakovostnejšemu življenju vsakega posameznika (Autor, 2013). V takšni družbi bo, kot pravi Krajnc (2010), znanje dostopno vsem, ljudem pa bo ponujala toliko možnosti, kot jih ni še nobena prej (prav tam). Takšna interpretacija se, kot pravi Autor (2013, str. 16), »naivnemu opazovalcu lahko kaže kot nekakšen razsvetljski projekt 21. stoletja« (prav tam).

(Autor, 2013), ki pa ga hitro razjasni angleška ustreznica – *knowledge based economy*, ki znanje povezuje zgolj z enim, dominantnim segmentom družbe, torej ekonomijo oziroma gospodarstvom (prav tam).

Ker so izobraževalne prioritete znotraj neoliberalnega koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja podvržene ciljem gospodarstva, to prinaša pomembne implikacije tako za posameznika kot za celotno družbo. Številni avtorji (Gril, 2013; Jelenc Krašovec, 2013; Krajnc, 2010; Kodelja, 2013; Patric, 2013; Tuschling in Engemann, 2006; Wildemeersch in Salling Olsen, 2012) opozarjajo, da koncept vseživljenjskega učenja močno vpliva na spreminjanje vloge znanja, učenja ter seveda tudi vloge učečega se posameznika. Ta je podrejen dveh temeljnima dimenzijama vseživljenjskega učenja – *Lifewide in Lifelong Learning*, ki skupaj tvorita »brezmejnost učenja v času in prostoru« ter s tem postavljata zahtevo, da učenje postane način življenja (Tuschling in Engemann, 2006).² Koncept vseživljenjskega učenja vpeljuje v logiko, kjer je posameznik odgovoren za vsebino in znanje, hkrati pa tudi za ravni in strukture, proces in organizacijo (Jelenc Krašovec, 2010; Olssen, 2006). Država oziroma izobraževalne institucije skrbijo zgolj za spodbujanje celotnega procesa (prav tam), konstruirajo, načrtujejo in izbirajo pa posamezniki sami na podlagi lastnih želja in osebnega interesa (Laval, 2005). Učenje in izobraževanje se tako vse bolj razglašata za dolžnost (prav tam), s tem pa (gledano zlasti z vidika izpolnjevanja visokih zahtev trga dela) postaja vse bolj stvar socialne prisile in nujnosti (Kodelja, 2005; Patric, 2013).

Mnoge zahteve in pritiski, ki izhajajo iz tega neoliberalno naravnane koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja, so usmerjeni tudi na mlade, ki so še toliko bolj dovzetni za različna tveganja in izzive postmoderne sveta. Poleg zavesti o pomenu vseživljenjskega učenja narašča tudi strah pred (kariernim) neuspehom, ki se zagotovo povezuje tudi z dejstvom, da diploma danes še zdaleč ni zagotovilo za zaposlitev (Boštjančič in Bajec, 2011) ter da šolski in univerzitetni naziv danes izgublja svojo simbolno moč (Laval, 2005). To še toliko bolj velja za mlade na začetku karierni poti in jih s tem uvršča v eno najbolj ogroženih populacij na trgu delovne sile (Ule, 2008). Mladi, željni uspeha, so tako tudi po končanem študiju primorani ostati v vlogi »večnega učenca« in z različnimi dodatnimi usposabljanji, pridobljenimi certifikati in potrdili dokazovati, da so njihove kompetence vredne delodajalčeve pozornosti in obravnave, ter se v luči vseprisotne »paradigme učinkovitosti in uspeha« (Galimberti, 2015) tudi vedno bolj podrežati visokim delovnim zahtevam (Lukič, 2008). Zavedajo se namreč dejstva, da bodo brez stalnega izobraževanja, z besedami Kodelje (2005), »eksistenčno ogroženi«. Psihični razredni boj tako, kot pravi Krašovec (2016, str. 69), »dobi obliko nenehne samorefleksije in spreminjanja samega sebe, treninga komunikacijskih veščin, dodatnega izobraževanja in iskanja kreativnih izboljšav« (prav tam). Ključna načela in poudarki koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja, vezani zlasti na pridobivanje dodatnih kompetenc, se tako za mlade kažejo kot nekakšna rešilna bilka v tej negotovi situaciji, ta miselnost, ki jo vodi imperativ prevzemanja osebne odgovornosti, pa

² To logiko dobro ponazarjajo tudi navedbe Strategije vseživljenjskega učenja v Sloveniji (Jelenc, 2007, str. 22): »Učenje in izobraževanje ni nekaj, kar bi lahko ločili od življenja. Učenje – v kakršnikoli obliki ali kakršnimkoli namenom nikoli ne preneha« (prav tam).

je lepo razvidna tudi skozi poudarjanje raznih kariernih nasvetov za mlade, ki z mantrami, kot so *»bodi gospodar svoje kariere«*, *»vzemi kariero v svoje roke«*, *»z vizijo do uspeha«* ipd., prodirajo v njihovo zavest ter pri mnogih vzbujajo lažen občutek, da je kariera zgolj stvar njihove osebne odločitve in angažmaja. Pravzaprav bi lahko trdili, da razširitev vseh teh kariernih nasvetov za mlade, skupaj z vse več nasveti za oblikovanje samostojne podjetniške poti, v resnici služi kot neke vrste orodje za maskiranje realnih gospodarskih razmer in navidezno blaženje krize zaposlovanja mladih. Skupaj s konceptom vseživljenjskega učenja pa prispeva k večji pohlevnosti in konformnosti mladih posameznikov, ali kot temu pravi Kump (2008, str. 81), *»vseživljenjsko učenje je del hegemonkega projekta internalizacije pohlevnosti in ustrežljivosti«*. Deluje kot nekakšna nova tehnologija discipliniranja, manj očitna oblika nadzorovanja in upravljanja ljudi (prav tam). Problematično pri tem je zlasti to, da se pasivna prepuščenost obstoječemu stanju pravzaprav kaže kot pozitiven zgled družbene aktivnosti in odgovornosti. Gre za *»mikrosamoupravljanje«* posameznikov (Krašovec, 2016), pri čemer postaja bistveno iskanje individualnih strategij prilagajanja (prav tam), ukvarjanje z izpolnitvijo svojih potencialov in uresničevanjem osebnih ciljev ter s tem tudi samonadzor pri upravljanju lastnega življenja (Salecl, 2011). Verjetno ni treba posebej poudarjati, da takšna individualizirana in pasivna drža neugodno vpliva na skupino mladih, ki niso nič drugega kot *»ujetniki vseživljenjskega učenja«* (Crowther, 2004). Poleg tega pa nastala *»klima negotovosti in tveganja«* (Barros, 2012, str. 130) neugodno vpliva na njihovo (duševno) zdravje in poleg splošnega občutka tesnobe, ki ga podrobneje razčlenjuje tudi R. Salecl (2011), mlade navdaja s številnimi drugimi negativnimi občutki, ki lahko v posameznih primerih vodijo tudi do določenih psiholoških obremenitev in frustracij. Kako se z vsemi temi zahtevami in pritiski, ki so izraz splošnih družbenih razmer in tudi samega koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja, soočajo mladi, smo preverjali v raziskavi, katere ključna spoznanja predstavljamo v nadaljevanju.

RAZISKOVALNI DEL

Namen raziskave

Glavni namen naše raziskave, ki je bila izvedena v okviru magistrskega dela, je bil proučiti, kako družbene zahteve po nenehnem učenju in izobraževanju, ki izhajajo iz neoliberalnega koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja, vplivajo na življenje mladih odraslih ter njihovo delovno kariero kot enega izmed osrednjih stebrov oblikovanja posameznikove identitete.

Želeli smo odgovoriti zlasti na vprašanje, kako mladi zaznavajo in doživljajo zahteve po vseživljenjskem učenju in kakšen pomen mu pripisujejo. Zanimalo nas je, zakaj se vključujejo v procese vseživljenjskega učenja, kateremu področju učenja namenjajo največ pozornosti in kakšne so njihove izkušnje s kariernim svetovanjem. Pri tem smo izhajali iz naše osrednje teze, da neoliberalni koncept vseživljenjskega učenja, skupaj s procesi individualizacije in izbirnosti ter negotovostjo na trgu dela, mlade sili k nenehnemu učenju in nadgrajevanju znanja ter zanje postaja neke vrste obremenitev oziroma pritisk.

Metoda raziskovanja in vzorec

V raziskavi smo uporabili kvalitativno metodologijo raziskovanja, ki, izhajajoč iz interpretativne paradigme, daje poudarek proučevanju subjektivnih doživetij posameznikov in ugotavljanju pomenov, ki jih ti pripisujejo posameznim dogodkom (Vogrinc, 2008). Temeljna tehnika, ki smo jo uporabili za zbiranje podatkov, je delno strukturiran intervju.

V raziskavo smo vključili deset predstavnikov mladih odraslih, in sicer šest deklet in štiri fante. Vzorec je bil izbran naključno in je zajel starostno skupino od 25 do 29 let. Mladi, vključeni v raziskavo, prihajajo iz različnih delov Slovenije (iz osmih različnih občin), nekateri iz mestnih, drugi pa iz podeželskih oziroma primestnih okolij. Razlikovali so se tudi po izobrazbeni strukturi in zaposlitvenem statusu, pri čemer so bili v času izvajanja intervjuja štirje zaposleni za nedoločen čas, štirje za določen čas, dve intervjuvanki pa sta bili v procesu aktivnega iskanja prve redne zaposlitve. Ključne podatke o intervjuvancih podrobneje prikazuje spodnja tabela.

Tabela 1: Osnovni podatki o intervjuvancih

Intervjuvanec	Spol	Starost	Najvišja dosežena izobrazba	Zaposlitveni status
J. S.	Ženski	25	Diplomirana ekonomistka	Zaposlena za nedoločen čas v računovodskem servisu
A. S.	Ženski	26	Magistrica profesorica glasbe	Zaposlena za določen čas na mednarodni šoli kot učiteljica glasbenega pouka
K. G.	Ženski	29	Magistrica grafična inženirka	Zaposlena za določen čas v kulinarinem studiu
P. P.	Moški	27	Inženir lesarstva	Zaposlen za nedoločen čas kot tehnolog v lesni industriji
S. C.	Moški	27	Inženir telekomunikacij	Zaposlen za nedoločen čas kot vzdrževalec telekomunikacijske opreme
N. R.	Ženski	28	Diplomantka mednarodnih odnosov, študentka programa Upravljanje organizacij, človeških virov in znanja	Zaposlena za polovični delovni čas kot vodja mladinskih programov v nevladni organizaciji
R. O.	Moški	28	Diplomirani ekonomist	Zaposlen za nedoločen čas na področju logistike pri večjem slovenskem trgovskem podjetju
M. P.	Moški	26	Gimnazijski maturant, študent prava (izredno)	Zaposlen za določen čas kot voznik tovornjaka
S. B.	Ženski	28	Magistrica biotehnologije	Iskalka zaposlitve, prijavljena na zavodu za zaposlovanje
D. C.	Ženski	25	Diplomirana ekonomistka	Iskalka zaposlitve, prijavljena na zavodu za zaposlovanje

UGOTOVITVE IN INTERPRETACIJA REZULTATOV

Zaznavanje zahtev po vseživljenjskem učenju in učenje za področje delovne kariere

Težnje po stalnem učenju so postale praktično vseprisotne, učenje v različnih obdobjih življenja in za različna področja življenja pa je že nekako samoumevno in zlasti za mlade dojeto kot logično, naravno. Da to drži, so potrdili tudi odgovori naših intervjuvancev, ki so na vprašanje, ali menijo, da je v družbi že nekako pričakovano, da se bomo stalno učili in izobraževali, povedali, da je učenje danes »*nenapisano pravilo*« in pravzaprav že »*nekaj samoumevnega*« (A. S.). To ponazarja tudi izjava N. R., ki pravi tako: »*Men se zdi, da pr mladih je to že ful del našega vsakdana. Nam je to način življenja, neki, kar je neki normalnega.*« (N. R.). Raven zavedanja o pomenu vseživljenjskega učenja je med mladimi torej visoka, za tako pa se je pokazala tudi njihova motivacija za učenje oziroma izpopolnjevanje svojega znanja, kar po eni strani lahko povežemo tudi z dejstvom, da so praktično vsi mladi, vključeni v to raziskavo, visoko izobraženi. Večina intervjuvancev je tako izrazila veliko pripravljenost za stalno učenje ter omenila tudi neko notranjo željo oziroma motivacijo za učenje, ki pa se s podrobnejšo obravnavo učnih motivov ni izkazala kot najmočnejša. Pokazalo se je namreč, da so učni motivi v resnici tesno povezani z zahtevami in pričakovanji družbe po stalnem učenju, še posebej pa to velja za učenje za področje delovne kariere, ki v neoliberalnem kontekstu velja za primarno skrb in odgovornost vsakega (mladega) posameznika (Patric, 2013). Neoliberalni koncept vseživljenjskega učenja namreč v prvi vrsti nagraduje z delom povezano znanje, spretnosti in kvalifikacije (Lee in Friedrich, 2011) ter s tem pomembno vpliva tudi na dojemanje vloge, ki jo učenje opravlja v življenju posameznika. Ker je, kot pravi Beck (2001), ključ za zavarovanje življenja na trgu dela, je posameznik, ki si želi zagotoviti zaposlitev ter s tem preživetje, prisiljen ostati v vlogi »večnega učenca« in se nenehno učiti za potrebe trga oziroma razvoj svoje lastne delovne kariere. Mladi, ki, kot pravi Beck (prav tam), presenetljivo mirno prenašajo dejstvo, da njihova pridobljena izobrazba izgublja svojo vrednost in so mnogokrat pripravljeni sprejeti vsako delo, da bi se najprej sploh vključili v sistem zaposlovanja, se hkrati opirajo tudi na upanje, da bodo s prešolanjem ali nadaljnjim izobraževanjem izboljšali svoje poklicne perspektive in možnosti (prav tam).

Tudi naša raziskava je, kot že rečeno, pokazala, da je področje učenja za delovno kariero tisto, ki se mu v splošnem namenja precej pozornosti, temu pa v veliki meri botrujejo ravno zunanji motivacijski dejavniki v obliki bolj ali manj neposredno izraženih pričakovanj in zahtev po nenehnem učenju. Pri nekaterih že narava samega dela kot takega terja več učnega angažmaja in sprotne učenja, kar ponazarja tudi izjava P. P.: »*Vsak dan so neki novi izzivi, neke nove stvari, ki jih nisi še nikul delu in morš se neki poglobit in bi reku, tu je vsakodnevno učenje.*« (P. P.). N. R. pa je bila pri tem tudi nekoliko kritična do tistih mladih, ki na področju svoje delovne kariere niso pripravljeni nič narediti v smislu dodatnega učenja in izobraževanja: »*Dej neki nared, da ohraniš stik s tem trgom dela al pa s tem delovnim okoljem, ker če ne, te sesuje.*« (N. R.).

Mladi se torej še kako dobro zavedajo, da brez dodatnega pridobivanja znanja ne morejo niti kakovostno opravljati svojega dela niti biti konkurenčni množici drugih, ki se prav tako bojujejo za svoj delovni položaj, pa naj gre za konkuriranje pri iskanju nove (prve) zaposlitve ali za konkuriranje nekomu drugemu znotraj podjetja. Ravno ta konkurenčnost oziroma tekmovalna komponenta v znanju se je pokazala kot pomembna za nekatere intervjuvance. S. C. je tako večkrat poudaril, da se stalno uči tudi zato, da bo bolj konkurenčen drugim zaposlenim v podjetju ter si s tem zagotovil večjo stabilnost delovnega mesta. Povedal je tako:

»Ja, da bom bolj konkurenčen drugimi, ne. Pač jst bom dejansku pokazu direktorji, kaj znam nrđt in kaj sm nrđu, en drugi pa ne. In tudi več botu ku boš reku ne, me ne zanima, ja bodo dobili pa enga družga, bojo mojga sodelavca izobrazli, bodo vidli, da uni zna dosti več ku jst, in avtomatsko jst bom pou malu nižje ..., bodo povlekli kšnega družga nutri.«

Vidimo lahko, da se pri njem ta tekmovalnost pri pridobivanju znanja povezuje tudi s strahom pred izgubo zaposlitve³, hkrati pa ga to dodatno motivira k učenju in k temu, da to angažiranost za dodatno usposabljanje pokaže tudi delodajalcu: *»Pač vsku tulku neki predlagaš, greš na kšno izobraževanje, pokažeš pol tisto znanje, pokažeš tisti certifikat, da te mal vidjo, da neki res obvladaš in neki znaš.«* (S. C.) Sicer pa se je tudi večina ostalih strinjala, da je učenje za večjo konkurenčnost oziroma nasploh zaposljivost na trgu dela danes izjemnega pomena. N. R., ki se je s trditvijo, da se uči zato, da bo bolj konkurenčna oziroma zaposljiva na trgu delovne sile, sicer strinjala le delno, je povedala tako: *»Mah, jst želim verjet, da se ne sam zato, res. Ker to bi me res žalostil, če bi se sam zato.«* (N. R.) Iz njenih besed je razvidno zavedanje, da je znanje, kot pravi Rizvi (2007), najpomembnejši element človeškega kapitala in s tem konkurenčna prednost na trgu delovne sile. Znanje v tem smislu tako, če ne drugega, vsaj ublaži strah pred ekonomskim in kulturnim zaostankom (Usher, 2007). In tega se še kako dobro zavedajo tudi delodajalci, ki pred mlade postavljajo izjemno visoke zahteve glede njihove usposobljenosti in tudi visoka pričakovanja glede tega, da bodo stalno skrbeli za svoj razvoj in dodatno pridobivali znanje. A. S. je te zahteve povzela tako:

»Ja, mladi so v bistvu precej obremenjeni. Če že dobijo službo, potem se morajo zelo zelo izkazat, da jo lahko obdržijo. [...] ... vsi hočjo met neko perfekcijo, nekaj več, od mladih pa sploh pol zahtevajo še več dela, še več raziskovanja, več angažiranosti. Težko je.« (A. S.)

Intervjuvanci so se tako strinjali, da so zahteve, ki jih danes delodajalci glede učenja in izobraževanja postavljajo pred mlade, zelo visoke. To se povezuje tudi z zahtevami glede

³ Bourdieu (1998) je že pred desetletji govoril o strukturnem nasilju brezposelnosti, nestalnosti zaposlitve in iz tega izhajajoči implicitni grožnji z odpustitvijo, ki zaposlene dela pohlevne in požrtvovalne delavce ter s tem prispeva k »harmoničnemu« delovanju individualističnega mikroekonomskega modela (prav tam). Zdi se torej, da so mladi resnično ponotranjili grožnjo z »rezervno vojsko brezposelnih« (prav tam), ki jim ves čas grozi z možnostjo, da bodo tudi sami pristali v njenih vrstah.

delovnih izkušenj, ki mladim iskalcem (prve) zaposlitve zapirajo pot do ustreznega delovnega mesta, zelo visoka pa so, kot rečeno, tudi pričakovanja glede njihove pripravljenosti na stalen učni napredek. Zlasti S. B. in D. C., ki še vedno iščeta prvo redno zaposlitev, v množici zaposlitvenih oglasov opažata, kako visoka so pričakovanja številnih delodajalcev. D. C. je glede teh zahtev povedala tako: *»Ogromne, ogromne. V bistvu ti bi se mogu že roditi s petletnimi izkušnjami, da te sploh vzamejo v službo.«* (D. C.) Ravno tako te zahteve zaznava S. B.: *»Pričakujejo, da bodo ljudje vse znal in da bodo ful usposobljeni.«* (S. B.) K. G. pa meni, da je to za delodajalce ugodno predvsem s finančnega vidika: *»Ja, v bistvu morš bit strokovnjak na svojem področju in na drugih področjih. Deklica za vse, praktično. Delodajalci želijo pet oseb v eni, ker pač to finančno je bolj ugodno.«* (K. G.) Da se delodajalcem finančno bolj »splača« zaposliti osebo, ki je izkušena, predvsem pa ima znanje z najrazličnejših področij, so navedli tudi S. C., M. P. in R. O., nekateri pa so zaznali tudi neke bolj prikrita zahteve. N. R. je povedala: *»Ful so te neke nenapisane, neizrečene zahteve, ki jih majo ti pri iskanju zaposlitve«* (N. R.). Podobno je svoja občutja opisala J. S.: *»... pričakuje, da bom jst kr sama od sebe vse znala. Prikrita pričakovanja so.«* (J. S.) Prav tako so mnogi izmed njih menili, da delodajalci danes vedno bolj cenijo tiste kandidate, ki svoj življenjepis dopolnijo z različnimi potrdili in dokazili o neformalno pridobljenem znanju, kar se povezuje tudi s problematiko razvrednotenja formalne izobrazbe. A. S. je povedala: *»Men se zdi, da je dost pomemben to neformalno znanje kot pa sama diploma«* (A. S.) S. B. pa to vidi tudi kot neki potencial, še zlasti za tiste, ki so z vidika svoje formalne izobrazbe težje zaposljivi. Pravzaprav je, kot pravi, za določena področja dela nujno, da kandidati dokazujejo svoje neformalno pridobljeno znanje: *»... v družboslovju se mi zdi, da če ne boš meu okranclanga življenjepisa še z enmi stvarmi, da po mojem dost hitr izgubiš borbo, no«* (S. B.).

Nekateri so kot problematično omenili zlasti to, da delodajalci na bolj ali manj prikrit način zahtevajo stalno skrb za učenje in napredek v znanju, a hkrati učenja in izobraževanja kot takega med zaposlenimi sploh ne spodbujajo. Slednje je dobro razvidno iz izjave P. P.: *»U bistvi oni bi teli, da jst dosti znam, pa da se ne učim v delovnem cajti, tu je.«* (P. P.) Da v njegovem podjetju ne skrbijo za učenje in izobraževanje, je poročal tudi R. O.: *»Ja, pričakujejo, da znaš, da to obvladaš. Noben se pa ne vpraša, kako boš do tega prišel. [...] Ne spodbujajo, da bi mel neko vseživljenjsko učenje, ni nekih priložnosti ...«* (R. O.) Popolnoma nasprotno pa velja za A. S., ki je povedala tako: *»Zlo nas v bistvu silijo, da se učimo. Imamo tud ves čas izobraževanja v šoli. Stalno se usposabljam, imamo tudi tuje predavatelje, naše učitelje tud pošiljajo po svetu na izobraževanja. Sicer pa se mi zdi čist pozitivna stvar.«* (A. S.) Visoke zahteve glede znanja, predvsem pa dodatnega izpopolnjevanja in usposabljanja na najrazličnejših področjih občuti tudi N. R., ki pravi tako: *»Ja, ja, moj delodajalc ma zelo visoka pričakovanja. Je pač to tud del opisa dela, recimo tud ta inovativnost, nove ideje, novi produkti ... To je ful eno veliko pričakovanje ...«* (N. R.) Skrb za stalno učenje je zanjo tako neizogibna, in čeprav svoje delo ocenjuje kot osebno izpolnjujoče, to hkrati zanjo pomeni tudi precejšen pritisk. Povedala je tako:

»... v naravi dela, k ga jst opravljam, je ful pritisk v bistvu. [...] ... v resnici delaš neki, kr je dobr, kr te v resnici ful samoizpolnjuje, ampak pač, na dolgi rok, jst osebno ne vem, kolk časa lahk eno tako stvar delaš, pod takimi pogoji.« (N. R.)

Tudi pri drugih smo preverjali, ali jim zahteve po stalnem učenju pomenijo stres oziroma obliko pritiska. Predvsem se je to navezovalo na področje delovne kariere, saj smo sklepali, da pričakovanja oziroma zahteve po učenju na drugih področjih niso tako izrazite oziroma jih ne doživljajo tako močno kot pri skrbi za delovno kariero. Pri tem vprašanju je najbolj izstopal odgovor S. C., pri katerem se zahteve delodajalca, pa tudi visoke zahteve do samega sebe, izražajo v občutenju pritiska in stresa.

»Moram stalno skrbet za učenje, tud v prostem času, bodisi vikendi, bodisi zvečer. Eno je, da te stvar zanima, drugo so pa neke zahteve, ku si moraš vzet čas in se učit doma, spoznavat nove tehnologije, dobit neke podatke, neke primere, in doma nrdit kšno stvar, jo stestirat, da pol lhku bl enostavno nrđiš neko delu. [...] Šef oziroma firma zahteva sprotno učenje, po delavniku, izven delovnega časa. [...] Predstavlja stres, normalno.« (S. C.)

Tudi pri ostalih intervjuvancih smo s pomočjo nekaterih trditev razkrili posamezne elemente, ki kažejo na to, da zahteve in pritiski, ki izhajajo iz koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja, močno posegajo na področje njihovih delovnih in posledično tudi življenjskih karier. Ena izmed takšnih trditev, glede katere so intervjuvanci izražali stopnjo strinjanja,⁴ se je navezovala na občutenje potrebe po stalnem dokazovanju, izpopolnjevanju in izboljševanju, ki jo lahko interpretiramo kot izraz *»paradigme učinkovitosti in uspeha«*, o kateri govori Galimberti (2015). Kar osem intervjuvancev je tako izrazilo popolno strinjanje z omenjeno trditvijo, nasprotno pa se večina ni strinjala s trditvijo, da pridobivanje dodatnih kompetenc, znanja in spretnosti zanje pomeni neke vrste bitko v smislu občutenja velike odgovornosti ali nuje. Pokazalo se je, da gre v večini primerov za bolj situacijsko vezane težnje po dodatnem znanju oziroma kompetencah, kar ne potrjuje navedb nekaterih avtorjev (Mekina, 2016; Krašovec, 2016; Salecl, 2011; Galimberti, 2015), da med mladimi zaznavamo ne le težnjo po nenehnem samoizpolnjevanju in samoizboljševanju, temveč že neke vrste *»obsesivno vlaganje vase«*. Težko bi torej rekli, da se je ta trditev pri naših intervjuvancih potrdila, je pa, zanimivo, S. B. povedala, da je v preteklosti sama veliko časa posvetila temu *»vlaganju«* v različne delavnice, tečaje in treninge predvsem z namenom izboljšanja svojih zaposlitvenih možnosti ter se s tem zapletla v nekakšen začaran krog nenehne bitke za različna potrdila in certifikate, s katerimi bi to potencialno lahko dokazovala. Sčasoma je ugotovila, da učenje in izobraževanje s tem namenom nima smisla, in začela sprejemati bolj premišljene izbire:

»Neki časa lahko noriš, jst sm, ne vem, pol leta po 16 ur na dan bla skoz

⁴ Mladi so stopnjo strinjanja s posamezno trditvijo izrazili na petstopenjski ocenjevalni lestvici ter svojo oceno nato tudi pokomentirali.

naokrog, po delu tkoj ti treningi, izobraževanja, pa uno, drugo, tretje. [...] Jst sm zdej oklestla moje interese, tko, k jih lahk nekaj utemeljim na nek način. [...] In sm začela nekaj, mislm, ja, selekcionirat glede na to, kaj mi lahko v prihodnosti koristi.» (S. B.)

Zanimiva je tudi njena ugotovitev, da je udeleževanje najrazličnejših izobraževalnih aktivnosti zanj pomenilo tudi neke vrste beg pred tem, da bi se soočila sama s sabo oziroma svojimi željami na področju delovne kariere. Njeno razmišljanje ponazarja naslednja izjava:

»... drugač so ta izobraževanja tud ful en tak luškan izgovor, da hodiš pa sam neki delaš, pa ni enga fokusa, no. Jst sm se v eni točki tega tud zavedala. Je bil en tak beg. Ker si ful aktiven. Sej nisi len, sej ful delaš stvari, ful se ti dogaja, ampak hkrati pa se izogibaš tisti odločitvi, ki bi jo mogu sprejet. Tko da polnjenje časa s tem je velikokrat pomenu beg.» (S. B.)

Zgornji citat se v bistvu dotika še ene tematike, ki so jo v ospredje postavili naši intervjuvanci, in sicer izbire na področju vseživljenjskega učenja ter kariernega odločanja, kar obravnavamo v naslednjem sklopu.

Izbira na področju vseživljenjskega učenja in moč kariernih nasvetov

Izhajajoč iz predpostavke, da se zahteve po vseživljenjskem učenju izražajo tudi v razširjenosti raznoraznih kariernih nasvetov za mlade (iskalce zaposlitve), smo nekaj vprašanj v intervjuju namenili tudi tej problematiki. Zanimalo nas je, kakšne izkušnje imajo mladi s kariernim svetovanjem, predvsem pa to, kako različni karierni nasveti, predvsem tisti, podani v obliki kariernih »sloganov«, ⁵ vplivajo na njihovo doživljanje zahtev po stalnem učenju za področje delovne kariere.

Odgovori, ki smo jih dobili, so bili različni. Nekateri so imeli s kariernim svetovanjem pozitivne izkušnje, menili so, da so bili nasveti, ki so jih dobili, koristni in uporabni, spet drugi so bili do kariernega svetovanja nekoliko bolj skeptični in zadržani. S. B. je recimo povedala tako:

»Čeprov, pač, bodmo realni. K si na trgu dela, si pač sam. Ker tud če ti nrdiš ful popoln CV in te naučijo vsa ta vprašanja, k jih imaš na razgovorih, pa da se pripraviš gor dol, to ti ne garantira uspeha. [...] Pa jst mislm tud, da če preveč poslušáš te nasvete, da lahko pozabš na svojo pristnost.» (S. B.)

Težavo vidi tudi v tem, da je mnogo kariernih nasvetov usmerjenih v spodbujanje podjetniške miselnosti oziroma namigovanje, da je lastna podjetniška pot odlična izhodiščna točka

⁵ Izhajali smo iz predpostavke, da vse bolj razširjeni karierni nasveti in usmeritve (Brečko, 2013) mlade (študente iskalce prve zaposlitve) na vso moč prepričujejo, naj v boju za delovna mesta čim bolj izstopajo s svojo unikatnostjo, izvirnostjo in kreativnostjo ter s pravnim angažmajem postanejo »gospodarji« svoje kariere.

za prodor na trg delovne sile, kar se navezuje tudi na problematiko t. i. »espeizacije«,⁶ ki sicer izhaja iz ukrepov aktivne politike zaposlovanja mladih, a se v praksi mnogokrat kaže kot prisila in oblika izkoriščanja (Kristan, 2014). Naš namen seveda ni bil poglobljanje v problematiko ukrepov samozaposlovanja, je pa spodbujanje tega tudi eden izmed kazalnikov procesov individualizacije in izbirnosti na področju kariere, predvsem pa kaže, kako celotna ideologija spodbuja logiko prevzemanja osebne odgovornosti. Ta je lepo razvidna iz praktično vseh kariernih »slogano«, s katerimi se karierni svetovalci obračajo na mlade in jih tako spodbujajo, da postanejo »gospodarji svoje kariere«, da vzamejo »kariero v svoje roke« in pridejo »z vizijo do uspeha«. Mladi so torej deležni kariernih nasvetov, ki za podlago jemljejo »paradigmo samoodgovornosti«, in čeprav se na prvi pogled morda zdi, da gre zgolj za besede, pa takšna paradigma kot miselna matrica, skozi katero osmišljamo svoje okolje in sami sebe, posledično prispeva tudi k občutenju, da je vsakršen neuspeh posledica zgolj in samo individualne krivde (Glastra, Hake in Schedler, 2004). Tudi nekateri izmed naših intervjuvancev so tako povedali, da raznorazni karierni nasveti poudarjajo njihov občutek osebne odgovornosti in krepijo zavedanje, da brez lastnega angažmaja in velikega vlaganja truda tudi njihova karierna prizadevanja ne bodo obrodila sadov. D. C. je v zvezi s tem dejala: »Nek pritisk je. Mislím, da je, ja, na mlade. Lhk spodbuja enga, lhku pa enga, kukr mene, na primer, ku ne dobim službe, pa ni lih fanj to čut. Se počutiš še slabše.« (D. C.) Tudi R. O. je povedal, da karierni »slogani« po njegovem mnenju povečujejo posameznikovo negotovost oziroma vplivajo na njegovo samovrednotenje, hkrati pa dajejo utopičen občutek, da bo posameznik prek upoštevanja določenih kariernih nasvetov rešili svoje težave. Njegovo razmišljanje je razvidno iz naslednje izjave:

»Grozno. Men se zdi, da se ljudi čedalje bolj zavaja s temi slogani. In pride pol občutek tiste negotovosti al pa samoocene: <Ja, sej jst nism sposoben za nobeno delo, sm za odpis.> Pol pa seveda pride un slogan od prej v poštev. <Uau, zdej me bo pa en razgovor čudežno spravil v red in bom gospodar sveta.>« (R. O.)

Mladi prek kariernih nasvetov, vsaj posredno, torej dobivajo sporočila, v katera je vpet imperativ samoodgovornosti, kar priča o delovanju individualizacijskih procesov, prav tako pa tudi procesov izbirnosti, ki se ne izražajo le na področju izbire šolanja in zaposlitve kot take, temveč kot vsakodnevne odločitve mladih, katere učne vsebine bodo izbrali in tako izboljšali svoje kompetence za potrebe trga dela. Temu se pridružujejo tudi nekoliko kompleksnejše odločitve o tem, katero organizirano izobraževalno aktivnost naj posameznik izbere ter pri tem ustrezno presodi razmerje med kakovostjo in svojimi predvsem finančnimi zmožnostmi. Izbira na področju učenja je velika in mladi se tega dobro zavedajo. M. P. je povedal: »... vem, da je možnosti ogromno tečajev, da se maš možnost prijavit na tiste, ki te zanimajo al pa na tiste, ki jih boš rabil. Tak da ja, jst mislm,

⁶ Gre za pojav velikega števila samozaposlitev, pri čemer so med samozaposlenimi mnogokrat tudi tisti, ki so samozaposleni le navidezno (Kristan, 2014). To pomeni, da vse več ljudi dela za drugega v odvisnem razmerju, vendar zunaj delovnega prava in posledično, vsaj formalno, tudi brez kakršnihkoli delavskih pravic (prav tam).

da možnosti absolutno so.» (M. P.) Težave pa nastopijo takrat, ko je treba med vsemi ponujenimi možnostmi izbrati najbolj ustrezno, kar ponazarja naslednja izjava N. R.: »... in v resnici je lih ta poplava. Mislím, kako veš, da se res učiš prave stvari? Ne vem, pa lih to usmerjanje, pač moraš vedt zakaj, ne morš glih šaltat brezveze ...« (N. R.) Več možnosti izbire terja tehten razmislek o primernosti posamezne izobraževalne aktivnosti in na podlagi tega ustrezen izbor. S. B. je povedala: »Ja, jst mislm, da lahko nrđi razliko, ampak če pametno izbiraš izobraževanje. In če hočeš, da te razlikujejo od ostalih, prov tist, načrtno, moraš tud načrtno izbirat izobraževanje.« (S. B.)

Vsekakor pa je tudi iz izjav drugih intervjuvancev razvidno, da je za mladega človeka, ki je šele vstopil na trg dela, pomemben dejavnik zmožnost financiranja tovrstnih izobraževalnih aktivnosti, katerih cene so običajno izredno visoke. Problematika financiranja lastnega učenja, ki so jo omenili intervjuvanci in ki seveda odpira mnogo vprašanj v zvezi s socialno pravičnostjo, predvsem dokazuje to, da je glavni poudarek namenjen vseživljenjskemu učenju kot individualnemu projektu (Rubenson, 2004). Ta ljudi poziva, naj zavoljo ohranitve »svojega človeškega kapitala« prevzamejo popolno odgovornost in začnejo investirati v lastno učenje (prav tam). Mladi, ki so vlogo »večnega učenca« že vzeli za svojo, so tako postavljeni pred izbiro, kam konkretno investirati svoj čas, pa tudi finančna sredstva, pri čemer imajo na voljo vedno večjo množico »izobraževalnih produktov«. Ker področje izobraževanja odraslih vse bolj deluje po tržnih načelih (Jelenc Krašovec, 2010), se mladi znajdejo v vlogi potrošnikov učenja, ki znanje kot produkt oziroma blago kupijo ter si s tem zagotovijo večjo kulturno, zlasti pa ekonomsko vrednost na trgu dela (Usher, 2007). In tu se izrazito kaže to, na kar številni kritiki (današnjega) koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja ves čas opozarjajo. Koncept vseživljenjskega učenja je s premikom v območje neoliberalne paradigme povečal naklonjenost izobraževalnih politik do spodbujanja ekonomske moči države in vodi v zmanjševanje skrbi za ohranjanje izobraževanja kot javnega dobrega, ki prispeva k oblikovanju demokratične družbe in blaginje (Jelenc Krašovec, 2010). Jasno je, da s takšnimi načeli omenjeni koncept pomembno zaznamuje tako individualno življenje posameznikov (t. i. mikro družbeno raven) oziroma življenjske poteke mladih kot tudi družbo kot celoto (makro družbena raven), kar smo vsaj deloma poskušali predstaviti s pomočjo naše raziskave.

SKLEP

V prispevku smo predstavili drobce sicer obsežne družbene problematike, kjer so se v veliki meri potrdile značilnosti koncepta vseživljenjskega učenja in njegova dominantna vloga na področju oblikovanja delovnih karier mladih. Koncept vseživljenjskega učenja, ki sloni na neoliberalnih temeljih, s svojimi visokimi zahtevami po nenehnem učenju nagoarja mlade, naj z različnimi dodatnimi usposabljanji, treningi in certifikati dokazujejo svojo tržno vrednost oziroma svoj zaposlitveni potencial, ter vzbuja občutek, da bodo brez stalnega pridobivanja novega znanja ne le izpadli iz bitke za konkurenčna delovna mesta, temveč tudi ogrozili svojo delovno in posledično življenjsko kariero. Tudi v naši raziskavi se je pokazalo, da koncept vseživljenjskega učenja stavi na paradigmo samoodgovornosti,

kar se med drugim izraža tudi v samem kariernem svetovanju. Ker neoliberalni koncept vseživljenjskega učenja gradi na spodbujanju in nagrajevanju učenja za potrebe trga dela, je skrb za stalno učenje na tem področju za mlade postala ne le nujno potrebna, temveč že popolnoma samoumevna. Mladi se tako podrejajo vedno višjim delovnim in posledično vedno višjim učnim zahtevam, vse to pa se izraža tudi v povečani psihični obremenitvi. In vse to je tudi tisto, kar današnji neoliberalni koncept vseživljenjskega učenja še toliko bolj ločuje od njegove izvirne, humanistično zasnovane tradicije. Visoke zahteve, zlasti tiste, vezane na področje učenja za delovno kariero, ob hkratnem zavedanju, da je stalna skrb za učenje danes eksistencialnega pomena, resnično napeljujejo k sklepu, da s(m)o, kot pravi Crowther (2004), le še »*ujetniki vseživljenjskega učenja*«. Na tem mestu se tako upravičeno lahko vprašamo, kako ublažiti posledice neoliberalne tiranije in pripomoči k ohranitvi izvirnega koncepta, pri katerem bo poudarjeno učenje za splošni kulturni in socialni razvoj posameznikov ter učenje za skupno dobro.

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Vesna Gorenc

JEZIKOVNA IZOBRAŽEVANJA ZA ODRASLE PRISELJENCE NA PRIMERU FRANCOSKEGA NEVLADNEGA SEKTORJA

POVZETEK

V članku je predstavljena praksa jezikovnih izobraževanj za odrasle priseljence v Franciji. Avtorica se osredotoča na nevladni sektor v pariški regiji, ki se pogosto opira na metodo sociolingvističnih delavnic. Slednja poskuša hitro in učinkovito odgovoriti na komunikativne in socialne potrebe priseljencev v novem okolju. Obstaja še vrsta drugih načinov in pristopov poučevanja francoščine, kot je na primer »sprejemna delavnica« družstva Atouts Cours, ki jo predstavlja avtorica ter dodaja nekaj strokovnih in izkustvenih spoznanj. Zaključí z razmislekom o možnih aplikacijah svojih ugotovitev v slovensko prakso.

Ključne besede: integracija priseljencev, Francija, jezikovna izobraževanja, metoda sociolingvističnih delavnic, nevladni sektor

LANGUAGE COURSES FOR ADULT IMMIGRANTS: THE EXAMPLE OF THE FRENCH NON-GOVERNMENTAL SECTOR - ABSTRACT

The article presents the practice of language courses for adult immigrants in France. The author focuses on the non-governmental sector in the Paris area, which is often based on the method of sociolinguistic workshops. This method tries to respond quickly and efficiently to the communication and social needs of immigrants in the new environment. There is a whole variety of other ways and approaches of teaching French, for example "reception workshops" in the association Atouts Cours. The author presents this workshop and some professional and empirical findings. In the last part, she adds a reflection on the possible applications of her findings in the Slovenian practice.

Keywords: integration of immigrants, France, language courses, sociolinguistic workshop method, non-governmental sector

Razprave o migracijski politiki in integraciji priseljencev so aktualne tako v Sloveniji kot Evropi. Sestavni del integracije priseljenca v novo državo je tudi učenje jezika države gostiteljice oziroma novega okolja. Tega vprašanja se države gostiteljice različno lotevajo. V prispevku želim predstaviti nekaj izkustvenih in strokovnih spoznanj o jezikovnih izobraževanjih za odrasle priseljence v Franciji, ki sem jih kot pripravnica praktičnega usposabljanja Erasmus+ pridobila med štirimesečnim delom v društvu Atouts Cours v Parizu. Pridobljena spoznanja bom nato poskušala povezati s slovensko prakso in izluščiti ugotovitve, ki lahko prinesejo nove poglede na to področje v Sloveniji.

VLOGA JEZIKA PRI INTEGRACIJI V NOVO DRŽAVO

Ko priseljenec stopi na ozemlje tuje države, je eden izmed njegovih glavnih ciljev, da se čim hitreje nauči jezika, da se bo v novem okolju lahko sporazumeval (Adami, 2009). To pomeni, da jezik države gostiteljice za priseljenca pomeni potrebo, saj ga potrebuje za življenje. Jezik države gostiteljice tako ni svobodna izbira niti cilj sam po sebi, ampak sredstvo (prav tam) – sredstvo, ki omogoča življenje v državi gostiteljici in sredstvo integracije (Adami, 2008, str. 13). Ob tem pa ima jezik države gostiteljice oziroma dominantni jezik okolja v procesu integracije priseljenca več vlog (Adami, 2012b). Instrumentalna vloga pomeni, da je jezik nepogrešljiv pripomoček v vsakdanjem življenju priseljenca, simbolična vloga omogoča integracijo v skupnost, s političnega vidika pa je znanje jezika pogoj za naturalizacijo. Učenje jezika države gostiteljice je torej za priseljenca obvezno in tudi nujno, saj mu šele jezik omogoča sodelovanje v lokalni skupnosti, zaposlitev, izobraževanje, spremljanje šolanja otrok itd. (Donnard, 2009).

JEZIKOVNA IZOBRAŽEVANJA ZA PRISELJENCE V SLOVENIJI

Preden predstavimo francosko prakso, na kratko preglejmo izobraževalne možnosti, ki jih imajo priseljenci v Sloveniji. V povezavi s poučevanjem slovenščine za priseljence v Sloveniji največkrat govorimo o *slovenščini za tujce* ter o *slovenščini kot drugem in tujem jeziku*. Ponudnikov takih izobraževanj je več. Osrednji akter na tem področju je Center za slovenščino kot drugi in tuji jezik, ki med drugim skrbi za poučevanje slovenščine, pripravo učnih gradiv in raziskovanje tega področja (CSDTJ, b. d.). Po državnem programu, imenovanem *Začetna integracija priseljencev – ZIP*, brezplačne programe učenja slovenščine izvaja še nekaj drugih organizacij, na primer Javni zavod Cene Štupar in Andragoški zavod – Ljudska univerza Maribor (Info tujci, b. d.). Poleg teh se lahko priseljenci slovenščino učijo še v zasebnih jezikovnih šolah in tudi pri nekaterih nevladnih organizacijah (Slovenska filantropija, Društvo za razvijanje prostovoljnega dela Novo mesto idr.). V Sloveniji za poučevanje slovenščine obstaja tudi javnoveljavni program *Slovenščina kot drugi in tuji jezik*, v okviru katerega so predpisani trajanje programa, standardi znanja, vsebine programa, gradivo, preverjanje znanja itd. (Slovenščina kot drugi in tuji jezik, 2014).

JEZIKOVNA IZOBRAŽEVANJA ZA PRISELJENCE V FRANCII

Tudi v Franciji imajo razvejeno mrežo izobraževalnih organizacij, ki ponujajo različne programe za učenje francoščine. Nekatere so imetnice državnega certifikata za izvajanje jezikovnih izobraževanj za odrasle priseljence z oznako *FLI* (Français langue d'intégration) – francoščina kot jezik integracije (Francosko ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, 2016), veliko pa jih prihaja iz nevladnega sektorja, ki tudi razvija teorijo in prakso poučevanja francoščine za odrasle migrante. Njihova didaktična spoznanja in gradiva so pomembna, saj je, kot pravi Adami (2010–2011), to področje didaktike strokovno razmeroma neraziskano in zapostavljeno. V pariški regiji tako poznamo društva CEFIL,¹ Le RADyA² in Réseau Alpha.³ Med njihovimi izobraževalnimi dejavnostmi so tečaji opismenjevanja, pouk francoščine kot tujega jezika, delavnice usvajanja temeljnega znanja, jezikovno izobraževanje za poklicno rabo, sociolingvistične delavnice in tečaji za pridobivanje diplome DILF (Fédération des centres sociaux et socioculturels de Paris, b. d.). Nekatera društva pa imajo še inovativnejšo ponudbo izobraževalnih dejavnosti, na primer delavnice glasnega branja v francoščini pri društvu FISPE (2016) ali umetniške delavnice pri društvu Atouts Cours (b. d.).

Če bi želeli poiskati skupni imenovalac vseh naštetih izobraževanj, bi jih lahko poimenovali z izrazom raziskovalca Adamija (2012a) »jezikovno izobraževanje za odrasle migrante« (fr. *formation linguistique des migrants adultes* – *FLMA*). S tem izrazom jih tudi ločimo od poučevanja francoščine v osnovnih in srednjih šolah, za kar se uporablja izraz »francoščina kot drugi jezik« (Cuq ur., 2003, str. 108–109). Raznolika ponudba jezikovnih izobraževanj, ki smo jo opisali, poskuša francoščino na različne načine približati priseljencem. Ob tem so različni načini poučevanja primerni za različne ciljne skupine. Prilagajanje ciljnim skupinam pa pomeni prilaganje njihovim potrebam, kar je ključnega pomena za uspešen učni proces. Priseljenci v Francijo prihajajo z različnimi pričakovanji in cilji, ob tem pa bi moralo biti zagotovljeno, da imajo vsi pravico in dostop do učenja francoščine. Pomembno je, da izobraževanja poskušajo narediti jezik države gostiteljice za priseljence smiseln in uporaben, zato naj bo glavni cilj teh izobraževanj poučevanje jezika za uporabo v vsakdanjem življenju. Primer za tako izobraževanje bomo spoznali v nadaljevanju.

METODA SOCIOLINGVISTIČNIH DELAVNIC

Da bi bilo pridobljeno znanje jezika in tudi znanje o kulturi države gostiteljice čim prej uporabno v vsakdanjem življenju priseljencev, so M. De Ferrari, B. Forzy in M. Nguyễn

1 Centre d'études, de formation et d'insertion par la langue (Center raziskovanja, izobraževanja in vključevanja prek jezika). Več na: <http://cefil.org/>.

2 Réseau des Acteurs de la Dynamique ASL (Mreža akterjev dinamike ASL). Več na: <http://www.aslweb.fr/radya-menu/>.

3 Réseau Alpha – Le site collaboratif de l'apprentissage du français en Île-de-France (spletna stran za sodelovanje na področju učenja francoščine v regiji Île-de-France). Več na: <http://www.reseau-alpha.org/nos-actions>.

(2004) zasnovale posebno metodo poučevanja francoščine za priseljence, poimenovano sociolingvistične delavnice (fr. *les ateliers sociolinguistiques* – *ASL*). Ta metoda se največ uporablja v nevladnem sektorju pariške regije. V nadaljevanju jo opisujemo na podlagi njihovega dela (prav tam). Metoda sociolingvističnih delavnic je didaktični način s ciljem, da priseljenci s pomočjo komunikacije v francoščini čim hitreje postanejo dejavni družbeni akterji v svojem okolju. Usmerjena je v pridobivanje komunikacijskih in socialnih kompetenc z namenom, da bi lahko priseljenci samostojno nastopali in komunicirali v javnih službah in družbenih prostorih (na primer zdravstvenem domu, uradih, pošti, centru za socialno delo). Hkrati s tem poteka tudi učenje vrednot in načel francoske družbe in republike. Delavnice po tej metodi se izvajajo v tematskih sklopih, ki zadevajo javni, kulturni, osebni in državljski vidik življenja priseljenca (na primer administracija, laičnost, zdravje, zaposlitev). Metoda je usmerjena v razvoj osmih kompetenc, med katerimi niso le jezikovne in komunikacijske, ampak tudi zmožnost delovanja v javnem prostoru (na primer naročiti se na pregled pri zdravniku), zmožnost delovanja v skladu z družbenimi normami (na primer pravilno vikati in tikati), zmožnost uporabe interneta in avtomatov in drugo (Co-Alternatives, 2014). Izobraževanje je torej praktično naravnano, saj cilja na to, da se priseljenci čim bolj spoznajo z okoljem in bodo lahko v njem živeli in komunicirali. Ni pa opisana metoda primerna za vse priseljence, saj ponuja učenje osnovnih vzorcev delovanja na uradih in podobno, kar je potrebno predvsem za priseljence, ki prihajajo iz držav v razvoju in držav, ki so manj administrativno urejene, oziroma za tiste priseljence, ki so manj izobraženi.

DELOVANJE DRUŠTVA ATOUTS COURS V PARIZU

Nevladni sektor, ki pokriva jezikovna izobraževanja za priseljence v Franciji, ima pogosto cilj, da priseljence čim prej opremi s potrebnim znanjem jezika in kulture za vsakdanje življenje. Tudi v društvu Atouts Cours je tako, saj je njihovo osnovno poslanstvo poučevanje francoščine za priseljence s ciljem integracije skozi učenje jezika (Atouts Cours, b. d.). Dejavnosti, ki jih društvo ponuja za priseljence, so tečaj opismenjevanja (začetna in nadaljevalna stopnja), tečaj francoščine kot tujega jezika (več stopenj), kulturne dejavnosti (muzej, glasba ...) in dejavnost javnih pisarjev (pomoč pri pisanju uradnih besedil in administrativnih dokumentov) (prav tam). Društvo ima prostore v 18. pariškem okrožju v večkulturni četrti, kjer je po njihovih podatkih velik delež prebivalcev priseljenih, večinoma iz Magreba in drugih afriških držav. Veliko teh prebivalcev četrti je tudi njihovih uporabnikov. V času mojega usposabljanja je bilo v društvu zaposlenih pet oseb. Na čelu društva je bil direktor, poleg njega pa vodja projektov. Za sprejem in svetovanje novim uporabnikom je skrbela kulturna mediatorica. Slednja je najprej testirala njihovo predznanje jezika, potem pa jih je razporedila na ustrezen tečaj ali dejavnost. Za pedagoški proces je bila pristojna pedagoška koordinatorica, ki je zagotavljala podporo izvajalcem tečajev in skrbela za didaktična gradiva. Poleg nje je deloval tudi koordinator prostovoljcev, ki je z organizacijskega vidika skrbel za nemoteno izvajanje dejavnosti. Po podatkih njihove spletne strani (Atouts Cours, b. d.) v društvu tedensko opraviijo več

kot sto delavnic. Izvajalci teh delavnic so večinoma prostovoljci, ki pa pogosto nimajo pedagoške ali andragoške izobrazbe. Društvo se drži načela, da se lahko uporabniki v tečaj vključijo ali jih opustijo v kateremkoli času v letu, čeprav v okviru pedagoškega leta dejavnosti potekajo nepretrgoma. To omogoča novoprišelim priseljencem, da se lahko takoj vključijo v izobraževalni proces in jim ni treba čakati novega leta. Pomanjkljivost pa je, da se dinamika skupine in ritem učenja ves čas spreminjata, kar izvajalcu tečaja otežuje delo in zmanjšuje učinkovitost učenja.

Za priseljence, ki nimajo nič ali zelo malo predznanja francoščine, je društvo Atouts Cours razvilo poseben tečaj, ki mu pravijo »sprejemna delavnica« oziroma »*l'atelier d'accueil*«. Pri predstavitvi te delavnice bom izhajala iz ugotovitev svojega magistrskega dela (Gorenc, 2017). Sprejemna delavnica je intenzivni tečaj (24 učnih ur v treh tednih), katerega cilj je, da udeleženci ob uporabi francoščine čim hitreje vstopijo v interakcijo z ljudmi in se tako vključijo v francosko družbo. Namenjena je priseljencem, ki v Francijo pridejo brez predznanja francoščine, na njej pa se naučijo nekaj osnov francoskega jezika in kulture. V skupinah sprejemne delavnice, kot sem jih spoznala sama, je bilo od 15 do 20 udeležencev. Večina je prihajala iz afriških držav (Somalija, Sudan, Nigerija, Maroko, Egipt), azijskih (Šrilanka, Bangladeš, Pakistan) in tudi evropskih (Madžarska, Poljska, Portugalska). To so bili na novo priseljeni tujci ali pa osebe, ki se med daljšim bivanjem v Franciji še niso vključile v francosko govorečo družbo in tako niso bile v stiku z jezikom. Osnovni cilji so komunikacijski, torej da se udeleženci naučijo osnovne ustne komunikacije v vsakdanjem življenju, kamor sodijo tudi temeljne sociolingvistične kompetence (uporaba vikanja, vljudnostnih fraz, primerne registra ...). Vsebina delavnice je tako razdeljena na štiri dele: (1) lastna identiteta (kako se predstaviti), (2) kontakt z okolico (kako sodelovati v preprostem pogovoru), (3) neposredna okolica (poznati mesto, transportna sredstva ...) in (4) vsakdanje življenje (trgovina, zdravnik, banka ...). Priseljenci na tej stopnji osvojijo še znanja o nekaterih družbenokulturnih značilnostih francoske družbe in države, na primer spoznajo državne institucije, laičnost kot republikansko načelo, praznike, navade.

MOJA IZKUŠNJA IN SPOZNANJA

Med praktičnim usposabljanjem sem bila v društvu pristojna za izvajanje rednih delavnic opismenjevanja in poučevanja francoščine v različnih skupinah in tečajih. Poleg tega sem skrbela za knjižnico in sodelovala pri raziskovalni dejavnosti pedagoške koordinatorice. Nadgradila in pripravila sem nekaj didaktičnega gradiva in didaktičnih priročnikov za prostovoljce, najbolj pa sem se posvetila teoriji in praksi opismenjevanja in sprejemne delavnice. Pri delu mi je za eno izmed izhodišč služila metoda sociolingvističnih delavnic. Pomembna mi je bila tudi uporaba avtentičnih dokumentov, saj ti v izobraževalni prostor prinašajo dimenzijo vsakdanjega življenja, s čimer povečajo avtonomijo in motivacijo učečih se (Bérard, 1991). Naslednje pomembno izhodišče so mi bile potrebe udeležencev izobraževanja. Potrebe iz vsakdanjega življenja priseljencev (na primer vpisati otroka v šolo) sem prevedla v jezikovne potrebe (izpolniti vpisni list,

govoriti z učiteljem ...) in druga potrebna znanja (na primer poznati šolski red). Te potrebe lahko v nadaljevanju prevedemo še v učne cilje in ciljne kompetence, ki jih želimo doseči v posamezni učni enoti (Gorenc, 2017). Na ta način sem načrtovala učni proces, ki mora torej vedno izhajati iz potreb udeležencev, kar razlagata tudi Van Avermaet in Gysen (2008).

Zadovoljiti pričakovanja in potrebe vsakega udeleženca ter mu ponuditi ustrezno izobraževanje oziroma vsebino je eden glavnih izzivov, ki sem jih zaznala pri svojem delu. Adami (2005) in Donnard (2009) namreč ugotavljata, da so udeleženci jezikovnih izobraževanj v Franciji različno stari, imajo različno stopnjo izobrazbe in različne potrebe. Poleg tega imajo tudi različne motivacije in pričakovanja (Fédération des centres sociaux et socioculturels de Paris, b. d.). Zaradi te raznolikosti udeležencev je učni proces težko načrtovati in tudi izvesti. S to težavo se verjetno sooča vsak izobraževalec v tem procesu. Tudi sama sem se v sprejemni delavnici znašla v skupini priseljencev, starih od 25 do 50 let, z različno stopnjo izobrazbe, od profesorjev do nepismenih oseb. Iz tega razloga je za vsako organizacijo, ki se ukvarja z izobraževanjem za priseljence, izjemno pomembno, da razčleni ponudbo dejavnosti po različnih ciljnih skupinah ter zagotovi delo v majhnih in čim bolj homogenih skupinah. V društvu Atouts Cours so to poskušali reševati s testom predznanja pred vključitvijo v izobraževanje. Test je udeležence razločeval po stopnji predznanja francoščine, ne pa tudi po drugih značilnostih, zaradi česar so bile skupine še vedno zelo heterogene.

Ena izmed pomanjkljivosti nevladnega sektorja, kot sem ga spoznala sama, je, da lahko večino pedagoškega dela opravijo prostovoljci, ki niso nujno usposobljeni za to delo. Izbira izobraževalca za neko skupino je tako lahko naključna. Poleg tega pa je težko imeti pregled nad delom posameznega prostovoljca, zato se lahko način in kakovost poučevanja od prostovoljca do prostovoljca zelo razlikujeta. Za primer povejmo, da se pri obravnavi slovnice prostovoljci pogosto opirajo na uporabo metajezika, ki pa za potrebe vsakdanje komunikacije priseljencev ni potrebna in lahko celo otežuje proces učenja pri tistih z manj jezikoslovnega predznanja. Pri poučevanju pa je treba upoštevati tudi predstave udeležencev o »pravem« učenju, saj bi nekateri jezik raje obravnavali sistematično z veliko pravili in vajami (De Ferrari, b. d.), medtem ko bi drugim bolj ustrezalo več uporabe v vsakdanjih primerih. Nevladni sektor si mora torej prizadevati za to, da ponuja kakovostno izobraževanje za svoje uporabnike, pri tem pa skrbeti za strokovna izobraževanja svojih prostovoljcev. Tudi v Sloveniji je še veliko prostora za razvoj izobraževanj za prostovoljce, ki poučujejo priseljsko populacijo. Kar pa se tiče državnih programov za tujce, v Sloveniji obstajata dva pravilnika, ki določata strokovno izobrazbo učiteljev v izobraževalnem programu za odrasle *Slovenščina kot drugi in tuji jezik* in v programu *Slovenščina za tujce* (MIZS, 2017).

Čeprav prispevek ne obravnava dela slovenskih nevladnih organizacij na področju jezikovnih izobraževanj za priseljence, ga bomo sklenili z nekaj predlogi za to področje na Slovenskem. Glavna smernica za oblikovanje jezikovnih izobraževanj za priseljence je, da se mora ponudba izobraževalnih programov vedno prilagajati jezikovnim potrebam

posameznih skupin priseljencev. Tako je smiselno uporabnike izobraževanj ločevati po starosti, izobrazbi, socialnem in kulturnem poreklu ... Tudi spol lahko včasih določa potrebe učeče se osebe. Na primer priseljenke iz nekaterih okolij so pogosto bolj vpete v varstvo in šolanje svojih otrok kot moški, zaradi česar potrebujejo znanja, ki se nanašajo na te teme. S tega vidika je možnosti za razvoj različnih specifičnih izobraževalnih programov veliko. Tudi na področju učenja slovenščine za poklicno rabo je možno ponuditi izobraževanja za različna delovna področja in poklice. V Sloveniji je možna tudi aplikacija metode sociolingvistične delavnice, za kar bi bile potrebne nekatere prilagoditve glede na stopnjo predznanja učečih se. Tudi sprejemna delavnica bi lahko v Sloveniji postala smiselna, še posebno ob večjih migracijskih valovih, kjer bi morali priseljencem v kratkem času predati vsaj temeljna znanja slovenskega jezika in kulture. Dobro je tudi, da bi taka izobraževanja imeli pripravljena že vnaprej.

Za boljše poznavanje izobraževalnih možnosti za priseljence v Sloveniji kot tudi za prepoznavanje potreb po teh izobraževanjih je potrebno nadaljnje poglobljeno raziskovanje tega področja. In čeprav smo videli nekaj pomanjkljivosti, ki se lahko pojavijo v nevladnem sektorju, ta pomeni velik potencial za razvoj jezikovnih izobraževanj za priseljence tudi v Sloveniji. Treba pa je zagotoviti kakovostna izobraževanja, usposobljene prostovoljce in program, ki bo po vsebini in metodi ustrezal potrebam priseljencev. Ker pa navadno vsebine takih programov vključujejo veliko kulturnih in družbenih prvin, bi jih lahko poimenovali tudi družbenojezikovne oziroma sociolingvistične.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF INFORMAL LEARNING IN THE COMMUNITY FOR OLDER MEN: MEN'S SHEDS AS A CASE STUDY Interview with Prof. Barry Golding

Life is a journey and while walking on this path, many people, through personal and social growth, become aware of their role as adult educators. How would you describe the influence of your life path on your present position/role? How did your previous experience influence your career as an adult educator?

I did not deliberately set out to be an adult educator or researcher and certainly not a university professor. In some ways it happened by accident but in other ways it became a natural fit through life. My formal education began in geology and sciences, and grazed through school education, wildlife and environmental science, philosophy, feminism, educational administration then on to higher, vocational and community education research. While much of what I know has been informed by my formal education, most of what I believe in has been informed by other experiences we rarely acknowledge and talk about. In my case it was about what I learned by 'dropping out' in the 70s, playing in a band, being unemployed several times, walking and riding a bicycle through diverse landscapes, living in rural Australia, coming to terms with place, Indigenous history and landscape, having a family and gardening. I think what I learnt most in this journey is that formal education systems tend to ignore these critically important and less formal ways of learning, knowing and being, including by adults. Formal education, because of the advantages in a meritocracy of wealth, birth, culture, language and place, tends to reinforce a whole raft of existing inequalities. As education systems have become increasingly formal, narrower in their focus towards initial paid work and for profit, the inequities have grown larger and the opportunities for learning beyond them have been ignored and devalued.

Besides the other roles you have, you are a researcher in the field of adult education. Which research fields in adult education should, in your opinion, get more attention? What are the underprivileged groups/areas/fields? What would your argument be for changes in the future?

As a researcher in adult and community education, my interest is in learning in community settings, not in formal educational institutions. Formal education is easier and simpler to

study because it is a more standard ‘product’ with more easily defined participants, curriculum, assessment and results -making it particularly amenable for example to scientific, quantitative research. My interest is in the diverse, lifelong and lifewide forms of less formal and informal learning that comprise the much larger but sub-surface part of the ‘learning iceberg’.

Older adults enrolled in courses tend to learn about things and are typically relatively well educated. My interest and research passion is in learning occurring at the least formal end of the spectrum for groups who tend to be less formally educated but who often stand to gain most through engaging with other people in learning through communities of practice that is social, local and situated. In essence, my research interest is about the nature and value of open ended learning informally with others in and through the community, not learning individually about something whose content is predetermined. The difficulty as well as benefit of this sort of learning is that it lies beyond the reach and direct influence of governments. The value of research in this field is that it validates and encourages a much wider view of what learning is, who is learning and with what benefits and outcomes, including situated and subjugated learning and so called ‘non traditional’ learners in diverse community contexts.

While Foucault is not my favourite theorist, I am happy to do as he encourages and ‘cherry pick’ his apt post-structural term ‘subjugated knowledges’, that he coined in 1980 to identify what I am most interested in. Also called ‘situated knowledges’ by some anthropologists and ethnographers by virtue of their typically strong links to cultural and place based-narratives. Foucault suggests, and here I am quoting Tessa Muncey’s excellent and incisive ‘Creating Autoethnographies’ book (p. 44), that subjugated knowledges include:

... all the local regional vernacular, naive knowledges at the bottom of the hierarchy – the low Other of science. These are the non-serious ways of knowing that the dominant culture neglects, excludes, represses, or simply fails to recognise. Subjugated knowledges have been erased because they are ineligible; they exist by and large as active bodies of meaning, outside of books, eluding the forces of inscription that would make them legible, and therefore legitimate ways of knowing.

You are a Patron of Men’s Sheds and one of their strongest supporters. How did you become so strongly connected with this movement?

I was fortunate to be immersed in research into men’s informal learning in community settings in rural and remote Australia around the turn of the century (2000) soon after the first Men’s Sheds in community settings began appearing from 1998. I became aware from our first serious national study of such Men’s Sheds in Australia only a decade ago (in 2007) that the emerging Movement incorporated a very powerful set of social, local and situated community pedagogies that closely matched the interests and needs of

its mainly older male participants predicted by much of my previous community-based adult education research. Whilst Men's Sheds were not only about learning, there was a lot of powerful and transformative learning occurring *through* Men's Sheds for an older male demographic almost completely missing from other forms of adult and community education.

Whilst my main role in Men's Sheds has been as a research Professor, I have not hesitated where appropriate as part of what I believe an academic's role is in relation to research impact, to become an informed and passionate advocate, disseminating information and research and assisting new movements to start in other countries, specifically New Zealand, Ireland and across all parts of the EU. My role as Patron of the Australian Men's Shed Association since 2009, whilst voluntary, has given the now international movement and Shed-based organisations a legitimacy with governments, the media and community organisations. I regard Men's Sheds as an excellent example of one of many types of subjugated and situated knowledges that research can make legitimate and visible, in this case benefiting and empowering the Men's Sheds organisations, peak national bodies as well as participants and the Movement. The research also shines a light on the particular needs of older men whom adult educators have often seen as being beyond reach of conventional adult education courses, pedagogies and paradigms by virtue of their age, male gender and relatively low formal education levels.

How and why did men earn and achieve the privilege to have a special community space and community support, in the form of Men's Sheds? Do you believe this is a reason for some women (particularly some feminists) to oppose them?

This is a very good and important question and it requires me, being located in Australia, to go back in my answer to the 1970s, when women returning to work created the first neighbourhood and community learning centres, that over subsequent decades became a national movement and transformed women's learning, lives and communities. Women and feminists have during the same era identified the need and value for some women to sometimes have some places and spaces where they can meet as women, without men. This value and need is now widely supported and recognised in most but not all countries and cultures.

Population ageing in recent decades has since the 1970s created an increasing proportion of older men beyond paid work, some of whom have not felt comfortable, included, welcome or engaged in some adult and community education providers and some other community programs whose resources, programs, staff and rationale are mainly or solely oriented towards the needs and interests of women. Given the strong and almost universal bias towards women as 'adult learners', as conventionally defined in most nations, there is a case for arguing that some older men are not simply 'absent' from later life learning. Some older men simply do not feel at home or included, and their needs, interests and preferred pedagogies are not necessarily being acknowledged or catered for.

The first Men's Sheds were created by men and women who understood that some older men sometimes had different interests and needs, for somewhere to go, something to do and someone (mainly men) to talk with. Men's Sheds in community settings powerfully ticked each of these three fundamental needs beyond paid work, and allowed some men with diverse work skills and interests to practice and share their skills: informally, hands-on, in communities of practice, giving back to their communities, helping each other and improving their wellbeing and happiness.

You will notice I have carefully and consistently been adding the word 'some' in many of my answers – because not all men or all women want or benefit from some gendered programs, services or spaces. The research evidence, however, shows that Men's Sheds are incredibly positive and beneficial for the men who participate, particularly for their happiness, purpose in life beyond paid work and their health and wellbeing – as well as for the community. The experiences of wives and partners of 'shedders', as they call themselves, is typically very positive. If some women, particularly feminists, understand the nature, purpose and ethos of Men's Sheds and still have objections and concerns about them as male gendered spaces, it is important that they be articulated and heard. As with all grassroots community organisations, not every shedder will understand or respect the rights associated with the privilege, responsibilities and benefits of their male gendered space. Again, research confirms that almost all of the men involved are very respectful and caring of other shedders and of the rights of women.

The Men's Shed Movement in most countries has taken a view that whether a particular Men's Shed organisation is just for men or not, the role of women in it is appropriately decided by the local community as well as men and women who are involved in and benefit from its operation. My research shows that the Shed is of most benefit to men if the Shed space is exclusively or mainly for men. The men who benefit most are those with the most acute needs and who are most in need, at that stage of their lives, to spend a day or two a week in the supportive company of other men.

Do you believe that masculinity and the meanings attributed to older men's experience have remained substantially unexpressed and concealed in recent decades? Why have gender perspectives on lifelong and later-life learning been preoccupied with issues relating to women's learning? What is the role of Men's Sheds in relation to feminism and the ability to retain and enhance masculinities?

Women have very effectively self-organised, including through feminism, to create theories, programs and strategies based around what it means to be a woman and to tear down some of the unfair gender barriers in all areas of society, particularly in initial and university education. However many barriers remain for women, including in work, the community and in the home. I believe this work by women to break down barriers should continue and should be supported by men.

Men have been less successful at articulating, theorising and popularising the positive attributes of masculinity. The various men's movements, including the men's rights organisations, the 'distressed dads', the pro-feminists and the mythopoetic men (who want to recreate male ritual) have very different theoretical starting points and have never achieved traction or popularity in any country beyond their special interests. Being old and male has at times become unfairly linked to presuppose 'dirty old' when men volunteer to become involved in the community in later life. The idea that a grassroots movement could be created for and by older men that models and promotes positive attributes and masculinity in community settings would have been unthinkable in Australia before the Men's Shed movement.

Men now in their 60s and beyond make up most of the shedder demographic in the 2,000 Men's Sheds organisations across the world in ten countries. All this has happened in less than 20 years, to and by men who have experienced significant changes in gender roles and their own masculinities during their lives. Men's Sheds are an opportunity for such men to practice and exhibit the many positive aspects of masculinity: being a responsible, caring and loving older man in the supportive and non-judgmental company of a diverse range of other men, caring for their health and wellbeing and being better husbands, partners, fathers and grandfathers.

You know most of Men's Sheds, their origins and history of development in Australia. What, in your opinion, are the most important goals of Men's Sheds? What makes Sheds so special? Is it "a Cuppa, a Chat or a Smidgin of Sawdust"? Is it the wellbeing and mental health of men? Is it a safe space where men can gather and talk? What do shedders find the most important? Who are, according to these goals, the "blokes" who come to Sheds?

The most important goal of Men's Sheds is essentially the same as when it all started in Tongala, Victoria in the first Shed to open in 1998: it's 'somewhere to go, something to do, and someone to talk with', in the company of other men. While the benefits flow well beyond the men into families and communities, what makes the Men's Sheds so special are the outcomes in terms of older men's identity, confidence, wellbeing, mental health, self esteem, community spirit and pride in their Shed and its achievements. Yes, it's about feeling and being safe in their identity as diverse and different older men practising positive masculinities, but none of this happens because of theory: it's all about practice. Importantly, the only thing that unites the men is that all men are equal and welcome. While leaders emerge, no one is in charge and everyone is responsible. Since most Men's Sheds are stand alone, grassroots organisations, they are shaped and organised differently to cater for the diverse and very different needs in different places and communities. As a consequence they cater for many different mainly older 'blokes', with diverse existing and latent interests in many, many different ways. All Sheds are deliberately and appropriately different.

What is the role of learning in Men's Sheds? Do you believe that, when talking about learning, men have different needs from women? Could Men's Sheds be regarded as an informal learning space in the community?

The men participate freely and voluntarily: they are not patronised or enrolled as students. Nor are they customers, clients or patients of a professional in the Shed. In pedagogical terms they are empowered as co-participants in a shared community of practice. I would argue that the learning pedagogies are so distinct and different I have playfully but with serious intent coined the term 'shedagogy' to roll together all of the diverse strands in my previous answers about how and why it works. While the men informally share and sharpen their existing skills, the emphasis is on what men know and can do, not what they can't do or don't know.

This is why men feel comfortable, social, empowered and 'at home', informally participating, supporting and mentoring each other in their Shed in a way that they could never feel at home in a formal adult education classroom, a 'study circle' or learning on their own online. Learning typically happens informally in the total absence of formal programs, teachers, curriculum or assessment. The only formal aspect is typically the presence of a safe and well-equipped workshop with tools and material. Most importantly, there is a comfortable social place to meet, talk and have a 'cuppa'.

I think that many women do and would benefit from similar organisations based around similar pedagogies and informal communities of women's practice, including through quilting, gardening, computing, art, pottery, knitting and patchwork, and for some women also by hands on work with wood or metal as typically occurs in Men's Sheds.

Are Men's Sheds an Australian peculiarity, noting that they've developed in Australia but have then spread particularly to NZ, Ireland and the UK? What are, in your opinion, the needs and prospects for Men's Sheds to develop in other EU countries?

The long answer to this question is to be found in my 2015 book, 'The Men's Shed Movement: The Company of Men'. My short answer is that for the first ten years to 2007 all community-based Men's Sheds were in Australia. By 2017 around one half of approximately 2,000 Men's Shed-based organisations set up around the world were outside of Australia, mainly in culturally similar, mainly English speaking nations right across Ireland, the UK, New Zealand, with several now open also in the US and Canada but in small numbers also in Kenya, Denmark and Sweden. In some countries like Denmark, it has been necessary and desirable to find a local name other than Men's Shed (in this case in Danish 'Maens M desteder' (literally 'men's meeting place') and adapt aspects of the original model to better fit older men's different cultural norms.

As in Australia, Men's Sheds have greatest community traction for older men not in paid work in smaller rural communities where such men form a significant proportion of the population. In countries where men already meet socially and informally in gendered

communities of practice the prospects for Men's Sheds spreading are less likely. In the Nordic countries where fishing and hunting clubs remain strong, and in Mediterranean nations where card and game playing in coffee clubs are intact for many older men, the prospects of a workshop replacing or complementing them are less likely. I suggest that there might be more prospect of a Men's Shed type movement, albeit by a different name and with an appropriate cultural translation, spreading in many Asian nations such as Japan and China, where the post-work roles of men are often difficult and ambiguous. The same might be the case in many Pacific and African nations where gender-based workshops have been a successful and important part of Indigenous cultural practice across hundreds of generations. The greatest prospect might be in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in many post-conflict nations, where men's health and wellbeing are relatively poor and where men's involvement in adult learning is particularly low or problematic. Some existing adult education providers might experiment by creating places and spaces within them for older men, incorporating similar 'shedagogies' in workshop settings as I identified earlier, to test and demonstrate what might be possible.

There are also Women's Sheds (She-Sheds) springing up in Australia. What is their role compared to Men's Sheds?

As I stressed earlier, some women enjoy and benefit from learning in workshop-based settings and other female gendered communities of practice. Some women have expressed an interest in (and been admitted to) Men's Sheds as regular members. In other Sheds there is a day when women are involved or else where women have negotiated a 'women's only' day in the same Shed. Some shed-based organisations choose to be called 'Community Sheds' to equally encourage men and women, but again it is mainly men who choose to participate. There also is a very small number of 'Women's Sheds', some calling themselves 'She-Sheds' in Australia, Ireland and the UK. I should also note that some relatively recent workshop-based 'Makerspaces' and Dutch Repair Cafés have been set up in which are not gendered and which successfully tend to attract a younger demographic. Their participants typically want shared access to tools and technologies in a shared workshop to make and fix their own things in the community. This is a movement for researchers to watch out for closely in the future.

Thank you very much for your answers, Barry, and all the best for your future work and life challenges!

Interviewed by Sabina Jelenc Krašovec



Zoran Jelenc

VSEŽIVLJENJSKOST UČENJA IN IZOBRAŽEVANJE ODRASLIH

Nova Gorica, Educa, 2016

Učenje skozi vse življenje

Izšla je dolgo pričakovana knjiga dr. Zorana Jelenca *Vseživljenjskost učenja in izobraževanje odraslih*, ki zapolnjuje zgodovinsko vrzel v poznavanju razvoja andragogike pri nas ter je pomemben vir podatkov o povojnem razvoju področja in teorije.

Kot avtor prikaže skozi opis svojega udejstvovanja v izobraževanju odraslih, kjer je predano in vsestransko deloval in še deluje, je trenutni položaj slovenskega izobraževanja kritičen. Skozi njegovo razmišljanje se jasno kažejo točke, ki kljub izmerjenemu napredku na posameznih področjih v izobraževanju odraslih kot tudi izobraževanju nasploh vendarle povzročajo zaskrbljenost in rišejo nezaželeno sliko. Zoran Jelenc namreč poskuša področje izobraževanja, še posebej pa področje izobraževanja odraslih razumeti globlje in videti mnogo dlje od trenutnih potreb tistega dela stroke, ki želi dajati odgovore predvsem načrtovalcem politik.

»Ni verjetno, da bi bilo znanje jutri manj pomembno, kot je danes.« To je poudarek, ki se znova in znova pokaže skozi obsežno gradivo, ki ga je podpisal Zoran Jelenc. Pred nami je delo, ki je sinteza najrazličnejših podatkov, teorij, paradigem in predvsem uvidov v preplet področja izobraževanja odraslih s političnimi interesi ter v končni fazi v udejanjanje tega prepleta v konkretni družbeni stvarnosti. Še drugače rečeno: avtor v tej knjigi na več mestih zelo pogumno odstira skrbno zastrto področje dejanske izvedbe deklarativno neoporečno zapisanih strategij, agend in drugih dokumentov. In podoba, ki se skozi prebiranje njegove knjige počasi razkriva, ni lepa. Skrb zbujajoča je. Sklene pa se v avtorjevi ugotovitvi oziroma avtoironiji, da je neke vrste Don Kihot svojega časa in kraja, ko opozarja na odločilna vprašanja izobraževanja.

Najnovejše primerjave z razvitimi državami Evrope na področju razvitosti spretnosti odraslih kažejo skrb zbujajoče zaostajanje Slovenije za razvojem preostalih. Eden od pomembnih vzrokov za tako stanje je po avtorjevem prepričanju nerazumevanje vloge in pomena izobraževanja odraslih v celotnem sistemu izobraževanja. Skozi prebiranje kompleksno sestavljene in ponekod tudi manj osredotočene vsebine se bralec ne more izogniti sklepu, da v Sloveniji ni dovolj močne kohezivne intelektualne sile, ki bi ti dve področji (formalno izobraževanje otrok in mladine, kot to področje imenuje Zoran

Jelenc, in vseživljenjsko učenje) teoretsko dovolj dobro povezala, predvsem pa imela dovolj praktičnega poguma, da bi oblikovala celovito vizijo. Vizij sicer nastaja veliko – morda v tem trenutku tudi kakšna s tega področja, a značilno slovenski problem se zdi, da je naslednji korak: povezovanje v praksi in udejanjanje. Kajti iz Jelenčevega dela izhaja, da je koncept vseživljenjskega učenja natančno to: udejanjanje celovitega koncepta zaradi vizije pravične družbe. Kako daleč smo od tega, da bi mogli udejanjati filozofijo vseživljenjskega učenja, kot to predstavi Zoran Jelenc, si na tem mestu ne upam zapisati.

Mladi andragogi, ki jim je to delo prvenstveno namenjeno, bodo izjemno hvaležni za zbirko ključnih izrazov, ki jih je avtor zbral, opisal in poskušal čim jasneje utemeljiti. Ta nabor aktualnih strokovnih pojmov, ki skozi prakso dobivajo zelo različne vsebine, je dobro izhodišče za resen terminološki razmislek in diskusijo, ki sta potrebna, če želimo terminološko področje ustrezno razvijati. Brez razvoja terminologije pa tudi razvoja stroke ni, večkrat poudarja avtor.

To, upamo si zapisati, življenjsko delo Zorana Jelenca je v resnici tudi precizna kritika družbe in političnih odločitev, ki na dolgi rok usmerijo razvoj naroda. Oblikovanje in vodenje izobraževalnega sistema je eno od tistih področij, kjer se konsistentne odločitve zlahka izgubijo ali pozabijo zaradi perečih, predvsem finančnih problemov. Zoran Jelenc brez zadržkov pokaže, kako slovenski voz izobraževanja drvi po klancu in se izogiba zdaj eni, zdaj drugi oviri, a brez uvida, da nevarnost ne preži samo vsak aktualni trenutek, ampak tudi kasneje, saj ni jasno, kje se ta klanec konča. Skozi prebiranje knjige ter prikaz stranpoti in usodnih konceptualnih nedoslednosti se zdi, da včasih politiki tudi ni mar, kam pelje.

Delo prinaša pregled pomembnih avtorjev na področju teorije izobraževanja odraslih, ki so v zadnjih desetletjih razmišljali o teh terminoloških in konceptualnih vprašanjih. V njem Zoran Jelenc omenja paradigmatičen premik od izobraževanja k učenju. To je drugi od osrednjih avtorjevih poudarkov v tej knjigi, ki je pravo nasprotje ideje, da sta vzgoja in izobraževanje »industrija za pospeševanje osebne rasti«, kot navaja avtor. Industrija mora namreč vedno stremeti k profitu, pri svobodnem učenju pa je ta vprašljiv, saj ni nujno, da bo profit posameznika zlahka postal tudi profit družbe.

Kot edino resnejšo pomanjkljivost dela lahko omenimo umanjkanje teoretizacije, ki bi presegla trenutno razumevanje v stroki. Gre za vizijo onkraj slovenske stvarnosti. Ta je nujna in bi mlajšim andragogom pomagala iskati ustvarjalne rešitve v novih smereh ter hkrati opredmetila resnična vprašanja, s katerimi se bomo kot stroka morali soočiti, če želimo razumeti in udejanjati vseživljenjsko učenje v danem trenutku.

Za najmlajše generacije slovenskih andragogov pa bo brez dvoma zelo dragoceno poglavje o razvoju ideje vseživljenjskega učenja skozi čas. Na enem mestu bodo našli dokaj natančen in sistematičen pregled razvoja in iskanj na tem področju, kjer so viri sicer zelo razpršeni in terminologija problematična.

Zoran Jelenc ob sklepu k obsežnemu gradivu kljub ostri kritiki vendarle pritrdi optimističnim napovedim za prihodnost. Navede nekaj pomembnih opornih točk, ki so lahko izhodišča mlajšim generacijam, da bodo našle nove rešitve. Naj pričujoče delo najde pomembno mesto v knjižnici vsakega slovenskega izobraževalca.

Petra Javrh

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