CONTINUING AND HIGHER EDUCATION

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Research School of Social Sciences,
This thesis is my own work and all sources have been acknowledged

(John Martin)
This thesis attempts to explain the apparent contradiction between what is said and what is done about providing adult and continuing education in an Australian university. It does this firstly by tracing the historical development of adult and continuing education in Australian universities with emphasis on Sydney University, the institution with the longest tradition in this field. Over the past ten years there has been a shift from liberal adult education towards continuing professional education largely as a result of the tremendous gains in education across all sectors of society since 1945, and the implications this has as educated people seek more opportunity for learning. The thesis then reviews recent changes to the nature of provision of continuing education in other Australian universities which reveals a dismantling of specialised continuing education in preference for the less expensive, integrated approach whereby established faculties and departments take on responsibility for continuing education. These changes have been accompanied by a rhetoric of support for the concept of continuing education by institutions.

The basis of such contradiction is analysed by using a four part framework focussing on the different perspectives of continuing education and higher education. The major dimensions on which these differences are analysed are; role and orientation; the nature of academic work; organisational focus and decision making; and, administration and resource provision.

An indepth study of the history of adult and continuing education at the Australian National University (ANU) reveals that the contradictions evident in other Australian universities reviewed earlier are also evident at the ANU.

The thesis concludes in three ways - first with a comment on the implications of a recent report by the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) on non-award adult and continuing education in Australia.
as it relates to higher education. The findings of the CTEC report on the organisational aspects of the provision of continuing education by universities is consistent with the findings of the thesis. Secondly it concludes that the framework for analysis identified helps to understand the basis for action in the ANU regarding the management and resourcing of its Centre for Continuing Education. We suggest that the framework requires more work for better understanding of the dynamic relationship between the two fundamental categories; role and orientation and the nature of academic work and the other categories; organisational focus and decision making, and administration and resource provision. Finally it concludes on the strategic implications of universities withdrawing from continuing education; becoming less relevant to the needs of an ever changing society, receiving less, real term funding, and aiding in the increase of a range of other organisational interests in continuing education including, professional, community, other governmental and commercial organisations.
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John Martin

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to explain the apparent contradiction between what is said and what is done about providing adult and continuing education in an Australian university. Australian university activity in the field of continuing education has over the past ten years undergone dramatic change. That this change has occurred will not be disputed by the most casual of observers. The institutional forces that have affected such change, however, have not always been so clear. While there have been many significant social, economic and political changes in the environment of Australian universities that can be linked to institutional action in relation to the nature of continuing education programmes, the most obvious being the reduction in real term funding to universities, the rationale for internal decision making about the nature of organisational role and structure of continuing education has not been clear.

The research reported here-in is an attempt to uncover the rationale for recent institutional decision making relating to organisational arrangements for the provision of continuing education activities by Australian universities. It is assumed that the different activities in organisations receive resources commensurate with each organisations perception of the value of the activity. As will be seen throughout this thesis there is a consistent rhetoric from university administrators that continuing education is of considerable value to the university and should remain as an activity, however, usually with significantly diminished resources.

The thesis which this research seeks to explain is that continuing education and higher education operate from different perspectives. The different perspectives are more pronounced in times of limited resources when universities retreat to their core of research and accredited teaching while peripheral activities, such as continuing education, which have secondary roles for the institution, that is roles which assist the institution in achieving its primary goals, are significantly cut back.
Because of the adaptive role of continuing education (see Abbott, 1974 and Dunn, Gibson and Whorton, 1985) - for example, to improve community understanding about the work of the university, the cutbacks are usually couched in terms that are often in contradiction to the actual outcome. This contradiction is regarded as important for policy making in Australian higher education as we assume that institutes of higher education, because of their primary task of scientific research and discovery, are well placed to assist individuals and groups to cope with change through a variety of public service activities, one of which includes continuing education.

The contradiction is apparently not only an Australian phenomena. The question of how American universities adapt to meet the needs of a changing environment has recently been commented on by Votruba:

"One of the dominant themes in American higher education during the past decade has been the role of universities in addressing the continuing education needs of society. While much has been written concerning the importance of the university continuing education mission, the process of adapting traditional institutions to serve better the diverse learning needs of adults continues to be a different and complex process. This is particularly true in times of severe budget constraints, when strengthening one institutional mission implies the inevitable weakening of others. Despite considerable progress in recent years, continuing education remains a peripheral and relatively low priority on many university campuses." (1984, p. 42)

The review of recent changes to institutional arrangements for continuing education in Australian universities in chapter three suggests that American universities are not alone in this dilemma.

A concern with the low priority, or marginality (Clark, 1956a, 1958) of continuing education is a concern about the effective use of organisational resources. For an organisational activity to have low status throughout its existence is analogous to part of an organism undernourished throughout its life-long development. The concept of nourishment here refers not only to factors such as adequate staff, financial and physical resources, it also includes such matters as acceptance, being valued, legitimate and worthwhile in terms of the culture of the organisation. It is the focus on both psychological and physiological nourishment in organisational life that guides this study.
This chapter outlines the rationale for the study, sets out the broad structure of the thesis, defines the terms adult education, continuing education and higher education and outlines the methodology used for undertaking the case study of the Australian National University.

Chapter Two traces the development of adult and continuing education in Australian universities since the 1880s when the British tradition of university extension classes was adopted by Sydney University. The focus of this chapter is the shift from the provision of liberal education for adults towards the provision of continuing professional education for professional groupings and organisations.

Chapter Three is a review of recent changes to continuing education structures in Australian universities. This is an important backdrop to the study which contends that there is a consistent attitude about continuing education throughout Australian universities and that events concerning the ANU outlined in the case study is not a local aberration. It is interesting to note that changes to continuing education have occurred in those universities which have had the longest, and most substantial involvement in the field. They include Sydney, Melbourne, New England, Adelaide and Western Australia.

Chapter Four identifies a framework for analysing continuing education in higher education. The cornerstone to this framework is the seminal work of Burton Clark (1956a, 1956b, 1958), the most extensive study of adult education as a secondary organisational activity.

Chapter Five is the first of two chapters dealing with the case study; a review of events leading to the establishment and operation of the Department of Adult Education in the Australian National University in Canberra up to 1969. This includes the introduction of adult education classes by the Canberra University College as well as the protracted debate over the place of adult education in the University which surrounded several reviews in the 1960s.
Chapter Six is the second chapter dealing with the case study; a review of events relating to the establishment and operation, up to early 1986, of the Centre for Continuing Education (CCE) in the Australian National University.

Chapter Seven is the analysis of adult and continuing education at the Australian National University in terms of the framework presented in chapter four.

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by evaluating the framework developed in chapter four and discusses methods for improving the place of continuing education in institutes of higher education in Australia.

Throughout the literature there is considerable latitude over the use of the terms "adult" and "continuing education". While adult and continuing education have much in common there are also significant differences between them. Thus, a discussion of terminology is needed at the outset.

In his introductory chapter Verner (1964) states "the term adult education is used to designate all those educational activities that are designed specifically for adults" (Verner, 1964, p. 1). Yet such a general definition provides little direction to the many forms such education takes. Verner goes on to distinguish between the "natural societal setting" and the "formal instructional setting" (1964, p. 1) and he believes the role of the adult educator is to design tasks using specific learning procedures that help adults achieve mutually agreeable learning objectives. Verner's perspective on adult education may be a reflection of the cultural context in which he writes. In Australia the suggestion by Whitelock was that a strong ideological motive underpins adult education. He believed the liberal adult education tradition was imported from Britain with the aim of educating adults about democratic principles and learning as an end in itself (Whitelock, 1974, p. 168). This theme is covered in chapter two.

In defining adult education it is important to consider the historical developments of this concept. In 1944 the Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.)
organised a conference on the future of adult education in Australia. In his opening address the Governor of N.S.W., Lord Wakehurst followed on with this theme of adult education and democracy when he said:

"Adult Education can, I am convinced, very powerfully influence the shaping of the post-war world; therefore, the sooner a plan of action is made the better." (Duncan 1944, p. 3).

With the closing of the war there was great optimism amongst adult educators, evident from the proceedings of this conference, which clearly defined adult education as educating people in democratic principles of life. This view of adult education was to persist well into the 1950s.

The phenomenal increase in economic development in Australia over the 1950s to mid 1970s also brought with it changes to the education system in the broadest sense, changes which were to have an enduring effect on the nature of adult education as Duncan and his colleagues saw it towards the end of world war two. Professor Sidney Raybould from Leeds University in the U.K. encapsulated the change when in 1964 he reported to the Australian National University (ANU) on the place of adult education in the university (reported in detail in chapter five). Raybould saw "adult education for the educated" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt2) as the major trend for adult education. Raybould favoured the use of the term continuing education in the university instead of adult education. He successfully predicted that there would be an increasing number of university educated people continuing their education in the programmes offered by the Department of Adult Education at the ANU. The shift has been away from liberal education towards education and training that has an applied orientation as such programmes are typically offered to professional groups or to specific organisational interests. This shift, without a specific social class focus, as with liberal adult education in the 1920s and 30s, has had a significant impact on who pays for such programmes.

In 1967 the Secretary of the W.E.A. also made a similar distinction between adult and continuing education in the university, Bentley said that;

"The universities usually engage in two aspects of adult education. The first is 'extension activities'; usually short intensive courses of study, seminars and conferences directed to special publics and
designed to transmit to these publics the latest information in their field of interest or study, to encourage a constant reappraisal of the policies and practices in those fields, and the development of new concepts and attitudes. The second aspect of university provided adult education is in the field of 'liberal studies' and these programmes are usually directed to the public at large with no particular vocational interest in mind" (Bentley, 1967, p. 2).

Crombie and Harries-Jenkins in The Demise of the Liberal Tradition (1983), provide comment on the changing nature of liberal adult education in Britain. Their comments are relevant here because of the strong historical links between British and Australian universities.

Harries-Jenkins (1983) suggests that, amongst a broad range of economic and political change in Britain affecting universities, the decline of the liberal tradition in university adult education is also a result of "the general decline of the liberal-progressive ideology" (1983, p. 7). His essay on university adult education into the 1980s provides excellent background for the shift in continuing education as I have outlined above.

Crombie addresses the decline from a different perspective. He cites Keddie who asserts "that adult education is more like the rest of the education system than unlike it, both its curriculum and its pedagogy" (1983, p. 62), in his discussion on the epistemology of the 'liberal credo'. In his essay questioning the future of adult education in Britain Crombie (1983) contends that the basic principles and assumptions underpinning university liberal adult education are changing. He cites Raybould who, as far back as the 1950s, saw changes such as "the provision of an increasing number of courses with a strong vocational or semi-vocational purpose" (Crombie, 1983, p. 60). Burmeister's 1976 statement about the values underlying extra-mural education of the liberal tradition is also relevant here:

"The adult class is not merely an instrument of learning, it is a place where people from quite different backgrounds can together practise some of the virtues of democracy. In some way these small groups are replicas of society where the art of self-government can be practised. Ideally their members develop critical awareness, independence of judgement and skills of self-expression, all of which are so essential in a free society". (quoted in Crombie, 1983, p. 61)
However, even with such distinctive views on the liberal tradition Crombie acknowledges the difficulty in identifying just what is the extent in the shift in orientation. While he asserts that the 'Great Tradition' has lost the vigour it once had, Crombie believes that its guiding principles are still evident in much of university adult education. He is of the view that;

"the tap root of the liberal tradition has yet to be adequately identified and exposed, and it is for this reason in large part that liberalism continues to pervade the work, and that competing visions of the contribution that universities could make to the education of adults are stifled or squeezed to the periphery." (Crombie, 1983, p. 62)

Crombie also contends that the basic principles of university adult education are no different to those of the University themselves. However the 'contextualist' principles of adult education have become blurred by the prevailing 'empirical' principles of contemporary university work.

Crombie's discussion of the epistemological assumptions of adult education and the university are important to this thesis with its focus on the different perspectives underpinning continuing and higher education. His assumptions will be discussed in chapter four.

The difference between adult education as it has developed in Australia up to the 1960s and the shift to continuing education is also important when considering the nature of university service to the community at large.

Higher education as it is used in this thesis is regarded as academic activity in research and it's publication, and accredited teaching in undergraduate and postgraduate courses. Higher education is part of the Australian tertiary education sector, which includes colleges of advanced education and technical and further education. However, universities are the central aspect of higher education as they are the institutions recognised by governments (through funding etc) as having the specific responsibility for research. No doubt other sectors in the tertiary education field contribute to the research effort, however, it is not a major function for them.
The approach taken in this research to obtaining information about adult and continuing education at the Australian National University (chapters five and six) was primarily by document study and interviews with people who had been involved in decisions affecting these activities. The University made the General and Advisory Committee files relating to the Department of Adult Education and the Centre for Continuing Education available for the study. There were only two files from the Birch Committee Review of the CCE and both were made available to me. Finance and personnel files were not made available to me, however, this was not regarded as a hindrance to the research which focussed on broader organisational issues and was not concerned with specific day to day issues. Also, policy issues relating to finances and staffing appeared throughout the documents made available. The files from the most recent review of the CCE chaired by Lady Brennan were not made available.

Interviews were regarded as an opportunity to validate what was found in the files as well as obtain more information. As will be found in chapter four attitudes towards adult and continuing education are important and interviews with retired academics administrators allowed different attitudes to be revealed.

Other documents included annual reports from the CCE as well as papers and reports from the Director of the CCE.

No doubt some events have been omitted from the research because they were not included in the data sources, however, this is not expected to detract from the study which covered the period from the late 1950s to present. The qualitative, archival methodology adopted for this research is consistent with contemporary approaches to the study of organisations (see Pettigrew, 1979).

At the commencement of the study the education and organisation theory literature was searched using on line computer facilities to access data bases maintained through Lockheed's Dialog services in Palo Alto,
California. Also, to validate these computer searches a more conventional book search of the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) was carried out.

The SSCI search did, in fact, validate the computerised search and a high degree of closure was obtained.
Derek Whitelock in his *The Great Tradition: A History of Adult Education in Australia* (1974) provides a comprehensive coverage of the historical development of university adult education in Australia. From 1886 when the first extension lectures on the English pattern were started at the University of Sydney, liberal adult education at universities in Melbourne, Hobart, Adelaide and Perth "took a more tenacious hold than in any other part of the Empire because of the country's traditional imitative reflex to British cultural ideas" (Whitelock, 1974, p.155). This enthusiasm shown by Australian universities was especially marked "despite local emphases in their constitutions and work, such as their reliance upon state support and their responsibilities to provide teachers for public schools" (Whitelock, 1974, pp. 155-156). The suggestion by Whitelock is that extension work in the area of liberal adult education was regarded as an extra, or 'overtime' activity for university academics. Also, it is interesting to note that there were other motivating factors for university extension of the liberal education kind that Whitelock refers to. Not the least of these had been internal reforms at Oxford and Cambridge that sought to bring the University closer to the people. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century in Britain there were apparent rumblings about the place of universities in society. Whitelock notes that "there were similar rumblings in the Australian universities" (1974, p. 156) at this time which led to a second set of motivating factors to open the way for liberal adult education.

In the early 1880s Sydney University set in train a number of reforms aimed to bring the University into closer contact with the community. This coincided with the annual state grant to the University being increased from 5,000 pounds to 12,000 pounds. These additional resources no doubt encouraged the University to continue with a policy of closer contact with the community. It even made the radical move (at that time) of providing evening courses, out of the newly established arts faculty.
Whitelock summarises the motivating factors that led to the establishment of university extension providing liberal adult education as being;

"the result of a mixture of reasons - English precedent, political expediency, public relations, a concern for social improvement, and a significant tradition of university commitment to popular education that stretched back to the [Mechanics] institutes - that a few Australian dons began to make extension forays from the ivory tower to the market place" (Whitelock, 1974, pp. 157-158).

With the establishment of the Workers' Educational Associations (W.E.A.) in Australia from 1913 University extension started "pottering into decline" (Whitelock, 1974, p.167). Whitelock's assessment of the reasons for this trend is most relevant to this study;

"university extension, pottering into decline, was largely supplanted by a new movement which had what extension had always lacked - regular funds, full-time staff, and a sharp sense of purpose" (Whitelock, 1974, p.167).

Also, about this time Sydney University offered several continuing education programmes "making special provision for professional groups" (Whitelock, 1974, p.168). Liberal adult education and continuing education have co-existed within university extension departments for many years, however, the relative balance has changed in recent years because of the changing external environment, and the resulting pressures on the universities.

Also in this period the universities adopted another British import - the joint committee for tutorial classes. Consisting of appointed university representatives, the joint committees' main responsibility was in providing liberal adult education via tutorial classes and study circles with the aim "to educate adults for democracy and to lure the workers from dog track and surf beach to the fount of liberal learning" (Whitelock, 1974, p.168). The university extension boards continued to focus on providing courses of lectures and at Sydney in the 1920s lecturing circuits were established;

The 'North Coast Circuit', for instance, included Casino, Kyogle, and Lismore; the 'North-West Circuit', South Cessnock, West Maitland, Narrabri, and Gunnedah" (Whitelock, 1974, p.169).

The early aims of those who established university extension in Australia in the 1880s, "to enlighten a benighted colony through a moral revolution"
(Whitelock, 1974, p.170), were drastically changed nearly forty years on. With the joint committees working with the W.E.A university extension found a need to rethink the philosophy underlying its public lecture programme. Whitelock reports that the boards, under the weight of public pressure, "were obliged to offer less demanding miscellaneous and shorter courses and turn a blind eye to examinations" (1974, p.171). He adds that;

"To exist, extension needed to earn an income. It therefore had to provide courses which attracted large audiences. Popular does not necessarily mean bad. No analysis was made of the needs and interests of extension students but Australia was proud of its democratic attitudes and presumably if most extension students preferred a mixed bag of lectures on, say, literary characters, to weekly discourses on logic, capped by an examination, then they had a right to expect their wishes to be considered" (Whitelock, 1974, pp.171-172).

Whitelock concludes that these first forty years of university extension were important to establishing the tradition of adult education. Extension gave adult education a place in the universities, it helped establish the joint committees to service the W.E.A, an act in many ways similar to it taking "liberal adult education from the palsied grip of the [mechanics] institutes" (Whitelock, 1974, p. 173) in the 1880s.

The joint committee of university and W.E.A representatives established in Sydney in 1913 created a firm base for liberal adult education for nearly half a century. World war one was a small hiccup for those dedicated individuals who were to build the W.E.A and its relationship with Sydney University. The man most noted for his work in building this relationship was David Stewart, Secretary of the W.E.A from its inception in 1913 until his death in office in 1954. Stewart, a Scots carpenter had immigrated to Australia in 1908. As a representative of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners Society Stewart was well placed to convince his colleagues in the Trades and Labor Council of the virtues of the W.E.A. Initially he was not as successful in convincing the academics of the virtues of W.E.A. and it took the visit from Oxford's Albert Mansbridge to convince the dons of the benefits of such a relationship. Also, the support of the state government's director of public instruction who instigated a financial grant, five times that of the extension board's annual budget, confirmed the future of the W.E.A. and joint committee.
In the first few years of the W.E.A. Stewart worked closely with Meredith Atkinson, lecturer and organiser of tutorial classes. Their initial statements in the annual report of the W.E.A. in 1915 clearly shows their emphasis on liberal education for adults socially deprived of educational opportunity;

The ideals and spirit of the movement are ....... spreading rapidly. We look forward confidently to the time when every considerable centre in N.S.W. will have its little band of enthusiastic workers, seeking to understand and to express the Educational needs of the people: filled with a living faith in the destinies of Democracy, and the power of education to fit Democracy for its mission" (quoted in Whitelock, 1974, p. 184).

Atkinson's involvement with the Universal Service League and its advocacy for compulsory military service placed great pressure on the W.E.A. during the war years. While many defended Atkinson's right to have an opinion it was clear that his personal position placed the W.E.A. in jeopardy. In 1917 the Labor Council and seventeen unions, including the powerful Australian Worker's Union and the Federated Engine Drivers, withdrew their support.

This also caused the University to take a closer look at its relationship with the W.E.A. in a joint committee. It was possible for Atkinson, in alliance with W.E.A. representatives to outvote the university members of the committee. Atkinson resigned and joined the University of Melbourne to conduct the tutorial class programme with the status of professor, something Sydney had denied him. This allowed the university to review its relationship with the W.E.A. which resulted in the joint committee being made responsible to the Senate thus further alienating the extension board. Whitelock concluded this chapter on the history of adult education in N.S.W. in a way that suggests considerable opportunity was lost during the war years;

"During the interwar years the joint committee settled down to a pattern of work that also prevailed in other states. Although there was some friction between the department and the W.E.A., some open disagreements, some experimentation with new educational techniques, and some modest progress, these were humdrum years compared with the visions and the bitter contentions of the early period" (Whitelock, 1974, p. 186).

Nineteen twenty-two could be regarded as the high point in the history of
the Department of Tutorial Classes at Sydney University. In that year the Director G.V. Portus managed to raise the government subsidy to the University for tutorial classes to 5,900 pounds. Their income remained at this figure until 1930 when it was reduced to 3,866 pounds. While the McKell government "considerably increased" the subsidy in the 1940s it is arguable that the department never again had, in real terms, the financial resources available to it as it did in the early 1920s (after Whitelock, 1974, p. 186). In terms of classes W.G.K. Duncan reported that "throughout the 1920s there were never less than 55 tutorial classes, whereas in 1943 there were only 47" (in Whitelock, 1974, p. 186). It was in 1943 that the department circulated a "long list of weaknesses" which had plagued tutorial class work;

"a. The inadequate amount and fixed nature of the annual financial appropriation.

b. The lack of full-time tutors; the fact that most tutors received no training in adult education methods; and the fact that almost all tutors were academic in type.

c. The lack of equipment, such as books and materials (maps, graphs, film strips, gramophone records) and accommodation.

d. The fact that no research work was being done in the field of adult education; that tutors were not being kept informed of developments overseas; that materials were not being prepared to meet the special needs of adult students; that no surveys were being made of local conditions or of the needs of special groups.

e. The lack of effective contact with the country districts, and the "remoteness" of university classes, even in the city.

f. The restricted nature of the work being done. There was an excessive fear of the vocational, the recreational, and the elementary aspects of adult needs. There were no classes fostering handicrafts, few in the arts, and practically none in the physical and biological sciences.

g. The lack of an adequate organization to focus the demand for adult education, to coordinate its supply, and to give it a "home", or an institutional background" (Whitelock, 1974, pp 186-187).

Whitelock was to also add that "the influence of the university teaching staff was hostile to any provision through tutorial classes for subjects not included in the academic curriculum" (1974, p. 187).
The provision of liberal education for adults over this period was a reflection of the prevailing academic values. Whitelock quotes Professor G.V. Portus, a one time director of tutorial classes at Sydney who referred to these values in his autobiography;

"...the university wanted to hand out to the extra-mural people what it was used to. And it was used to lecture courses from academic scholars. There must be no concessions in the way of short courses. Not one jot of the academic requirements must be abated. There must be no undignified publicity to attract audiences. Students must study 'subjects' as was done within the university - literature, economics, history, psychology, philosophy. The idea of studying topics or problems was frowned upon. It was quite a feat to get accepted the suggestion that classes should study 'social problems', a course we found indispensable, especially for country classes. So, too, students must engage to attend for the full three years of the course, and write the prescribed essays" (G.V. Portus quoted in Whitelock, 1974, p. 187).

The tenor of liberal adult education offered by Sydney and other universities such as Melbourne, Queensland and Adelaide pre World War Two, whether through the more traditional extension lecture programme or via the tutorial classes offered in conjunction with the W.E.A. was determined by the attitudes and values of academia at that time. Also, the low level of financial resources over this period did little to inspire significant change to the context, and thus the nature of liberal adult education.

There was an air of optimism among Australian adult educators towards the end of World War Two. In 1944 at a conference in Sydney titled 'The Future of Adult Education in Australia' this optimism was clear. In his opening address the Governor of New South Wales, Lord Wakehurst declared that "adult education must not be thought of as a side-show, but as one of the most vital factors in the shaping of the post-war world" (quoted in Whitelock, 1974, p. 208). Robert Madgwick, Director of the Army Education Service, later to become the founding Vice-Chancellor of the University of New England where his views on the place of adult and continuing education in the university were clearly put into practice, contended that; "We must never go back to adult education as we know it. In the past adult education was a thing of shreds and patches .... The University did something through Tutorial Classes and Extension Lectures, the W.E.A. battled on against enormous odds, Schools of Arts, People's Institutes ..... and a thousand and one other organisations all did their best to tackle a problem which they believed was a problem of
vital importance. But when we look at the problem dispassionately it
is clear that we only lived from hand to mouth - and, as Dr Duncan
[director of the Department of Tutorial Classes at Sydney University in
1944] once said to me, the hand when is reached the mouth was usually

Professor Ashby, chairman of the Professorial Board at the University of
Sydney also spoke in glowing terms (at the 1944 conference) on the future
of adult education in Australia. As an academic with a high concern for
the "'intellectual health' of society" (Whitekock, 1974, p. 298), Ashby
envisioned an important place for liberal education for adults;

"Whereas in 1844 it was possible to look upon adult education as a sort
of benign intellectual slumming, an uplifting occupation for educated
man of tender conscience, in 1944 adult education has become a
political necessity of the highest priority. If we allow a
semi-literate population loose into a world where the only
well-financed adult education is in the hands of newspaper proprietors,
advertisers and film companies, we can confidently predict that
democratic government will vanish in a few generations. And that, at
present, is the post-war prospect for Australia" (quoted in Whitelock,

In this same year Professor Duncan reported to the Universities Commission
his conclusions on the administrative needs of nation-wide adult
education. This was for a grand plan indeed;

"He called for a national system, its summit a Commonwealth authority,
its bases in every municipal and shire council in Australia. Such a
system would incorporate the traditional providers of adult education,
but would largely be made up of new institutions - a Commonwealth
Bureau, State Boards, Community Centres, and local adult education
committees" (Whitekock, 1974, p. 211).

Whitelock regarded Duncan's plan as an example of great expectations. "Yet
the fact that it had been put forward with some confidence in 1944 showed
that Australian liberal adult education had grown almost out of recognition
from the fringe affair of the early days, from the haphazard 'intellectual
slumming' to set the world to rights" (Whitekock, 1974, pp 211-212).

The post-war period from 1945 to the early 1970s was vastly different to
the context that earlier Australian adult educators found themselves in. A
long period of sustained economic growth and diversity coupled with a
population growth from roughly seven and a half million people in 1945 to a
little over thirteen million in 1974 presented a new set of challenges, not
only to adult educators, but to educators in general. Barcan in his Short History of Education in New South Wales summarised a concern in that State which was reflected throughout the nation;

"The essence of this educational revolution was that, for the first time in the history of Australia, secondary and higher education or training was becoming important for a rapidly increasing proportion of the population as a means of preparing for a vocation and of improving one's social status" (quoted in Whitelock, 1974, p. 261).

Prior to the war the NSW government spent 5,438,000 pounds on education, some 9.9% of total government expenditure of 54 million pounds. In 1962-63 the NSW government spent 67,996,000 pounds, some 21.8% of total government expenditure of 312 million pounds. The post war baby boom no doubt also had an influence on increased government expenditure on education. Whitelock concluded that, on the surface at least, such change augured well for liberal adult education;

"The attitudes and preoccupation of post-war Australian Society gave impetus to developments in liberal adult education. Its practitioners were faced by the fact that the society they had struggled to service before 1939 had changed radically. It was more prosperous, better educated, more sophisticated; in the case of the young especially, more disenchanted, more serious. Its interests in adult study, where it existed, usually derived from different, more complex motives. It had been subjected to the complex influences and experiences of a long international war. The assumption that adult education was a right for all had become more widespread, even in hitherto neglected areas. More than ever, education was regarded as the panacea for social maladies. And this is reflected in the recent growth of the continuing education agencies." (Whitelock, 1974, p. 264)

While the Duncan proposals of 1944 were to fall on deaf ears at both federal and state government level because of the states rights issue which grew out of the centralising measures during the war (noteably taxation ), Whitelock's last sentence is worth reflecting on. Why did continuing education (as it was now being labelled) in universities also grow? Why was this different to the inter wars period? Clearly the spinoffs from an affluent and rapidly growing society with an overall concern for education was an improvement in the resourcing of adult and now continuing education in universities.

While the Duncan plan was not adopted there were aberrations in several states with the establishment of statutory boards of adult education. Whitelock asserts these led to the extinction of many W.E.A.s and to the
severe curtailment of direct university involvement in adult education. The states which chose this path were Victorian, Queensland and Tasmania. However in New South Wales, Western Australia, South Australia and the Australian Capital Territory adult and continuing education was to prosper in the universities.

The review of contemporary continuing education provision in Australian Universities in the following chapter suggests that the early 1960s to the mid 1970s was the period of greatest activity for university continuing education since 1945. There was, however, an aberration in 1966 from which university continuing education has never recovered. Combined with the impact of the increasing financial restraint on universities over the 1970s the Universities Commission Report of 1966 quite unexpectedly placed university continuing education in jeopardy.

In its proposals for the 1967-69 triennium the Commission recommended as follows;

"3.29 The question of whether a university should undertake adult education programmes or extension classes should be determined by the quality of the work offered. Some forms of adult education of a sub-university nature would be better conducted by another agency.

c.30 The Committee's objections do not imply that members of university staffs should not participate in adult education work; on the contrary, their participation is desirable provided that it does not demand an undue proportion of their time and energy. Their involvement should come about by private agreement with the adult education agency, and should not be regarded as a normal part of their university duties...

2.77 As with other sub-graduate and miscellaneous courses the Commission has included in its recurrent recommendations for the 1967-9 triennium sufficient funds for their support. In the case of adult education, funds have been provided where requested. The Commission wishes to inform universities, however, that such support from Commission sources will terminate from the end of the 1967-9 triennium. It is the Commission's view that activities such as adult education should be based either on colleges of advanced education or should be conducted by a State agency appointed for this purpose, as in the State of Victoria" (quoted in Whitelock, 1974, p. 266)

It was never made clear by the Commission as to why university adult education should cease or why other agencies were better equipped;

"The assumption was therefore natural that the recommendation had been made rather on financial than on philosophical grounds as the report heralded a period of acute financial restrictions for universities" (Whitelock, 1974, p. 267).
The 1970s have been a period of considerable change for continuing education in Australian universities. The gradual shift from liberal education for adults that so characterised the very early initiatives in Australia to continuing education for educated professional groups has occurred. The changes reported in chapter three all reflect this move which has largely been driven by the need to reduce the financial burden to the university.

It is interesting to read Whitelock's commentary on the present state of continuing education in Australian universities in the last chapter of his *The Great Tradition: A History of Adult Education in Australia* - which has been the main source for this particular chapter. Published in 1974 it is full of hope and optimism. For example, on the University of New England Whitelock concludes that "the department seems set for changes and a push-up of momentum reminiscent of Nelson's most successful years of creativity" (1974, p. 276). With reference to Adelaide he asserts that "At the end of 1972 ... it had a promising and challenging future" (1974, p. 282). Western Australia is equally glowing with, "it will continue to surprise observers with its zealous empiricism and popular success" (1974, p. 283). At the Australian National University "the centre (SIC) was full of energy and expansive plans" (1974, p. 283). Only in regard to Sydney was Whitelock close to the mark with his predictions for the future; "The department clings to its tutorial classes and discussion groups, and is criticised for it, because it believes that these means of encouraging liberal study had proven most effective over the years" (1974, p. 279).

In 1981 the Universities Commission proposed a set of principles and guidelines that it saw as appropriate to the function. Milligan (1983) reports that the Federal Government subsequently endorsed continuing education as a function of higher education and recommended that institutions conduct continuing education activities in the manner proposed in the guidelines. The guidelines are as follows;

"(a) Continuing education is necessary to accommodate the advance of knowledge and rapid social and technological change.

(b) Continuing education is an important function of higher education institutions and should be regarded as part of the normal duties of teaching staff."
(c) Higher education institutions should be encouraged to expand their continuing education activities, particularly in the area of continuing professional/vocational education.

(d) Continuing education in a higher education institution should relate to the range of disciplines taught at the institution and should be conducted at an intellectual level consistent with the general teaching program of the institution.

(e) Higher education institutions should not provide continuing education courses which can be offered more appropriately by others (for example, voluntary bodies or government TAFE institutions). The provision of continuing education by institutions and agencies in a region should be co-ordinated to ensure that community demand is met and resources used efficiently. This matter might appropriately be taken up at State level.

(f) Enrolments in continuing education will not be included in student load for universities and colleges of advanced education.

(g) Costs of continuing education programs should be met in the following ways:

(i) institutions should charge fees in respect of continuing education programs with the object of meeting at least the direct teaching costs of the institution's programs as a whole;

(ii) universities should continue to use a small proportion of recurrent funds to meet administrative overheads associated with the provision of continuing education; CAE's may use each year up to one per cent or $50,000 of recurrent funds, whichever is the greater, for continuing education programs.

(h) Arrangements adopted for planning and administering continuing education programs within an institution are matters for it to determine but the Commission urges that, to the extent that departmental staff participate in continuing education programs as part of their normal duties (see item (b) above), the departments concerned should be permitted to use, for academic purposes, some of the income gained from fees; such an arrangement would encourage departments in the provision of continuing education.

(i) Institutions will be requested to provide an annual report on continuing education activities." (cited in Milligan, 1983, pp.8-9)

From this overview of the early development of university adult and continuing education in Australia it is evident that the function - regardless of its emphasis on either adult or continuing education, has had an insecure institutional base because the motives which drive such activity have been different to the motives of traditional academe.
Thus insecurity has been variously threatened since its conception by the good fortunes, or otherwise, that universities find themselves in.

In summary, Australian universities, with their strong historical English connection, traditionally provided programmes for individuals and groups not formally enrolled in accredited courses of the institution. In Australia the nature and style of these programmes have undergone significant change over the last fifty years which reflect changes in the Australian community at large. Generally stated there has been a gradual shift from the liberal adult education tradition prominent in the period 1920 through 1945 to the provision of what has become known as continuing education. This shift does not suggest a total exclusion of adult education of the liberal kind from Australian universities, nor does it suggest there has never been any continuing education in the early history of Australia's universities.
CHAPTER THREE

RECENT CHANGES TO CONTINUING EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITIES

In 1983 the NSW Board of Adult Education published the results of a survey into continuing education in universities and colleges of advanced education in New South Wales, carried out in conjunction with the NSW Board of Higher Education in 1982. The survey was motivated by "a lack of accurate and up to date information [which] could be inhibiting the development of appropriate policies on continuing education at Commonwealth and State levels" (Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.2).

The first observation made about continuing education in the institutions surveyed was the difficulty involved in "obtaining accurate data on the extent of client participation in continuing education" (NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.5). This is possibly a result of another finding of the survey; "that there is a wide range of courses available and considerable variety in the forms of presentation and study patterns" (NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.5). The figures made available to the researchers "suggest that there are some 40,000 to 50,000 persons per year now enrolling in continuing education courses in New South Wales universities and colleges of advanced education" (NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.5). This level of participation in continuing education led the NSW Board to note the (Commonwealth) Tertiary Education Commission comment that it considers continuing education "to be an important function of universities and CAE's and, therefore, one which should not be at the margin of academic activities" (Tertiary Education Commission. Report for 1982-84 Triennium. AGPS Canberra, 1981. Vol. 1, Part 1, para 7.20 cited in NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.5).

The survey also revealed the increasing emphasis being given to professional and work-oriented courses. It acknowledged the trend is, in part, due "to the growing financial and staffing pressures on institutions, coupled with a recognition that there are often good financial returns from such courses" (NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.5). The Report also
noted that this trend was consistent with the policy guidelines of the (Commonwealth) Tertiary Education Commission.

Institutional arrangements for continuing education in the organisations surveyed also varied considerably in a number of ways. The quality control of continuing education programmes varied from being the sole responsibility of the individual staff member through to an academic board or an established committee with detailed responsibilities. In terms of organisational management of continuing education the Report notes "there is a definite trend towards overall institutional management" (NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.6) away from the departmental level. The discussion on individual organisations reveals the true nature of this finding. Overall institutional management simply means the establishment of a set of policies relating to continuing education provision. For example, financial policy that requires each programme to contribute a percentage of income to the institution; staffing policy which allows staff to participate in an 'overtime' capacity on a fee for service basis, and so on. The initiative, and academic responsibility for continuing education programmes still lies with the individual department or staff member.

Also, while acknowledging the difficulty of determining the real cost to an institution in providing continuing education, the survey results suggested "that institutions are becoming increasingly aware of the need to estimate real costs of courses in terms of the concept that they should be 'self-supporting'" (NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.6.). This trend was also noted in the light of the (Commonwealth) Tertiary Education Commission policy that institutions could use a small proportion of recurrent funds to meet administrative overheads associated with the provision of continuing education.

The Report's final observation on present staffing arrangements relating to the provision of continuing education programmes is that "in most cases academic staff receive payment for teaching in non-award courses with a reduction in normal teaching loads" (NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.6). While the Report does not elaborate on this practice we assume payment is additional to the normal salary of the staff member. The Report
also notes that the William's Committee (Report of the Committee Inquiry into Education and Training, 1979) recommended "that the student load generated by continuing education programmes should be included in the institutional load for funding purposes" (NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.6). While the (Commonwealth) Tertiary Education Commission did not adopt this recommendation it has stated that non-award courses should be regarded "as part of the normal duties of academic staff" (Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, Report for 1982-84 Triennium, AGPS Canberra, 1981, Vol 1, Part 1, para 7.20 cited in NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983, p.6).

In 1983 Mr B. Milligan, an officer of the Commonwealth Department of Education carried out a national survey of continuing education in universities and colleges of advanced education in Australia in conjunction with the Centre for Continuing Education at the ANU. The report was written for an OECD/CERI project on Adults in Higher Education. The focus of the report was "on the non-credit continuing education activities - both professional and general - of higher educational institutions" (Milligan, 1983, p. 2). A previous report by Hore and West in 1981 titled Mature Age Students in Australia was prepared for the 1981 OECD conference on Policies in Higher Education. Milligan refers to this report which stated that "[Adults]...represent the only growth area in a static higher education system. The growth in enrolments by older students in higher education during the seventies has been the phenomenon of education in that decade" (Milligan, 1983, p. 5). Milligan provides Table 1 to substantiate the claim by Hore and West.
Table 1: Age Distribution of Students Enrolled in Universities and Colleges of Advanced Education in Selected Years (Percentages) (Milligan, 1983, p. 6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>UNIVERSITIES</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>CAE's</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>19 or less</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-Time</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Time</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-Time</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 plus (a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-Time</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note (a): includes age not stated

However, Milligan notes that "With the change from a conservative coalition ......Government to a social democratic ......Government in 1983 policies have been introduced which could have the effect of reversing trends over
the last decade or so" (1983, p. 6). The emphasis of the new Federal Government is to increase the level of participation in education of the young. In its Guidelines to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission for the 1985 - 87 triennium, "the Government has expressed its desire that school leavers be given priority over older candidates for admission to higher education" (Milligan, 1983, p. 7). Milligan also notes, however, that the Commission proposed "to undertake a major investigation of the broad field of adult and continuing education as practised in formal tertiary institutions" (1983, p. 10). The draft report of this investigation was released late in 1985 (Johnson, 1985) and will be discussed below.

In his preliminary report on the national survey of continuing education in universities and colleges of advanced education Milligan notes that;

"It is clear from the responses that continuing education is an important activity in the higher education sector. More significantly, it is seen as increasing in importance in the next five years: this applies especially to the CAE sector. It is equally clear, however, that continuing education is a marginal activity for most institutions - even where it is viewed as a growth area. Despite the encouragement given in TEC guidelines for its normalisation as a teaching function, it is treated in many cases as an additional rather than normal teaching activity. Under these circumstances, it is liable to be cut back whenever the space or time is required for the teaching of credit courses. In other cases, it seems to be so closely linked to credit courses that it is perhaps neither recognised nor valued greatly in itself. It may also be looked upon as a means of making money, and of diversifying the sources of income available to institutions in a time of restraint. While this is understandable enough, it does have implications for the kinds of programs and clients that are likely to be featured and favoured, at the expense of others." (Milligan, 1983, pp.15-16)

The specific findings of Milligan's survey are not dissimilar to Brian Smith's 1983 review of university continuing education in Australia reported below, the main points of difference being that Milligan's survey focuses on continuing education per se whereas Smith has a consistent approach to analysing institutional arrangements for the provision of continuing education. Also, Milligan's assessment is based on a mail questionnaire largely completed by continuing educators while Smith's assessment is based on personal interviews during a visit to all nineteen Australian university campuses.
Smith's interviews included both continuing educators and university administrators. As the focus of this research is on institutional arrangements relating to continuing education Smith's review is seen as more pertinent to this study than the work of Milligan and the NSW Board of Adult Education. Therefore it is to Smith's work we now turn.

In 1984 Brian Smith of the Department of Community Programmes at the University of Newcastle in New South Wales published his review of continuing education provision by the Australian universities. Smith had visited all nineteen universities in Australia with the aim of identifying each university's contribution to continuing education (Smith, 1984, p.1). Smith was aware that;

"...no comparative record existed of their different involvements and, indeed, even the Continuing Education specialists within the universities had only broad and very sketchy ideas of the policies and practices of universities other than their own." (Smith, 1984, p.1)

Thus his review is an invaluable record for this study and is a good starting point from which an overview of the current state of continuing education in Australian universities will be made. Smith's findings are summarised in Table 2. They have been categorised in terms of two dichotomies; function and structure. Function refers to a service or professional orientation. A service function is the provision of administrative assistance to academics in the university as they conduct continuing education activities. The professional function refers to academic work, not only in the study of continuing education, but also in the development of new programmes not covered by other areas within the university. This could include a range of activities such as conferences, seminars, publications, and so on, on contemporary social issues.

The structural dichotomy of integrated and specialist refers to the location - in organisation terms, of people involved in continuing education. For example an integrated approach is when continuing education is (ideally) offered by all academic members of the university as part of their range of work. A specialist unit for continuing education has, as
its primary function, work in continuing education. Such a unit would also have autonomy, responsibility and accountability as is normally found in university departments.

Smith's all encompassing definition of continuing education is important in reviewing this table. He "includes all activities of an educational or cultural development nature conducted by the university for the wider public or specific groups within it and not formally accredited by the university. I [Smith] am in fact subsuming all of those areas of work variously described as adult education, further education, extension and community education under the single term 'Continuing Education'". (Smith, 1984, p.2)

What Table 2 does not show is the dynamic nature and the substantial changes that have occurred - and in some cases, still occurring - between continuing education and each institution at large. However, before focussing on other commentaries on the state of continuing education in Australian universities it is worth noting the observations Smith makes on the findings in his review.

The first observation he makes is that Australian universities are "quite fiercely independent" (p.89) and that he "found no assent whatsoever to a suggestion that there might be a 'norm' for university Continuing Education provisions which each institution should attempt to meet" (p.89). He does, however, qualify the nature of such provision with the comment that "the overall quantity of university-based Continuing Education is somewhat disappointing, however good its quality may be" (p.89). Conversely he adds there "seems to be ... an overwhelming general acceptance that Continuing Education is a proper and desirable activity for universities" (p.89). It is this paradox of low actual provision versus high regard for continuing education which underlies the present study.
Table 2: Characteristics of Continuing Education in Australian Universities (developed from B. Smith (1984))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIVERSITY</th>
<th>FUNCTIONS</th>
<th>PROFESSIONAL</th>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SERVICE</td>
<td>PROFESSIONAL</td>
<td>INTEGRATED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNE</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monash</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deakin</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LaTrobe</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Both</td>
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In terms of our structural dichotomy set out in Table 2, Smith notes that;

"... the most striking broad characteristic of university Continuing Education in Australia at this time is the trend away from viewing and providing it as a distinct, separate activity of the university, a kind of satellite operation assumed to have its own clientele, standards and methods, and towards an acceptance of Continuing Education as an integral part, or at least a natural extension, of the normal teaching and research activities of each section of the university severally." (p.90)

Smith, however, airs caution that the move towards integrating continuing education into the traditional structure of the university has been done to make continuing education a normal part of university work. He is clear when he states that;

"There seems little doubt, however, that the initial motivation for several of these reviews and reorganisations was economic rather than educational. Generally speaking, the traditional 'separate self-contained programme' approach to Continuing Education is administratively costly, the reviews all tended to occur during recent, financially stringent, years and the new models which have emerged are, on paper at least, more economical operations than those which preceded them." (p.90)

Smith does point out that the structural distinction between an integrated and specialist arrangement is by no means clear cut; "there is, however, evidence of a study shift in balance" (p.90). The increasing responsibility for the provision of continuing education programmes with individual departments is the clear indication of this trend to Smith.

Smith concludes his observations by extolling the virtues of the 'multiple extension' approach. While acknowledging the dangers of a predominantly economic motivation for placing responsibility for continuing education in departments, versus the administratively 'separate self-contained programme', one is left with the sense that he sees the multiple extension as the best path for a university - "it should provide a more effective use of university resources with the total spectrum of Continuing Education provision" (p.92).

A point which will be taken up in chapter four is Smith's assertion that;

"Since, within each discipline area, the universities, colleges and TAFE institutions have their own appropriate teaching roles, the origination of Continuing Education activities in the teaching
departments should ensure a minimum of overlap and duplication of university and non-university Continuing Education provisions. There should also be less risk of the development of activities simply for activity's sake." (p.92)

Suffice to say here that a major argument of those who support the specialist continuing education unit concept is that this arrangement is best for facilitating cross or multi-disciplinary issues oriented programmes versus single discipline oriented educational programmes.

In arguing against the complete abandonment of the separate 'self-contained continuing education unit' Smith checks some of the advantages (as he sees them) of the 'multiple extension' approach by clearly stating that;

"What does, very rapidly, become plain in talking with people in the various universities is that there is not the widespread knowledge of and enthusiasm for Continuing Education throughout the departments which would be needed for a comprehensive, totally self-generating programme on 'multiple extension' lines. It is simply unrealistic at the present time to assume that a high proportion of staff members will devote considerable thought and effort to planning or presenting Continuing Education activities without prompting and/or inducement." (p.93)

Not losing sight of the economic criteria so important in the shift in balance from 'separate self-contained unit' towards a 'multiple extension' Smith warns;

"Unlike the rest of university work, Continuing Education is predominantly an entrepreneurial, trading operation, albeit a non-profit one. Those whose normal responsibilities are to students who are publicly funded do not always see the implications of this. The educational value of Continuing Education programmes has little or no correlation with their 'commercial value'; if the user-pays principle were applied case-by-case, then many educationally worthwhile activities simply could not occur." (p.93)

Smith's final paragraph is worth stating in full;

"Perhaps the most distinctive difference between universities and all other educational institutions in Australia is what could be called their 'internal autonomy', the decentralisation of authority and decision-making. There is a strong reluctance at all levels to 'lean on' faculties, departments or individual staff members to discharge their responsibilities in ways which they do not favour. The disadvantages of this for Continuing Education planning and administration are obvious; it simply is not practicable to decree that a certain level of Continuing Education work will be conducted in
certain ways by certain categories of staff throughout the university. This would be resented and resisted. What is done in Continuing Education by the universities, therefore, whether or not central Continuing Education units are involved, must always be by consent rather than by direction. The benefits of this, I think, far outweigh the disadvantages. The people who are involved in Continuing Education projects are invariably strongly committed to those projects; there is none of the cynicism and time-serving which can destroy the effectiveness of education conducted to order. The fullest range of methods and approaches can be tried and always the people actually doing the job are doing it in a way which they believe to be appropriate. As I mentioned earlier, criteria for accountability, other than financial accountability, in Continuing Education are very difficult to establish. In the university situation I have no doubt that both those who organise and those who deliver Continuing Education feel accountable to their colleagues, their students and themselves and this, in Continuing Education work, is the best guarantee possible of the quality of the education provided. The weakness, as I have acknowledged, when one considers the nineteen universities as a totality, is in quantity." (pp.104-105)

This concept of 'internal autonomy' represents an important set of institutional values and subsequent processes which Smith ranges across in his analysis of continuing education in Australian universities. An attempt to identify these values and processes will be made in chapter four.

Crombie makes a more forceful claim on the state of adult education in Australian universities. While questioning the future of university adult education in Britain he reflects on the Australian situation;

"It is perhaps worth noting in addition, that since most of the drafting of this paper took place, adult education in Australian universities has been having a very severe time of it. At Sydney University, once the flagship of the fleet, where tutorial classes have been run in association with the WEA since 1913, the retirement of a long-standing Director has been seized as the occasion to abolish the Department as an academic entity. A high-level external committee of review has just made essentially the same recommendation to the University of Adelaide, the pioneer institution in South Australia, which first offered tutorial classes in 1917. The University of Melbourne has already closed down its short-lived Office of Continuing Education, an exciting pre-recession initiative, while there is a review in progress at the University of Western Australia that seems unlikely to come to any happier conclusions." (Crombie, 1983, p.53)

Public information about the decision making processes that provide for the present continuing education arrangements in Australian universities of the kind Smith has recorded and Crombie has evaluated is difficult to obtain.
The main source of information is from university reports and journal articles. The demise of the Office of Continuing Education at the University of Melbourne is well documented in Hector Giurina's unpublished honours thesis (1981).

What follows is a summary account of changes to the nature and provision of continuing education in the universities of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Western Australia and New England, all of which have undergone reviews within the last ten years. Along with ANU, Monash, Newcastle, Queensland and NSW (the latter with several large centres carrying out continuing education but not under that name), these universities are regarded as having made significant contributions towards adult and continuing education during their existence (see Smith, 1984, pp.89-105).

3.1 Sydney University

As Crombie remarked (1983, p.53) once the flagship of the fleet in adult and continuing education, Sydney University has made major changes in recent times to the structure and provision of adult and continuing education programmes. The very strong connections with the WEA (Workers Education Association) saw the university working actively and in diverse ways in the field for well over half a century.

In 1978, Professor Sir Bruce Williams, the former Vice-Chancellor, set up a working party to;

"...enquire into and to advise the Vice-Chancellor on appropriate ways in which the University's activities in the fields of continuing and adult education should be maintained and developed. Its brief included a consideration of the future role of the Department of Adult Education." (Ward, 1981, p.1)

The committee reported in 1980, however the Vice-Chancellor took no action other than to release it to the Department of Adult Education for discussion.

Sir Bruce Williams' replacement, Professor John Ward, saw the university's deteriorating financial situation as the reason to follow up on the recommendations of the working party on continuing education;
"Since the working party made its recommendations, the University's financial position has greatly deteriorated and all sections of the University are being called upon to make significant savings. It is my aim in reducing expenditure to preserve what is essential to enable the University to fulfil its purpose and to reduce activities which, however desirable and historically significant, are not now central to the University's prime purposes. Any proposals regarding the future role of the University in continuing and adult education must be tempered by a realistic appreciation of the University's financial situation." (Ward, 1981, p.1)

Ward saw the increase in the number of post-secondary institutions involved in adult education as a significant reason to review the University's role in adult and continuing education. Ward also had a strong view on adult and continuing education and its relations with the rest of the University:

"Neither my predecessor as Vice-Chancellor nor I have found it easy to recommend a future for a Department which is costly and not at all essential to our activities in teaching and research. Many Professors and Heads of Departments have suggested to me in the light of all these circumstances that the Department of Adult Education should no longer be allowed to spend money needed by other Departments for teaching and research. This is the considered opinion of responsibly minded staff and needs careful assessment. The Department's budget exceeds $600,000 a year." (Ward, 1981, p.1)

Ward was also of the view that the University would not enter the field of adult education if that were its present choice. He was, however, responsible for a large, mostly young, tenured staff and therefore proposed four courses of action to shift the balance of the present Department's activities and thereby reduce costs. These courses of action are worth quoting at length. As will be seen later they are representative of much of the thinking on the place of adult and continuing education in Australian universities over the last decade. They were;

"(1) The Department should be encouraged to increase its revenues, by concentrating on courses of good standard that pay their way. It is not possible to increase the University's funding of adult education in general, but initiatives with a high prospect of earning a profit will receive my encouragement.

(2) Members of the Department, who are qualified to do so, should consider whether to apply for vacant posts in our teaching Departments. No preference can be given to them over other qualified candidates although I would be willing to ask the Academic Board to consider procedures for simple transfers from one Department to another
when the parties concerned were all agreeable. Transfer to a teaching Department, which lacked staff, would not, of course, prevent a staff member involved from working part-time for Adult Education. Non-academic staff may also wish to transfer.

(3) I propose that in future more emphasis should be given by the Department of Adult Education to helping with the conducting of courses in the area of continuing professional education. This will involve closer liaison with the continuing education programme of individual Departments, Faculties and Foundations and assisting in the development of new programmes in some field. It will be necessary for this change of emphasis to be made in the face of a contracting staff establishment.

(4) To give effect to the first and third objectives, the University should establish a small administrative centre for continuing and adult education, similar to those in some other Australian universities. The existing Department of Adult Education would cease to function as at present and there would be developed the Centre for Continuing and Adult Education.

This would develop over a period of years into a wholly administrative unit, consisting of staff concerned with planning, publicising, managing and co-ordinating the Centre's activities. There would be no new appointments of academic staff. The staff of the Centre would be responsible for obtaining the services of academic staff of the University and of other institutions to teach in the Centre programmes. It will be necessary for the Board of Adult Education to be restructured and renamed or even cease to exist to take account of these changes and I propose to make recommendations to the Senate to this effect at a later date. As well as the usual officers, I would like to see the various postgraduate committees and agencies within the University represented on the new Board." (Ward, 1981, pp.2-3)

In February 1984, the Senate of the University of Sydney resolved that there shall be a Centre for Continuing Education. The Centre took over many of the programmes of its predecessor, the Department of Adult Education. These included the discussion group scheme, the continuing education programmes and responsibility for the Current Affairs Bulletin. In the first annual report of the Centre the acting Director was to note that "there is a good deal of continuity between its work and that of the Department of Adult Education". (University of Sydney, 1984, p.5). While there may have been continuity in the programmes offered by the University which were connected to the old Department, and now with the new Centre, the internal mechanisms which supported these programmes were considerably changed. As the acting Director was to comment;
"In the Department some academic staff were mainly engaged in teaching while others were mainly involved in administration. In the Centre the academic members of staff have a primarily organisational and administrative role...

The teaching of the Centre is conducted by part-time staff contracted for the purpose. Under the Department the majority of such part-time staff were paid from an allocation of funds set aside by the University for this purpose. Under the Centre all part-time teaching costs are recovered from the fees charged to students." (University of Sydney, 1984, p.7)

Smith's 1984 summary of continuing education at the University of Sydney identifies a wide range of activities which he categorises as follows;

- A traditional adult education programme
- A mature-age matriculation programme
- Short schools and study tours
- Seminars and forums on issues of public interest
- The group discussion programme
- Educational radio
- Vocational extension courses
- Public lectures, exhibitions and performances
- Special development projects
- The publication of the Current Affairs Bulletin"
(pp. 5 - 6)

Smith concludes that "although the main thrust of its programme is towards 'vocational extension' work for professional groups and the newly-established Centre for Continuing Education has quite deliberately a more purely administrative-support function than its predecessor, .... the total programme still makes very considerable provision for 'open public education' from the University" (1984, p. 7).

Faced with limited funds the Vice-Chancellor(s) at the University of Sydney in the late 70's and early 80's saw dismantling of a specialist continuing education unit and the establishing of a multiple extension approach (after Smith, 1984) with an organisationally diminished Centre for Continuing Education and programmes offered on a user-pays basis as an appropriate set of actions to reduce an activity "which is costly and not at all essential to our activities in teaching and research". (Ward, 1981, p.1)
3.2. Melbourne University

In 1891 Melbourne University established its Extension Board with the aim of opening access to the community at large. From 1947 to 1974 an Extension Committee existed with broad terms of reference. Its role was to provide lectures, courses of lectures, vacation and refresher schools and demonstrations. Also, to promote or conduct research into the structure, effectiveness, and all other aspects of continuing education and to act as an advisory and assistance centre to extra-university organisations (after Giurina, 1981, p. 29). Giurina noted that these aims could not be implemented in practice, and;

"Having no office and no full-time staff it was unable to conduct any research, and, in reality, the University's work in the field was carried out very much at the level of the faculties and departments. Under the control of the latter, lectures were given when people wanted to give lectures, people from outside the University who want to do a single subject were permitted to do so by departments if there was room in the course, and departments that needed more preparation for their students than the schools could provide mounted summer courses." (Giurina, 1981, p. 29)

Giurina's summary of the role of the Extension Committee prior to the establishment of the Office for Continuing Education (OCE) is worth stating as he highlights the centralised, decentralised dichotomy Smith (1984) and others (Crombie, 1983, Duke 1979) have identified;

"During the existence of the Committee there was no general policy dealing with continuing or extended education. The Extension Committee was a sideline of the University; there was no effective guideline on how it should operate although its main activity centred on promoting and sponsoring free public lectures of university standard by Australian and overseas scholars as well as providing continuing education courses to country centres. Hence, when the OCE was established, it faced an historical climate of considerable decentralisation and ad-hocery in the field of continuing education - an aspect which was to plague its life." (Giurina, 1981, p. 30)

In 1972 the Australian Universities' Commission (AUC) in its Fifth Report provided two opportunities for the University of Melbourne to change the way in which it coordinated and controlled continuing education. This was a far cry from the Third Report of the AUC in 1966 when it recommended to parliament that funds for adult education (which included continuing education) would not be forthcoming after the 1967-69 triennium (AUC, 1966).
The first opportunity was in the complete change in AUC policy concerning its 1966 recommendations regarding adult education. In recognising the growing field of adult and continuing education it stated it was "sympathetic to these aspirations" (AUC, 1972, p.83) and recommended continuing support. The second opportunity was in a new funding concept the AUC introduced to allow universities to experiment with new and possibly innovative developments (AUC, 1972, p.87). These general development grants allowed universities to initiate new developments without affecting the level of funding for existing programmes.

As a result of these two opportunities the University of Melbourne, in its submission to the AUC, dated 19 December 1972, told the AUC;

"...that it recognised its responsibilities to the community beyond the provision of undergraduate and graduate courses [and] expressed a desire to extend the number and ranges of continuing education courses, and proposed a secretariat (which was to become the OCE) to encourage and coordinate such activities. It was stated that it was the University's experience that costs could be covered after an initial period of support." (Giurina, 1981, p.33)

Giurina argues that the University's submission hid certain important aspects, the primary one being that "there was no widespread understanding in the University of what continuing education, as a discipline in its own right, entailed" (1981, p.33). Giurina identified two principal sectors in favour of a 'secretariat'. They were the Faculty of Engineering, which already ran continuing education programmes and was keen for administrative support to assist their academic staff, and, the executive of the University including the Vice-Chancellor and his immediate hierarchical subordinates (Giurina, 1981, pp.33-34). The executive saw this initiative as an opportunity to control what was already a loose, uncoordinated set of activities;

"The ad-hocery of continuing education activities under the Extension Committee meant that the University's administration had no effective control over the running of continuing education courses and yet the respective departments and faculties were using university facilities." (Giurina, 1981, p.34)

The University was successful in its application to the AUC for a grant to fund the Office for Continuing Education for five years. Giurina points out that the OCE was established under the rules of the AUC grant scheme which meant;
"...that if by 1978 (which was to be the last year that its operations would be funded by the grant) it had not become financially viable, then one of the following possibilities would occur:

- the OCE would be closed down;
- the University would continue financing the OCE in an ad-hoc way; or
- the OCE would be brought under some other University section to guarantee for itself secure financial funding." (Giurina, 1981, p.36)

In his concluding comments on the establishment of the OCE Giurina notes that:

"...there was no broad agreement on the part of the University's executive, nor in the University overall, for the concept of continuing education as a discipline and the establishment of a central unit to develop the notion within the University." (Giurina, 1981, p.37)

When the OCE was wound up in the late seventies being "reconstituted as an organisation within the Registrar's division, essentially without separate identity and without a direction" (Borthwick, 1981, p.11), the University had, internally, engaged in a drawn out debate over the way it provides continuing education. The public grounds for the dissolution of the OCE was "that the financial projections of 1973-74 have clearly not been fulfilled" (Borthwick, 1981, p.9). The financial projections - a major condition of the taking up of an AUC development grant - were that continuing education be totally self-funding. However in 1977, the last full year before the re-assessment of the OCE - also a requirement of the AUC development grant - it had incurred a net loss of $40,600. In that year continuing education contributed approximately $49,000 to faculties and departments, money which would otherwise have not been available. Thus it was argued by some that the University would, in fact, lose (in this case) $9,000 by closing down the OCE. In 1979 the Whitton Committee report calculated "that to perform the strictly administrative tasks of the old Office in the Registrar's Department would cost $68,000." (Borthwick, 1981, p.12)

Accepting Borthwick's account of the charade carried out concerning the financial arrangements of the OCE by the various committees it is difficult not to accept Borthwick's analysis "that while in universities arguments
about academic, social and political issues are customarily conducted in financial terms this does not mean that they are decided on financial grounds." (1981, p.10)

Borthwick also points out that the OCE was unable to capitalise on the continuing education market for the professional schools, for example and in particular, medicine and dentistry already had a continuing education and did not wish to involve the OCE as they were reluctant to pay the 10% administrative costs that would incur.

The Continuing Education Committee was reconstituted being directly responsible to Academic Board and was to "concentrate on the task of exploring existing activities and attitudes in faculties and departments" (Poynter Committee recommendation quoted in Borthwick, 1981, p.11).

In terms of Smith's (1984) structural dichotomy outlined earlier, continuing education at Melbourne University moved back into the integrated model which occurred before the establishment of the OCE "except that the Extension Committee no longer exists to draw the attention of the University to what is not being done" (Borthwick, 1981, p.13). By 1981 there had been a continuing fall in the various categories of continuing education students and courses at Melbourne University (Borthwick, 1981, p.13).

The OCE was not a blossom of the increased funding to higher education in the early to mid seventies that withered with the financial drought of the latter years of the decade. Rather, it was an attempt at centralisation by the University executive which met with strong institutional resistance resulting in the babe being thrown out with the bath water.

3.3. The University of New England

In 1948 New England University College established the Department of Adult Education. The influential programme run by the Department of Adult Education was regarded as an important factor in consolidating political
support for the University's autonomy from the University of Sydney in 1954 (Iceton, 1980, p. 41). This was also seen as a direct result of the strong support of the University of New England's first Vice-chancellor;

"Sir Robert Madgwick, had been Chief of the wartime Australian Army Education Service (AAES), and consequently had a deep and abiding interest in adult education in all its forms. He was strongly convinced that opportunities for university education should be extended to all residents of New South Wales." (Iceton, 1980, p. 41)

From the mid 1950's to the late 1960's when the Department was at its peak of activity with fourteen lecturers and two graduate assistants (Iceton, 1980, p. 39), it enjoyed great support both internally and externally through its extensive community consultative mechanism in northern NSW. However, this situation was to change over the next decade. The AUC Triennial report for 1967-69 with its recommendation that adult education "would be better conducted by agencies other than a university, should not be regarded as a normal part of lecturers' duties, and would receive no funding from the AUC after 1960" (Iceton, 1980, p. 42), set the scene for a backlash against the Department which had grown so large under Madgwick.

Also, during the 1960's the substantial increases in funding of universities on a per student basis to meet the significant growth in demand for undergraduate teaching reduced the impetus for "innovative effort and close community relations" (Iceton, 1980, p. 42).

The Department of Continuing Education never had a central, structural place in the University and was thus limited in its ability to influence decision making about its activities. The Board of Continuing Education from 1976 - previously it had been the General Planning Committee for University Extension - was a committee of the professorial board. In 1979 the Board was still in existence;

"...but is seen by the Professorial Board as anomalous and irrelevant to the University's decision-making." (Iceton, 1980, p. 39)

Iceton was also of the opinion that the change in attitude within the University was a reflection of the changes occurring in universities generally;
"The academic staff of the University grew considerably. Many were recruited from overseas. Most had no wartime adult education experience. Most felt no challenge to be pioneers on behalf of the New England region, but more usually were looking for a stepping stone to somewhere else. New arrivals with an innovative or applied orientation found they were not succeeding in the internal political arena. Unfortunately during Madgwick's time the Department failed to engage realistically with this determination in the academic climate and did not foresee what was about to happen." (1980, p.40)

In the early 1980's the University set in train a number of formal review processes to put its continuing education activities in order. Two reports were prepared, with the second report ostensibly confirming the findings of the first and operationalising these findings with specific recommendations on structural, procedural, academic and funding arrangements. These two reports are referred to as the Burton and Cumming reports. It is Cumming's report which will be used in this review as it is seen to encompass and extend the earlier work of Professor Burton.

The Academic Advisory Committee's Sub-Committee to Examine the Structure and Organisation of the Department of Continuing Education (University of New England, 1983) was asked to analyse Professor Burton's Interim Report on Continuing Education at the University of New England and make recommendations to the Academic Board on the future of this function. The Sub-Committee was chaired by Professor Cumming and its terms of reference were expanded beyond those of Professor Burton to include "any other matters relating to Continuing Education that the Sub-Committee considers appropriate" (University of New England, 1983, p.1). In fact, the primary objective of the Interim Report by Burton was to "set out a range of relevant and up-to-date information concerning the role and functions of the Department of Continuing Education" (University of New England, 1983, p.2). This information was to be the basis of informed discussion within the University and setting the scene for the Cumming review.

The Cumming Sub-Committee introduced its report by questioning the role and place of continuing education at the University of New England. They agreed with the earlier report that;
"...various questions are periodically raised within the campus concerning the work of the Department of Continuing Education. Is the work it does really of a 'university kind'? Should the Department be required to meet all of its costs including salaries from course fees? Should the Department be disbanded in order to achieve a reduction in overall expenditure?" (University of New England, 1983, p.2)

While acknowledging that such questions periodically arise in the University, Cumming was of the opinion that; 

...these viewpoints appear to stem from a widespread ignorance about the nature and importance of Continuing Education within the University of New England." (University of New England, 1983, pp.2-3).

Cumming goes on, at length, to review policy initiatives directing continuing education at the University concurring with his predecessors' Interim Report that "the University has a well established and recognised reputation for its involvement with Continuing Education" (University of New England, 1983, p.6). However, Cumming was quick to add that his Sub-Committee was concerned that the scope of activities of the Department of Continuing Education was entirely appropriate for a University.

After commenting on the general notions of continuing education in the University the view of the Cumming Sub-Committee was firmly "that the Department of Continuing Education should not be disbanded" (University of New England, 1983, p.6). It was, however "strongly convinced that there are ways in which the Department of Continuing Education might carry out more effectively its important and, at times difficult work if certain administrative re-arrangements were made" (University of New England, 1983, pp.6).

While acknowledging the Department of Continuing Education's long established non-credit continuing education courses available, not only in Armidale but throughout northern New South Wales, Cumming asserts that;

"...there is a general lack of knowledge on campus as to what the function of the Department of Continuing Education really is and what it should be in the context of the University's role in the region." (University of New England, 1983, p.11)

Cumming adds that this is an important area that the Department would need to be cognisant of in the future. He also suggests that members of the Department should be given specific responsibility "for promoting and
organising the work of a Faculty within the field of Continuing Education" (University of New England, 1983, p.11).

Cumming also suggests that in a new look Department of Continuing Education a senior member of staff be responsible for maintaining regular contact with Faculties. He acknowledged that;

"This is a time consuming task but with the high reputation of this University in its wider region it can only enhance the status of the University if its academic staff are seen disseminating their knowledge and skills in extramural activities. The Department of Continuing Education is a key means by which this University is seen as an integral part of the educational culture of the tablelands and the north-coast region." (University of New England, 1983, p.12)

In its discussion on finances the Cumming Sub-Committee was to re-assert, verbatim, the conclusions of its predecessors led by Burton. They reflect a common theme found in the review of other university continuing education units herein and are worth stating in full;

"...it should be possible to achieve a significant reduction in net operating costs through the progressive rearrangement of staffing establishment and the gradual escalation of course fees, and in this regard the Academic Advisory Committee should set a firm future target to be reached over a reasonable transition period - as a suggestion, it might be reasonable to require the net operating costs to come down to one percent of the total recurrent budget over the next five years." (University of New England, 1983, p.14)

In its attempt to achieve greater integration between the work of the Department of Continuing Education and the University of New England the Cumming Sub-Committee recommended structural and procedural changes for the Department. In structural terms it recommended that the credit work of the Department be transferred to the Centre for Administrative and Higher Education Studies in the Faculty of Education. In Smith's (1984) terms Cumming was removing a large part of the professional role of the Department leaving it as a service unit.

Another major procedural change recommended was that continuing education officers be assigned to the various Faculties in the same fashion as the external studies unit. The Director was to be responsible for co-ordination between these liaison officers. Cumming also recommended that continuing education courses should, more clearly extend the
disciplines taught at the University and in terms of its attempts to reduce financial costs to continuing education recommended that within five years its budget should not exceed one percent of the recurrent budget.

Clearly the Burton and Cumming reviews re-organised the Department of Continuing Education towards a service unit and attempted to integrate its works more closely with the established, discipline oriented structure of the University of New England.

3.4 The University of Adelaide

The Department of Continuing Education in the University of Adelaide was established as the Department of Adult Education in 1957 having its origins in the tutorial class system which was established in conjunction with the Workers' Educational Association in 1914. In 1955 the University conducted a major review of its activities in the field of adult education. This review resulted in the appointment of Arnold Hely as Director. In May 1957, Hely produced a paper entitled The University and Adult Education in which he proposed the rationale for a change in the nature of university adult education;

"The period 1914 to 1957 has been one of rapid social, economic and educational change. It has seen the development of an increasing number of vigorous community organisations concerned with educational programmes for their members. It has been characterised by the emergence of several public agencies providing specialised adult education services. All these changes justify a re-examination of the special role of the University in adult education and emphasise the need for a fresh and flexible approach." (University of Adelaide, 1982, p.2)

Three decades on from Hely's comments the same factors were to echo as a need for review of the University's role in the field of adult and continuing education. The University's new policy of reviewing its departments at least every ten years and the impending retirement of the Director, Mr J.E. Warburton, were cited as the reasons for the 1982 review. (University of Adelaide, 1982, p.11).
During the early 1960's the Department under Hely quickly built up a large and diverse set of activities in the field of adult and continuing education. A unique initiative of the Department was the establishment of Radio SUV providing educational programmes to the greater Adelaide community. This initiative was to work against the less public, and more typical, activities of the Department's work after the great public outcry which came at the suggestion in 1982 that SUV would be wound down. SUV had developed as an important public profile of the University which the University realised must be maintained if it was to have any credibility with the local community in the area of adult and continuing education.

Thus the tenor of the 1982 report of the Committee of Review of the Department of Continuing Education of the University of Adelaide was that the Department be scaled down to a largely administrative unit; that departments take greater responsibility for continuing education by appointing within each faculty, on a half-time basis on officer responsible for continuing education programmes; and, that additional staff be appointed to SUV along with upgrading the station's transmitting equipment (after University of Adelaide, 1982).

As with other Australian universities during this period the primary factors causing these changes were the decreasing funds to Australian higher education. Specifically, the Review Committee "was to have in mind the likely steady-state funding of the University in the coming years" (Lawton, 1983, p.2). The review occurred in 1982 due to the retirement of the Director of Continuing Education, Mr J.W. Warburton. It is University policy to review departments every seven years, and on the retirement of the department head.

The Review Committee found that the most important innovations of the Department of Continuing Education over the last fifteen years were;

- the entry into public broadcasting;
- the development of an intensive programme of publication;
- the commencement of intra-mural teaching in the discipline of continuing education; and
- the offering of a greatly expanded range of seminars and conferences. (after Lawton, 1983, p.2)
The Committee also recognised the well established continuing education programmes provided by the Faculties of Dentistry and Engineering and by the Law Society of South Australia and the South Australian Post-Graduate Medical Association. And while it recommended the move away from the Department to faculties being responsible for continuing education the Committee recognised "that the Department of Continuing Education's programme in the field of continuing education for graduates had been ... largely inter-disciplinary" (Lawton, 1983, p.2).

The structural change recommended by the Review Committee was widely debated in the University. Those supporting the concept of a specialised centre for continuing education were strong in their opposition to the Review recommendations regarding these changes. In their response to the report of the Review Committee they raised the following points;

a. It is vital that the academic staff involved in the discipline of Continuing Education be given the opportunity to work together with the appropriate academic leadership in order to achieve a sense of collegiality in their activities.

b. The proposed Office of Continuing Education would clearly be insufficient to service the expanded Continuing Education programme generated in the faculties and would require an essential maintenance grant supplemented by additional revenue derived from the faculty-based courses (or alternatively administrative help will be required within the faculties).

c. The support staff needed to run the centre would be larger than is suggested in the report (1 Professional Officer and 2 Clerical Officers), for the reason stated in (b) above.

d. The centre will be important to provide the base for the University's commitment to post-graduate teaching in Continuing Education through the MEd and BEd courses (as recommended in the Report, 7.30 p.62) and to act as a resource, advisory and research centre.

e. The Report recognises the importance of the present Department's publications programme (7.18, 7.19 p.58-59) and recommends an expansion in this area. An adequately staffed centre for the co-ordination of such activities would be essential." (Lawton, 1983, pp.13-14)

It is also worth noting that "a large majority of responses to the Review from faculties and departments rejected the idea of half-time faculty agents for continuing education" (Lawton, 1983, p.6). Neither the staff of
the Department nor staff of the University faculties and departments wanted responsibility for continuing education placed in the faculties and departments.

At the March 1983 Education Committee meeting, Professor P. Glow (Chairman) put the issues raised in the Review Committee's report by way of the following motions (motion 3 was proposed by the Chairman of the Department of Continuing Education):

"Motion 1. 'The Education Committee believes that the University has an enduring obligation to make available a programme of continuing education at a level appropriate to a university.'

Motion 2. 'The Education Committee, without prejudice to consideration of resource implications, concurs with the following recommendations set out in page 82 of the Review report:

- That the Board of Continuing Education be abolished.
- That the separate Department of Continuing Education be discontinued and that Continuing Education henceforth be the responsibility of the departments and faculties of the University, and at least in principle, if not in detail, with the other recommendations of the Review Committee; understanding that any academic questions arising in the implementation of those proposals would be referred to Education Committee for advice.'

Motion 3. 'The Education Committee recommends that the Department of Continuing Education be redeveloped as a Centre for Continuing Education in the University and that it provide, in part through the medium of Radio SUV and under a reconstituted Board or Committee of Continuing Education,

(i) A programme giving special emphasis to continuing education for graduates, in liaison with faculties and departments, and
(ii) A programme of courses, seminars and schools appropriate to the University.'

Motion 1 was passed 49-2 and 7 abstentions with an amendment as follows:

'The extent to which the university can discharge this obligation will depend on its resources and other academic priorities.'

Motion 2 was lost 9-37.
Motion 3 was lost 10-25." (Lawton, 1983, p.7)
Lawton also notes that parts of the minutes of the March meeting state; "discussion indicated only very limited support for the motion (3). There was some concern that it represented re-creation of the existing department but with greater resource implications" (1983, p.8). Discussion at this meeting concluded by passing a final motion that;

"The Education committee suggests to the Vice-Chancellor that he establish a small body to advise him, in the light of

(i) discussion in the Education Committee meeting held on 23 March 1983 and
(ii) the full range of continuing education activities both in the Department of Continuing Education and in other departments/faculties,

as to the kinds of continuing education to which the University should attach priority and an appropriate set of arrangements for maintaining them; such advice to take account of resource and any other consideration deemed relevant by the proposed advisory body." (Lawton, 1983, p.8)

In June 1983, this Advisory Committee reported the following recommendations to the Education Committee who in turn advised the Vice-Chancellor that it considered the recommendations to be acceptable in principle;

"1. The existing programme of courses and seminars for graduates and professional groups - in their disciplines and between disciplines - should be increased in number and scope. Faculties would be asked to send a representative to a Committee for Continuing Education which would decide on programmes - to be organised by the Office of Continuing Education - or note that some courses would continue to be organised within faculties.

2. The present practice of the Department of Continuing Education arranging public seminars and conferences on matters of social and political concern should continue.

3. The present practice of allowing the public to 'sit in' on undergraduate lectures should continue, and be extended from the present opportunities in two faculties to other faculties.

4. The Office of Continuing Education should continue to provide a non-vocational programme of foreign language classes, at a level appropriate to the University,

5. In addition to meeting direct costs of teaching and mounting courses, the Office of Continuing Education should endeavour to provide the salaries of one full-time and one half-time member of its staff from course income.

6. The appointment of academics in each faculty to give half their time to organising continuing education programmes is unacceptable to most faculties and should be rejected."
7. Visiting professors of continuing education should not be appointed - at least for the present.

8. Organisation and Staff  The present Department of Continuing Education should become an Office of Continuing Education, administratively connected to the Registrar's Office and the two remaining academic staff should be invited to transfer to other parts of the University appropriate to their field of academic study. This would leave a staff of two professional officers and two clerical officers (one full-time and one half-time) to organise programmes approved by the Committee for Continuing Education - which would be a committee of the University's Education Committee. The Committee should replace the Board of Continuing Education, from 1 October, 1983, and the new emphasis in programmes should appear from January 1984. There should be a separate governing body for Radio 5UV. The new arrangements should apply for a three-year period and should be subject to review in 1986." (Lawton, 1983, pp.8-9)

This plan was approved by University Council in November 1983.

The Office of Continuing Education was able to "put aside about $30,000 (towards the salaries of two staff members) after meeting the direct costs of teaching and mounting courses" (Lawton, 1983, p.10). Courses for professional groups - particularly management and accounting - along with the foreign language programme for the public, were the mainstay of activities. All of these had been established under the old regime.

Lawton notes that increased activities in the field of continuing education by the South Australian Institute of Technology and the South Australian College of Advanced Education and "the border hopping activities of colleagues in neighbouring states and territories" (p.11), further extended the entrepreneurial challenge of the Office. Also, the University had recently established three companies based on departments to market the products of research, provide computer services, teaching and academic expertise (after Lawton, 1983, p.10). Lawton (1983) evaluates the University reponse to the new administrative provisions for continuing education when he notes that "course suggestions have come from only (my emphasis) three of the eleven faculties represented on the Committee for Continuing Education" (p.11).

In an attempt to reduce the costs associated with the Department of Continuing Education the University of Adelaide chose to reduce the size of the Department and create an Office of Continuing Education.
Responsibility for continuing education was given to faculties and departments with little incentive and administrative machinery to staff which would allow them to effectively meet this change in policy.

3.5. The University of Western Australia

In adult and continuing education terms the University of Western Australia's history in this field is atypical amongst its Australian contemporaries. The absence of a Workers Educational Association and a Council for Adult Education in Western Australia was fertile ground for the University's involvement in adult and continuing education. Combined with the geographical isolation of Perth these factors saw the University involved in 'public education' across a wide range of activities. These included, basic practical classes in arts and crafts; summer schools; continuing professional education; the first university to conduct mature-age matriculation courses; and, created, and was for many years solely responsible for, the Festival of Perth (after Smith, 1984, p.31). The University of Western Australia also runs a permanent art gallery and Station 6UVS, a joint universities station, with Murdoch University. The art gallery and radio station are not the responsibility of University Extension. While acknowledging that the University of Western Australia has one of the most extensive continuing education programmes in Australia, Smith (1984) notes that "the administrative machinery for presenting it is fairly complex" (p.31).

In 1981/82 the University of Western Australia reviewed its continuing education activities. It distinguishes "between 'continuing education' in the narrow sense, vocationally oriented activities which 'build onto' formal training and are designed for people in specific fields of occupation and scholarship, and 'community programmes' designed for the public at large, whether for intellectual stimulation, the acquisition of specific skills, the gaining of insights into public affairs or recreation" (Smith, 1984, p.32). This distinction has resulted in the first category being the responsibility of the faculty structure while the second category is the responsibility of a specialised unit, University Extension. The
1981/82 Working Party into University Extension recommended that the University Extension Department adopt a more administrative, marketing and liaison role focussing on the University's Community Education programme which included the Summer School. The specific recommendations relating to this were:

"7.1.2 That, as Community Education is not a conventional academic function of this University but one which demands a sensitivity to community needs, an awareness of academic standards, and also administrative skills of a high quality, it is not essential for the Director of University Extension, or for his staff, to teach in the programmes of courses and lectures for which the Director is responsible.

7.1.3 That, in order to present an appropriate Summer School and to develop community education programmes for each of the University terms, the basic establishment of University Extension should be three Extension officers (Head, plus two), supported by one clerk and two secretary-typists.

7.1.4 That in the control of an organisation of the above scale the title "Director" is inappropriate. Instead, the senior appointment should be known as "Head of University Extension" and appointed on administrative terms and conditions with a salary equivalent to senior lecturer plus an allowance as Head. The other two Extension officers should also be appointed on administrative terms and conditions at a salary equivalent to lecturer. Terms and conditions of all three Extension officers should have special provisions for approved travel to enable their attendance at conferences and congresses and to make occasional tours of other comparable centres and services." (University of Western Australia, 1982)

In November 1984 the University Extension Policy Board made its first report to the University Senate under the following terms: "to monitor, review and report regularly to the Senate on the transition to and the operation of the new structure for University Extension" (University of Western Australia, 1984, p.1). This report of the University Extension Policy Board had the effect of causing the University administration to set up yet another committee to consider its findings. This Committee found that the 1982 recommendations had been acted on, however, some of these recommendations were inadequate as they provided no contingency should the
action proposed in the recommendations fail. For example the recommendations proposed to bring the above recommendations (7.1.2, 7.1.3, 7.1.4) into effect were;

"7.4.4 That the Vice-Chancellor should pursue the possibility of having those Extension Officers who hold tenured academic appointments transferred to the relevant academic department to participate full-time in the normal academic work of that department.

7.4.5 That all the existing tenured Extension Officers who do not transfer to academic departments be offered the possibility of converting their existing contracts of appointment to administrative conditions with appropriate duty statements including opportunities for interstate and overseas travel. That all future appointments of Extension Officer be made on those conditions.

1. If any existing Extension Officer elects to become so attached to an academic department then savings would accrue to the University only if the staff member is ultimately absorbed into the academic department's established staff, and into its budget. In addition, the consequential vacancy in University Extension would have to be left unfilled." (University of Western Australia, 1982)

As the 1984 Committee noted "all that these paragraphs required has been done. However, the three Extension Officers concerned could not be transferred to academic departments and they did not accept the offer of administrative contracts" (University of Western Australia, 1984, p.2). The 1984 Committee recognised in its report that "it is desirable that the University have an agency with a watching brief on the development and provision of continuing education in the University as a whole" (p.6). Accordingly they sought to strengthen the 1982 recommendation;

"That, wherever possible, professional continuing education should be organised and run from within academic departments and faculties. Extension officers may where appropriate initiate ideas for courses in consultation with the relevant department or faculty or may present courses in which more than one faculty is involved." (University of Western Australia, 1984, p.6)

by amending it as follows;
"That, wherever possible, professional continuing education should be organised and run from within academic departments and faculties. Departments and faculties may seek professional and administrative support for the development of professional continuing education programmes from University Extension on a financial basis. University Extension may also initiate ideas for courses in consultation with the relevant department, faculty or external agency or may present courses in which more than one faculty is involved." (University of Western Australia, 1984, p.6)

This was a reflection of the Committee's recognition that there is a recognised profession in the field of university adult and continuing education.

The restructuring of continuing education at the University of Western Australia was in large part brought about by the institution's desire to contain financial costs associated with this activity. Smith's (1984) review of continuing education in Australian universities carried out in 1983, prior to the second round of reviews of University Extension at Western Australia in 1984, noted that "there is generally, throughout the University, some sensitivity to the financial cost of Continuing Education operations and an expressed aim to contain this so far as possible" (Smith, 1984, p.33). The 1984 Committee showed the cost to the University Extension of its involvement in continuing education in 1984 was $25,905 which was funded by the surplus on the Community Education programme (University of Western Australia, 1984, p.3). The 1984 Committee also noted that the only direct charge on the University's No. 1 account for professional continuing education was one continuing education clerk. With such a low level of contribution from the University's resources combined with the (apparent) fact that 'continuing education' and 'community programmes' create a surplus, Smith's (1984) reference above to the University's sensitivity to the financial cost of continuing education and its aim to contain these costs is most surprising.

The final two recommendations of the 1984 Committee were;

"That a further attempt be made to develop terms and conditions properly related to the functions and role of University Extension and to the profession of continuing education and to place all extension officers on such contracts.

That there be no further review of University Extension for at least three years." (University of Western Australia, 1984, p.10)
The penultimate recommendation reflects the institution's on-going difficulty to classify the characteristics of the extension officer in terms of more typical university positions; academic or administration—but not both. The final recommendation is worth reflecting on for the purposes of the study as it recognises the tensions placed on people and organisational sub-units that constantly ride at the margins of organisations.

This review of the recent history of continuing education in those Australian universities that have made major organisational changes to this function reveals a number of interesting trends in the way universities manage continuing education. These trends are all based on the private or internal organisational motive of reducing the financial cost of operating such units while maintaining the same level of benefit—both to the community and the university. Benefits which are ostensibly seen in public relations terms.

Smith's (1984) observation, noted at the outset, of a steady shift in balance from the specialist to the integrated unit is borne out by this review. However, while Smith suggests the integrated or multiple extension approach to organisational structuring of continuing education will "provide a more effective use of university resources" (1984, p.92) he makes no comment on the rationale for the move from both professional and service oriented continuing education units, where academics integrate theory and practice, to the solely service units which rely more exclusively on the pedagogical and epistemological dictates of those academics in faculties and departments.

Also, the trend towards continuing professional education programmes will considerably restrict community wide access to university continuing education. This trend has been occurring in the United States since the early 1970s (see Freedman, 1983) where university continuing education has been focussed at two markets; professional organisations and organisational types (for example, by industry base, private or public, national or local etc.). With the desire to ensure more predictable markets such a trend
could be expected from Australian university continuing education units. The university of New South Wales has always had this orientation and "with few exceptions courses and schools offered are professionally oriented and clearly aimed at specific occupational groups" (Smith, 1984, p. 11). Smith also recognised that the University of New South Wales programme "is quite deliberately narrower in scope than at Sydney" (1984, p.11) which had a long tradition in the more individual oriented liberal adult education programmes.
CHAPTER FOUR

CONTINUING AND HIGHER EDUCATION:
A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

The review of the nature of provision of adult and continuing education in Australian universities in chapters two and three suggests there are fundamental differences between adult and continuing education and the more traditional work of universities - research and accredited teaching. These differences can be categorised in terms of; role and orientation, the nature of academic work, organisational focus and decision making, and, administration and resource provision and are set out in Table 1.

Table 1: Contrasting Perspectives on Continuing and Higher Education

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Role and Orientation</th>
<th>Higher Education</th>
<th>Continuing Education</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academic Work</td>
<td>Research and Credit teaching. Emphasis on credentialling process. Inner directed. Regarded as the primary function of the institution</td>
<td>Socially oriented non-credit programmes. Emphasis on problem solving with participants. Outer directed. Regarded as instrumental in assisting the institution achieve its primary function.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisational Focus and Decision-Making</td>
<td>Interest in discipline, or profession based knowledge. Controls the learning process. Evaluator of learner's performance.</td>
<td>Interest in the adult learning and problem solving process. Identifies issues with learners and organises the learning environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration and Resource Provision</td>
<td>Traditional hierarchial structure with discipline based departments the focus of collegial decision making structures.</td>
<td>Team oriented problem solving groups around programme centres poorly served by established decision making structures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration and Resource Provision</td>
<td>By bureaucratic procedures providing support to departments. Resources allocated on the basis of student ratios from central funding authority.</td>
<td>By necessity and expedience around bureaucratic procedures. Output oriented financial management with entrepreneurial opportunity. Resource allocation from institution with contribution from participants</td>
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In this chapter we will review the literature relevant to this framework. However, at the outset it is important to note that this literature does not fit easily into the four part categorisation outlined above. Particular studies contribute to varying degree across these categories and those covered in this chapter are regarded as providing conceptual frameworks which support the framework for analysis.

There have been few systematic studies on organisational aspects of continuing education in higher education. In her study of the University of California's adoption of the Wisconsin model of university extension, from 1911 to 1918, Rockhill (1975a, 1983c) concluded that this failed because of the clash between professorial values and the values underlying public service education. The University of California's initial interest in extension services was, in part, a response to limit the opportunities for other universities to become established in southern California. In 1975 Patton reported on a study of faculty participation in university extension at the University of California at Los Angeles. Patton concluded there were insufficient incentives for faculty participation in university extension. The career incentives of academics at the University related more to the primary work of research and the publication of its results. These findings were recently supported by Dunn, Gibson and Whorton (1985) who surveyed American university presidents and concluded that they adopted a pragmatic position regarding continuing education seeing it as a means to support traditional university functions, not as an end in itself.

The most widely cited study that focuses on the way educational institutions manage secondary organisational activities is Clark's (1956a, 1956b, 1958) study of adult secondary schools in California in the early 1950's. He is credited with the introduction of the concept of marginality (1958) to adult education. Clark believes that "among the most widespread problems that beset adult education administrators are certainly those arising from the pressures of marginality" (1958, p.1). In his 1958 essay summarising the concept of marginality Clark identified five characteristics of the marginal adult education activity. In summary these are;
1. Having an organisational structure or location that is "marginally" placed in relation to the main core of the institutions work;

2. Developing a wide range of essentially diffuse goals which show little correlation to the apparent goals of the host institutions;

3. Operating in a "supermarket" environment where the institution attempts to cater for the demands of varied markets;

4. Taking a service agency structure and orientation; and,

5. Ultimately having an identity that does not integrate well with that of the host organisation. (after Clark, 1958)

Clark makes the point that "any environment produces conditions that influence action" (1958, p.1). Thus adult education agencies are "nearly always dependent rather than independent, located within large organisations that are mainly concerned with other tasks" (Clark, 1958 p.1). It is this organisational structure, or location, that gave Clark his marginality concept;

"...adult educators are handicapped in becoming established because their aims and programs are not integrally related to the core tasks of the parent organisation. Within adult education, both programs and educators are, in a word, marginal." (1958, p.1)

Clark comments on adult education in universities drawing the same conclusions as arose from his study of adult secondary schools;

"...university adult programs are not directly related to what the university sees as its main aims. The extension of the university to part-time students, non-regular students, and peripherally-involved adults has produced administrative units - university extension divisions and evening colleges - which are typically marginal." (1958, p.2)

So in Clark's terms it is literally the marginal position of adult education in organisational structural terms that denotes its power in institutional terms. The other four characteristics of the marginal adult education activity identified by Clark distinguish adult education from the education of children, (or more specifically, people - regardless of their stage of biological development), who are essentially dependent in an orchestrated learning, or educational environment. The adult/child distinction as it relates to the educational setting is part of our framework for analysis and will be developed later in this chapter with particular reference to Knowles (1978a, 1980).
Clark notes that since the 1920's the curriculum of adult education in the United States had increased its activities "from a few definite programs of formal academic education, vocational training, and Americanisation" (1958, p.3) to the position where;

"Adult education embraces the learning achieved by adults during their mature years ... The major purposes of adult education are, first, to make adults in the community aware of individual and community needs, and, second, to give such education as will enable them to meet problems that exist now. Adult education stems directly from the people. The curriculum is based on present needs and problems.

Education for the solution of problems in a democratic society includes the total range of human learning, from the learning of the simple means of communication, reading and writing, to the actual solution of the most complicated problems of human relations." (Clark 1958, p.3)

Such a wide ranging view of adult education makes it difficult for administrators to determine the appropriate image of the unit. Therefore, what guides does an adult education unit give in determining purpose. To Clark this is significant;

"Goals shape decisions if they provide cues for what should be done. Without cues, administration is cut loose. If purpose is 'the learning achieved by adults during their mature years', what follows for administrative action? The administration may quickly arrive at a point where there is no educational reason to favour one subject over another. Why, indeed, institute history and not gardening?" (1958, p.4)

The second characteristic of the marginal adult education unit Clark identifies is the operating pressures of an enrolment economy. The requirement of their host institution that they be self-funding - if not totally, then to a significant amount, forces adult education units to adapt their offerings to those programs which receive the largest enrolments. This organisational requirement frustrates adult education units that seek to develop on their own terms. The potential for students to withdraw from fee for class (versus fee for course) programs gave added credence to the concept of the enrolment economy. Also, this characteristic inhibited innovation and experimentation with administrations supporting policies which favoured the "tried and true" (Clark, 1958, p.5).
The third characteristic of the marginal adult education unit is its tendency to adopt "the structure and orientation of a service agency" (Clark, 1958, p.6). Clark adds that "in the strictest sense a service enterprise is a type of organisation whose basic character is formed around and defined by an immediate responsiveness to clientele" (1958, p.6). Combined with the previous characteristic — the pressures of the enrolment economy — adult education administrators are "likely to adjust an adult program rapidly to the expressed interests of particular interest or pressure groups in the population" (Clark, 1958, p.7). Clark, in fact, draws a comparison of the adult education unit and its students with the business-customer relationship.

Clark suggests that this preoccupation with service promotes institutional drift and "if an organisation has open-end goals its development will be probably highly situation-directed and relatively little goal-directed" (1958, p.10). This corresponds to the concept of academic drift as proposed by Burgess (1982) who suggests that higher education drifts from market-oriented values as their basis for establishment towards Oxbridge, academic values as they mature. In terms of our framework for analysis higher education becomes situation directed by focussing on discipline oriented (or inner directed as we have called it) organisation structure (also see Burgess 1985).

The university is also in conflict over the service characteristic of adult education. As Clark points out, as the adult education unit "swings to the service extreme, it can hardly fail to draw disapproval from the regular university staff. It [adult education] must contend with a logic of respectability that denies its mode of program building, its unorganised array of courses, its non-professional polygot staff" (1958, p.10).

The final characteristic of marginality is an outcome of those discussed above, in particular the service orientation. Clark concludes that "whenever an organisation adapts to a service pattern, it confronts problems of organisational identity and integrity" (1958, p.11). It is the problem of having open ended aims that leaves the adult education unit without a sense of purpose, or a guiding self-definition. "An organisation
needs to be able to say what business it is in, if persons within and without are to identify with it" (Clark, 1958, p.12). The problems of not having a clear identity or sense of purpose manifests in particular administrative ways, for example the way personnel identify with their adult education unit.

To Clark the concept of integrity, "a consistency of action based on self determination" (1958, p.12) is closely related to the problems of identity. "If an organisation is to have integrity it will need rules of action related to a self-concept and an ability and willingness to stick by the organisational code formulated from these rules" (Clark, 1958, p.12). Thus strains upon integrity are common in adult education which flow over into administrative and policy making issues.

Clark studied adult education in California at a time when it was becoming increasingly marginal. Adult education in his study had developed a particular relationship with its host organisation, one which was substantially different to its original conception. After WWI, with a great influx of migrants to the US, and especially the west coast, governments felt a need to "educate" these people in certain aspects of their new society. Thus many states instituted "Americanisation" programs through the secondary school systems. These programs were compulsory in that, besides acquiring a basic proficiency in English, they also learnt about American government, history, etc. These programs were a pre-requisite to citizenship. To accommodate these "adult" students out of normal class hours the schools had to recruit staff, both teaching and administrative to meet this new, important - and thus "central" goal. As these "adult" students were educated and numbers diminished, the nature of the programs changed, becoming less significant in the wider political environment, and thus the organisational units set up to accommodate this need moved towards the margin, or periphery of organisations. A dynamic perspective is fundamental in understanding organisational marginality.

Clark's 1958 summary paper, to which the preceeding refers, covers all categories of our framework for analysis. In order to provide better
The most widely cited article (Social Science Citation Index search, 1983) by Clark is that which appeared in the American Sociological Review in 1956. Titled, "Organisational Adaptation and Precarious Values: A Case Study", Clark reflects on his study of adult education in the Los Angeles School System. In this article Clark provides the most thorough analysis of the marginal adult education unit. In it he asserts that "organisational analysis has shown that rationally contrived structures may transform their initial values in the process of adjusting to emergent problems ... The processes by which organisations shape values, however, are only dimly understood and difficult to discern" (Clark, 1956b, p.327). Clark's thesis is that by studying organisations that are tied to weakly established values the processes which shape values will be better understood. First, however, he identifies the characteristics of weakly established, or precarious values.

"Social values may be defined as conceptions of the desirable that are distinctive of some human group" (Clark, 1956b, p.328). The conceptions of the desirable are usually stated in the form of organisational goals, or - in contemporary jargon, mission statements. Clark's concern is with the relative security of values. The degree of security is determined by a whole host of conditions in the social and cultural context. Clark, however, identifies several general grounds for value insecurity that are found in a range of situations.

Firstly, Clark believes "social values tend to be precarious when they are undefined ... Values are undefined when they are not embodied in existing goals and standards of committed groups. They lack specific normative reference and no one knows what various symbols really mean" (1956b, p.328). Clark also argues that a value conception may "be 'lost' as its behavioural meaning becomes diffuse" (1956b, p.328). All of which suggests values may be precarious "when there is a strong need for definition of behavioural cues, for identification of what is proper in the name of given symbols" (1956b, p.328).
The second ground for value insecurity identified by Clark is that "social values tend to be precarious when the position of functionaries is not fully legitimised" (1956b, p.328). This, he believes, concerns the grounding of a value in a firm social base;

"A surrounding population may be so hostile to the value conceptions of a smaller group that the group must struggle even to gain a position within relevant areas from which to work." (1956b, p.328)

The point that Clark is making here is that in specific organisations "values may be precarious because of the weak position of custodians in the social structure" (1956b, p.328).

The third ground for value insecurity is that "social values tend to be precarious when they are unacceptable to a 'host' population" (Clark, 1956b, p.328). Clark regards this condition as the most apparent source of weakness being related to the second condition outlined above. Clark acknowledges that in pluralistic societies (and some organisations) groups and their values are tolerated, even if their values are not wholly accepted. Thus one can discriminate between tolerance of, and acceptability of, precarious values. Within organisations however, Clark notes a value may be precarious;

"...because it ranks low relative to immediate competitors in extensiveness of its social support. Other values may be more closely linked to the basic mission of the over-all organisation with resources and recognition granted accordingly." (1956b, p.329)

Clark's conclusion on the interaction of these three grounds for value insecurity is worth noting in full;

"Secure values, then, are those that are clearly defined in behaviour and strongly established in the minds of many. Such values literally take care of themselves. Precarious values, on the other hand, need deliberately intentioned agents, for they must be normatively defined, or socially established, or both. Within a society, values that are precarious are likely to call forth a 'movement', e.g. an old age pension movement or a co-operative movement, for adherents must crusade to get their conceptions of the desirable accepted. Within organisations, adherents of a precarious value system must similarly struggle for status and recognition. Secure values may be maintained without strenuous effort, but precarious values are problematic and require implementation." (1956b, p.329)
To Clark this poses the general problem of how groups attempt, with varying degrees of success, to implement their values when they are precarious. In an attempt to answer this problem Clark refers to his study of adult education in the Los Angeles school system. He identifies three aspects of this case study; the conditions of administrative action, the organisational adaptation that occurred, and, the ideological response which resulted.

The conditions of administrative action in Clark's case study had changed over the organisation's previous twenty five year history. Before the 1920's night school was the primary emphasis with programs an extension of the day school plus "americanisation-citizenship" classes. The curriculum and method of delivery was modelled after the day school in every way. Student choice was similarly restricted as the day school students whereby they were guided through specific alternative lines of study and student choice was exercised within predetermined channels. However, after the 1920's Clark noted that "there has been a steady shift away from these characteristics, with a trend towards diversification of effort and broadening of clientele" (1956b, p.330). Clark's interest is in the conditions, "important in defining the environment of decision for over a quarter of a century, that have propelled a change in values" (1956b, p.330). He identifies three conditions; the manifest ends of action, organisational marginality, and operating pressures.

Regarding the manifest ends of action Clark saw two sharply divergent aspects of adult education occurring in the 1920's. There was the commitment to liberal education and educational mission as an important underpinning to the American democratic ideal. This, however, was untenable to the growing pragmatism in educational administration which "increasingly stressed a tenet related to the means of administration" (Clark, 1956b, p.330). This has resulted in adult education administrators working with increasingly diffuse purposes - "generality of purpose is apparent since it [adult education] now embraces all 'adult learning'" (Clark, 1956b, p.330). Clark concludes that open-ended purpose in the early 1950's had become the basic characteristic of California adult schools;
The more indefinite purpose becomes, however, the less can ends intervene in administrative choice. For goals to influence decision-making, they must provide cues for what should be done. When the administrator is confronted with the recurrent question of what courses to add to his program, his diffuse aims leave him without criteria. He works within a milieu where there is no educational reason for the administrator to favour one subject over another. Thus stated objectives are likely to become simply a rationale for a program broadly conceived and flexible in administration. The manifest ends of action function to widen administrative discretion.” (1956b, p.331)

Organisational marginality is as discussed earlier with Clark's 1958 paper. To recap here, Clark identifies the basic purposes of public schools as focussing on the training of the young and "various levels of education have become legitimised by relevance to this concern" (1956b, p.331). Adult schools are peripheral to the public school educational ladder of elementary (primary), high schools and junior colleges. Having students that are not required to attend on a compulsory basis and who typically have other occupations, adult schools have a low degree of legitimacy and thus occupy a marginal position in the organisation. Thus Clark regards organisational marginality as significant in his conception of the general problem of implementing values when a function is precarious. He states;

"The marginality of the program may thus be seen as the basic source of insecurity for administrative units. Without a firmly legitimised status, the adult schools have little control over the conditions of their existence. Their position as 'low man on the totem pole' is dangerous not only in times of depression, but whenever school finances are under pressure, for they stand to be "cut the first and the most severely when financial support runs low."* To win a permanently secure niche, administrative strategy needs to be oriented toward ultimately achieving a 'peer' status (the ideal), or a fixed partial parity of status that is clearly defined and respected by all. Short-run tactics, however, must be oriented to the problem of justifying a peripheral activity. The schools need 'results'. Thus marginality within the larger, host educational systems heightens the effect of the following conditions.

The conditions Clark refers to are the operating pressures facing the daily administration of adult schools. The most important pressures arise from the enrolment economy where adult school revenue is largely set by student attendance. The marginal position of the adult schools in Clark's study made them vulnerable in terms of various forms of governmental support (e.g. local taxes) available to the education system. Clark concluded that:

"Since marginality is the common condition, the appropriations process sets incentives for action in the direction of building attendance. There are no dependable sources of financial support independent of student turnout. Therefore everything is staked on the search for clientele." (1956b, p.332)

The conditions of administrative action suggested by Clark led the adult school in his study to adapt, or induce the following tendencies. Firstly, he believes the enrolment economy "renders the adult school highly sensitive to public likes and dislikes" (1956b, p.333). This results in a 'cafeteria' program of adult educational activities. In addition Clark believes marginality "deepens the need for administrators to assume an 'other directed' orientation" (1956b, p.333).

Another effect of these conditions is to adjust programs rapidly to meet expressed interests of the population. Clark sees an adaptation along two dimensions;

"...first, a continual drift toward the pursuits that intrigue a large number of people in the unorganised public - vocational interests on the one hand and hobbies on the other; second, the provision of specific classes for municipal agencies, private firms, and voluntary associations - classes related to in-service training in the case of the public agency or business firm, and membership activities for the service club." (1956b, p.333)

A third effect of these conditions is that adult education in Clark's study is characterised "as dominantly a service enterprise, for the key feature of this adaptation is the attempt of the schools to service consumers in an immediate way" (1956b, p.333). Clark concludes that several features of these adult schools "may be adduced as evidence of a normatively unrestricted activity" (1956b, p.333). The first is the use of the 'sign-up list' and the 'group petition' as program builders; secondly, the nature of the teaching force is a reflection of the requirements of a
service enterprise; and thirdly, an administrative doctrine emerges wherein officials see themselves in a close service relationship with clients.

The sign-up list is the most objective way of identifying demand and assessing probability of course survival. Clark regards this as "an extreme version of what is known elsewhere in education as the elective system" (1956b, p.334).

The teaching force needs to be highly flexible therefore "full-time work and guaranteed employment become administratively undesirable" (Clark, 1956b, p.333). In Clark's study over 90 per cent of the adult school teachers were part-time and while "tenure requirements are 'on the books' ... they must give way to the mandates of clientele pressure" (1956b, p.334).

The third feature of administrators seeing themselves as close to actual clienteles has other dilemmas in terms of their relationship with administrators in the school system generally. Specifically, being "located within school systems, adult education officials find their practices scrutinised by others in the light of school norms that are professional or 'inner-directed' in kind, i.e. that educators should plan, initiate, and control changes on the basis of research and assessment of experts" (Clark, 1956b, p.334). Clark concluded on this point by noting that;

"When this professional orientation is brought to bear upon the adult activity, the administrators do not fare well. They are judged to be in a position of expediency, with much of their work seen as having little relationship to 'education'." (1956b, p.334)

Clark's conclusions on the organisation's adaptive response to the management of precarious adult education values is worth stating in full;

"Thus in many ways a service enterprise, uncontrolled by school norms, sorely tries the educational respectability of the agencies involved. But the service tendency cannot be turned off easily since it is impelled by basic pressures of an organisational system. Classes of a questionable nature continually crop up when field administrators work with ad hoc demand, under pressure for an enrolment payoff. The crux of the matter is that the adult schools labor under incompatible needs. Their central dilemma is
that the short-run need for clientele, set by the enrolment economy, strains against the long-run need for educational respectability as the basis for legitimacy. The adult schools are torn between being a service facility and a school enterprise." (1956b, pp.334-335)

Organisational activities, such as Clark's adult schools, which are based on precarious values, find their work vigorously questioned by the host organisation. In defending their work the ideological response of people involved in adult education is to develop rationales that reflect an attempt to legitimise a service function. Clark identifies two rationales; firstly, "adult education is a valuable public relations instrument for the school system" (1956b, p.335) and; secondly, "adult education is geared to the peoples' demands" (1956b, p.335).

The first rationale "commends a service-oriented program to other educators as a basic public relations task, one that commits outsiders to the entire system through involvement in adult education" (Clark, 1956b, p.335). The second rationale is regarded by Clark as the "most important legitimising principle, since it is widely used outside as well as within school ranks, and helps to fill the vacuum of intent left by open-ended purpose" (1956b, p.335). Thus the service station analogy often cited in the adult education literature. Clark believes the crucial point in this ideological response is that;

"...this two-fold ideology of service shifts the ground upon which the legitimacy of authority and practice is judged. Acceptance is sought on the basis of service rather than on intrinsic educational worth and professional competence." (1956b, p.335)

Clark suggests that there is a point at which a different type of school - the adult school in this case - will emerge. Different in that its orientation is strongly towards service versus traditional educational norms. In general, Clark concludes, where educational intent is diffuse "purpose may be replaced by response" (1956b, p.336). It is this process by which organisations may shape values. The adaptive response by adult schools in the Los Angeles school system as studied by Clark suggests;

"Weak normative definition and insecure operational base line rendered adult education a relatively precarious value in most organisational contexts". (1956b, p.336)
Clark believes that where purpose is reduced to service, as was the case in the Los Angeles adult schools, it will be pronounced when "(a) organisations attached to a precarious value, (b) continue to find themselves without a dependable clientele, or more broadly, with no specific outside social focus to sustain them" (1956b, p.336).

Clearly, Clark's seminal work on the marginality of adult education in the California secondary school system is central to our work in building a framework for analysing the relationship between continuing and higher education in Australian universities. Clark's work shows how the outer directed role and orientation of adult education clashes with the inner directed focus of traditional education and thus has wide ranging implications for the nature of teaching and administration including decision making and resource or funding questions.

Rockhill (1975) refers to Clark's marginality model in her study of the University of California's venture into public service education over seventy five years ago. She is primarily concerned with the purpose of public service education (university extension) and argues that this type of education is incorrectly seen as different to the traditional work of higher education - research and accredited teaching. Rockhill reviewed the University of California experiment with university extension from 1911 to 1918. Fearful of the development of another university in southern California (Rockhill, 1975, p.110) the University of California adopted the University of Wisconsin approach to extension in an attempt to stave off such developments. The Wisconsin approach was captured in the phrase, "to teach anybody - anything - anywhere" (Rockhill, 1975, p.109).

Rockhill states that "however low a priority, adult education has nonetheless been accepted as an area of university involvement since the turn of the century" (1975, p.107). Rockhill identifies three functions of the American university; teaching, research, and service. Her research questioned "whether the continued existence of these specialised divisions [i.e. university extension] demonstrates the actuality of the university's service mission - or are extension divisions artifacts of unexamined past values?" (Rockhill, 1975, p.107).
Rockhill also questions the concept of service as a legitimising principle in university activities. She believes that it "is a spirit that pervades the ideology of higher and adult education: it is a spirit whose substance has been largely undefined" (1975, p.108). Rockhill adds that;

"Every program imaginable has been legitimised in the name of service: from the traditional preparation of professional elites, to the mass democratisation of opportunity through open enrolments, to the more radical position of social reform. Service is a spirit in search of substance; its meaning is innocuous; its mandate unclear. Is service a discrete university function? Is it simply a by-product of teaching and research? Or is it a bit of administrative rhetoric - a public relations slogan? Rather than continuing to assume that service is a viable legitimising principle its operational meaning should be examined and some hard questions posed about the real functions of adult education within institutional settings." (1975, p.108)

Rockhill regards service as part of the marginality syndrome of adult education. In reflecting on Clark's classic study referred to above, Rockhill argues that his analysis is limited as he studied the adult education program "as though it were an autonomous organisation rather than part of the Los Angeles public school system" (1975, p. 108) She goes on to add that;

"A look at the whole might have led to the conclusion that adult education was anything but marginal; that in fact it had a vital role to play in system maintenance. In the study of adult education programs apart from their sponsoring institutions one risks perpetuating either a marginality complex derived from the covert acceptance of the sponsoring institution as the ideal standard, or a myth of uniqueness shored up by a ubiquitous faith in service, which is comforting but ignores the operating pressures which interfere with actualisation." (Rockhill 1975, p.108)

Rockhill also addresses the important conceptual distinction between the core and the periphery. She suggests that recent approaches to the study of adult education (including Moses, 1972, discussed in the concluding chapter) do not focus on the complex interrelationships between the two spheres of activity. Rockhill's view is that adult education is inherently political "precisely because of its unique position, with one eye toward the public and the other toward the sponsoring institution" (1975, p.108). Thus it is "caught between the rise of external realities and internal controls" (Rockhill, 1975, p.108).
Rockhill's thesis is "that university extension's sphere of activity is legitimised and defined by the university which sponsors it; to speak of a legitimising principle as though there could be one independent of the sponsoring institution is a naive fallacy" (1975, pp.108-109). Her conclusion neatly summarises the clash in professorial values and the service function in extension at the University of California from 1912 to 1918. She states that:

"At issue is whether adult educators will serve their sponsoring institution or the adult population's learning needs. If the latter is the ideal, and, as this paper suggests, the former is a deeply entrenched reality, the implications are grave. It may be that rather than clinging to the university as a base of operation, adult educators must break away from its hegemony and develop alternative possibly autonomous, operating bases" (Rockhill, 1975, p. 122).

In the development of our framework for analysis Rockhill's view of the concept of service is worthy of greater attention. She questions whether service, via activities such as university extension, are a legitimising activity in their own right or a spirit which pervades the whole of higher education, which included adult education. For simplicity sake these two views can be represented as in Figures 1 and 2.

**Figure 1: Research & Teaching Serving the Community**

Research + Teaching = Service = Higher Education

**Figure 2: Higher Education is Research, Teaching & Service**

Research + Teaching + Service = Higher Education.

Figure 1 assumes continuing education is a component of the teaching function of higher education, however, this is not normally the case. As our review in chapter three shows not all Australian universities have continuing education. Teaching here refers to the accredited courses of the institution, for example, diplomas and degrees.

University service, in Figure 2 includes continuing education. Teaching is delivered in traditional ways - via lectures and tutorials, and the
administration of the university is geared around these and other institutional characteristics such as terms or semesters. Continuing education activities have similar, predictable temporal characteristics in that they are usually offered within certain time frames such as half yearly or annual programmes. This predictability belies significant differences between the demand characteristics of continuing education and accredited teaching programmes. Accredited university teaching operates within a minimum three year period which reflects institutional planning geared to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission triennial planning cycle. Continuing education is not geared to such long time frames. Organisational commitment to continuing education is usually the only strategic, long term aspect of this function. This commitment can even be wound down in a very short period of time. Winding down accredited functions usually require at least as many years as the course programme takes to complete as students are formally enrolled.

The short cycle, non credit nature of continuing education characterised by Clark (1958) with his concept of the enrolment economy limits comprehensive long term curriculum planning. The adult and continuing educator does not always know - nor assume, what the interests, and thus learning needs will be of adult students. The commitment is to the process of learning, not to the substance. It is because of this characteristic of adult and continuing education - commitment to the process of learning and the development of facilitation skills, that we believe a more accurate representation of the relationship between research, accredited teaching and continuing education is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 Higher Education Services the Community via Research, Accredited Teaching and Continuing Education

Research
+
Accredited Teaching = Service = Higher Education
+
Continuing Education
This suggests that Rockhill's conception of service—a spirit which pervades the whole of higher education is more accurate, and when continuing education is seen as a function—rather than simply as an organisational unit, it is an important part of modern higher education.

The work of Clark and Rockhill is central to the development of our framework for understanding the differences between continuing and higher education. They not only focus on the fundamental different roles and orientation but also on the administrative and resource allocation questions which stem from these differences.

The instrumental nature of continuing education is also evident in the review of recent changes to continuing education in Australian universities in chapter three. In 1974 Abbott tested the hypothesis that a universities concern about prestige may lead to the pursuit of adaptive goals. Abbott used the data from Gross and Grambsch (1968) study of goals in American universities. A basic premise underlying Abbott's thesis was that "in most theories of complex organisation the interplay between internal structure and external social environment is left implicit" (Abbott, 1974, p.401). Abbott cites economics as a field of study which, by its nature lays a heavy emphasis on the market as an external condition affecting the operation of the firm. While there have been organisational studies that recognise the external environment none "include the effects of organisational prestige, a factor external to a specific organisation by virtue of its very nature as the image a significant public holds as to the value of an organisation" (Abbott, 1974, p.402).

Abbott supports Clark who asserts that "images of organisations have been little explored outside of consumer research ...... but images play an increasingly important role in the relation of organisations with their environment" (Clark, 1962, p.197). Abbott identifies four points supporting the link between prestige and goals. They are;

1. Organisations depend on the external environment for purposes of maintenance and goal-attainment.
2. Organisations try to control dependence upon the external environment through such mechanisms as prestige, cooptation, bargaining, and coalition-formation. "acquiring prestige" as Thompson (1967, p.33) puts it, "is the 'cheapest' way of acquiring power",

3. Concern with prestige, however, may result in two strategies involving different classes of goals. The first strategy is to put high priority on attaining ultimate or official goals - activities that are an accommodation to the external environment in order to receive in exchange sufficient rewards to operate as an ongoing social unit,

4. Under what conditions, however, can an organisation pursue adaptive goals, specifically intended as manipulative, and yet have a favourable image from significant publics? It is proposed here that the nature of the response of the significant public depends on the nature of that public's expectations of the organisation" (Abbott, 1974, p.402).

Abbott was specifically concerned with the research question "is an emphasis on instrumental educational goals linked with the prestige position of a university?" (1974, p.403). Abbott defines a goal as being adaptive, or instrumental "if it manifestly serves to accommodate the university to its social environment" (1974, p. 405).

In using the Gross and Grambsch study Abbott identified six goals which met this definition. They were;

"Keeping costs down, satisfying area needs, effectively educating all high school students, meeting basic entry requirements, assisting citizens through extension programs and part-time adult education programs, and preparing students for useful careers." (1974, p.405)

The generalisation that emerged from Abbott's study was that "the greater the prestige of a university, the less the focus on adaptive goals" (1974, p.407).

A recent survey of American university presidents revealed that the traditional functions of research and instruction were still the most highly regarded while service was linked to the basis of university support. (Dunn, Gibson and Whorton, 1985).
University presidents were asked to indicate the relative priority they placed on programs of research, instruction and service. The mean for academic instructional programs was approximately one third that of academic infrastructure (research support systems) while the mean for service programs was one half that of academic instructional programs.

The survey revealed an interesting relationship between the threefold mission of universities; teaching, research and service;

"It is clear that many universities take seriously the responsibilities of meeting all parts of this mission statement. But those beyond the campus should recognise (as those on the campus already do, for the most part) that not all components of the mission statement are equal. Service priorities rank lowest and are likely to continue to do so." (Dunn, Gibson and Whorton, 1985, p.105).

Dunn, Gibson and Whorton recognise the pragmatic approach of university presidents in ensuring that their institutions have a solid foundation of research and teaching from which service can be carried out. However, in the light of high competition for scarce resources and fiscal dependency they regard such a priority system as doing little for service programs that might address the needs of the larger society.

While continuing education is in fact part of higher education, in organisational terms, an important assumption of this thesis is that as educational activities they are driven by a different set of values. This is largely a measure of the different clients - for want of a better term, to which each is directed. Continuing education's clients are typically adults, in the true sense of the word - biologically mature, independent people (in political, social and financial terms) who have a well developed level of intellectual development, often as a result of formal educational training, who are seeking new ideas, information and understanding to counter the problems and tasks facing them in their daily lives. Conversely, higher education has both diverse and narrow clients groups.

The client group for higher education can be as diverse as the whole community, as discovery improves the quality of life for all. Regardless of whether it is pure or applied research the assumption is that breakthroughs will be for the benefit of all mankind in the long term. The
other, more specific client group of higher education are those individuals who present themselves to undertake a course of study leading towards accreditation.

A major difference in orientation is that learning in accredited courses is driven by a body of knowledge determined by the field or discipline of study, for example, physics, chemistry, biology, economics, and so on, with a standard of performance determined by the academic (see McHenry, 1977). Pedagogically, participants undertaking accredited courses are dependent on the body of knowledge and their understanding of it as assessed by the academic. While these participants are typically independent adults in legal, social and political terms they become dependent when they submit themselves to undertake a formal university course of study.

The nature of academic work in continuing and higher education as it relates to the teaching learning process, is characterised by significant differences. In the introductory chapter reference was made to Crombie's (1983) argument that liberal adult education as it was originally conceived in Britain operated more from a contextualist epistemological tradition whereas contemporary academia in that country had moved closer towards an empirical epistemological position thus placing greater strain on organisational relationships between continuing and higher education. The framework he identified is set out in Table 2. It is worth reflecting on why Crombie presents such a framework for his analysis. He draws an analogy with psychoanalysis;

"Psychoanalysis has helped us to appreciate the way in which underlying beliefs, fears and commitments - the psychic axioms at the core of the personality - will issue in patterned behaviour and interactions despite a lack of awareness, or even denial of their existence. It is generally agreed that gaining insight into these deep-seated assumptions is most helpful to healthy growth and development. Organisational analysis reveals a similar structure. An organisation gains coherence and integrity from the embodiment of values and ideals which constitute the core of the organisational culture. These 'axial principles' are invariably played out in the organisation's structure and functioning - its behaviour and interactions with its environment - even where consciousness of them is slight, or they have entirely ossified. (Crombie, 1983, p. 58)."
Crombie asserts that "epistemology represents the 'genetic core' of educational enterprises, those deep seated basic assumptions which enter, usually unquestioned, into all the surface structures and daily routines of the enterprise" (1983, p. 63). These assumptions are relevant to our framework for analysing the different perspectives of traditional university work - research and teaching, and those of continuing education.

Table 2: Epistemological Assumptions of Adult Teaching and Learning (Crombie, 1983 p.73)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Great Tradition</th>
<th>Emergent Principles</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Axial Principle</td>
<td>Empiricist</td>
<td>Contextualist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Derived Characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- institutional ideal</td>
<td>truth seeking</td>
<td>nurturance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- basic role</td>
<td>service provision</td>
<td>resource, catalyst</td>
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<tr>
<td>- focus</td>
<td>individualistic</td>
<td>communalistic,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>compensatory</td>
<td>developmental</td>
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<tr>
<td>- central tasks</td>
<td>teaching - organising</td>
<td>creating &amp; managing learning settings</td>
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Crombie believes that for adult educators to be effective they need to work from the contextualist epistemology.

It is worth developing the adult/child distinction as it relates to academic work in the teaching learning process, and the work of Knowles (1978a, 1980) - the father of andragogy (the art and science of helping adults learn), presents a contemporary educational philosophy that has its roots in Crombie's contextualist epistemology. Knowles states that andragogy;

"...is premised on at least four crucial assumptions about the characteristics of adult learners that are different from the assumptions about child learners on which traditional pedagogy is premised. These assumptions are that, as a person matures,

1) his self-concept moves from one of being a dependent personality toward one of being a self-directing human being;
2) he accumulates a growing reservoir of experience that becomes an increasing resource for learning;

3) his readiness to learn becomes oriented increasingly to the developmental tasks of his social roles; and

4) his time perspective changes from one of postponed application of knowledge to immediacy of application, and accordingly his orientation toward learning shifts from one of subject-centeredness to one of problem-centeredness." (1980, p.39)

The Knowles model refers to assumptions and processes of teacher-directed learning and self-directed learning. The assumptions are set out in Table 3 and the related process elements in Table 4. Andragogy relates more closely to the work of the academic involved in adult and continuing education while pedagogy relates to the work of the academic involved in teaching accredited courses. He defines pedagogy and andragogy as follows;

"'pedagogy', - a term derived from the Greek stem paid (meaning 'child') and agogus (meaning 'leading') - So 'pedagogy' means, specifically, the art and science of teaching children."

'andragogy', which is based on the Greek word aner (with the stem andr), meaning 'man'. Andragogy is, therefore, the art and science of helping adults learn." (Knowles, 1970, pp. 37-38).
Table 3: A Comparison of the Assumptions of Pedagogy and Andragogy
(Knowles, 1980, pp. 43-44)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regarding:</th>
<th>Pedagogy</th>
<th>Andragogy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concept of the learner</td>
<td>The role of the learner is, by definition, a dependent one. The teacher is expected by society to take full responsibility for determining what is to be learned, when it is to be learned, how it is to be learned, and if it has been learned.</td>
<td>It is a normal aspect of the process of maturation for a person to move from dependency toward increasing self-directedness, but at different rates for different people and in different dimensions of life. Teachers have a responsibility to encourage and nurture this movement. Adults have a deep psychological need to be generally self-directing, although they may be dependent in particular temporary situations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Role of learners' experience</td>
<td>The experience learners bring to a learning situation is of little worth. It may be used as a starting point, but the experience from which learners will gain the most is that of the teacher, the textbook writer, the audiovisual aid producer, and other experts. Accordingly, the primary techniques in education are transmittal techniques - lecture, assigned reading, AV presentations.</td>
<td>As people grow and develop they accumulate an increasing reservoir of experience that becomes an increasingly rich resource for learning - for themselves and for others. Furthermore, people attach more meaning to learnings they gain from experience than those they acquire passively. Accordingly, the primary techniques in education are experiential techniques - laboratory experiments, discussion, problem-solving cases, simulation exercises, field experience, and the like.</td>
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Table 3 (cont.)

Readiness to learn

People are ready to learn whatever society (especially the school) says they ought to learn, provided the pressures on them (like fear of failure) are great enough. Most people of the same age are ready to learn the same things. Therefore, learning should be organized into a fairly standardized curriculum, with a uniform step-by-step progression for all learners.

Orientation to learning

Learners see education as a process of acquiring subject-matter content, most of which they understand will be useful only at a later time in life. Accordingly, the curriculum should be organized into subject-matter units (e.g. courses) which follow the logic of the subject (e.g. from ancient to modern history, from simple to complex mathematics or science). People are subject-centered in their orientation to learning.

People become ready to learn something when they experience a need to learn it in order to cope more satisfyingly with real-life tasks or problems. The educator has a responsibility to create conditions and provide tools and procedures for helping learners discover their "needs to know". And learning programs should be organized around life-application categories and sequenced according to the learners' readiness to learn.

Learners see education as a process of developing increased competence to achieve their full potential in life. They want to be able to apply whatever knowledge and skill they gain today to living more effectively tomorrow. Accordingly, learning experiences should be organized around competency-development categories. People are performance-centred in their orientation to learning.
Table 4: A Comparison of Process Elements of Pedagogy and Andragogy (Knowles, 1978a, p.110)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROCESS ELEMENTS</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PEDAGOGY</strong></td>
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<td>Climate</td>
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<td>Planning</td>
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<td>Diagnosis</td>
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<td>of Needs</td>
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<td>Formulation</td>
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<td>of objectives</td>
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<td>Design</td>
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</table>

The process elements are the educational outcomes of an approach to the teaching, learning process based on either pedagogic or andragogical assumptions. Knowles acknowledges that, in reality, there would be few educational enterprises that would be characteristic of these 'pure' representations (personal communication, October, 1979).
In his earlier classic, *The Modern Practice of Adult Education* (1970), Knowles suggested that adult education — of the andragogical kind, was most effective in adult, or democratic environments. This view is worthy of greater consideration here where our interest is with the organisational context and its influence on the teaching, learning process. For Knowles a democratic philosophy that corresponds with true adult education;

"is characterised by a concern for the development of persons, a deep conviction as to the worth of every individual, and faith that people will make the right decisions for themselves if given the necessary information and support. It gives precedence to the growth of people over the accomplishment of things when these two values are in conflict. It emphasises the release of human potential over the control of human behaviour. In a truly democratic organisation there is a spirit of mutual trust, an openness of communications, a general attitude of helpfulness and cooperation, and a willingness to accept responsibility, in contrast to paternalism, regimentation, restriction of information, suspicion, and enforced dependency on authority" (Knowles, 1970, p. 60).

Knowles acknowledges the early work of Eduard Lindeman when he cites;

"one of the chief distinctions between conventional and adult education is to be found in the learning process itself. None but the humble become good teachers of adults. In an adult class the student's experiences count for as much as the teacher's knowledge. Both are exchangeable at par. Indeed, in some of the best adult classes it is sometimes difficult to discover who is learning most, the teacher or the students. This two-way learning is also reflected in the management of adult-education enterprises. Shared learning is duplicated by shared authority. In conventional education the pupils adapt themselves to the curriculum offered, but in adult education the pupils aid in formulating the curricula.... Under democratic conditions authority is of the group. This is not an easy lesson to learn, but until it is learned democracy cannot succeed" (Gessner, 1956, p. 166).

Knowles builds on this philosophy when he suggests that an organisation's most effective instrument of influence is its own behaviour. He therefore proposes that for an organisation to be democratic it must be prepared to be innovative and provide an environment conducive to (adult) learning. Knowles contrasts the characteristics of innovative and static organisations in Table 5.
Table 5: Some Characteristics of Static Vs. Innovative Organizations  
(Knowles, 1970, p. 62)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>DIMENSIONS</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Static Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Structure</strong></td>
<td>Rigid - much energy given to maintaining permanent departments, committees; reverence for tradition, constitution &amp; by-laws.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hierarchical - adherence to chain of command.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Roles defined narrowly</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Property-bound.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Atmosphere</strong></td>
<td>Task-centered, impersonal</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cold, formal, reserved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suspicious.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Management and Philosophy</strong></td>
<td>Function of management is to control personnel through coercive power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Philosophy and Attitudes</strong></td>
<td>Cautious - low risk-taking. Attitude toward errors: to be avoided. Emphasis on personnel selection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-sufficiency - closed system regarding sharing resources. Emphasis on conserving resources. Low tolerance for ambiguity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decision-making and Policy-making</strong></td>
<td>High participation at top, low at bottom. Clear distinction between policy-making and policy-execution. Decision-making by legal mechanisms. Decisions treated as final</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The contradictions inherent in adopting adult teaching-learning methods in conservative and traditional organisations has been documented in recent years both by this researcher (Martin, 1980) and others (Dailey, 1984). Dailey asserts that "most work environments in the United States today conform to a hierarchical, bureaucratic pattern that served American managers well during the industrial age. But in a post-industrial society, bureaucracy cannot cope with the rapid changes that are facts of life" (1984, p. 64). University organisation can also be seen in such light. An assumption underpinning this research is that most Australian universities are operating on values of organisation that were appropriate in the first half of this century and which are poorly oriented towards the values of contemporary society. On the other hand, continuing education has its orientation "towards more responsive, people-oriented ways of working" (Dailey, 1984). This is also a fundamental part of the rationale for Emery's assertion that continuing education is more central to the present needs of society than traditional university work (personal communication, July, 1985).

Burgess (1976, 1982) suggests there are two traditions of higher education, not only in England, but all over the world. The first he characterises as the autonomous tradition, which is "aloof, academic, conservative and exclusive" (1982, p.70). The second he characterises as the service tradition which is "responsive, vocational, innovating and open" (1982, p.71). Burgess believes there is a propensity for higher education institutions, over time, to move from the second to the first tradition. This phenomenon he refers to as 'academic drift' (1976, 1982) and is of use in developing our framework for understanding the nature of academic work in continuing versus higher education.

The last two categorisations in the framework—organisational focus and decision-making, and, administration and resource provision—are largely an outcome of the first two categories; the different roles and orientation of continuing and higher education and the nature of academic work. In order to develop the last two categories reference needs to be made to the more general organisation theory literature.
Hickson, et al (1971) recognise that an organisation is "a system of interrelated behaviours of people who are performing a task that has been differentiated into several distinct subsystems" (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967, p.3). As discussed earlier continuing education is seen as one of several functions of a university; research, teaching and public service (which includes continuing education). In most universities there are also distinct structural characteristics representing the continuing education function varying between the discrete organisational unit performing a range of activities, including professional academic work in continuing education activities; and the integrated, typically, service only function in university faculties and departments. Hickson et al (1971) hypothesise that "organisations, being systems of interdependent sub-units, have a power distribution with its sources in the division of labour". They believe that power is the dependent variable in intra-organisational decision making, which is the antithesis of typical research designs that treat power as the independent variable. In essence they argue that power is the result of a sub-unit's ability to cope with uncertainty for other sub-units; the extent to which a sub-unit's coping activities can be substituted, and; because organisational sub-units are, by definition, linked, the degree of centrality of a sub-unit to the overall rationale of the organisation (after Hickson et al, 1971).

By definition a marginal organisational activity, regardless of whether it be represented by a discrete organisational unit or be integrated into the fabric of the organisation, would not fare well in terms of the three Hickson et al criteria. Our review of continuing education in those Australian universities that have changed the operations of this activity in their organisation confirms the validity of this theoretical framework. For example, none have been central to the primary function of the institution, the changes that have occurred all assume the work of the discrete organisational unit is easily substituted by faculties and departments and none of the continuing educators are seen to have made
significant contributions in assisting their institution in coping with uncertainty in its wider environment.

Hickson and his colleagues from the Organisational Analysis Research Unit at the University of Bradford in the UK followed up on their 1971 study outlined above with empirical work on seven Canadian organisations. The findings confirmed the validity of their model and they concluded that "in importance with respect to power, the variables are probably weighted or ordered with coping first, then immediacy, then nonsubstitutability, and last persuasiveness" (Hinnings et al, 1974 p.7). Hinnings et al conclude the paper by postulating two tentative outlines of models of power attainment in organisations. They are set out in Figure 4. The concept of power attainment is directly relevant to this study in that the converse of these models suggest the plight of continuing education in those Australian Universities reviewed in chapter three. Indirectly - to this study at least, they are relevant to the continuing educators in higher education as they suggest ways of enhancing their organisational power.
In their analysis of power and politics in organisations Bacharach and Lawler (1981) identify a number of writers who maintain that organisations are political systems, however, they assert that "few of them have systematically laid out a paradigm for the political analysis of intraorganisational structure and processes" (1981, p.ix). In their work Bacharach and Lawler examine "intracoalition and intercoalition processes and address two basic issues "(a) the formation or mobilisation of interest groups into coalitions and (b) the nature or pattern of conflict between different coalitions" (1981, p.x). They distinguish between two dimensions of power, authority and influence. It is the way these two dimensions of power facilitate these two basic issues that is of interest to Bacharach and Lawler;
Authority and influence are the two dimensions of content (of power), with authority being stable, formal and normatively sanctioned and influence being fluid, informal, and dynamic. This distinction between authority and influence has implications for organisational change, the flow of power, and the relation of bases and sources of power in organisations" (Bacharach and Lawler, 1981, p.xi).

For Bacharach and Lawler organisations are "politically negotiated orders" (1981, p.1);

"Adopting this view, we can observe organisational actors in their daily transactions perpetually bargaining, repeatedly forming and reforming coalitions, and constantly availing themselves of influence tactics. Few organisational actors are the totally passive, apolitical entities that are presented by industrial psychologists and organisational sociologists. Survival in an organisation is a political act. Corporations, universities, and voluntary associations are arenas for daily political action" (Bacharach and Lawler, 1981, p.1).

In their attempt to build a political theory of organisations Bacharach and Lawler assert that researchers need to bring action to the forefront of organisational analysis. "An action perspective is concerned with discovering how people act in and on a given social setting" (Bacharach and Lawler, 1981, p.7). While they believe that an action perspective may give rise to a phenomenological perspective on organisations it will help overcome the epistemological dilemma they presently see confronting organisation theory and research.

Finally, Bacharach and Lawler assert that three groups are critical when adopting a political analysis of organisations;

"work groups, interest groups, and coalitions. Work groups may be based on departmental differences, differences in departmental work activity, or differences prescribed by the organizational hierarchy. Interest groups may be defined as groups of actors who are aware of the commonality of their goals and the commonality of their fate beyond simply their interdependence with regard to the conduct of work. A coalition is defined as a grouping of interest groups who are committed to achieving a common goal. They are based on the joint action of two or more interest groups against other interest groups. In this context, a political analysis must be concerned primarily with the nature of power across groupings in the organization and the specification of tactics and countertactics that groups employ" (Bacharach and Lawler, 1981, pp.8-9).
Bacharach and Lawler's thesis is pertinent to this study as they emphasise "work groups, interest groups, and coalitions as units of analysis .... to accentuate the dynamic aspects of organisations" (1981, p.9). Decisions about continuing education in higher education are typically about work groups and relations with interest groups and the coalitions that form. As can be seen in our review of continuing education in Australian universities in Chapter three decisions about the nature and form of continuing education rarely, if ever, revolves around the preferences of any one individual.

It is also important to note here the assumptions about organisations held by Bacharach and Lawler, assumptions which underlie their theoretical perspective. These assumptions are;

"1. Organizations are best conceptualized as political bargaining systems.

2. Specific decision-making spheres are the primary arenas for bargaining and conflict in organizations.

3. Within the decision spheres, most organizational politics involve the efforts of actors to mobilize interest groups and coalitions for the sake of influencing the decisions of those in authority.

4. On the basis of collective objectives, interest groups merge into coalitions and select tactics to achieve their common objectives.

5. The formation of coalitions and coalition alliances will depend on the nature of the organizational structure and on the distribution and control of organizational resources" (Bacharach and Lawler, 1981, p.213).

The concept of marginality in the study of organisations implies that there must, by definition, be some activities, goals, values which are central to organisational life. In the context of this study - higher education, it is our contention that the function of research is regarded as the most central of all activities and has developed a strong set of values and organisational processes to support it. The recent history of continuing education units in Australian higher education suggests they are in conflict with the well established central activity of research. But what are the factors which allow a function to persist over time, albeit in a
marginal position, and how does the university system of government influence the marginal unit? Baldrige's (1971a) study of New York University provide answers to these questions.

Baldrige's (1971a, 1971b) research into academic governance based on New York University has findings significant to this study. His fundamental argument is that "sociologists and administrative theorists have not yet constructed appropriate intellectual models for analysing academic administration and that the lack of an adequate framework is hindering research" (Baldrige, 1971b, p. 2). The framework Baldrige presents is a more general model encompassing much of the work of Clark and Rockhill discussed earlier.

Baldrige asserts that two models have commonly been used to describe university administration; bureaucratic and collegial. However, he argues that while both models can be used to describe behaviour in universities that another overriding political model, briefly described as "the interaction of various academic interest groups as they try to shape and mold the destiny of the university" (Baldrige, 1971b, p. 1), is also in place.

Baldrige identifies the following features as being prominent bureaucratic elements of the university:

"1. The university is a complex organisation chartered by the state, and in this respect it is like most other bureaucracies. This seemingly innocent fact has major consequences, because the university is thus a 'corporate person' with public responsibilities.

2. The university has a formal hierarchy, with offices and a set of bylaws that specify the relations between those offices. Professors, instructors, and research assistants are bureaucratic officers in the same sense as deans, chancellors, and presidents.

3. There are formal channels of communication that must be respected, as many a student or young professor finds out to his dismay.

4. There are definite bureaucratic authority relations, with some officials exercising authority over others. In a university the authority relations are often blurred, ambiguous, and shifting, but no one would deny that they exist."
5. There are formal policies and rules that govern much of the institution's work. The library regulations, budgetary guidelines, and procedures of the university senate are all part of the system of regulations and procedures that hold the university together and control its work.

6. The bureaucratic elements are most vividly apparent to students in the 'people-processing' aspects of record-keeping, registration, graduation requirements, and a thousand other routine, day-to-day activities that are designed to help the modern university handle its masses of students. Of course, students often cry that this results in impersonality and callousness, but it makes the operation of the university possible as it struggles with an overwhelming influx of students. Certainly the university's structure and many of its daily operations suggest that a bureaucratic image is helpful for studying it. (Baldridge, 1971b, pp. 3-4)

On bureaucratic characteristics of the university Baldridge cites a number of features of these types of organisations that routinely handle decision making in a bureaucratic fashion. He even asserts that "the vast majority of the daily decisions in a university are routinely handled in a very bureaucratic fashion" (1971b, p.4).

Conversely, Baldridge regards the bureaucratic paradigm to fall "short of explaining university governance, especially if one is primarily concerned with the decision-making process" (1971b, p.4). The bureaucratic model tells us much about authority in organisations but is an inadequate framework for analysis when it attempts to analyse the non-formal types of power and influence such as expertise and appeals to emotion and sentiment. Baldridge adds that the bureaucratic paradigm "explains much about the formal structure but very little about the processes that give dynamism to the structure" (1971b, p.4). Also, the bureaucratic paradigm deals with organisations at any one point in time rather than explaining how organisations change over time. Finally, the concept of bureaucracy does not assist in understanding the vital process of policy formulation, it only assists in explaining how policies may be executed in the most efficient way after they have been formed.

Baldridge claims that many writers have rejected the bureaucratic paradigm for understanding university decision making because of the above
limitations and instead "have declared that the university is a
'collegium', or a 'community of scholars'" (1971b, p.5). This is regarded
by Baldridge as a rather ambiguous concept with three threads of argument
in the literature; "a description of a collegial university's management ...
... a discussion of the faculty's 'professional' authority ... a utopian
prescription of how the educational process should operate" (1971b, pp.5-6).

In identifying several weaknesses of the collegial model as an accurate
model to understand university decision making Baldridge firstly cites the
"confusion between the descriptive and normative enterprises in the
collegial literature" (1971b, p.7). This is the confusion between what is
and what ought to be the framework for decision making. Importantly
Baldridge believes the collegial model fails to deal adequately with the
problem of conflict;

"The collegial proponents are correct in declaring that simple
bureaucratic rule making is not the essence of decision-making,
but in making this point they take the equally indefensible
position that major decisions are reached primarily by consensus.
Neither extreme is correct, for decisions are rarely made by
bureaucratic trial or simple consensus." (1971b, pp. 7-8)

Baldridge concludes that while the bureaucratic and collegial models offer
helpful suggestions about decision making in the university both miss many
important features of the process. He believes that many of the
significant actions affecting the life of a university can best be
understood as political acts;

"They emerge from the complex, fragmented social structure of the
university, drawing on the divergent concerns and life styles of
hundreds of miniature subcultures. These groups articulate their
interests in many different ways, bring pressure to bear on the
decision-making process from any number of angles and using power
and force whenever it is available and necessary. Once
articulated, power and influence go through a complex process
until policies are shaped, reshaped, and forged from the competing
claims of multiple groups. All this is a dynamic process, a
process clearly indicating that the university is best understood
as a 'politicised' institution." (1971b, pp.8-9)

Baldridge identifies six basic assumptions that underpin the political
model;
1. Conflict is natural, and is to be expected in a dynamic organization. Conflict is not abnormal, nor is it necessarily a symptom of a breakdown in the university community.

2. The university is fragmented into many power blocs and interest groups, and it is natural that they will try to influence policy so that their values and goals are given primary consideration.

3. In the university, as in other organizations, small groups of political elites govern most of the major decisions. However, this does not mean that one elite group governs everything, but the decisions are divided up with different elite groups controlling different decisions.

4. In spite of this control by elites, there is a democratic tendency in the university, just as there is in the larger society. Thus, junior faculty and students are increasingly demanding and receiving a voice in the decision councils of the university. Much of the current unrest in the university is symptomatic of this healthy current of democratization and should be promoted rather than suppressed.

5. Formal authority, as prescribed by the bureaucratic system, is severely limited by the political pressure and bargaining that groups can exert against authorities. Decisions are not simply bureaucratic orders, but are instead negotiated compromises among competing groups. Officials are not free simply to order decisions; instead they have to jockey between interest groups, hoping to build viable compromises among powerful blocs.

6. External interest groups have a great deal of influence over the university, and internal groups do not have the power to make policies in vacuum." (Baldridge, 1971b, p.10)

Baldridge asserts that "there is no available framework in organisation theory to analyse these activities, [therefore] it is necessary to build a primitive sort of 'political model', a framework for study that may provoke some insights about the nature of the political processes in organisations" (1971b, p.10). Baldridge's model centres around the policy forming process as he regards this as the central focus for decision making in large organisations such as New York University, the basis for his study. The model is presented in Figure 5.
The social structure of the modern university is characterised by a plethora of different social groups. Such differences typically manifest themselves in political interests, as they relate to the university. "Many of the current conflicts on the campus have their roots in the complexity of the academic social structure, and in the complex goals and values held by these divergent groups" (Baldridge, 1971b, p.12).

Consequently such divergent groups articulate their interests in many different ways. They range from the more traditional processes working through established arenas as well as through the less traditional and more ad hoc avenues available. Bailey's (1977) theatrical analogy is relevant to this concept of interest articulation. Bailey identifies three arenas for decision making, they are; on the stage, back stage and beneath the stage. In the university the stage would represent the university council, back stage could be professorial and academic boards while beneath the stage could be select committees or discussions with colleagues at informal gatherings.
The legislative stage is the point at which the university makes its decision in the light of the interest articulated by the various social groups. This includes all of the committees, boards and councils which are involved in the policy making process.

The formulation of policy is that stage where the final legislative action is taken. Where the policy now stated, "is the official climax to the conflict and represents an authoritative, binding decision to commit the organisation to one set of possible alternative actions, one set of goals and values" (Baldridge, 1971b, p.13).

The institutional bureaucrats are now responsible to ensure that the policy decided upon is routinely executed. Baldridge acknowledges that this somewhat oversimplifies the outcome as two things are likely to happen. "First, the major losers in the conflict may take up their arms again for a new round of interest articulation. Second, the execution of policy inevitably causes a feedback cycle, with the policy generating new tensions, new vested interests, and a new cycle of political conflict" (1971b, p.13).

Baldridge acknowledges that his model of university decision making focusses on several factors. The perspective taken addresses the "problems of goal setting and the conflict over values rather than to problems of maximum efficiency in carrying out goals" (1971b, p.13). It is also a perspective that analyses change and organisational adaptation in the light of both internal and external organisational pressures. Baldridge believes the analysis of conflict and its resolution is a critical component of the political perspective. The focus on interest groups and the pressure they place on decision makers is an important part of the analysis. Finally, the way these factors come together at the legislative and decision making phase is crucial to our understanding of university governance. In Table 6 Baldridge compares the political approach to the more traditional bureaucratic and collegial frameworks.
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<th>Political</th>
<th>Bureaucratic</th>
<th>Collegial</th>
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<td><strong>Basic Image</strong></td>
<td>Political System</td>
<td>Hierarchical Bureaucracy</td>
<td>Professional Community</td>
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<td><strong>Change Processes</strong></td>
<td>Primary Concern</td>
<td>Minor Concern</td>
<td>Minor Concern</td>
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<td><strong>Conflict</strong></td>
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<td>Viewed as abnormal;</td>
<td>Viewed as abnormal;</td>
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<td>Key to analysis of</td>
<td>to be controlled by</td>
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<td></td>
<td>policy influence</td>
<td>bureaucratic sanctions</td>
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<td>scholars&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>View of Social Structure</strong></td>
<td>Pluralistic;</td>
<td>Unitary; integrated</td>
<td>Unitary;</td>
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<td>fractured by</td>
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<td>subcultures and</td>
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<td>divergent interest groups</td>
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<td>of Scholars&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>Basic Theoretical Foundations</strong></td>
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<td>Weberian</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Interest Group Theory</td>
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<td>Community Power Theory</td>
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<td><strong>View of Decision-Making</strong></td>
<td>Negotiation, bargaining,</td>
<td>Rationalistic, formal</td>
<td>Shared, collegial</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and political influence</td>
<td>bureaucratic procedures</td>
<td>decisions</td>
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<td></td>
<td>processes</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Goal Setting and Policy:</strong></td>
<td>Emphasis on Formulation</td>
<td>Emphasis on Execution</td>
<td>Unclear: Probably more</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Formulation or Execution?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emphasis on Formulation</td>
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The political paradigm and its relevance to the environment the organisation finds itself in has been extended by the work of Butler et al (1977). They have developed a classification scheme relating to the nature of organisation decision making and organisational environment. The focus of their hypothesis is the degree of influence of internal versus external factors on decision making. Their hypothesis is that "externally tilted and internally tilted balances of power result in 'paralytic' and 'politicking' organisations respectively" (Butler et al, 1977, p.45). Butler et al regard the implications of an organisation being paralytic or politicking as being important in terms of the range of policy alternatives available to it and internal power struggles that result;

"The paralytic organisation is considered to have little choice in its policies, that is, few strategic alternatives. Implicitly or explicitly, the policy decisions are made outside the organisation in the external sector of coalition, by suppliers, by financial sources, by competitors, by trades unions, by governments, and so on .......... In the politicking organisation there are more policy alternatives available and decisions are made much more within the internal coalition. With fewer externally imposed constraints on alternatives, there is more for internal interest units to contend about." (Butler et al, 1977, p.48)

To test their model Butler and his colleagues collected data from two organisations over a period of three years. The cases were from the British public sector each having the same number of full-time members. One was an electricity board which illustrated high externality of power while the other was a university illustrating comparatively greater internality of power.

The university has far greater discretion than the electricity board over the strategic choices it can make. Being relatively free of strong external control; "the only large external organisation directly influencing [the university] is the University Grants Commission, and it has a comparatively light touch" (Butler et al, 1977, p.54). Butler et al also make the point earlier that the University Grants Commission is "a body composed mainly of nominated academics" (1977, p.52). The Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission at the senior levels is also typically staffed by ex academics.
Butler et al make the point that the university has a wide range of strategic alternatives open to it; "it can develop courses to appeal to the many, and frequently transient, wishes of students; it can set out to cater to the fads and foibles of educational change; it can develop undergraduate, graduate or post experience courses; it can develop a research potential or set out to gain contract research money from industry; it can utilise residence halls for summer courses and for conferences; it can deliberately aim to attract more overseas students" (1977, p.54). It is largely because the university has such a wide range of strategic choices that it is a political organisation;

"There are limitations on resources and each department has its competing claims. It is just because the system and its rules are set in such a way to make it reasonable for a department to put in a claim for resources that decision making processes involve a high degree of jostling for power. This is the politicking organization with comparatively greater power residing in its internal interest units" (Butler et al, 1977, p.54)."

Butler and his colleagues conclude that the only thing university departments share is the interdependence on a common pool of resources. Butler et al also refer to Thompson's (1967) wonder as to how organisations like universities can get anything done except infighting. Thompson also hypothesised the necessity of an 'inner circle' for organisational decision making (1967).

Butler et al's work is timely for this study, which has reviewed the management of continuing education by several Australian universities (chapter three). All have been characterised by decreased funding thus being made more dependent on the external environment - becoming externally oriented in Butler's terms. Yet the assumptions inherent in the decision processes in universities are that they are internally driven. Butler et al do not assist us with understanding organisational behaviour in a dynamic situation when the discretionary prerogative moves from within to without.

Clark's concept of marginality as outlined at the beginning of this chapter is a relative concept and, as such, the degree of difference between the core and the periphery is difficult to quantify. Therefore, attempts at measurement will not be part of our framework for analysis. The information presented in the case study in chapters five and six will be analysed in terms of the contrasting perspectives of continuing and higher education presented in this chapter.
CHAPTER FIVE

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

5.1 "Higher Education in the Bush Capital"

The history of the Australian National University is very much a reflection of the history of Canberra and the nation at large. Milton Lewis's unpublished MA thesis, *A National Research University: The Origins and Early Years of the ANU*, presents the history of the ANU up to 1960 when the Canberra University College (established under an Ordinance of the Australian Capital Territory in 1929) was amalgamated with the National University (established under an Act of the Commonwealth Parliament in 1946). Up until 1960, two separate institutions existed in the national capital. During the 1950s the Menzies Government looked to both the National Research University and the Canberra University College to amalgamate into one university. In fact, in establishing the National University in 1946, it made provision for the incorporation of the Canberra University College. The existence of two separate higher education institutions in the small bush capital was to become an embarrassment to the Government of the day as it was allocating limited resources for education throughout the rest of Australia.

The establishment of Canberra University College owed much to the efforts of Sir Robert Garran and other Canberra residents. Sir Robert was the long-standing Commonwealth Solicitor-General who had occupied the position since Federation. He had, in fact, played a major role in drafting the Constitution and working on establishing the machinery of government that was to be Canberra's primary activity. The University Association of Canberra, set up in 1928 and led by Sir Robert Garran as its Chairman, sought two objectives; the first, university facilities for local students; and second, a national research university. The Association was most active throughout the 1930s after its early success in the establishment of the Canberra University College in 1929, thus meeting its
first objective. As Lewis (1972) points out the "Association had to wait on the changed conditions of the war-time period before its longer ambition was realised" (p. 16).

When Melbourne University reduced its support to the Canberra University College in 1934 the College Council (of which Sir Robert Garran was also President) "proposed to the Government the immediate establishment of a university which, while providing for local undergraduates, would place particular emphasis on research in fields like economics, public administration, international relations, oriental studies and Australian history" (Lewis, 1972 p. 174). The College Council claimed these topics were of importance to those working in the national capital. The Depression years prevented any real moves in this direction.

One outcome of the Second World War was the establishment of a national university. It is worth quoting Lewis at length on the events which arose out of the war in relation to the university.

"The Canberra University movement of the pre-war period had campaigned for a national university in the belief that it would develop out of the Canberra University College, or at least the College would form part of the new institution. On the recommendation of the Walker Committee of 1943-44, the Curtin Government took up the idea of a national research university and the Chifley Government carried through its implementation. But the establishment of the new university was largely in the hands of figures unconnected with the Canberra University movement. These new men, occupied with the problems of building a national institution unique to the Australian university experience, were adverse to the incorporation of a college, which as a small, locally oriented, undergraduate institution, might hinder attainment of the high purpose they had set themselves. Yet the possibility of incorporation was written into the Act founding the National University. More importantly, the College in the 1940s underwent unprecedented academic development which forced the question of independence or incorporation with steadily mounting pressure" (Lewis, 1972, pp. 321-322).

These 'new men' Lewis referred to, had no connection with the Association of the University of Canberra or the Canberra University College. They were academic advisors to the National University Council and were resident in England; namely, Sir Howard Florey and Profs Oliphant, Hancock and Firth.
The early history of the Canberra University College and the National University significantly influenced the structure of the Australian National University and the subsequent decision-making relating to the purpose of the University. The tension between the British "Oxbridge" tradition versus the more "market-oriented" approach of the younger western universities (Mitchell 1982, Stace 1984) was most evident. Ironically, as Lewis points out, the National University Act in 1946 came about as;

"men with backgrounds in the social science, often economics, who like Dr H.C. Coombs, occupied positions of influence in the Commonwealth administration, looked to research in the social sciences to inform and support policies of reconstruction being implemented. For such planners the National University was to be a centre for this type of research" (Lewis 1972 p. 17).

However, Lewis adds;

"when the academics became involved in the planning of the university, there was a strong movement away from the notion of policy-oriented research" (Lewis 1972, p. 17.)

This propensity of academia to drift from the 'market-oriented'; or policy oriented reasons for establishment to the 'Oxbridge' or 'ivory tower' tradition has been well documented (Burgess 1982).

5.2 "Adult Education and the ANU"

The establishment of adult education programs in the Canberra University College and continuing education in the Australian National University are both characterised by inordinant time delays from the point at which each idea was conceived and when the programs were actually delivered.

As late as 1962 Herbert Burton was to write that "to the best of my knowledge the Australian National University in the past has not given a great deal of consideration to a policy on adult education" (Burton 1962, 19.2.1.0 pt1). It was in 1955 that the Registrar asked the Canberra University College Staff Association "to consider how the academic staff might assist in making the College better known both within the ACT and
in the surrounding areas. It was thought that if the College was to succeed in attracting full-time students it was desirable that the College should become better and more widely known" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 1). A Staff Association committee was set up to consider the matter and report back. When it did, its opinion was that the Staff Association "was not the proper body to deal with this question and suggested that the Board of Studies of the College should set up a standing committee for the purpose" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 1).

In its report the Staff Association committee suggested a number of methods to give wider publicity to the College and its activities and amongst them was an increased provision of extension lectures and the development of adult education classes. The Board of Studies acted on the Staff Association committee's recommendations and approached the Department of Tutorial Classes in the University of Sydney in the hope of using their services in the ACT and the region. The plan for adult education was in fact shelved because of a lack of funds in the 1956/57 financial year. Funds were to come available in 1958 and the post of Resident Staff Tutor in Adult Education was advertised in April 1958.

Early in 1959 Mr B.H. Crews, previously district organiser of adult education in charge of the Maryborough district in Queensland, took up the post of Resident Staff Tutor in Adult Education at the Canberra University College. In conjunction with the University of Sydney, who met all costs other than the salaries of adult education staff, the Canberra University College organised a series of courses both in Canberra and the Southern Tablelands region. In Canberra the courses blossomed, trebling in the first three years of operation whereas the reverse was found in the number of programs conducted outside of Canberra. The reason put forward by Burton for the decline in activities in the region was a lack of manpower in the University College.

It was clear to Burton that the reason why the Canberra University College undertook extension work was to improve its public relations. While this was to extend into a recruiting program for full-time students of the College, Burton was to acknowledge that "our success in attracting
full-time students at the present time derives very little from the organisation of extension classes outside Canberra" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 1). He was, however, of the opinion that "our extension work has been extremely helpful in our public relations and this is one thing that the University could develop with advantage" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 1). Burton's conclusions about adult education in the Canberra University College were that "among the accepted functions of a University is the duty not only to enlarge knowledge and pursue scholarships but also to assist in the defusion of knowledge and the cultivation of an informed and critical public opinion" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 1).

In 1975 in a letter to the Pro Vice-Chancellor, Professor G. Sawer, Professor Cec Gibb, Deputy Chairman of the School of General Studies reflected on the rationale for the establishment of the Department of Adult Education in the Canberra University College. Gibb stated that;

"Activity in the organisation of Adult Education began in 1958 when Canberra University College appointed a Senior Tutor on the University of Sydney model. The objectives then were to take over from Sydney classes and discussion groups in the Southern Tablelands area, to provide organisation of the continuing refresher courses then being regularly offered by C.U.C. departments to large audiences of public servants and to increase community awareness in the southern areas of the growth of C.U.C." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 10).

It is also worth noting here that Professor Gibb no longer saw the need for adult education activities after the Commonwealth government introduced a scholarship scheme for tertiary studies (personal communication, 30 September, 1985). Gibb felt there was no longer any need to 'advertise' the University via its adult education activities in the region.

In October 1962, the Joint Heads of Schools luncheon considered a report on adult education in the Australian National University prepared by the Adult Education staff. This report recommended a program of development up to 1966 which amounted to a doubling of expenditure and therefore an increase in staff and other resources. The Luncheon felt the report was unsatisfactory because:
"(1) lack of consideration was given to associated activities "external lectures, use of television, radio; this indicated the need for a thorough rethinking of the function of adult education .......

(2) the assumption that the University should be responsible for adult education for a long period of time ..... 

(3) the large increase in administrative staff ..... 

(4) the lack of information on courses of a national flavour." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1).

The Luncheon agreed that the Universities Commission should be informed that the University is examining the question of its role in extra-mural activities, including adult education, with a view to establishing services which will bring the University into closer touch with the community. The Joint Heads of School recommended an increase in expenditure to accommodate adult education needs, and asked that the Vice-Chancellor explore the possibility of establishing a committee consisting of two persons from the Institute and two from the School under the chairmanship of Sir George Currie to report to him on the place of extra-mural activities (including adult education) in the University. (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1)

In December 1962 the Vice-Chancellor documented notes of a meeting on the University's general policy on adult education discussed with Directors and Deans within the Institute and School on 4 October 1962. The points raised at that meeting included;

"(1) new proposals submitted by the Adult Education Committee suggest doubling the expense by the end of 1966 triennium, but only 500 pounds of the 11,000 pounds increase is for actual tutoring. The rest appears to be for administrative expenses, largely because of our responsibility in the South Tablelands;

(2) Have we any commitment for areas outside the ACT - if so, for how long.... It was suggested that we should get out of formal responsibilities outside the ACT;

(3) It was unwise to build up a large administrative team as this makes for a permanent commitment;

(4) Work outside the ACT might be covered by TV. There was little evidence of real demand for courses outside the ACT;"
(5) Inside the ACT we should develop a wider range of courses;

(6) The whole concept of adult education is out-of-date. We are no longer doing the old W.E.A. job. Few people turn up when courses are better done on television. The whole situation should be reviewed;

(7) The National University should consider its role. Professor Crawford suggested that, for example, that they had planned to repeat the successful series of New Guinea lectures given in Canberra in other capitals;

(8) The present staff of the department might not be suitable for the enlarged ideas which were included in the notes above. It might be possible to have a new man, not necessarily with a large staff, to explore such matters, including television;

(9) Adult education always raised very great problems. It has created severe difficulties in Melbourne and Sydney. The task of the ad hoc committee which has been proposed will not be easy." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1)

5.3 "The Currie Report"

The Vice-Chancellor, Professor L.G.H. Huxley, subsequently wrote to Sir George Currie, recently retired Vice-Chancellor of the University of New Zealand, who had also been Chairman of the Commission on Education in New Zealand from 1960 to 1962, inviting him to conduct an inquiry into adult education in the University. Prior to 1952 Sir George Currie had been Vice-Chancellor of the University of Western Australia from 1940 to 1952 and Professor of Agriculture at that same university from 1939 to 1940. The terms of reference for Sir George Currie and his committee were "to inquire into, and to report upon, developments of extra-mural activities by the University." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1)

In September 1963 Sir George Currie presented his report to the Vice-Chancellor. The committee's approach to the inquiry was to obtain the opinions of a wide range of members of the University. Interviews were arranged with university scholars on an agreed list. In addition, Deans of Faculties, Heads of Research Schools, and other appropriate persons were invited to give the committee the benefit of any ideas they may wish to put forward. (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1) The report was to comment that "little, if anything, came from the approach by letter but the personal interviews
were fruitful, and in many cases, stimulating and helpful". (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1) The 18 individuals sought out by the committee included two people external to the University; the Chairman and Assistant General Manager of the Australian Broadcasting Commission and Mr J.L.J. Wilson, Director of Tutorial Classes at the University of Sydney. Mr B.H. Crew, Resident Staff Tutor, Department of Adult Education at the ANU was also interviewed by the committee. The remaining fifteen individuals were all at professorial level within the University.

The Committee pointed out that it was not only concerned with extra-mural activities in the narrow sense in the provision of classes for adults, "it is concerned with the part which the University can play in the field of general education by using methods which are outside its normal functions of teaching and research. These methods might include: adult education; tutorial classes; extension lectures; public lectures; summer schools; seminars. They also include more uncommon means such as the use of radio and television in conjunction with those methods." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1).

The report gives a succinct history of adult education to 1963 in the Canberra University College and prior to incorporation with the National University in 1960. As stated earlier in this chapter two reasons were identified for the Canberra University College becoming involved in adult education; the first to offer useful service to the local and Southern Tableland region, and secondly, to make the College itself better known in the region so as to attract students. It points out that this latter objective "has become unnecessary since the system of Commonwealth Scholarships and other factors has led to a very marked increase in the number of students seeking admission to universities all over Australia." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1) It goes on to add that the School of General Studies has shared to the full this increase in student numbers and therefore need no longer actively work to attract students since the calibre of its staff, the scope of its work and the large increase in students all over the Commonwealth has brought enough students to fill all available places in the School." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1).
In putting the case for extra-mural activities in a university the Committee identified two reasons: "on the one hand there is activity in which the initiative is with the university. On the other there is activity in which the university responds to demands to the community". (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1) They point out that "it seems reasonable to suggest that universities do the former because they are aware of the disadvantages which might follow if they do not keep in touch with the community and because they also recognise and accept that they can play a great part in the general enlightenment of the general community." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1)

There was, apparently, a wide divergence in opinion on the place of extra-mural activities in the university;

"There were those who saw no need for the university to engage the staff in an organised way to those who believe that the initiative is with the university and that it should respond accordingly. Those members who favoured the involvement of the university in adult education activities were of the opinion that the university would gain considerably in terms of its public relations if it were to be involved in such activities. On the other hand there were those who believed the university should devote all its efforts to its intra-mural work: the discovery and publication of knowledge and its transmission to those who enrol intra-murally. They also believe that the best use of university resources was to be found in the traditional activities of the university in research and teaching. They see the university as a community of scholars and students with a duty to scholarship and teaching but not to the outside adult community" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1).

In summarising the views of staff of the university relating to adult education and extra-mural work, the committee believed, however;

"that the university has a duty to undertake some extra-mural work and not to confine itself to 'ivory tower' activities. The argument runs as follows: a university depends wholly on the public purse for its continuing existence, and it is the simple law of self-preservation that a university should take all legitimate means to make known the breadth and depth of its scholarship as widely as possible, so that the community may know and judge its true worth. Something more than the publication of papers and the teaching of students, it is thought, needs to be done to put a university's true aims before the public. This does not mean that it should seek to avoid criticism, but that it should make a special effort to see that critics are informed about its proper work and functions ..... In the end it is the community which is called upon to support universities financially and to preserve their freedom." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1)
In putting forward its views, the committee recognised that social and economic conditions in the 1960s and in particular in Canberra were very different from the conditions which gave rise to the establishment of adult tutorial classes in many universities in the early part of the century. They saw that the remedial nature of extra-mural activities was in fact declining and that many people who participated in adult education and extra-mural activities were in fact highly educated and were capable of undertaking university level courses. This fact was also pointed out by Mr J.L.J. Wilson, Director of Tutorial Classes at the University of Sydney. It was his experience at that time that a good proportion of people who participated in the University of Sydney adult education programs already held a degree and were seeking to widen their cultural horizons or to understand more fully the world about them so as to find more profitable ways of using their leisure. (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt)

The committee put forward the views relating to the need for the university to foster a positive public image about its work and that there was a need for scholars within the university to make available the fruits of their work to the wider community.

The committee identified three principles relating to adult and extra-mural activities in the university;

"(a) The university, as a public institution, needs to foster good public relations in order that it may be allowed the maximum freedom to pursue its true end and in order through public esteem it may get maximum financial provision for its proper work.

(b) The university, as a seat of scholarship and a source of learning has some duty to spread its scholarship beyond its walls to those who may seek for, and benefit by, such scholarship, provided always that such extra-mural activities does not interfere with the proper conduct of research and teaching within its walls.

(c) From (b) above it follows that the university as an educational institution needs to grant those of its scholars who have a sense of mission and special competence in a particular field, a reasonable opportunity to spread their scholarship more widely." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt)

From these three principles the committee concluded that;
"(a) The present adult education activities should be somewhat reduced in scope but not necessarily in scale. However, the university should

(i) retain its present interest in Canberra itself since it is obvious from enrolments that a special need is being met there,

(ii) to withdraw from further activities in the Southern Tableland region and ask the Department of Tutorial Classes at the University of Sydney to assume responsibility there.

(b) A further study should be made of adult education activities in Canberra itself within the next two years to determine whether such activities should be modified in relation to the changing needs of the times.

(c) At the request of Mr J.L.J. Wilson of the Department of Tutorial Classes of the University of Sydney, the tenuous interest which at present is expressed in the Cooma district should be continued for the time being until such time as the University of Sydney can assume responsibility there."

(ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt1)

Two other concluding points covering the university's activities, such as seminars, exchanges of scholars, visits and lectures from scholars from other universities were encouraged as well as the suggestion that to reach a national audience the university should be prepared to use mass media communication such as radio and television. Apparently at this time in the development of mass media in Australia, radio and television preoccupied the committee to a great extent.

The recommendations by the committee were favourable in that they recommended a Department of extra-mural services be established to be responsible for such extra-mural activities as the university may determine. Secondly, that such responsibilities would include existing adult education classes in Canberra, the development of extra-mural activities by way of seminars, summer schools, public lectures, extension lectures, conferences; and, the development of the use of radio and television as media for extra-mural activities. Thirdly, that the Department of Extra-mural Services be established with appropriate financial resources. Fourthly, that a careful study be made over the next two years regarding the place of adult education in Canberra and; finally,
that by agreement with the University of Sydney, the University should seek immediately to withdraw from its adult education activities in the Southern region except for Cooma from which it would withdraw in two years time. This final point being a recognition that the adult and extra-mural activities previously conducted on behalf of the University of Sydney in the Southern Tablelands region did little in terms of the original aims of extra-mural activities.

The Currie committee report was a watershed in the history of adult and continuing education in the Australian National University. It was the first time that such an inquiry had been carried out under the direction of a pre-eminent academic and university administrator in Sir George Currie. The Currie committee focussed its inquiry at the professorial level in the university, the managerial level at which decisions about adult and continuing education were made. While it can be argued that a committee such as this with its terms of reference to report upon the development of extra-mural activities by the university should have done considerably more by way of analysing the external environment, the views of those within the University were, of course, paramount. Without the support of Deans and Heads of Department, the concept of adult and continuing education could not have been implemented. This fact was to become evident as the Currie committee report was circulated and considered by the institution when the academic year commenced in 1964.

5.4 "The Raybould Report"

In July 1964 Professor D. Corbett, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Adult Education wrote to the Vice-Chancellor asking to be relieved of his position as chairman of the committee. He felt that the "Standing Committee is making a mistake in recommending that the Board should not proceed with the policy proposed by the Currie committee [and their proposal] that new advice be sought" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt2). This new advice was to be sought from Professor S.G. Raybould, Professor of Adult Education and Head of the Department of Adult Education in the University of Leeds. Raybould, in fact, in his report was to "fully agree with the recommendations of the Currie committee that the post carry the status and
salary of a full professor" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt2). The question to be asked here is who were the people that constituted the standing committee of the Board of the School of General Studies and what was the basis of their influence. Apparently, in the case of adult and continuing education in the Australian National University, their influence was considerable.

In November 1964 Professor Raybould's report was sent to the university and subsequently circulated throughout. Raybould was to recommend essentially the same approach as the Currie committee however, he was more explicit on the importance of university standards being maintained in continuing education (the title of this activity he most favoured). Raybould also provided better reasons as to why a university should be involved in adult and continuing education. From his position as an academic and Head of Department of Adult Education this was to be expected. It is worth quoting at length some of the important points Raybould made in his report.

Professor Raybould was able to discriminate between the role of the traditional adult education activities sponsored by the Workers Education Association and Boards of Adult Education with the new area of continuing education. He suggested that;

"the important change that has occurred in the last half-century is not that the expansion of secondary and higher education has diminished the number of men and women possessing good natural ability, but lacking educational opportunity, but that it has greatly increased the number who both desire further education and have the equipment to enable them to pursue it at a level justifying, and indeed requiring university participation" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt2).

To Raybould "adult education for the educated" reflected the changing nature of adult education in a modern community. Raybould suggested;

"three main reasons the Australian National University would seem to be particularly well-placed to provide 'adult education for the educated'; that the population of Canberra contains an exceptionally high proportion of graduates and other persons with a good level of education; that as the federal capital it is the headquarters of a considerable number of official and non-governmental agencies and services for whose staffs schemes of 'continuing education' should be arranged; and that of all the Australian universities the National University is most heavily
committed to the promotion of advanced study and research, and therefore most likely to staff a program of advanced 'continuing education' in the studies with which it deals" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt2).

No doubt Raybould had been confronted with the question of academic standards in his own institution when he was to say that "the condition is that the standards of work aimed at and achieved correspond to standards required inside the university".

Raybould was also an astute observer of the place of adult and continuing education in higher education when considering the question of public image or public relations. He was to suggest that:

"one danger is that it [adult and continuing education for public relations] may result in work being sponsored that is not intrinsically justified as university work; and in another, is that if this happens it may rebound to the discredit rather than the credit of the university amongst the more discerning members of the local community" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt2).

5.5 "The University Reviews Adult Education"

On 4 March 1965 at the monthly luncheon of Directors and Deans the place of adult and continuing education in the University was discussed. On 19 March the Principal, Herbert Burton was to write to the Board of the School of General Studies expressing a dissenting opinion from that of the majority of the Deans and Directors at their meeting on 4 March. To Burton it appeared that "some of my colleagues are opposed to the development of extra-mural studies because they think it would require the allocation of scarce resources that are needed elsewhere" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt2). Burton went on to point out that the basis for funding adult and continuing education was not as his colleagues believed. He said that:

"the University asked the Currie committee to make recommendations as to policies in this field. The Board of the School of General Studies asked Professor Raybould to advise it on the matter. The Board's advisory committee tended its advice [in favour] on the subject. All three agreed that the work should be continued, and that a director should be appointed with a status and salary of a professor. I think the Board should accept this advice" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt2).
The place of extra-mural activities was discussed at length at the School of General Studies Board meeting of 25 March 1965. The Board had before it all the reports prepared on this subject over the preceding four years. These reports provided overwhelming support for the establishment of extra-mural, or adult and continuing education in the university. From the minutes of the meeting, discussion centred on the resourcing of extra-mural studies and its place in the structure of the university;

"In the opinion of the Directors and Deans the resources now being allocated to adult education are unlikely to be sufficient for its development to an adequate standard and they would not be prepared to recommend, at this stage of the university's development, that resources should continue to be allocated to adult education. They believe that it is more important to develop the intra-mural work of the university and to make it possible in time for the departments themselves on their own initiative to engage in appropriate work in the field of continuing education" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt2).

The minutes suggest that there was dissatisfaction with the present organisation of adult education activities in the University. However, there were some members who felt there were not sufficient grounds for discontinuing these activities and that the University had a responsibility to offer adult and continuing education. The recommendations of the Martin report on tertiary education regarding the establishment of new tertiary colleges was also put forward as a reason why the University should not act rashly in discontinuing its part in adult education activities until the full place of these tertiary colleges was known.

A motion on adult education in the university was then put. It was as follows;

"That the Board is of the opinion that the university should not engage in adult education through the Department of Adult Education beyond 1966" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt2).

The motion was lost 10 for, 11 against, with one abstention.

The Board then decided that adult education activities should continue in 1966 but the courses offered should demand from students the same intellectual ability as do intra-mural courses. The Board further agreed that Mr Wilson should be invited to continue in charge until the end of 1966.
So in 1965 the life of extra-mural or continuing education in the Australian National University was allowed to continue by the bare margin of one vote. This reaction by the Board of the School of General Studies is somewhat puzzling in the light of the very favourable recommendations and reports received over the years of 1965. What was it about extra-mural or continuing education activities that troubled the cardinals of the institution? Was it this question of taking resources from the intra-mural activities to conduct extra-mural activities? Was it the standard of extra-mural activities - did the question of academic standards weigh heavily on the minds of the members of the Board? Or, were there other factors which contributed to such an uncertain place in the early history of the Australian National University?

In April 1965, Professor Hans Buchdahl, a physicist, was to write to Professor Learmouth, Chairman of the Adult Education Advisory Committee, stating that "the recent decisions of the Board of School of General Studies concerning adult education leave the whole situation in a very unsatisfactory state" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 3). Professor Buchdahl had recently been to Tasmania where he had made contact with Mr Kenneth Brooks, Director of the Department of Adult Education in that state. Professor Buchdahl recommended to Learmonth that his committee invite Brooks to Canberra to advise them on the place of adult education in the Australian National University. Brooks in fact visited the university in June 1965 and strongly supported an involvement by universities in general, and the ANU - in particular, in adult education activities. Brooks was careful to point out that there were certain activities which only the university could offer in adult education. As an institution responsible for research and teaching at a higher level it was therefore the only one to provide adult education activities in those areas (personal communication, June, 1985).

In July, 1965 the Board of the Institute of Advanced Studies endorsed the Advisory Committee on adult education recommendations regarding the establishment of an adult education department and the appointment of a director at professorial level. In response to this in September the Board
of the School of General Studies recommended the establishment of a Department of Adult Education with a director at professorial level, that the department be a university activity (not exclusively one of the School of General Studies or the School of Advanced Studies), and; the Director's position be filled by the end of 1966 (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 3).

There was, however, to be an unexpected statement by the Australian Universities' Commission about the place of adult education in universities during its triennial visit to the ANU late in 1965.

5.6 The Third Report of Australian Universities Commission

In its Third Report the Australian Universities Commission said;

"2.77 ... The Commission wishes to inform universities, however, that such support (i.e. for 'adult education or extension classes') from Commission sources will terminate from the end of 1967-69 tri-ennum. It is the Commission's view that activities such as adult education should be based either on colleges of advanced education or should be conducted by a State Agency appointed for this purpose, as in the State of Victoria" (Australian Universities Commission, 1966).

The Universities' Commission "had questioned the proprietary for providing funds to universities for adult education on the grounds that this was not a proper university function" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 3). This statement had the effect of postponing the appointment of a Director of Adult Education in the Australian National University for another two years. As a result of the recommendations of the Board of the School of General Studies in September 1965 that the University proceed with the appointment of a director and the establishment of a department, the University administration had already set in train advertising for a director in early March 1966. However, the uncertainty of the Universities' Commission over the place of adult education in universities made the University hesitate with its decision. While the Electoral Committee for the Director for the Department of Adult Education was to receive applications and to identify a short list of candidates, the administration could not proceed with the appointment in the light of the uncertain position on the place of adult education in universities in the eyes of the Universities' Commission.
From the ANU Council Minutes of October 1966 "the position of adult education [in universities] was by no means clear". In its report the Commission had said that funds for adult education had been provided where requested, but it wishes to inform universities that such support from Commission sources would terminate from the end of the 1966-69 triennium. The Commission felt that activities such as adult education should be based either on Colleges of Advanced Education or should be conducted by a State agency appointed for that purpose, as in Victoria" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 4).

In the light of the discussions from the Universities' Commission's triennial visit late in 1965, the Vice-Chancellor had written to the Minister of Education, the Honorable Senator John Gorton, seeking his position. On 16 August 1966 the Minister wrote to the University stating that "I understand that you are aware that the Commission would recommend against continued support of adult education activities in universities. There has been no such recommendation and my own view is that universities should be free to continue with adult education activities" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 4).

On 21 September Senator Gorton presented the Third Report of the Australian Universities' Commission to the Parliament. During that speech he explained that the Universities' Commission had recommended the withdrawal of Commonwealth financial support for adult education activities in universities at the end of 1969. Gorton, while recognising that there were certain adult education activities that would be better placed in Colleges of Advanced Education and other institutions, also recognised that there would be real advantages to the community in having access to university facilities and to the knowledge and skills of university staff through adult education courses. Gorton did in fact agree with the Universities' Commission that further consultation with State governments and other educational institutions on the place of adult education should be carried out.

On 27 June 1967 Mr Lascelles Wilson, the Acting Director of the Department of Adult Education was to write to the Vice-Chancellor recounting a
conversation with an ex-colleague at Sydney University. The colleague had informed Wilson that another friend of the colleague had met with Gorton on another matter who also raised the matter of adult education in universities. Wilson quoted to the Vice-Chancellor the following:

"Tell your friends not to worry. We have decided not to accept the Australian Universities' Commission's recommendation. What will happen would be this: Adult education departments would continue in universities and will continue to do much of the work they do now. Before the next triennium the Australian Universities' Commission will consult with these departments and will probably suggest that some of the courses will be transferred to tertiary colleges. But the universities will continue with the rest of what they are doing now" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 4).

In August 1967 John Crawford [then Director of the Research School of Pacific Studies] wrote to the Vice-Chancellor suggesting that they ask the Minister if an appointment of Director of Adult Education could proceed as the next triennium plans were being prepared. The Vice-Chancellor subsequently wrote to Gorton requesting that the ANU proceed with the appointment of Director of Adult Education. In November Gorton replied to the Vice-Chancellor saying that the ANU could proceed with the appointment of a Director. The Vice-Chancellor wrote back thanking the Minister for his direction and stating that the ANU would be proceeding with the appointment of a Director, however within two days of receiving the Vice-Chancellor's letter Gorton wrote back asking the Vice-Chancellor to wait with the appointment of a Director until the University has had discussions with Dr Wark [from the Universities' Commission] regarding the levels of courses conducted in the next triennium (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 4).

Early in January 1968 the Registrar contacted Dr Wark in Melbourne to arrange a meeting of the kind Senator Gorton had written about. Wark was unavailable until late February, however he suggested that the University meet with the CCAE to discuss their involvement with adult education in Canberra. On 24 January Dr Robertson of the Canberra College of Advanced Education met with senior administrative and academic staff of the ANU to discuss adult education in each institution. In response to Dr Robertson's request for some definition of the role of the Australian National University in adult education he was told that it was the Vice-Chancellor's wish that;
a limited number of carefully chosen courses in humanities, social and natural sciences at a level appropriate to a university;

refresher or retraining courses for graduates in appropriate fields;

seminars and schools with a national emphasis;

close collaboration with the Canberra College of Education on rationalisation of activities in adult education in the ACT" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 5).

Dr Robertson apparently had the same view as Dr Wark in that he also suggested that the Canberra College would be interested in seeing the establishment of a body, administratively and financially independent of the college and the university, which would co-ordinate and be responsible for the provision of adult education courses at all levels in the ACT. The body would have an executive who would have responsibility for the development of adult education in the Territory (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 5).

The University representatives could not support Dr Robertson's suggestion. Dr Robertson said he did not wish to press the idea at this stage in the development of the college, however, he felt the University should not appoint at too high a level to its directorship of adult education because;

"(i) He could not see the college being able to appoint a person in charge of adult education at the college at a level much above Senior Lecturer;

(ii) An appointment by the university at professorial level might make it difficult for the person to be incorporated into an independent co-ordinating body" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 5)

Dr Robertson went on to say that adult education was not a priority development for the college and he did not think they would be in a position to offer courses for at least five years.

On 28 February the Vice-Chancellor met with Dr Wark to discuss the ANU's proposal to appoint a director of adult education in the ANU. Dr Wark agreed with the pattern of development envisaged by the Vice-Chancellor and accepted that the university should proceed with the appointment of a
director. While Dr Wark accepted that the College of Advanced Education was unlikely to become involved in adult education within five years he asked that the University bear in mind the position of adult education in say five/seven years time (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 5).

In mid-July 1968 the Chairman of the Australian Universities' Commission wrote to the Vice-Chancellor asking for advice on "levels of adult education that you consider to be appropriate to universities" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 5). The Vice-Chancellor was to reply restating the university's policy on adult education which was included in the triennial submission to the Commission in 1970/72;

"It has been the opinion of the university for some time that it has a place for adult education provided that its activities are carried on at a level appropriate to a university. The university sees its role in adult education as the offering of a limited number of carefully chosen courses to as wide an audience as possible at a standard appropriate to a university in the fields of social science, natural science and the humanities; the offering of refresher courses for graduates; and the development of a continuing series of seminars of a national character on questions of social, economic, scientific and political importance." (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 5)

The Vice-Chancellor also pointed out to the Chairman that the University was soon to make an appointment to the position of Director of Adult Education in the Australian National University. It was some thirteen years after the Registrar sought advice on ways to make the Canberra University College better known in the region that the now Australian National University was to appoint a full-time director of continuing education. As will be seen in the following chapter the status of the Director was by no means clear as the Centre for Continuing Education developed. Initial recommendations from both Currie and Raybould were watered down with the Director ultimately having a reduced status in the institution.

Not withstanding the turbulent 60s, with its significant social change, strong economic growth and large increases in the provision of government resources for education, adult and continuing education at the ANU had survived with one adult education tutor, a retired adult education administrator - retained on a yearly basis, and with a majority of one vote in 1965, the support of the Board of School of General Studies.
CHAPTER SIX

CONTINUING EDUCATION IN THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

6.1 "The Director of Continuing Education Arrives"

In 1968 the Electoral Committee chose Christopher Duke from the University of Leeds as the Director of the Department of Adult Education. Duke arrived in Australia early in 1969 officially taking up duties in April. He quickly set about finding out the history of adult education and extra-mural studies in the National University. A man of much energy, Duke was keen to continue the growing work of adult education in the University. Also as a prolific writer he placed many ideas on paper for circulation and discussion with his academic colleagues and in his administrative capacity he began to question the arrangements relating to adult education in the University soon after his arrival. The Vice-Chancellor at the time, Sir John Crawford, was to comment in a note to the Registrar, "we really must establish an advisory committee to work with Duke whose output of memos to me is rising steadily" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt5).

One month after his arrival Duke reported to Crawford on his analysis of the present position of adult education in the University. Duke had had discussions with senior administrative and academic staff of both the university, the CCAE and government departments on the place of adult education in Canberra and the national capital. The first recommendation he made was that the department be renamed the Department of Continuing Education to symbolise "new purposes and to avoid traditional low-level connotations" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt5). It was in fact the Registrar, D.K.R. Hodgkin, who was to suggest that the word Department be replaced by Centre, which was in fact accepted as the title for the continuing education unit in the Australian National University (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt5).

Lascelles Wilson, who had been acting Director over the previous three years, amidst the uncertainty of adult education at the Australian National
University was to retire from the ANU post at the end of June. From the time Duke arrived until the end of June, Wilson very capably handed over the reins to Chris Duke. At the time Duke arrived, Wilson was entertaining the idea of a major conference, jointly sponsored with the Department of Immigration, on the education of and socio-cultural problems of the migrant in association with the Australian community. Apparently, at this time, the immigration issue was a somewhat controversial topic in Australian society. The very reasons why Wilson argued that the Department of Adult Education should sponsor a seminar on the topic. However, this was not accepted by Sir John Crawford and his advisors who suggested that the University pass on this particular opportunity. So it was that when Duke arrived he was to be immersed immediately in fundamental issues of the place of adult and continuing education in the Australian National University.

Also, it should be noted here that the evidence in university records suggests that Lascelles Wilson was an extremely able administrator during his time at the Australian National University. During a period when there was much debate on the place of adult education in the University, and in universities throughout Australia, Wilson was able to maintain a steady balance and to ensure that adult education programmes in fact prospered in the University during his time as Acting Director. For a man who had already retired at the age of 65 from the Adult Education Department at Sydney, it should be recognised that he brought considerable talent, energy and initiative to the Australian National University—albeit for a short period of time.

Duke's enthusiasm was evident in his introduction to the 1969 Annual Report of the Centre for Continuing Education. Here he was to recognise the change in title, the growth in staff numbers, the reconstruction of the advisory committee "to become a joint committee of the Boards of the Institute of Advanced Studies and the School General Studies appointed by the Vice-Chancellor on the nominations of the Boards" (CCE Annual Report 1969). The Advisory Committee was also productive in identifying eight areas of activity for the Centre. These areas of activity, or a policy statement setting out lines for future development for the Centre, were
given approval by the two boards and the Council. The areas of activity were set out as follows;

1. The provision of a carefully selected program of courses for residents in the city of Canberra;

2. Refresher programs and courses for professional and occupational groups;

3. National seminars and conferences on issues of scientific, political, cultural and economic concerns;

4. Research in adult education;

5. Activity on behalf of adult education throughout the Commonwealth;

6. Work within ANU on an ad hoc basis on methods of teaching and related matters;

7. Training and consultancy in adult education in the ACT and Australia;


This diverse range of activity reflects Duke's enthusiasm in this early period.

6.2 The Decade of the CCE

The University's honeymoon with the Centre for Continuing Education was to continue through 1970 when Duke noted in the Annual Report that there was lots of work inside, and especially outside the university. He was to report "it is a matter of interest and concern that proposals emanating from within the university more often than not are personal and not necessarily related to the official brief of the department" (CCE Annual Report 1970).

At this time the Australian Association for Adult Education was to begin an important association with the Centre for Continuing Education and staff of the centre worked feverously on a proposal for a Masters Degree in Continuing Education by course work. Duke commented that "the direction of work and thought in the centre in 1970 has been to becoming more than a
providing agency, towards serving as a reference point for the development of continuing education in many forms and by a wide variety of public and private agencies throughout the Commonwealth" (CCE Annual Report 1970). The first signs that the honeymoon was coming to an end are evident with his comments that;

"There remains a concern to mobilise more fully in the direction of continuing education the unique skills and resources contained within the university. Before this is possible it will be necessary to understand better what administrative and other obstacles lie in the way". (CCE Annual Report 1970)

Towards the end of 1971 Duke's concerns about the relationship of the Centre with the University were even more apparent;

"It remains clear, however, that the university's extra-mural commitment as represented by the Centre is conceived as extremely marginal to the main function and responsibility of the university and their own departments by most of its faculty members ..... If the university is to make a significant contribution in the professional refresher area, this must be clearly be overcome by financial or other means." (CCE Annual Report 1971)

By 1972 it was apparent to Duke that his worst fears, alluded to in the 1971 annual report, were in fact occurring. He was to comment that;

"Trends visible in 1971 became more marked the following year. It is evident that the National University is unlikely to provide a base for a very substantial program for refresher and diversification courses ..... It has become clearer during 1972 that the Centre's special competence and responsibility may be rather in the provision of search conferences, seminars or encounters, and in the study of the purpose and processes of such exercises" (CCE Annual Report 1972).

In 1972 Duke acknowledged that adult and continuing education would continue to be a marginal activity in the Australian National University and for the Centre to survive and have an identity of its own it needed to develop expertise in a particular field. While developing a unique image, one that was widely known and regarded in the community external to the University, the CCE was to encounter ongoing difficulties with its parent organisation. There were, in fact, a number of issues significant in its history that were to influence the role and function of the CCE in the Australian National University. For our purposes we will present these issues under four headings;
1. The nature of ANU academic staff involvement in CCE activities,

2. CCE attempts to provide accredited courses of study in continuing education at graduate diploma and masters degree level that involved course work,

3. The assessment of CCE academic staff by the ANU,

4. The development of a role and identity by the CCE and the impact of this on its relationship with the ANU.

These issues were periodically raised over the turbulent decade of the 70s. What follows is an attempt to highlight events - and possible activity surrounding these events relating to these issues. The aim is to provide an overview so as to more fully appreciate the relationship between the CCE and the Australian National University over a fifteen year period.

6.2.1 ANU Academics and the CCE

In September, 1969, the Director of the Research School of Physical Sciences reported to his faculty board meeting that he had discussed with Duke his proposal that "the Schools of the Institute should each give a term of lectures for ANU staff and interested outsiders on their work" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 6). The response from the School was emphatically against Duke's proposal;

"The Board was not enthusiastic about this, partly as it felt there were already adequate sources of information for people interested. Thus a very full annual report is available, staff write for the ANU News, senior staff give radio and television talks, and occasional newspaper articles are published. In addition, School Colloquia and Departmental Seminars are widely publicised. Members pointed out that there are major difficulties in attempting to talk about researches in mathematics, theoretical physics and some experimental fields to a lay audience.

There was a strong feeling that it was unrealistic and not worthwhile, and the Board agreed that the School should decline the request of the Director of Adult Education" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 6).

In August 1970 the CCE undertook an inquiry concerning the reciprocal use of resources. The purpose was twofold: "first, to make sure that the Centre makes full use of university resources before availing itself of
help from other universities in its activities; second, to inform colleagues in all departments of what the centre has to offer them in opportunities for teaching, further research, and closer contact with the various agencies in public life" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 7).

The interim report of the inquiry into reciprocal use of resources published on 1 April, 1971, does not give details on response rate and the nature of responses. The suggestions are that there was a poor response from the University;

"By this date (16 March) all save thirteen departments have acknowledged receipt of the Inquiry ...... 'Acknowledgement' however, in a fair number of cases must be regarded as a negative response even where departments which have not answered questions have nevertheless asked for more copies of the forms" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 7).

In what is a generally pessimistic report on the relationship between ANU departments and the CCE there are suggestions of a more optimistic future;

"Nevertheless, we take the view that no department's work is irrelevant to the purposes of continuing education and we regard any such failures as invitations to make fresh attempts in the future" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 7).

Interestingly the report discriminates between the official departmental response and those responses from individuals who supported involvement in continuing education programmes;

"On the other hand, where one or two representatives of departments of the Institute saw how Research Fellows and others might well participate in refresher courses for professional people they were aware of the 'political' problems involved" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 7).

There is no evidence on ANU files that a final report into this inquiry by the CCE into reciprocal use of resources - or how the CCE could assist departments in providing continuing education programmes, was ever produced.

In 1972 the CCE Advisory Committee asked the Director to prepare a short statement summarising the accomplishments and objectives of the Centre for submission to the academic boards and council. In this statement Duke touches on the administrative and organisational problems the centre faced. In referring to the ANU's involvement in refresher schools and courses Duke notes that;
"This area has shown least growth among the various intended areas of provision and is unlikely to become much more prominent, although it was probably a prominent raison d'être for establishing the Centre. Unless ANU staffing formulae alter to allow refresher and diversification courses to count to departmental teaching loads such courses are likely to remain shorter than is desirable for diversification courses..... While the Centre continues to make known its services around the campus it does not now expect ever to offer a very large refresher programme from this base" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 8).

So after three years as Director of the Centre for Continuing Education Duke appeared largely resigned to low level of involvement by ANU academics in activities organised by the Centre.

Also in the 1972 statement prepared for the CCE Advisory Committee Duke commented on the Centre's role in the provision of ad hoc courses on methods of teaching and examining. He noted that one seminar held in 1969 "was held to be successful, but subsequent offers and attempts have proved fruitless and the Centre has been advised not to attempt provision in what is seen as a sensitive area" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 8). The records provide no other information on this one seminar held in September, 1969. While Duke also notes in this statement another seminar on examining was being attempted he added there was little evidence of interest from the School. Duke also comments that interest in these types of activities - courses on methods of teaching and examining, has been diverted to a new unit in the ANU, the Office for Research in Academic Methods.

In January 1974 Duke circularised all Directors, Deans and Heads of Departments, Centres and Units regarding refresher and diversification courses. He reminded them that one of the responsibilities of the CCE was to assist internal departments of the University with such programmes. He added that;

The Centre is pleased to be involved in designing and planning the content and teaching method of such courses, as well as discussing the clientele and arranging publicity and administration. The experience of recent years suggest that many parts of the University have little interest in offering such courses, either because they do not consider their disciplines and fields of interest relevant to such continuing education, or because other demands on the time of academic staff make it impracticable. However, it may be that the appointment of new staff in some areas
of the University has changed the situation in ways of which the Centre is unaware. Hence this circular" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 9).

The somewhat pessimistic tone of this memorandum and the fact that it was sent out on 14 January, the middle of the University summer holidays, seeking replies by the end of that month so the CCE could use the information at a planning meeting at the beginning of February suggests this was a half hearted attempt by Duke at involving University academics in refresher and diversification courses.

6.2.2 CCE Attempts at Providing Accredited Courses

In 1971 the Centre for Continuing Education submitted a proposal to the Faculty of Arts to consider an M.A. in Continuing Education. The substance of that proposal is not the focus of this research, rather it is the way in which the university considered the proposal that is relevant here.

At the November, 1970, meeting of the Advisory Committee for Continuing Education general agreement was expressed for the proposals for a course leading to the degree of Master of Arts in the Centre for Continuing Education (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 1).

The Faculty Board established a committee, comprised of seven senior academic staff representatives of departments of the Faculty of Arts. The Committee, which included five professors, took three months to prepare its report for the Board. The Committee was careful to outline the scope for its deliberations;

"It did not feel that it was required to make any absolute judgment on whether the proposed course was or was not useful or respectable or desirable academically, or appropriate for offering by a University or this University for some degree, diploma, certificate or other award. Though some members of the Committee felt that some such course might appropriately be established towards some award in, or in conjunction with, a Faculty or School of Education in a University, the Committee felt any such recommendation fell outside its role ..... In short, the Committee saw its proper responsibility to be limited to recommending to Faculty only on whether or not a course of studies along the lines and upon the bases outlined in the proposals of the Centre, or somewhat similar lines, should be given status by the Faculty of Arts as a course of studies leading to the degree of Master of Arts" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 8).
The Committee concluded that the proposed course of studies should not be given the status of a Master of Arts degree. Their conclusions from a three page report are worth stating in full;

"The Committee found it difficult to contemplate accepting for an advanced Arts degree a course whose scope was at once so extensive and diffuse rather than intensive and closely coherent. Moreover, whatever the flexibility claimed by its sponsors for their course, the Committee could not be confident about candidates having a sufficiency of basic studies in the various core subjects to be dealt with (notably, Psychology, Philosophy and Sociology). Some of the course would prove repetitious for students with good Honours training in Psychology or Philosophy or Sociology, but would be insufficient in other respects for students with no training in any one or more of these apparently "core" subjects. Several members of the Committee were also sceptical of the capacity of those lacking backgrounds in these "core" subjects to get them up in a hurry for a "Master's Qualifying" preliminary requirement (cf. Dr Duke's reference to "students coming from overseas to do the course (having) to be given a working knowledge of Philosophy, Psychology and Sociology"). Moreover, members of the Committee suggested that some or even considerable assistance would be essential from specialists in, for example, Mathematical Statistics, Sociology and Philosophy for some seminars provided for in the detailed outline. Members of the Departments of Psychology and Philosophy felt their Departments, at least, could not at present be expected to give the specialised assistance necessary for some of the seminars.

In general, the Committee felt that if the Faculty of Arts were to be able to claim anything worthwhile for its advanced degrees these should at any rate involve mastery of one of the areas of study for which the Faculty takes full responsibility" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 8).

Interestingly, the Committee suggested that Honours graduands in psychology or philosophy or sociology contemplating a career in continuing education "should continue to a Master's degree in their own discipline in the appropriate Departments of the Faculty, in the normal way, taking additionally over the two years, by agreement between their Departments and the Centre, the Centre's proposed Seminars I and II (the Seminar in Continuing Education and the Seminar in Social and Technological Change)" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 8). Essentially, the Committee's suggestion was the maintenance of the status quo in the Faculty with the concession that CCE academic staff could supervise two seminars should there be the demand. The Assistant Registrar of the day (R.J.C. Horan) provided an interesting summary of the Committees Report;
"I thought this a useful note and enjoyed reading it, if only for its quaint style which reminded me of someone disentangling a skein of wool. After claiming that it falls outside its terms of reference to express an academic judgement on the proposal, the Committee goes on to do just this and for what I would regard as good reasons." (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 1)

In June 1973 Duke wrote to the Deputy Vice-Chancellor referring to prior correspondence and asking that "the matter of channels to seek registration of candidates for higher degrees in the Centre for Continuing Education could now be taken further" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 9). While the official University records do not hold the correspondence Duke refers to his conclusion that this letter "closes that particular chapter in the Centre's now somewhat protracted quest" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 9) suggests that there was considerable correspondence over this attempt at providing accredited courses in the CCE. It should also be noted here that graduate students in the CCE do not undertake course work (as outlined in the 1971 proposal) completing their programmes by thesis submission.

In an extensive article in the November, 1973 issue of ANU News titled, "Continuing Education: the University's entrepreneur to the broader community" Duke touched on a number of issues relating to continuing education's role in the university. Included in these were comment about the CCE's inability to provide accredited courses;

In 1969, and still in 1973, it proves unrewarding to argue that continuing education can be a discipline and as such the proper business of the University. This is so only because there do not exist academic departments with undergraduate courses onto which graduate study and research can be grafted". (Duke 1973 p. 6)

6.2.3 The Assessment of CCE Academic Staff by the ANU

Early reference to the difficulties associated with difference between the functions expected of a university academic and those of CCE academic staff are alluded to in the Centre's report to the ANU for considerations for the 1973-1975 triennium. In this report Duke states this "while the Centre is working out the implications of its brief from the university and the contemporary significance of 'continuing education' there is some difficulty in presenting its needs in the conventional academic categories of 'lecturer', 'research fellow' and so on" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 6).
The issue of assessment of CCE Academic staff by the ANU came on the agenda within three years after Duke commenced as Director. The specific reasons for him formally raising it with the Advisory Committee are not clear however his memorandum of 5 January, 1972 is worth reflecting on. In it Duke highlights the differences between the work of CCE and, SGS and IAS departments. For example;

"Because they [students] do not register through central administration, because they are not formally examined and graded by the institution, and perhaps because they do not figure in AUC EFTS calculations, the centre's students are not perceived as 'proper' university students. This throws doubt on the nature of the Centre's academic mission in terms of teaching. More seriously, because scholarship tends to be equated with recognisably discipline based publication, colleagues have difficulty in understanding, and so in accepting, in what sense members of the Centre can be fully academic". (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 1)

Duke sets out, at length, in this memorandum the criteria for assessing CCE academic staff in terms of the University's three categories for promotion; research, teaching and service to the department.

In November 1972 the Board of the School of General Studies resolved to amend the criteria for promotion in the Centre for Continuing Education. These amendments were;

"(i) academic work in continuing education as a field of study;

(ii) abilities shown in the constructing and organising of activity appropriate to the Centre for Continuing Education;

(iii) academic abilities demonstrated in other fields of enquiry which might include the academic discipline in which the staff member was originally qualified" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 8).

Duke's own status as Director of the CCE was raised on several occasions throughout his time at the ANU. During the debate in the early 1970s on the academic credibility of continuing education Duke wrote to the Academic Registrar raising a series of points on this issue. In referring to his own position he stated that it "is incongruous as (apparently) non-academic head of an (apparently) academic department. This does not interfere
tangibly and substantially with the present performance of my (most absorbing) duties, but I would probably not be willing to live with the ambiguity indefinitely" (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 2).

Duke did in fact address this ambiguity in a memorandum to the Vice-Chancellor on 25 January, 1972 (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 2). In it he raised three issues, the Director's membership of the three Boards, formal conditions for study leave, and the title of the head of the Centre. The fact that there is no evidence of a formal reply from the Vice-Chancellor on official University files and that Duke was unsuccessful on all three issues suggests a low priority for continuing education in the University. The irregularities surrounding Duke's (or the CCE Director's) right to sit on the Boards of the ANU came to a head in 1974 when he went on leave and Dr Alan Davies, of the CCE, was nominated to be Acting Director. The files (ANU file 3.19.51 pt 2) suggest considerable debate between ANU administrators on the question of Dr Davies membership of various Boards while Duke was on leave. However, the Acting Vice-Chancellor, Professor Dunbar, did not have to make a decision as higher duties allowance is only paid for periods of more than eight weeks acting. Duke was to be absent for eight weeks.

It is also worth noting here the University's policy on the status of heads of centres and units. In April 1973 the University produced a paper titled University Centres (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 8) which provides a framework for assessing Duke's status. This paper listed the academic structure and status of the head of centre;

1. Status and salary of Professor and Head of Department is usual. Study leave as for a Professor of LAS but no salary allowances such as would be paid to a Director of LAS is included.

2. The title: 'Director' is usual cf. 'Head of Centre' for Computer Centre.

3. The Director is normally a member of both Academic Boards.

4. The Director is responsible, through the V-C, to Council.

5. The Director is assisted by an Advisory Committee and is a member, probably Chairman, of that Committee.
The Advisory Committee is responsible, with the Director or Head of Centre, for the academic and administrative policy of the Centre and reports through both Boards to the V-C and Council.

Academic appointments are the responsibility of the Board acting upon the recommendation of the Advisory Committee". (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 8)

In fact, as far back as November 1965 when the University was preparing the way for the appointment of a Director of Adult Education "the Board of the School resolved 'that, with effect from a date late in 1966 to be determined by the Vice-Chancellor, the University establish a Department of Adult Education and appoint a Director of Adult Education with the salary and status of a Professor in the School of General Studies and membership of the Board of the School of General Studies'" (ANU file 3.19.51 pt 1). In October of 1965 the Board of the Institute had also agreed to the appointment of a Director at professorial level who would "not be a member of the Board of the Institute" but would "be invited to attend meetings when appropriate". Duke was never accorded the status of Professor.

Whether the external economic environment had changed significantly and the rapid growth of universities was levelling off, or the scare from the Martin Committee (1966) which influenced the Australian Universities Commission to recommend that universities wind down their involvement in adult education was the cause for Duke not being appointed as a professor is not made clear in official University records made available for this research. This treatment of the Director is also surprising when one realises the ANU undertook a review of all centres and units in the mid 70s and regarded the CCE as sui genesis. The CCE was in fact subject to a separate review in the late 1970s, chaired by Professor Arthur Birch. His review is discussed later in this chapter.

In June 1973 a letter to the Deputy Vice-Chancellor Duke raised, amongst other matters, his membership of the Board of the Institute of Advanced Studies. His comments are worth noting in full;

"I refer to today's discussion in BIAS ...... and the Professor Runciman's suggestion that the Head of the Computer Centre became a member of the BIAS in view of the importance of that Centre and the fact that the present Head of Centre seldom attends. If such a proposal were taken up and acted on it would leave the Head of
Centre for Continuing Education in a more isolated and perhaps ambiguous position; I have in mind that the Librarian is a member of the Board; also that at a recent meeting of the Budget Advisers Professor Titterton expressed the view that the Library and both these Centres should more appropriately be considered among the academic Centres rather than under General Administration" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 9).

Dunbar's response was to the point when he suggested that;

I doubt if there is anything to be gained by raising explicitly your membership of BIAS. I am sure this will come up for consideration automatically if the membership is being revised in any way" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 9).

This response is consistent with Dunbar's view of the CCE and its role in the ANU. He was of the opinion that the CCE had grown beyond its originally conceived role and that the University had not been decisive enough in the early 60s to curtail this less relevant and resource hungry centre (personal communication August, 1985).

In May 1983 the Assistant Vice-Chancellor, Colin Plowman, published a paper on the role of the academic in the Centre for Continuing Education. The rationale for the paper was that some members of the CCE have conditions of appointment identical to academic colleagues in The Faculties while others have conditions of appointment similar to those in the Institute of Advanced Studies. Plowman acknowledged that these different appointments were presumably made with academic conditions, or requirements in mind, however he suggests that other duties "consonant with similar academic appointments in departments of a Research School or Faculty" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 13) may have been overlooked as the Centre required academic staff with skills different to those found in a typical university department. Plowman adds that this is a reflection of the attitude of the ANU's academic community towards continuing education;

"That [attitude] can be illustrated by the unwillingness of the academic community through its established hierarchy to admit continuing education (or adult education) to full participation in that community. Neither the CCE nor any of its staff are given a place within any of the committees or boards of the faculties or research schools and therefore have no access to those communities in decision making on academic matters" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 13).

Plowman makes several other points which are important in recognising the attitude he refers to. They are worth stating in full;

...
"The head of the CCE was designated Director* and not professor - which seems a natural corollary to a decision not to have continuing education within the normal academic structure.

The academic community has had an opportunity to admit the subject continuing education or adult education to its syllabuses and curriculums, but declined to do this early in the history of CCE. It can be speculated that the academic community had not reached consensus or a majority view that continuing education was an acceptable academic pursuit, or that it was not appropriate at that time. That situation may indicate a basic suspicion of the subject or a view that the admission of continuing education has no priority and would be inappropriate up to this time.

In fact, the Board of the School of General Studies (now Board of The Faculties) determined in the mid-1960s that it would not give priority to the introduction of education as an academic pursuit.

In due course the academic boards (BIAS and BTF) did agree that the Centre could submit candidates for enrolment in courses for higher degrees. But that access is by way of a conduit provided by one of the approved constituents of the normal academic hierarchy (the Director of the Research School of Social Sciences). This seems a logical step because higher degree courses are tailored to the requirements of the candidate and the availability of adequate supervision.

Given the history of the CCE - the acceptance in 1969 that some members of its staff would properly be involved in academic work including research; the acceptance of members of the staff as supervisors for higher degrees, it is to be expected that those staff would wish that the academic standing of their appointments would not be questioned and perhaps that it should not be regarded as being different from the academic standing of the academics in, say, the Faculty of Arts, or the Research School of Social Sciences.

* He was given full membership of the Board of the School of General Studies and given a standing invitation to attend meetings of the Board of the Institute of Advanced Studies" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 13)

In concluding his paper Plowman presented the following propositions as worthy of support in the University;

"(i) that an arrangement in which the traditional work of university extension is combined with (or works symbiotically with) the scholarly study of the processes of adult learning is viable and is to be preferred to an arrangement where that extension work does not have such support;"
(ii) that it is acceptable (or even desirable) that some of the staff of the Centre should continue to have conditions of appointment that give them the freedom to develop their professional and academic skills;

(iii) that the presence of such staff in the Centre gives the Centre leadership, vitality and intellectual depth that otherwise it might lack" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 13).

The official university files give no reason for Plowman preparing this paper other than through his own initiative to raise the issue of conditions of employment for CCE academic staff, nor do they indicate any outcomes. The points he raises in his paper are however relevant to the research presented here.

6.2.4 The Role and Identity of the CCE

The role and identity of the CCE was addressed immediately by Duke on his arrival at the ANU when he raised the question of the constitution and membership of the (then) Adult Education Advisory Committee. The first salvo of memoranda, in what the files show to be a well aired issue was prepared by the Assistant Registrar who in June, 1969 documented the rationale behind the membership of the Committee. While the purpose of this memorandum was to focus on Duke's concern that the Committee was a committee of Council and not the Boards the Assistant Registrar documents some important assumptions. Specifically he states that "as far as membership is concerned we have tried to take account of both Institute and School and, in particular, of the areas in which Adult Education is likely to be concentrating its activities" (ANU file 3.19.51 pt 1). As will be seen later in this section these early assumptions were lost when the AUC recommended allocating 1% of recurrent funds to continuing education and the University sought to allocate the CCE to the School of General Studies in order to recognise the 1% as part of that School's recurrent funding rather than for the University as a whole.

In July 1969 Duke published a document titled "Adult Education in the ANU". In it he extended the initial three tasks which were the basis of his appointment namely; "the provision of a carefully selected programme of courses for residents in the city of Canberra; high level refresher
courses for appropriate professional and occupational groups; and the development of a series of national seminars and conferences on issues of social, political, scientific, cultural and economic concern" (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 1), to a total of eight. The additional five tasks he was successful in having included in the CCE's mandate were:

"(4) research in adult education as a distinctive field of activity with its own problems and purposes, but drawing on established disciplines;

(5) involvement of the Adult Education Department of the National University with adult education in the Commonwealth, and especially in other universities;

(6) within the ANU, work on aspects of teaching objectives and methods, and with the initial orientation of both administrative and academic staff, as appropriate and as invited;

(7) training and consultancy for adult education as practiced in a variety of institutions in the ACT and throughout Australia;

(8) training and consultancy for adult education in countries of S.E. Asia". (ANU file 3.19.51 pt.1)

Dukes extensive analysis of these eight categories is most informative about his deep sense of commitment in these early days. His style of writing is direct, optimistic and deliberate showing a preparedness to provide as much information as possible on his attitude towards the development of adult and continuing education at the ANU. For example;

"the spirit is somewhat of the early entrepreneur, real or mythical, of the industrial revolution who sold his wares in unexpected places and opened up new dimensions and possibilities in the process ...... it [refresher schools and courses for professional and occupational groups] represents a form of social intervention which holds promise of social benefits of a multiplier kind. In a nutshell, this kind of selective intervention at critical points in society represents the moral dynamic of the Department; it seeks to induce self-critical thought and heightened self-awareness among intelligent and influential groups with particular reference to the occupational roles which give them their influence" (ANU file 3.19.51 pt.1)

In his 1972 statement to the CCE Advisory Committee Duke was to discuss at some length the changing organisation of the Centre (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 8). He was to suggest that these changes were a reflection of the nature of the Centres work. With reference to academic staff Duke noted that;
"Teaching by full-time staff continues to take the form of directing and monitoring residential courses and conducting teaching-and-planning meetings and seminars preparatory to these, together with contributions on such subjects as the theory of continuing education and adult learning. The Centre continues to set its face against employing specialists in the various subject areas of the University, believing it to be its task to mobilise these resources from within the University or elsewhere as it needs them" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt 8).

Also in this statement Duke was to note that "consultancy and 'animation' show every prospect of demanding more time" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 8). He regarded the demand for these services as a mark of the early success of the Centre which allowed "the philosophy and experience of the Centre to disseminate widely for a modest outlay of time and effort" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 8).

In November 1973 in his article on continuing education in the ANU News Duke regarded the CCE as "among the first of the increasing number of units and centres, existing or in process of formation, which are quietly transforming the shape, character and identity of the University" (Duke, 1973, p. 6). This statement is somewhat confusing when compared to his assertion in the 1972 annual report of the CCE that "it is evident that the National University is unlikely to provide a base for a very substantial program for refresher and diversification courses" (CCE Annual Report 1972). Duke goes on in his 1973 article to present a clear statement on the role of his Centre;

"continuing education provides a philosophy, rationale and framework for a radical critique of existing formal and informal education systems and processes. Leisure-oriented adult education familiar in the Australian and British tradition embraces only one aspect of the educational provision and social processes with which the Centre concerns itself. Taking as a constant, unpredictable and accelerating multi-dimensional change, the Centre interests itself in problems of individual adaption (learning to learn) and the adaptation and renovation of organisations, including such educational institutions as schools and universities.

It confesses to a set of values which hold active, participative learning and citizenship preferable to passivity as a victim of change, preferable to a sense of alienation or anomie."
Without taking up any position about change itself (not that it is good or bad, just that it is) it seeks to equip its students, whom it refers to sometimes as clients, more often as participants, to understand the world around them, their own part in it and their ability to interact with it. Thus they may 'proact' rather than merely react, and learn the art of anticipating change and planning for it" (Duke, 1973, pp 6-7).

In June 1975 Duke wrote to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Professor G. Sawer, on staffing structures and conditions in the CCE. He was concerned with both the designations and conditions of appointments affecting both academic and administrative staff. Duke's request for a more flexible staffing arrangement for both academic and administrative staff was consistent with the philosophy that was developing in the CCE. The 1974 and 1975 Annual Reports also reflect this philosophy;

"The Centre's main shift in academic attention was towards community groups and organisations, around the problems of genuine and effective, rather than merely token, community participation in planning and decision-making". (CCE Annual Report, 1974, p. 4)

"The Centre has continued to adhere, in its approach to its responsibilities, to the twin themes of John Dewey, viz

(a) that adult, further and continuing education should be directed towards the democratisation of society, and

(b) that the education process in continuing education has itself to be democratised". (CCE Annual Report 1975, p. 4).

In July 1975, in an attempt to influence discussion on the outcome of a possible University re-organisation brought about by the 6th Australian Universities Commission Report recommendation that universities allocate up to 1% of recurrent funds to continuing education Duke wrote to the then Vice-Chancellor Professor D.A. Low. Duke's concern was that the CCE would be made part of the School of General Studies so that the ceiling for the CCE's budget could never be greater than that of the School's budget, rather than the recurrent funding for the University as a whole. Duke argued strongly that to bring the CCE into the School of General Studies would "be a quite serious error dictated by short term convenience" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt 9).
In 1973 the *ANU News* published a lengthy article by Duke on continuing education's role in the University. In this important statement by the Director on the role and philosophy he asserted "that education is value-laden rather than value-free" and that his Centre was unusual "in exploring the hazards of that recognition" (Duke, 1973, p. 7). Duke goes on to state that the Centre is "organisationally distinctive" providing the following illustrations;

"It is a provider of teachers using such internal resources of the University as can be made available for this purpose (extension function); a designer of search conferences to assist groups to understand and 'proact' to change (scanning or search function); and a unit devoted to understanding and teaching about the processes of continuing education itself (academic function). It has a national and also local responsibility and clientele. It pays special attention to learning-teaching processes (including the context or environment for learning in and out of educational institutions). In this capacity it acts as consultant or adviser to other institutions having an educational purpose" (Duke, 1973, p. 7).

What makes the Centre distinctive in organisational terms is that it shifts its focus across these activities "for it seeks through its own operations to model the adaptiveness and responsiveness which it touches" (Duke, 1973, p. 7).

Duke also acknowledges the organisational ambiguity of the CCE in the ANU. "If detachment means marginality this is yet perhaps a proper position for a unit committed to understanding the ambiguity of change" (Duke, 1973, p. 8).

Duke concludes this important statement on the role and identity in an optimistic way which is most relevant to this study;

"In the future it will seek in a discriminating way to bring teaching and research services in continuing education to neighbouring countries. It will foster serious and sustained research into continuing education in Australia and become a national staff college arranging short courses for the educators and trainers of adults. At present it seeks to assist the teaching profession mainly by being deliberately experimental and by reflecting aloud on its experience. Like other and newer centres it might be held to affront the identity and mission of the University by its definition of research and its orientation to the community. In the Centre it is seen otherwise. Believing that the University has a diversity of purpose, not always easily
reconciled, it also holds that a shift in emphasis towards the needs of Australian society would strengthen and enrich the University community and its work rather than threaten its academic integrity. In this direction, and with a situation, form and commission generally facilitative to such a definition of purpose, the Centre for Continuing Education bends its energies" (Duke, 1973, p. 8).

He felt that the Centre's two roles are well integrated;

"(1) Its extension function means that it should be identified not just with the less national part of the ANU, but equally with the Institute, which gives ANU its distinctive identity in terms of founding purposes.

(2) Its academic function is clearly more similar to IAS than to SGS parts of the University. In its academic identity, CCE belongs naturally in the Institute area; in its service capacity, it is University wide" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt. 9).

Professor Cec Gibb, Head of the Department of Psychology in the Faculty of Science, Deputy Chairman of the Board of the School of General Studies and a member of the CCE Advisory Committee also expressed his concern over the ANU's commitment to research in continuing education. While not directly referring to the AUC decision recommending 1% of recurrent funds be allocated to continuing education, the thrust of Gibb's letter to the Pro Vice-Chancellor G. Sawyer was that Duke had created a research focus for the CCE to which the ANU had been largely ambivalent;

"There can be no question that Dr Duke has consistently and openly pressed for greater research involvement in the Centre. The Advisory Committee has never said him nay but the University has tried to contain this growth by providing limited financial support. This seems to me to be the crucial issue. No objection is raised to research in Adult Education. The question is to what extent should scarce ANU funds be used for it. As a long standing member of the Advisory Committee I argue that the University has wished to support research to the extent that it can be achieved by academic staff in the course of normal duties i.e. to the extent it supports research in any S.G.S. department" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt. 9).

Gibb was concerned that Duke was now arguing that the CCE was more akin to the IAS and that "academic staff avoid regular teaching commitments" (ANU file 19.2.1.0. pt. 9). Gibb saw this attempt by Duke as a "further shot in this long-standing struggle" and that it was "time the Advisory Committee faced the issue and gave unequivocal advice to both the Vice-Chancellor and
the Director as to the extent to which it wishes to see the ANU funding research in Adult/Continuing Education" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt. 9). Gibb recommended "that the University treat the Centre as it treats other teaching departments in this regard i.e. it should fund (and should expect) a research effort from each of the academic staff members to the extent that he/she can mount such an effort in addition to (and not in conflict with) teaching and organisational duties for the provision of which the Centre was primarily established" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 pt. 9). Other than the written comments by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Professor Dunbar, that Professor Gibb's paper was "very useful" there is no other correspondence on the files relating to this issue.

The discussion over the organisational location of the CCE as a result of the AUC's guideline that 1% of recurrent funds be allocated to continuing education should also be seen in the light of financial arrangements relating to the CCE. In July 1969 Duke wrote to the Vice-Chancellor seeking financial arrangements similar to those in place in the University of Western Australia's adult education department. Amongst other things Duke proposed that his department retain all fees across financial years so they may use surpluses to fund future work. Up until that time all balances at 1 July were surrendered to the University and fees from courses were deducted from the AUC allocation. Essentially Duke was successful in seeking a measure of flexibility and responsibility from the University that would allow his unit to be experimental providing cross subsidisation and thus the potential to develop new programmes over financial years.

In September 1976 the CCE Advisory Committee considered a paper by Duke on CCE consultancies and outside earnings in which he proposed that funds arising out of training courses, workshops, refresher programmes and search conferences be treated in the same way as fees. The basis for this proposal was that if income generated did not affect the appointment of, or diversion of staff then this income could be properly managed. The Committee supported in principle Duke's proposal, and, after obtaining agreement from the Bursar, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor seeking discussion on the matter. The only comments made at the time were by Professor Dunbar in a note to Professor Ross. They were;
"This is a hardy perennial. There is a continuing problem with CCE and the way they operate in finding out who is responsible for what, who should be paid and when, etc.

I'm by no means sure that the attached proposal is satisfactory but I have not discussed it with Chris at all. Similar proposals have been traversed before and we never seemed to find common ground - perhaps my fault for not being sufficiently 'flexible'!

The V.C. has in mind to have a review of CCE as the Centres and Units Committee recommended. I think he has talked to Chris & to Arthur Birch with a view to Arthur conducting the review after he has dealt with CSIRO!

May be this problem of consultancy and fees could with advantage be included in the review" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt. 10).

In 1974 the University, as a result of concerns of the Committee on the Future of the Board of the Institute of Advanced Studies, set up a joint committee of the two Boards "to consider for report to the boards, the structure, functions and lines of responsibility of university centres and units" (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 4). The Committee identified fourteen centres and units outside the IAS/SGS structure for examination. These fourteen centres and units were characteristic in that none would readily fit into any one existing department, faculty or research school. The CCE was included in this group of fourteen. The Committee noted that these centres and units were using a rapidly increasing share of resources. In 1973 they accounted for approximately 5.7% of total running expenses and in 1975 it was in the order of 8% (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 4). Along with this concern for resources the Committee identified six other reasons why these centres and units created problems for the University as a whole. They were;

1. A lack of identification with the main sectors of the University.

2. A sense of isolation felt by some of the centres and units in relation to the main sections of the University.

3. The absence of clear lines of communication with the academic boards and other bodies.

4. Following on from 1, 2 and 3 above a lack of understanding and appreciation of the functions, problems etc, of the centres and units by the main sections of the University.
(5) Difficulties in relation to scrutiny of academic appointments in the centres and units so that comparable standards are maintained in different sections with similar academic requirements.

(6) Difficulties in relation to scrutiny of and support for academic and financial proposals put forward by the centres and units". (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 4)

The most desirable solution to these six problems was to affiliate the centres and units with research schools and faculties and of the remaining twenty six centres and units (additional to the fourteen mentioned above) to be grouped within the IAS and the SGS as appropriate. Out of all forty centres and units the CCE was regarded by the Committee as sui generis and that it remain as is by not being identified with either the Institute or the School. It was because of its unique position in the University that the CCE was subject to a separate review chaired by Professor Arthur Birch discussed below.

6.3 The Birch Report

In May, 1977, following the review of centres and units outlined above, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the day, Professor Dunbar wrote to the Vice-Chancellor suggesting that they proceed with a review of the CCE. In his letter Dunbar asserted that the Review Committee "must have ....... a strong University voice from one or more people who have been raising questions concerning the Centre and its activities" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 F pt.1). Dunbar was to add that;

"the terms of reference of the Committee should be broad enough to include consideration of the relationship between the Centre and the University and some of the problems of administration which have arisen. The Centre seems to want all the benefits of being part of the University without accepting the consequences in the way of administrative procedures both financial and otherwise. The problem of its degree of independence and its need to comply with normal University practices could be one of the central issues looked at by the Review Committees" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 F pt.1).

Chris Duke was certainly aware of attitudes in the University such as those expressed by Professor Dunbar. In a letter to the Vice-Chancellor Duke
asked that concerns such as those suggested by Dunbar be explicitly part of the Review Committee's brief. Duke suggested that;

"The Review really came about at the recommendation of the Committee on Centres and Units which could not comfortably accommodate what I have called the dual identity (operational and academic) of the Centre and in effect left us in the 'too hard' basket. The preamble should therefore perhaps read: At the instance (or on the recommendation) of the Committee on Centres and Units and with the concurrence of the Director .... and of the Advisory Committee...

Because this has been the hub of the problem, and because there is continuing hesitancy over the nature of academic work in this area (at least among some internal colleagues) as well as, possibly, the Centre's own particular 'academic style', I suggest this should be added explicitly to the Committee’s considerations. This might most simply be done by inserting the words academic work before or after educational programs in your third term of reference." (ANU file, 19.2.1.0.F pt.1)

The Vice-Chancellor accepted Duke's suggestion that the words "academic work" be inserted in the (then) third term of reference.

By November 1977 the Vice-Chancellor, Professor D.A. Low had decided on the membership of the CCE Review Committee which was to be headed by Professor Authur Birch from the Research School of Chemistry. Professor Birch is an eminent Australian Scientist and, at the time, was also Chairman of the CCE Advisory Committee. Professor Birch was an advocate and keen supporter of continuing education and saw the review process as an opportunity to consolidate the place of the Centre in the ANU (personal communication 21 November, 1985). The other members of the Review Committee were;

Professor F.R. Jevans, Vice-Chancellor, Deakin University

Professor R. Johnson, Deputy Chairman of the Board of the School of General Studies

Professor J.N. Molony, Head of the Department of History, School of General Studies.

Mr D. Patterson, Academic Registrar, Canberra College of Advanced Education.

The terms of reference of the Review Committee were;
To consider the practice of continuing education and the development of teaching and research related to continuing education in Australia or in its region to the extent that may be necessary to consider present and future policy for the Centre.

To consider the manner in which the Centre for Continuing Education has operated, its academic work, educational programs, staffing policies, administrative structure and financial arrangements.

To review the relationship between the Centre and the rest of the University (including the role of the Advisory Committee), and also its relationship with the Canberra College of Advanced Education.

To comment on any other matter which may seem relevant and make recommendations to the Vice-Chancellor on future policy concerning the Centre." (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 F. pt.1)

The mode of operation of the Committee was to seek as wide as possible comment, both internal and external to the University on these terms of reference. Some one hundred and three written submissions were received both from within Australia and abroad. An issues paper on the CCE was also included in the ANU Reporter of 13 October, 1978. This also drew a number of written responses.

Birch believed that a comprehensive, public review of the Centre would ensure, once and for all, that the organisational issues relating to continuing education in the university would be aired allowing the Centre to get on with its work (personal communication 21 November, 1985). The Vice-Chancellor anticipated that the Committee would report early in 1978. It was not until August 1978 that Birch was able to provide the Vice-Chancellor with a draft of his thoughts on the place of the CCE in the ANU. Birch saw himself as taking a conscientious approach to the Review as "it raises a number of very fundamental issues for the University" (ANU file 19.2.1.0.F. pt.1). Birch was also to record at this point that members of the Review Committee differed in their views about these fundamental issues. Such differences were later to frustrate Birch when seeking support for the Review Report in the Boards (personal communication, 21 November, 1985).
The response to the call for submissions by the Review Committee was largely external to the university. The paucity of response from members of the ANU was one reason for Professor Birch publishing the issues paper in the ANU Reporter in October, 1978.

The Report of the Review of the Centre for Continuing Education was finally published in August 1979. Apart from Birch's absence from Australia for two months starting late July there is no apparent explanation on University records for this delay. It, in fact, took a little over two years from the time Dunbar wrote to the Vice-Chancellor suggesting the review commence, for the Report to be produced.

The Review Committee made twenty five recommendations on future policy concerning the Centre. They were an attempt to reconcile views, both internal and external to the University, on the nature and role of continuing education.

The major recommendation for organisational change was that:

"The Centre should be reorganised to become a normal academic department; the most appropriate place would appear to be the Faculty of Arts.

The Review Committee recommends that the Faculty of Arts examine the conditions required for acceptance of the Centre for Continuing Education as a Department and Centre for Continuing Education within that Faculty. If transferred to the Faculty the title of Centre for Continuing Education should be retained, with the addition of the title 'Department'" (Review of the Centre for Continuing Education, 1979).

Ironically it was this recommendation that caused most discussion on publication of this Report for the original proposers of the idea were also to change their minds in the face of overwhelming opposition from both the Faculty of Arts and the CCE. The idea for integration into the Faculty of Arts came from Professors Johnson and Molony. Birch did not agree with the idea, however gave in to the pressure from his two colleagues on the Review Committee. He was doubly disappointed when - after the furore it created died down, and both Johnson and Molony changed their minds in support of
the Faculty view, Birch was left to argue the recommendations at both Boards (personal communication 21 November, 1985).

The Birch Report was a comprehensive statement on the role of university continuing education in a modern society. It received widespread acclaim and other Australian universities were to write to the ANU seeking copies of the Report (ANU file 19.2.1.0 F pt 2). In the discussion that followed the release of the Report much of its considerations on the place of university continuing education appear to be overshadowed by the debate on the organisational location of the CCE and its resource requirements. The high level of enthusiasm and initiative found in CCE activities in the mid 70s waned after the release of the Birch Report. To this researcher this is indicative of the preoccupation by the University with organisational issues relating to the Centre at the expense of due consideration of its place in the University's role in society.

6.4 The Brennan Report

In March 1985 after the resignation of the founding Director of the CCE, Dr Chris Duke, the Vice-Chancellor appointed a committee to review the Centre. It had become University practice to review departments periodically, or upon the resignation of the head. Because of the contemporary nature of this review ANU records were not available for this research.

The members of the Review Committee were;
Lady Patricia Brennan (Chair), Member of Council
Professor Don Aitkin, Chairman, Board of the Institute of Advanced Studies and Head, Department of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences
Dr P.D. Finn, Reader in Faculty of Law
Mr David Solomon, Member of Council
Mr John Wellings, Principal Adult Education Adviser, Board of Adult Education, New South Wales

The terms of reference of the Committee were;
"(1) The Committee shall examine and report on the activities of the Centre since 1979.

(2) In particular, the Committee shall investigate the resources involved in the three main sectors of activity (local extension program, national extension program and academic), both the gross resources and the net impact on the University budget.

(3) The Committee shall advise on future directions of the activities of the Centre and, in particular, on whether any or all of the activities should be discontinued.

(4) The Committee shall advise of any changes it deems desirable in the Centre's relationship with other parts of the University and with the community". (Brennan Report, 1985, p. iii)

Additionally, the Vice-Chancellor asked the Committee;

(a) to consult with members of the staff of the Centre and with members of the Committee on Public Affairs and Continuing Education;

(b) to seek comment from members of the academic staff of the Institute and the Faculties;

(c) to complete its task, if possible, by 31 July, 1985" (Brennan Report, 1985, p. iii)

The Committee advertised in the ANU Reporter calling for written submissions receiving seven from within the University, forty three from outside and twenty three from the CCE itself. The Committee also met with Centre staff and students, other academic staff of the University, members of the Committee on Public Affairs and Continuing Education, and representatives of outside organisations.

The Committee presented its report to the Vice-Chancellor in September 1985 making fourteen recommendations for a significantly different Centre for Continuing Education. These recommendations were;

"The continuation of the CCE in a modified form.
The appointment of a Board of Continuing Education responsible to the Vice-Chancellor.
The appointment of a Director and Assistant Director of the CCE.
The following establishment for the CCE -

1 Director
1 Assistant Director
1 International Officer/Extension Officer
1 National Extension Officer
1 Assistant National Extension Officer
1 Local Extension Officer
1 Assistant Local Extension Officer
1 Administrative Officer
2 Typists
1 Librarian/Publications Officer

That the academic staff of the CCE not accommodated in the new structure be individually re-deployed in the University.

Subject to the changes proposed, the CCE remain part of DES.

Functions

The extension programmes continue, but with more emphasis on the extension of the University, and more attention to costs.

The international activity continue at the present level of involvement.

The Board of Continuing Education formulate and monitor the research programme.

The Centre have minimal publication functions.

There be no undergraduate or post-graduate courses in continuing education, and that post-graduate students not be taken on.

The Centre budget for and report on the financial results of each of its major activities separately.

The executive officer of DES control the financial records and handle the finances of the CCE.

This report be implemented" (Brennan Report, 1985, pp. 23-25).

These recommendations involved substantial changes both in the structure and operations of the Centre. The recommended reduction in staff from nineteen to eleven costing the University annually $450,000 instead of the present $650,000 would bring its budget to approximately 1% of the current funding to the Faculties (Brennan Report, 1985, p. 18). This reduction would be assisted by the redeployment of academic staff to other appropriate areas of the University. The establishment of a Board of Continuing Education with academic oversight and guidance was also seen as a substantial recommendation. When published the Report was the basis for considerable discussion within the University. Some of the documentation arising out of these discussions are worth reflecting on.
Dr C.M. Williams of the History Department in the Faculty of Arts wrote to the Chairman of the Board of the Faculties, Professor Whalan stating that "some crucial points .... appear to me to be treated with more facility than understanding" (letter of 14 October, 1985). Williams went on to add that "the Report betrays so alarming an ignorance of the Centre's relationship with the Division of Educational Services as to suggest that the Review Committee received no input from the Divisional Board of Educational Services (DBES) or any officer of the University familiar with that relationship" (letter of 14 October, 1985). Williams goes on to identify many inconsistencies, too numerous to document here, on the Brennan Committees recommendations and assert there was, in fact, adequate coordination and accountability through the DBES and the CCE's Designated Authority (for scutiny of graduate students and research proposals). As an historian William's obvious concern in his letter was that the Brennan Committee had, apparently, blatantly ignored present good practice relating to the management, in the widest sense, of the CCE.

The nature of, and recommendations arising from the Brennan Report has much in common with other reviews of university continuing education units outlined in chapter three. The apparent preoccupation with resource use questions and how the budget to the CCE could be drastically reduced, without any real assessment of the place of continuing education in the University as occurred in the Birch review bears a remarkable similarity to the earlier reviews of Sydney, Melbourne, New England, Adelaide and Western Australia.

The saga of institutional insecurity that evolved in the early 1960s with the Department of Adult Education at the ANU continued through the 1970s and into the 80s. Over the last five years increasing pressure over resources for continuing education has been placed on the CCE as the ANU grappled with the problem of real term decreases in funding. The CCE, with its different approaches to education and work, were tolerated by the University in the 1970s as the CCE maintained a productive, high community profile. The temptation by the ANU to retreat from innovation - as Borthwick (1981) referred to Melbourne University's similar treatment of its Office of Continuing Education, has apparently been great.
As a post-script to the Brennan Committee recommendations, the ANU Council at its November, 1986 meeting, approved a recommendation from the Vice-Chancellor "that the term 'extension of the work of the University' should be interpreted as primarily 'extension of the work of the University as a mirror of the educational activities of the University'" (ANU, 1986, p. 10). This definition of extension had been chosen by the Vice-Chancellor as the primary function of the CCE from two interpretations presented by the new Director Geoff Caldwell. The second interpretation, extension as "as process of outreach in which some members of the University went out into the community to interact with people and organisations on areas of interest initiated by the community rather than by the University" (ANU, 1986, p. 10). Both the scope and resources of the Centre have been significantly reduced over 1986.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONTINUING AND HIGHER EDUCATION:
THE ANU EXPERIENCE

There are three distinct periods in the history of adult and continuing education at the Australian National University. The first is the period from the late 1950s to 1969 when the then Canberra University College (CUC) saw adult education as a vehicle by which to publicise and assert its position in Canberra and the southern tablelands region. The second period is from Duke's appointment as Director of the Centre for Continuing Education in 1969. The last and most recent period is that since Duke's departure and as the Brennan Committee's recommendations come into effect. In this chapter we will analyse events in this history in terms of the framework presented in chapter four.

7.1 Role and orientation

The idea of continuing education in the University permeates the historical records of the ANU. As Lewis (1972) pointed out the motive of the men behind the establishment of the ANU - with backgrounds in economics, social science and experience in Commonwealth administration, was to inform and support the policies of national reconstruction after the war - the orientation was towards the needs of society. However, when the academics appointed to this new institution became involved in the planning of the University there began a shift away from applied, policy oriented research.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s when the National University was moving towards amalgamation with the CUC the latter had been actively publicising itself by way of extension lectures and adult education activities in Canberra and the southern tablelands region. The CUC Principal, Herbert Burton, was quite open in stating that the College was becoming involved in extension work for public relations purposes. He also had the view that the role of the university was to assist in the diffusion of knowledge and the cultivation of an informed and critical public opinion.
In 1962 the joint heads of schools at the ANU agreed that the Universities Commission be informed about their rationale for being involved in extra-mural activities. This rationale was simply to bring the University into closer touch with the community.

Some months later when considering a new proposal by the Adult Education Committee for increases in expenditure the joint heads were wary of increasing administrative staff and sought to explore the use of television for extension. This, no doubt, was seen as a far more effective medium for publicising the university. It was, in fact, looked into by Sir George Currie's Committee.

Currie was asked to review adult education at the ANU largely as a result of the proposals put forward by the Adult Education Committee late in 1962 which required a large increase in University resources. He saw the University as having a duty to undertake extra-mural work and not confine itself to 'ivory tower' activities. The basis of his argument was that the university depends wholly on the public purse and must be seen to be legitimate to the society. Extra-mural work is an opportunity for society to assess the work of the university. The university had a responsibility, Currie argued, to inform its public about its worth.

The three principles identified by Currie; the need to foster good public relations so that it may pursue its true end (research and publication) and still receive public financial support; the responsibility to spread its scholarship beyond its walls to those who seek it, providing this does not interfere with the proper conduct of research and teaching within its walls, and; to provide the opportunity to those of its scholars who have a sense of mission and competence to spread their skills more widely, highlights the differing roles and orientation of continuing and higher education. Currie's work was the basis of considerable discussion in the ANU. Apparently not all were convinced with his arguments and some six months after his report new advice was sought from Professor Raybould of Leeds University.
Raybould's views on the rationale for adult education in the university were similar to Currie's. Raybould, however, apparently satisfied many of the adult education critics with his insistence that the standards of extra-mural work must be at least those of the intra-mural departments. Even with Raybould's report a future for adult education in the ANU only scraped by with one vote when in March 1965 the Board of the School of General Studies considered the motion that the University should not engage in adult education beyond 1966. Professors Gibb and Dunbar both informed me (personal communications, 30 September and 10 October 1985 respectively) that the science professors recruited in the early 1960s saw adult education as a largely irrelevant, resource hungry activity that would never have become established had the science professors been involved in the initial decision in the late 1950s.

The third Report of the Australian Universities Commission (1966), with its decision to terminate financial support for university adult education by the end of 1969, caused considerable debate throughout the Australian university adult education community. The outcome of this was that the Minister responsible, John Gorton, made a political decision that financial support would continue. However, it had the effect of delaying the appointment of a director at the ANU for two years. Gorton agreed that there was a place for adult education in universities and they should receive resources accordingly. He also agreed to a review of provision in the light of the role of other tertiary institutions and providing bodies such as the W.E.A. and the Victorian Council of Adult Education.

When Duke arrived as Director in 1969 he was keen to establish a role for his fledgling department. In his proposal to the Schools of the Institute in September 1969 that they give a term of lectures on their work for interested outsiders he was readily introduced to the different role and orientation of continuing and higher education. The response from the Board of the Research School of Physical Sciences that there were already adequate sources of information via annual reports, staff articles in the ANU News, radio and television interviews and the occasional newspaper article is a good example. Apparently undeterred by this response the CCE undertook an inquiry into the reciprocal uses of resources - reciprocal in
that the CCE would provide the forum, for academics to provide the substance. The poor response to the survey, especially from departments suggested to the CCE that they were more likely to receive responses from individual academic staff members.

Duke was not put off by this reserved response from ANU academics. He continued to discuss the role of continuing education through the CCE Advisory Committee and through articles in ANU News. In 1969 he produced a paper titled "Adult Education in the ANU" referred to in chapter six in which he presents a most optimistic statement guiding his Centre. This quote is worth repeating here;

the spirit is somewhat of the early entrepreneur, real or mythical, of the industrial revolution who sold his wares in unexpected places and opened up new dimensions and possibilities in the process ..... it [refresher schools and courses for professional and occupational groups] represents a form of social intervention which holds promise of social benefits of a multiplier kind. In a nutshell, this kind of selective intervention at critical points in society represents the moral dynamic of the Department; it seeks to induce self-critical thought and heightened self-awareness among intelligent and influential groups with particular reference to the occupational roles which give them their influence" (ANU file 3.19.51 pt. 1).

In 1973 while writing in a similar vein for ANU News on the place of continuing education in the university Duke was no doubt far less optimistic than his article suggests. As pointed out in chapter seven he showed a much more reserved position in the publication of the 1972 Annual Report when he asserted that the ANU was unlikely to provide a base for a very substantial program for refresher and diversification programs. However, with regard to the role and orientation of the CCE he asserted in the 1973 article that a shift in emphasis towards the needs of Australian society would strengthen and enrich the University community and its work rather than threaten its academic integrity. Clearly the participative approaches to teaching and learning, the development of the Search Conference and interests in work relationships, such as industrial democracy, are all indicative of this orientation. Also, in this article, Duke clearly sets the orientation of the Centre towards assisting individuals to survive in a changing world. With concerns such as the problems of industrial adaptation, or what he calls learning to learn, in order to renovate organisations in society is a clear example of this
outward looking orientation of the Centre. To Duke the values underpinning this orientation are consistent in that he believes active participation by individuals is the process his Centre should encourage.

In 1977 when the University was preparing to review the CCE the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Professor Dunbar, was concerned that the terms of reference be broad enough to consider the role and orientation of continuing education in the University. He was concerned about the problems of administration which will be discussed later in this chapter. Duke was also concerned about the terms of reference of what was to become the Birch review of the CCE. Duke acknowledged the problem the Committee on Centres and Units had with the dual role of the CCE; operational and academic. He was keen to ensure that the academic role was not lost from the Centre as he suspected could be an outcome. While the Birch Committee supported the dual role of the Centre the Brennan Committee called to review the Centre after Duke resigned had a different conception which did not include an academic role.

In 1983 the Assistant Vice-Chancellor, Colin Plowman, published a paper on the role of the academic in the CCE. The motive for his wide ranging discussion is not clear, however he does touch on the history of the CCE relevant to our discussion of role and orientation. Plowman acknowledges the unwillingness of the academic community through its established hierarchy to admit continuing education to full participation in that community. This unwillingness is evident in the fact that neither the CCE, nor any of its staff were given full status in the various Boards, committees and other decision-making bodies of the University.

When the Brennan Committee reviewed the CCE in 1985 the major thrust of its recommendations were a reduction in recurrent expenditure on continuing education and a move away from the dual academic and service function of the Centre towards an exclusive service orientation. By recommending that the Centre should not enrol under-graduate or graduate students, and external control of research (from the two academic staff remaining as Director and Assistant Director) be via a Board of Continuing Education, all contributed to this new orientation.
The role and orientation of the Department of Adult Education, and now Centre for Continuing Education at the ANU has shifted ground several times over its nearly thirty year history. Clearly it has been seen by many ANU academics as having an instrumental role for their departments. Initially in the 50s as a means of publicising the University, with the hiatus of the 60s as the external environment of the University shifted ground on several occasions, through the 70s when the Centre was, quite literally a place which brought together both academic and the community in new and innovative learning environments in a way which enhanced the reputation of the institution. This reputation is most evident in the responses (at least the external responses focusing on purpose, rather than internal resourcing questions) received by the Birch Committee. That the role of continuing education in the university correlates with changes in the external environment is worthy of discussion and will be attempted in the final chapter.

7.2 Academics Role

In so far as the role and orientation of continuing education is directed by the needs of learners and usually focusses on contemporary social problems the role of the academic in continuing education also has an orientation that is fundamentally different to peers in traditional faculties and departments, whose orientation is more to their discipline and a particular body of knowledge. These differences were most obvious during the decade of the 1970s when the CCE was established and actively worked to develop an identity, both within the University and beyond.

The first suggestion that the role of the continuing education academic was different from the role of the traditional, intra-mural academic is found in the CCE inquiry into the reciprocal use of resources in the ANU conducted in 1970. The most obvious indicator in this inquiry that there were significant differences was the poor response by ANU academics to the survey. The CCE report on this inquiry was generally pessimistic taking the view that they were undeterred by this apparent low level of interest and regarded this as an opportunity to make fresh attempts in the future.
Also, an interesting observation in the CCE report was that while a consistent departmental attitude across the ANU was apparent - that they were not interested in participating in activities with the CCE, there were individual responses from academics who were interested in hearing about involvement in continuing education. This is an interesting observation for this thesis. This suggests that that an implicit policy about the nature of academic work in the ANU operated at the department level.

In 1971 the Faculty of Arts considered a proposal from the CCE for a course leading to an M.A. in continuing education. The proposal had the support of the CCE Advisory Committee but needed support of the Faculty of Arts in making units in the Faculty available for candidates for the M.A. in continuing education.

The M.A. proposal aimed at providing candidates with training across a wide range of disciplines. The rationale being that a continuing educator needs a wide ranging view for their problem solving orientation with adult learners and therefore an eclectic approach was justified. This was not accepted by the committee from the Faculty of Arts which had the responsibility of assessing the proposal. They could not see how such an extensive and diffuse course could be accepted as an advanced Arts degree. There was also a problem of the initial training of candidates. The committee could not see how candidates with undergraduate training in one field could undertake advanced work in philosophy, or psychology without a corresponding training in the fundamentals of these subjects. The solution, that candidates enrol in the Faculty of Arts for an M.A. and take two seminars in continuing education offered by the CCE ensured that the status quo prevailed. Duke's views on this decision were touched upon in his extensive article in ANU News in November 1973 when he implied that continuing education could not offer graduate programmes because there are no departments upon which such programmes could be 'grafted'.

The several unsuccessful attempts by Duke and his colleagues to provide accredited, course work programmes in the CCE are an excellent example of the clash in values between traditional higher education work of research
and accredited teaching and the work of continuing education. The professors in the Faculty of Arts did not support the notion of graduate education which assumed knowledge and understanding that cut across their respective disciplines. Baldridge sums them up well when he asserts they "are in many senses the gatekeepers to success, the wielders of power, and the deciders of right and wrong, truth and beauty. The claim to knowledge has become a claim to control" (1983, p. 209). He is equally damning when he adds that "associations of professors dedicated to the advancement of science are also very dedicated to the advancement of professors' financial and social status. In short, professional organisations reinforce the self-serving activities of individual professionals" (Baldridge, 1983, p. 209). Emotive words, but they are relevant to our framework for analysis which distinguishes between the preoccupation of the traditional academic with adding to the body of knowledge that is his disciplinary base, to the continuing education academic whose preoccupation is with assisting learners in problem solving that draws across a number of disciplinary fronts.

In 1972 in a report to the CCE Advisory Committee summarising the accomplishments and objectives of the Centre to date, Duke also commented on the traditional role of the university academic. Referring to refresher schools and courses as the area of least growth in the ANU Duke was of the opinion that there was no incentive for intra-mural academic staff to participate. He was of the opinion that staffing formulae needed to change so that refresher schools would count towards departmental teaching loads.

Also in the 1972 statement summarising accomplishments and objectives of the Centre Duke commented on the role of his academic colleagues highlighting the differences with research and teaching in the specialised areas of the University. In Duke's own words the "Centre continues to sets its face against employing specialists in the various subject areas of the University" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt. 8) preferring to use the CCE academic staff to direct and monitor residential courses as well as conduct teaching and planning meetings for seminars and other activities which mobilise the academic (and other) resources of the University. The organiser role of
the Centre academic as I have called it in chapter four permeates much of Duke's statements on the CCE.

In January 1974 Duke circularised Deans and Heads of Departments reminding them that one of the responsibilities of the CCE was to assist internal departments of the University in the conduct of refresher programmes.

The negative tone of Duke's circular, for example; "the experience of recent years suggests that many parts of the University have little interest in offering such [refresher] courses, either because they do not consider their disciplines and fields of interest relevant to such continuing education, or because other demands on the time of academic staff make it impracticable" (ANU file 19.2.1.0 p. 9), and the fact that it was sent out in the middle of January with two weeks to reply suggests he was of the opinion there would be a poor response from ANU academics.

No where is the issue of the role of the academic in continuing education versus the intra-mural academic more apparent than in the debate over criteria for assessment for promotion. In 1972 Duke wrote to the CCE Advisory Committee raising the issue of assessment of CCE academic staff.

The focus of his memorandum was on the nature of the continuing education academic's work; dealing with students who do not register through central administration, who are not formally examined and graded by the institution, and who do not figure in the Universities Commission student load calculations. This, to Duke, was seen as part of the reason why SGS and IAS academics had doubts about the Centres academic mission. To other academics scholarship equated with discipline based research and publication and, therefore, they had difficulty in accepting members of the CCE as being fully academic.

Duke was successful in having the promotions criteria amended to recognise the work of the academic in the Centre. These amendments related to academic work in continuing education as a field of study and ability in the constructing and organising of activities appropriate to the CCE.

While he was successful in having the criteria by which the promotions committee made its decisions broadened there is no substantive evidence to
suggest that the academic community of the ANU ever made any real shifts to recognise the academic work of the Centre. In fact, all the evidence on university records presented in chapters five and six suggests the opposite.

The assessment of CCE academics by their colleagues in the ANU is also relevant to the preoccupation with disciplinary knowledge by academics in the University. Duke's own status as an administrator rather than as an academic which saw his attempts at professional recognition denied are symptomatic of this. While official records made available for this research suggest that the University was vague when it offered Duke the opportunity as head of the department of adult education it never offered him (nor continuing education) professorial status even in the light of much acclaim (documented in the Birch Committee review) accorded to his efforts in building the CCE up as a nationally recognised unit. From Duke's own interpretation of this position (1979) we would suggest the choice he faced as Director was specialisation as a continuing education unit with persistent marginality in the University or integration into departments and faculties with the loss of a real commitment to the philosophy and process of continuing education. Ironically with the outcome of the Brennan Committee review in 1985, a review which resulted when Duke took the founding chair in adult and continuing education at the University of Warwick in the U.K., the thrust of their recommendations was integration back into the university.

In 1983 the Assistant Vice-Chancellor, Colin Plowman focussed on the role of the academic in the CCE. Plowman was primarily concerned with the different conditions of employment between academic staff in the CCE and the rest of the ANU. He also commented on the role of academics in the CCE and the way in which they had been treated by their peers in the University. Plowman notes that the academic community had been unwilling to admit continuing education to full participation in that community. He was referring to the decision not to approve graduate studies in continuing education. Plowman speculated that this was the result of the academic communities basic suspicion of continuing education and its belief that continuing education had no priority in the ANU at that time.
The different academic perspectives of continuing and higher education are directly related to the fundamental differences in role and orientation discussed earlier in this chapter. Yet the evidence presented to this researcher; from official records, interviews with academics from both continuing and traditional higher education teaching, suggest that the manifestation of these differences in the role of the academic staff has been a primary source of discussion and debate in the University since the inception of adult education programmes in the late 1950s. This is not surprising in universities as they are institutions which have, through academic work, the development and growth of their members as an important cornerstone for their existence. When the nature of academic work is brought into question, as has been the case in the history of adult and continuing education at the ANU, inevitable conflict has flowed over into discussion about organisation and decision making structures, and, administration and resourcing questions.

7.3 Organisational Focus and Decision Making Structures

Location within an organisation is usually indicative of the organisations regard for the activity. In 1962 the Vice-Chancellor discussed the University's policy on adult education with Directors and Deans within the Institute and School after which he expressed concern in his notes about the development of this activity. While not directly focusing on organisational location - this was to come later, these early concerns are significant as they give perspective on the opinions of decision makers about adult and continuing education. They were concerned about the possibilities of increasing administrative costs and the resulting permanence of the function once the administration was in place. Finally, the Vice-Chancellor concluded that adult education always raised very great problems stating that it has created severe difficulties in Melbourne and Sydney.

The mid 60s saw extensive discussions on the location and resourcing of adult education in the ANU. The resourcing questions will be reviewed in the next section. The resource considerations are tied to locational questions especially when it relates to the administrative, or overhead
costs. In 1965 the SGS Board suggested that if the University was not prepared to allocate funds to a discrete Department of Adult Education they should now discontinue this activity and develop it later through the established departments. It was at this meeting that the Board voted on the motion that the University should not engage in adult education. The motion was lost by one vote.

The Board of the IAS subsequently endorsed the establishment of an adult education department and the appointment of a director at professorial level. This was agreed to by the Board of the SGS who also recommended that the department be a university activity, not exclusively one of the SGS or IAS. This recommendation was based on the view that adult education served the whole university, not just one arm of it. This was, in fact, the model that was adopted by the University, but, came into question in 1977 with the Birch Committee review into the CCE.

The CCE's location in the structure of the University was to influence its activities in a number of ways. These included its proposals for accredited courses and the nature and extent of funding from the University.

The efforts by the CCE to offer accredited courses, with the assistance of the Faculty of Arts providing support by allowing students to enrol in their courses for Master's qualifying requirements is an important example of the effect of organisational location of the CCE. There were, no doubt, educational reasons why the University should be concerned with the Centre's proposals for graduate courses, in particular, the preparation of candidates to study at graduate level in continuing education. However, the recommendation of the Faculty of Arts that students wishing to undertake graduate studies in continuing education enrol in the Faculty and that the CCE offer several seminars did not address the fundamental concerns of the Faculty of Arts Committee about the preparedness of candidates to undertake a Masters degree course. The Faculty were prepared to take on the very problem they warned against. No doubt they were concerned that the CCE was a potential competitor. Had the CCE been part of the Faculty, and thus under its influence, the Centre would probably have had less difficulty over this proposal. Subsequently, with the waters
muddied in the SGS, the Director of the Research School of Social Services in the IAS became the Prescribed Authority for graduate students in the CCE.

The funding of the CCE has always been a major issue for the University. The location of the CCE as a centre serving the entire University came to a head in 1975 after the 6th Australian Universities Commission Report recommendation that universities allocate 1% of recurrent funds towards continuing education. Duke wrote to the Vice-Chancellor urging that the Centre be seen as a University wide function and not part of the SGS for funding purposes. He also put the case that the extension and academic functions of the Centre were well integrated with extension serving the whole University and the academic work more akin to work in the IAS. This brought a strong reaction from Professor Gibb, Deputy Chairman of the Board of the SGS, who said this was a further shot in a long-standing struggle. Gibb was concerned Duke was arguing for a shift away from the original purpose of adult and continuing education in the ANU. This not only had resource implications, it also had implications for the nature of the Centre's work. Gibb argued that CCE academic staff had a primary obligation to teaching and that a research effort from them was a normal expectation of the University.

The CCE had been responsible to its own Advisory Committee comprising members of the University who were appointed by the Vice-Chancellor and largely sympathetic to continuing education. Approval for CCE activities were usually given by this Committee. Professor Birch, Chairman of the Committee up to his chairing of the 1977 Review of the CCE, felt he was the final arbiter on many of the Centre's initiatives (personal communication, 21 November, 1985). While the Director attended the Board meetings of the School and the Institute most information from the Centre came to the Boards via the Advisory Committee. The concern shown by the University over the control mechanisms for the Centre are seen in the outcomes of both the Birch and Brennan Review Committee Reports. The extensive consideration of the nature of advisory committees alludes to this. Apparently the CCE was not alone in this respect as the Committee on Centres and Units set up in 1975 identified six characteristics of these structures, which included; lack of identification with the core of the
University; absence of clear lines of communication (control mechanisms); difficulty in ensuring academic standards are maintained with appointments, and; problems in assessing financial proposals. Of interest to this study was the Committees position that the CCE was sui generis and required yet another independent group (Birch Committee) to review its operations.

The Birch Committee Review Report was regarded as a comprehensive commentary on the role of continuing education in the university. Commissioned in 1977 it was not until 1979 that the Report was published. The major recommendations related to the location of the Centre in the University. Privately Birch disagreed with the recommendation that the Centre be relocated in the Faculty of Arts. The majority of his Committee put this view and, being unable to convince them he had to support this position. To Birch's disappointment his colleagues in the Committee, who were members of the Faculty of Arts and the proponents for the relocation, ultimately did not support him after they realised this was not acceptable to the majority of members of the Faculty. Also, as it was not acceptable to the CCE the Vice-Chancellor did not proceed with this recommendation but reorganised other centres and units with the CCE to form the Division of Educational Services (DES). The Division of Educational Services can be classified as fulfilling a staff function as outlined earlier in this chapter. A committee on public affairs and continuing education with CCE and University representation was formed later, and reported to the Board of DES. This structure replaced the CCE Advisory Committee.

The 1985 review of the CCE (precipitated by the Director's departure to the Chair in Adult and Continuing Education at the University of Warwick in the UK), chaired by Lady Brennan, was most specific in its recommendations which were largely directed at reducing the cost of running the Centre. The Brennan Committee recommended that, apart from a Director and Assistant Director (a new concept for the CCE), other academic staff be redeployed in the University. At the November 1986 meeting of Council the Vice-Chancellor recommended that the extension work of the CCE should 'mirror' the work of the University, as opposed to 'outreach' extension work, where members of the university go out into the community to interact
with people and organisations on areas of educational interest initiated by the community (ANU, 1986).

A major thrust of the Brennan Committee Report was to significantly reduce the professional, or academic work of the Centre. The extension programme was to continue and no further graduate students were to be enrolled. The Committee recommended staff cuts from nineteen to eleven reducing the annual salary bill to the University from $650,000 to $450,000, which is approximately 1% of recurrent funding to the Faculties. Clearly this had the result of identifying the Centre as an exclusive service agent of the University, something which had been advocated by many in the University since the AUC recommendation that 1% of recurrent money be allocated to continuing education.

7.4 Administration and Resource Provision

The administration, or management of continuing education by a university is closely related to the resourcing of the function. While the criteria for funding research and accredited teaching programmes are set by the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission the rationale for funding continuing education has been much less specific and thus vulnerable to the changing external pressures on the University and the internal attitudes this gives rise to. The nearly thirty year history of adult and continuing education at the ANU has occurred across periods of great change in Australian society, change that has had varying impact on the resources available to the University.

As referred to earlier in this chapter the discussions of Directors and Deans of the Institute and School in 1962 had wide ranging impact on the resulting nature of adult education - not the least was the impact on administration and funding questions. At that time the University was concerned at proposals to double the funding of adult education by the end of 1966 which only included an approximate 5% increase in tutoring fees. The remaining 95% was for increasing the administration capacity of adult education. There was a view that such a large administrative team would constitute a permanent commitment to the function. These proposals from
the Adult Education Committee were effectively shelved for seven years as
the University, on two occasions, cautiously reviewed its interest in adult
education and then only proceeded with the appointment of a Director in
1969 after the Universities Commission gave a clear commitment to funding.

The discussion at the Board of the SGS in March, 1965, before the infamous
motion that the ANU abandon its involvement in adult education beyond 1966,
fo-cussed on the administration and resourcing dilemma. The Board was
informed that the Directors and Deans of the University were of the opinion
that there would be insufficient funds to develop adult education to an
adequate standard. They believed this type of education should be offered
in time through the established departments of the University. With adult
education being seen as a competitor for resources with the established
departments it is no surprise that the motion to cease involvement in adult
education came close to succeeding (by 11 to 10 with one abstention). Both
Professors Gibb and Dunbar informed me (personal communications, 30
September and 21 October 1985 respectively) the split was evenly divided
between the new science professors who were against putting resources
towards adult education at the expense of their work and the professors
from the old Canberra University College whose fields of interest had
greater affinity with adult education.

When Duke set out to change and expand the nature of the CCE's work in the
early 1970s he also ran headlong into these joint problems of
administration and resourcing. In his 1972 paper to the CCE Advisory
Committee he noted that it was unlikely that refresher and diversification
programmes would be offered by the ANU unless staffing formulae were
changed to recognise such work in individual and departmental work loads.

Duke's extensive 1973 article in ANU News addressed the problem from
another perspective when he concluded that it was unrewarding to argue that
continuing education would be recognised as a legitimate discipline in the
University because it did not fit - or in his words, could not be grafted
onto existing departments and courses of study. The administration and
resourcing of the CCE was brought to a head with the AUC's recommendation
that 1% of recurrent funding to each university be allocated to continuing
education. Duke attempted to ward off any suggestion that the Centre be seen as part of the SGS, ostensibly for funding purposes. He was concerned that this would potentially limit the Centre's role which he felt was oriented towards the whole institution in both its service and academic roles.

The Centre already had in place a more flexible arrangement with the revenue raised by fees. Very soon after Duke's arrival in 1969 the Vice-Chancellor agreed to allow the Centre to carry revenue over into the next financial year. In 1976 Duke sought to broaden this arrangement so that income from training courses, workshops, refresher programmes and search conferences be treated in the same way as fees. In response to Duke's proposal Professor Dunbar was to comment that this was a "hardy perennial" and that "there is a continuing problem with CCE and the way they operate in funding and who is responsible for what, who should be paid and when". Dunbar also added in his note that such proposals had been discussed before and that they "never seemed to find common ground - perhaps my fault for not being sufficiently 'flexible'!" (ANU file, 19.2.1.0 pt. 10).

The administration and resourcing of the CCE was clearly in the minds of Lady Brennan and her Committee when it made a number of significant administrative and funding recommendations. The cut back of staff from nineteen to eleven with a more defined focus for the Centre would reduce the annual salary charge from $650,000 to $450,000. Equally important however in the light of our framework for analysis was the CCE's loss of responsibility for financial matters to the Executive Officer of the Division of Educational Services and the requirement that the Centre be more accountable by having to budget and report on the financial results of its major activities separately.

The history of adult and continuing education includes many examples of the University's concern over administrative arrangements for the CCE and questions about resource allocation. As with adult and continuing education units in other Australian universities that have been wound
down in recent years (see chapter three) it was this aspect of the Centre's operation, catalysed no doubt by the decrease in real term funding to the ANU in recent years, that was central to the Brennan Committee recommendations.

The framework for analysis developed in chapter four provides a clearer understanding of the rationale for many of the decisions made about the Department of Adult Education and Centre for Continuing Education at the ANU. Further comment on the framework will be made in the Conclusion.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

"The University must have society's support. Society must have access to the University's resources. Were the University to turn its back on society's needs it would be tantamount to self destruction." (The Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation, quoted in Whitelock, 1970, p. 50)

The aim of this research has been to explain the apparent contradiction between what is said and what is done about providing adult and continuing education in an Australian university.

The common themes evident in the review of adult and continuing education units in other Australian universities in chapter three suggest that the plight of the CCE at the ANU is not unique. As many of Australia's universities have wound down their specialised adult and continuing education units it will be appropriate in this conclusion to reflect on the implications resulting from such action. My assumption is that a more accurate assessment of motives for establishing continuing education units would ensure them an appropriately valued status amongst the many activities a modern university undertakes and thus a more stable organisational environment in which to operate. The thesis will conclude by presenting three possible scenarios for the future of adult and continuing education in Australian universities.

As this study was being completed the CTEC published a report titled "It's Human Nature: Non-Award Adult and Continuing Education in Australia" prepared by Professor R. Johnson and Ms F. Hinton. The Report, known as the Johnson (1986) Report, is a timely statement on the need for coherent national policies and strategies for adult and continuing education. Johnson also acknowledges that "consistent and reliable statistics are hard to come by, substantial studies in the field are few and far between" (1986, p. 29). Regarding research into adult and continuing education, Johnson adds that it is up to each institution to win national visibility in a field that is "by comparison with the investigation of other aspects of education .... a Cinderella" (1986, p. 30). The CCE is one of five
institutions across Australia cited by Johnson undertaking work in the field of adult and continuing education research.

Johnson notes there is a distinctive role for institutes of higher education in the provision of adult and continuing education at the appropriate intellectual level. However he adds;

"For all that, one has a clear impression, often supported by the admissions of responsible officers in institutions, that the higher education sector as a whole has reduced its involvement in recent years" (1986, p. 9)

In his report Johnson concludes that "there are some reasons for thinking that adult and continuing education is an idea whose time, if it has not come is fast approaching" (1986, p. 43). Two that stand out are; continuing education for the educated and, adult education for those who missed out in their youth. On the former Johnson acknowledges the education 'echo', analogous to the demographic echo of post-war children seeking higher education in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with this same group now seeking adult and continuing education. It can also be argued that the educated need continuing education because they are knowledge workers and knowledge becomes dated.

For those who missed educational opportunities in their youth, especially women, who are a significant majority in community based adult education, they are wanting to catch up as;

Adult education offers the first step to the second chance. Hence the explosion of demand in the last decade which is illustrated by the rapid growth of community-based adult education often without any stimulation or generous provision of resources by government" (Johnson, 1986, p. 44)

Johnson's recognition of the increasing demand for adult and continuing education is a post-war phenomena that has consistently been recorded by others studying the field. In 1971 Duke and Butterfield reported on a survey of students in the class program of the Australian National University's Centre for Continuing Education during the first term of 1970. Their sample population reported 42.4% of adult students holding, at least, a Bachelor's degree; 26.1% a Diploma or Certificate, and; 31.5% matriculation or less. In 1985 from an analysis of CCE enrolment cards,
Sutherland states that "a large majority of the respondents had undertaken post-secondary studies (62%). Nearly half had completed or were currently involved in undergraduate (38%) or post-graduate studies (8%), showing that a large proportion of participants have already undergone education at a university level" (Sutherland, 1985, p.8).

Across the Tasman, Boshier (1970, 1971) showed a similar characteristic in his detailed study of the New Zealand adult education client. He reported that "University Extension participants have, on a proportion basis, significantly more degrees than High School [adult education] participants. When the data on degree holding are separated for each sex 18.0, 39.4 and 20.8 per cent of High School, Extension and WEA [Workers Education Association] men respectively, have at least one degree. Only 6.60 per cent of High School [adult education] women are degree holders as contrasted to 25.0 and 13.1 per cent of Extension and WEA women respectively" (Boshier, 1971, p.36).

In 1974 Howard McClusky took a strong position on the place of education throughout life when he said that;

"the generic task of the educational enterprise is that of assisting, within the limits of personal and environmental contraints, All People Of All Ages To Claim Their Right (a) To Know, (b) To Learn, (c) To Understand, (d) To Participate And (e) To Develop Until The End Of Life." (McClusky, 1974, p.97)

McClusky acknowledged that this was a massive order. From a study by Johnstone (1964) he points out the relationship between years of formal education and participation in continuing education. Regardless of present income and occupation continuing education was characterised by people who, as a group, had more years of formal education than the population as a whole. He then adds that the median years of schooling for US troops who served in World War I was eight. By World War II the median years of schooling had risen to ten while in 1960 the median number of years of schooling for the age groups 25 - 34 years was twelve. The higher participation in continuing education by people who have more years of formal education is a significant fact when considering the role of tertiary education in the field of continuing education. (after McClusky, 1974).
This characteristic of participation in continuing education by tertiary educated adults will place more pressure on all tertiary education institutions as the demographic echoes move through the formal education systems. From 1960 to 1968 the number of places in Australian higher education doubled (personal communication, Mr Don Brewster, Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, October, 1985). As the children of these graduates approach adulthood they will be seeking places in tertiary education (see Anderson et al, 1980 for evidence of this), and, if the echo persists, which has been the case historically, there will be even greater demand by the community for continuing, or lifelong, education.

The strategic implications of universities winding down their adult and continuing education units in the light of these findings, and the most recent statements by Johnson (1986) acknowledging the importance and growth of this type of education is most significant to the findings in this thesis. Recent commentaries by Smith (1986) and Neumann and Lindsay (1986) confirm this. When the concept of marginality was introduced in the early stages of this research Fred Emery (personal communication, July, 1985) speculated that, in terms of contemporary social needs, adult and continuing education was more central to these needs while the traditional functions of higher education were now more marginal. This orientation is also acknowledged by Johnson in the conclusion to his report (1986, p. 47).

The instrumental role of adult and continuing education at the ANU is evident across the range of events presented in chapters five and six. It is, however, the fundamentally different role and orientation of continuing versus higher education in the ANU that gives rise to many of the administrative and organisational issues that the Department of Adult Education and later, the CCE had to contend with. Continuing education in the ANU was subject to increasing conflict as the CCE operated on criteria that were the antithesis to the traditional orientation of the University. From the evidence presented in this thesis it appears that those responsible for introducing adult education into the ANU (then CUC) in the late 1950s were not aware of the fundamentally different orientation of adult and continuing education, a difference that was to fuel the institutional debate, certainly in the later history of the CCE, over the question of resources for this function.
The nature of academic work in continuing education has also been the basis of much debate in the ANU setting the Centre apart from the rest of the institution. This was most evident in the mid 1970s when CCE staff actively worked on innovative methods of teaching and learning that placed far more emphasis on the needs of the learner than was traditionally the case in accredited programmes of the University. It is an interesting postscript to this thesis that at the November meeting of the ANU Council the Vice-Chancellor recommended a diminution of the range of academic work for the CCE by restricting its activity to "extension of the work of the University as a mirror of the educational activities of the University" (ANU, 1986, p. 10). This was to be the primary function of the Centre at the expense of "outreach in which some members of the University went out into the community to interact with people and organisations on areas of educational interest initiated by the community rather than by the University" (ANU, 1986, p. 10). This decision can be seen as the final act in a long running battle since the mid 1970s when the academic establishment of the University began to question the assumptions underpinning much of the CCE's work and its highly participative organisational practices.

The degree of relative organisational independence maintained by the Department of Adult Education and the Centre for Continuing Education in the ANU has been a function of the affluence the University found itself in. In the mid 1960s in the few years preceding the 6th AUC Report recommending that universities no longer offer adult education, the acting Director of the Department of Adult Education, Lascelles Wilson, built up a range of programmes for the local and regional community. After Duke's early discouragement from ANU faculties and departments he also set about establishing a large and diverse range of programmes which was to come under review after 1976 when the Fraser Government put the brakes on spending in Higher Education. The first attempt at review came with the Committee for Centres and Units which recommended a separate enquiry into continuing education resulting in the Birch Committee Report.

Considerations of control by the established decision making bodies of the ANU are evident throughout the history of the Department of Adult Education and the CCE. The preoccupation with questions of accountability and
funding from the schools, faculties and departments permeates key events. The political nature of decision making found in our analysis of the ANU confirms Baldridge's (1971a, 1971b) perspective on university governance.

The organisational location of the CCE came under close scrutiny during discussions in the University over limits in funding to the institution. Duke's efforts to ensure the Centre extended both the research institutes and the undergraduate arms of the University were countenanced by key decision makers preoccupied with the significance of formal organisational location on questions of resource allocation.

Adult education in the CUC began as an attempt to publicise the institution. While there have been periods of relative calm when those involved in adult and continuing education have developed a range of courses and activities that consistently met with approval from people and organisations outside the ANU, the marginality and relative insecurity of adult and continuing education has been pronounced when accountability and resourcing questions were raised.

The framework for analysis presented in chapter four assists in understanding the rationale for the manner in which the ANU has managed the Department of Adult Education and the CCE. It became clear during the analysis of the ANU that role and orientation, and academic work are fundamental in assessing the marginality of continuing education in higher education. Organisational focus and decision making, and administration and resource provision, should be regarded as an outcome of the different roles and orientation, and the nature of academic work. Further work in developing this framework would require a more dynamic assessment of these categories. For example, does the organisational location and nature of funding arrangements for continuing education in the university suggest a central or marginal role? Or, should decision making structures relating to continuing education activities consist of representatives from across the range of departments in the university? Or, does the university expect to fund continuing education activities out of its recurrent budget annually, or is it purely market based and funded exclusively on a user pays basis? These few examples suggest studies which could more closely analyse cause/effect relationships of university action over continuing education.
The recent history of Australian university decision making about the provision of adult and continuing education documented in this thesis, combined with increasing demand for learning throughout life suggests several possible scenarios for the future of adult and continuing education in Australian higher education. The three most obvious to this researcher are; a continuing, steady decline in the number of organisational units in Australian universities established for the specific purpose of providing adult and continuing education; an increase in the provision of adult and continuing education by universities (but not through specialised units established for the purpose); an accelerating decrease in adult and continuing education provision by universities with a corresponding increase in provision by other organisations based on industry, professional associations and private consulting firms, to name but a few. Of course it is possible for all three scenarios to occur as they are not mutually exclusive of each other. However, it is my conjecture that the degree by which each occurs will be quite different. The basis for this opinion comes from undertaking the research for this thesis.

The first scenario is simply an extrapolation of events from recent years. With the winding down of continuing education units in universities one would also expect the continuing education function to be wound down as well. Without the impetus of specific continuing education academics, others in departments and faculties with interests in research and responsibilities in accredited teaching will not invest the time and energy required for continuing education programmes. As we have seen throughout this thesis their preoccupation is with things often the antithesis of adult and continuing education.

This scenario does not suggest the demise of higher education. In fact, higher education's role as a more narrowly focussed credentialling agency will ensure it an important place in the education system. As Moses asserted "knowledge is, increasingly, power" and that "the road of recognised, accredited, and certified access to knowledge is the organised, established educational system; a key source of power in the modern society" (Moses, 1971, p.1). He acknowledges the earlier work of Clark (1965a) however is clearly political in his comments on the established educational system;
"It dispenses the certificates and credentials which have a great effect upon future occupation, income, and status. Although traditionally left outside the purview of political research and analysis, education is politics - a fact that has attracted marked attention in recent years." (Moses, 1971, p.1).

Of concern to Moses was the capability of the organised, publicly subsidised education system in the United States in meeting the requirements of a modern society. In asserting that education is politics Moses went on to expose the vicissitudes of formal education;

"Organized and established institutions and practices have a way of prolonging themselves far beyond their time. And around education, as with all social activity, there has developed an established, entrenched bureaucracy and network of interest and satisfactions that do not look with favor upon any alteration of the status quo which might reduce their influence and power" (1971, p.2).

This is confirmed for him as he cites little public debate about the "forms of educational activity that might accomplish or achieve social objectives and satisfy personal goals in a way not afforded by traditional programmes" (1971, p.2). Notwithstanding Moses' emphasis on the political aspects of the education system his view fits well with our first scenario. In his 1971 paper Moses argued for greater recognition by educational planners and policy makers of the need to come to terms with 'core' education programmes "the sequential ladder of educational progression ranging from kindergarten through graduate and professional schools" and those in the 'periphery', "ranging from vocationally oriented programs in business, government and the military, proprietary schools and anti-poverty programs, to culture and leisure oriented programs available through regular Core institutions, religious education, television, correspondence courses, and private associations" (p. 3). Johnson's (1986) inquiry into non-award education in Australia suggests that acknowledgement of programmes in the periphery by Australian higher education has been extremely small.

Thus the first scenario seems highly plausible. As Australian society continues to tighten its belt in a volatile and competitive world economy a retreat to the core seems inevitable in what is, historically, a most conservative sector of the education system.
The second scenario is regarded as the one least likely to bring forward effective adult and continuing education programmes for Australian society by higher education. As demonstrated throughout this thesis the role and orientation of traditional academic work in Australian universities is towards research in an established field or discipline on intellectual issues typically beyond the comprehension of the great majority of the community. The publication of results from such research is typically read by a relatively small group of fellow academics to the exclusion of the majority of Australians. Yet it is to the wider community that adult and continuing education is directed with its orientation towards the concerns of the learner and the development of problem solving skills that assist them to live more effectively in a changing and diverse world.

Without the impetus of continuing education academics, whose intellectual interest is with the development of problem solving skills for the adult learner, even the most genuine of concerns felt by the traditional academic will be lost as they encounter the decision making and organisational barriers inherent in pursuing adult and continuing education within the present Australian university system, barriers which have been documented in this thesis.

The reward system for the traditional academic is geared towards the pursuit of excellence in research and publication in a particular field. Promotion brings recognition from academic colleagues throughout the international community of excellence in ones work. Adult and continuing education is more purely educational in that there is a strong service tradition which underpins this work. Excellence to the continuing education academic not only relates to the publication of scholarly work but also to their skill in creating effective learning environments. As outlined in this thesis continuing education programmes are market driven whereby students typically evaluate the programme often reflected in their level of participation. The need, therefore to study the teaching/learning process in adult and continuing education seems obvious. Johnson's comments to this effect (1986) have been outlined earlier in this chapter. Research into adult and continuing education is analogous to research into other spheres of education, such as primary and secondary education.
The significant characteristic of this second scenario is that a group of academics, with both teaching and intellectual skills in adult and continuing education in Australian universities will be lost to these institutions. The responsibility for this type of education will fall to academics with other substantive interests whose standards of performance do not necessarily include a high regard for the teaching/learning process.

Consistent with the first scenario higher education will continue to fulfill a major role as a research and credentialing agency in Australian society. Within this second scenario the benefits of the traditional academics endeavours will be more narrowly focussed to meet the expectations of colleagues and, to a less extent, those able to enrol in formal undergraduate and graduate courses thus excluding a far greater audience from finding out about the benefits of university work for them in the course of their daily lives.

The third scenario is highly plausible. In fact, we would suggest, is likely to operate in concert with the first and second scenarios, possibly as a direct outcome of them. As universities move out of adult and continuing education it opens up - or even requires, other organisations to take up the task. As futurists keep stressing, we live in, and will progress on into, an age in which the collection and use of information will be central to our lives (for an interesting account see Naisbitt, 1982). Technology has not only been a party to this characteristic of modern life, it also enables many different organisations - of the kind Moses identified above in his discussion of programmes of the 'periphery', to access and use this information. Thus the creation of knowledge moves out of the domain of traditional educational institutions to other organisations as they access and use information.

This calls forth requirements for new learning by these organisations, or continuing education as our earlier definitions suggest. It is with this highly plausible scenario that the title of Johnson's (1986) report, "Its Human Nature" does not appear so glib. The development of a new and diverse context for learning outside the higher education system could have tremendous ramifications for this very system. For example, even scientific research, the primary rationale for university work can be
perverted by the influence of commerce. Researchers in commercial organisations are often delayed in publishing the results of their work while their organisation applies for patent rights over new products.

In the final analysis, while the commonly held view that the more education one receives the more successful one will be in employment prevails, politicians will continue to place emphasis on funding programmes for the young adult leaving secondary school. This is a view which complements the present role and orientation of the higher education system as outlined in this thesis. It is highly predictable system, safely categorising employment in terms of activity, for example, practising law or medicine, being an engineer, a computer programmer, and so on. While the present higher education system purports to develop problem solving skills there is relatively little time spent focussing on the problems of the learner. However, a problem orientation to learning in higher education is not new (see Thron, 1981). In a review of university reform and adult education in Sweden Usher (1979) concluded that "something very important has happened in Swedish higher education, namely the opening of the universities to adults without formal qualifications" and, "a start has been made in destroying the stereotype of education as an apprenticeship to be served in early life and then never returned to" (Usher, 1979, pp.54 - 55). Such action, with the inherent risk of organisational instability, appear long overdue in Australian society, especially in the light of significant change across the whole community.

This thesis suggests that a growing demand for continuing education must be matched by a complimentary set of values from higher education institutions. Are academics capable of taking a more positive, market oriented approach to their work and trying new ways of communicating with society? One can only speculate that an orientation to society that is gradually becoming less relevant to the diversity and change encountered as we move towards the twenty first century will see the continuing decline in real term funding to universities and an increasing growth in professional, community, other governmental and commercial organisations in fields once the province of higher education institutions.
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