

The Historical Formation of Adult Education Discourses in the Shift from Liberalism to
Neoliberalism

by

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Abstract

This dissertation provides the theoretical under-labouring needed for adult education theorists to understand the ways in which adult education has become part of the ideological veil behind which capitalism maneuvers in our contemporary world. To understand the purpose of adult education in the regime of neoliberalism, this dissertation tracks its historical formation in a context of influential liberal discourses that were supportive of the development of capitalism. An in-depth review of key liberal philosophers provides adult education researchers with insights into how liberal theory moved from its roots as a critique of government to be a regime of justification for the growth of modern capitalism. Using Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, as a regional exemplar, the dissertation examines the shifting nature of adult education in response to shifting national and international liberal, capitalist, and, now, neoliberal discourses

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Dedication

To Catherine, Helen, and Theresa.

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Chapter One

Introduction

“It is ambition enough to be employed as an under-labourer in clearing the ground a little, and removing some of the rubbish that lies in the way to knowledge”

John Locke (1997)
An Essay Concerning Human Understanding

This dissertation contends that late Modernity’s regime of neoliberalism, which measures a citizen’s worth as a resource for rampant capitalist development, has narrowed the scope of adult education. The purpose of adult education, when confined to this regime, is to help citizens adjust to changing capitalist workplace dynamics and demands by developing education systems that align with marketplace requirements and norms. This narrow scope runs counter to adult education within the theory of liberalism.

Liberal social theory was built on a tradition of highlighting the social bonds which limit citizens’ perceptions of freedom and salvation by confronting ideologies that favor security for a state’s property classes and cultural elite over freedom of the poor and working-class citizens of the state. Since its first iteration in Western European’s Early Modernity, liberal social theory has contested the body politic (a transcendental normative social structure that connects citizens to all institutions of governance), arguing that a cultural elite favors traditional conditions of rigid top-down governmentality. In these conditions, the poor and working class have little opportunity to break the bonds that hold them in place, limiting their pursuit of liberty, freedom and security.

Adult education discourses, when formulated through the lens of liberal social theory, focus on providing individuals with material autonomy through a broad-based knowledge system that strives to improve social conditions for all. This runs counter to adult education discourses formulated through a neoliberal lens that limits individual autonomy through knowledge that benefits the bottom line of capitalist shareholders. Somewhere along the timeline of Modernity – the

institutionalization of rational thought in social relations (Heath, 2014) —, the liberal theory of empowering the individual became embedded in capitalism and turned to an economic advantage for capitalists.

The historical underpinnings of the point of emergence of neoliberalism, the points where groups of increasingly powerful liberal ideologues fashioned liberal terminology to further the growth of capitalism, provides the intellectual motivation of this dissertation. This relationship between liberalism and capitalism did not happen at a specific moment. Instead, it happened in stages through which proponents of early forms of capitalism gradually incorporated and manipulated liberal theory to disassemble and delegitimize Western Europe’s feudal system. Liberal theorists, since Adam Smith, have been complicit with this process of cooption as they missed the structural oppression inherent in capitalism that resulted in the social conditions that they were fighting against.

It is the contention of this dissertation that, until adult education theorists understand the specifics of this transformation and of the way neoliberalism is radically different from the liberal theorists’ view of capitalism, it is very difficult to understand the contemporary nature of adult education as a “neoliberal” field of theory and practice. The purpose of this dissertation is to explore and expose how adult education has become part of the ideological veil behind which capitalism maneuvers in our contemporary world. To understand the present state of adult education, we must explore its historical formation in a context of influential powerful liberal discourses that were supportive of the development of capitalism.

“According to Xenocrates (d. 314 B.C.E.), the purpose of studying philosophy ‘is to allay what causes disturbance in life’” (Levack, Muir, Veldman, & Mass, 2007a, p. 104). The disturbance that this dissertation examines is how attaching the prefix “neo” to liberalism creates a justification for rampant capitalist development. Although both liberalism and capitalism have their roots in a

common social and cultural heritage of Western Europe, they are two very different entities: liberalism is an ideological social construction that draws heavily on the discourses of moral social theory while capitalism is a social-organizational structure based on monetized economic exchange. Neoliberalism is an unintended emergent structure that formed at the intersection of liberalism and capitalism. It has become a unique and alternate ideological theory of capitalist relations that cloaks itself in a liberal and moral guise, transforming it into a capitalist deception. It does not stand for liberalism's lofty goals of individual freedom; instead, neoliberalism is a banner that justifies the rampant extension of capitalism into all spheres of social life.

A key intention of this dissertation is to clarify the complex and shifting historical relationships between entities (all with their own unique properties and powers) that are roughly identified by terms like liberalism, neo-liberalism, capitalism, and adult education. Of course, as is always the case with complex historical phenomena, using a single term to capture unfolding and dynamic phenomena affords both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, labeling a phenomenon helps provide a sense of core and enduring properties and powers. The term "capitalism" for instance helps identify and elucidate a deep and lasting property (capital accumulation through investment) of this emergent social formation. On the other hand, however, labeling a phenomenon oftentimes interferes with our understanding of it as emergent and changing. In our effort to grasp essential properties, we oftentimes obscure or under-appreciate the unfolding, or morphogenetic, nature of most (probably all) things. A central challenge of this dissertation is to balance the advantages and disadvantages of "labeling" in order to both explain lasting powers and properties of interacting entities, but to still preserve their emergent and unfolding natures.

The terms "liberalism" and "neoliberalism" are dynamic and complex. And yet, as this dissertation argues, clarifying their complex and ever-evolving powers and properties, particularly in their relationship with each other and with entities like capitalism and adult education is deeply

important for adult educators wishing to understand the basis (current and historical) of their theories and emergent practices.

The story of liberalism and neoliberalism that will be told in this dissertation is dauntingly complex. While there is certainly a risk of oversimplifying things from the outset, providing a brief synopsis of these terms is necessary to provide a first toe-hold upon which the long climb of understanding the key contentions of this dissertation can be started.

Broadly, and in summary, liberalism can be described as a method of rational intellectual reasoning that seeks to construct social models in which individuals are provided the freedom and knowledge to consent to the social structures that both enable and inhibit individual freedom and social security. Of course, this is simply a provisional description to help get our bearings. As will soon be seen, liberalism is a much more complex philosophy with more complex and rich history than is depicted here.

Likewise, broadly, and in summary, neoliberalism, as David Harvey (2005) explains, can be defined as a “political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elite” (p. 19) or, in places such as China and Russia, create them. As will be described in a more nuanced description, although the term capitalism does not explicitly exist in the term neoliberalism, it does lurk within the term. It has taken hold of liberalism and uses it to its advantage.

Education discourses, when formulated through liberal social theory, focus on providing individuals with material autonomy through a broad-based knowledge system that strive to improve social conditions for all. This runs counter to adult education discourses formulated through a neoliberal lens, which limits individual autonomy through knowledge that benefits the bottom line of capitalist shareholders. It is this tension that will be explored and exposed in this dissertation. To

explore this tension, this dissertation will track how liberal discourses moved from seeking individual freedom through social engagement to becoming adjunct to capitalism's continuous development.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Realism: Reducing Neoliberalism to Agency and Social Structure

Although liberalism and capitalism are international in scope, at base, they are reducible to the relationship between social structure and individual agency. This relationship between social structures and agency lies "at the heart of social theorizing" (Archer, 2000, p. 1). How to understand this relationship presents a unique ontological problem: is individual agency moulded by social structures or does individual agency create social structure?

To distinguish the relationship between agency and social structure, originally inspired by the emergence of capitalism and liberalism and then between capitalism and neoliberalism, this dissertation will use an ontological framework inspired by the social-theoretical discourses of critical realism. Originally postulated by philosopher Roy Bhaskar, and promoted widely by "critical realists" such as Margaret Archer (2000, 2003, 2007, 2012), Andrew Sayer (2005), and Dave Elder-Vass (2010, 2012), critical realism provides a laminar social science ontology based on an epistemic separation of agency and social structure, enabling the identification of the causal powers at play in the creation of emergent social phenomenon. As such, the postulates and social theoretical tenets of critical realism offer ideal means to deepen our understanding of the emergence, development, and transformation of liberal and neoliberal adult education discourses. Critical realism will 'allay what causes disturbance in life' by highlighting various points of emergence of adult education through a retroductive analyses of the emergence of capitalism, liberalism and neoliberalism.

For example, Margaret Archer's (2003) account of the relationship between agency and social structure provides a helpful basis for understanding the social transformations that took place at the outset of Modernity. Based on Archer's theorization, it can be argued that the ontology

espoused in Medieval Western Europe judged that each citizen's agency was shaped by the social structures in which they lived. Philosophers, whose views were shaped by the feudal system dominating Medieval Western Europe, had the Roman Catholic Christian Church sculpting the body politic, reducing individual agency to fidelity to the prevailing forms of governmentality. Modernity's philosophers flipped the Medieval characterization of the relation between agency and social structure on its head and theorized that the agency of each citizen holds the potential of sculpting the social structures that shape and define society. In this argument, it is individual citizens – who were born equal – who fashion social structures. The rise of a capitalist social structures, which provided an opportunity for individuals to use their agency to re-organize the body politic and do away with feudal regimes, seemed to prove this belief that individual liberty could be found within an emergent social order presented by capitalism.

In Late Modernity, a new ontological perspective emerged. Instead of holding agency and structure separate, they have been fused and are considered as a single entity. This perspective came to fruition in the era of neoliberalism where theorists, such as Shultz (1961), Istance (1985), and Miller (1996), insisted that the structure of the capitalist economy has become embodied in each citizen who neoliberals describe as human capital or human resources.

Margaret Archer (2003) helps sort out these three competing views of the relationship between agency and social structure. According to Archer, each of these perspectives is guilty, in one way or other, of “conflating” and confusing the actual interactions between human agents and the social structures that surround them. In reviewing Archer's work on conflation, Piironen (2014) contends that “‘conflationary’ theorizing... means either reducing structure to agency or agency to structure, thereby denying the reality of one or the other, or tying them too tightly together, making them but different aspects of one thing or process and denying the autonomous powers and sui generis existence of both” (p. 81).

During the Medieval, ecclesiastical and sovereign hierarchical social structures actively repressed individual agency through, what Archer identifies as “downward conflation,” creating passive agency within the body politic (Archer, 1996). Modernity’s liberal philosophers challenged the downward conflation of their forbearers by suggesting that individual agents (when liberated) have the ability to change, or even create, social structures. According to Archer (2000), though, this perspective, too, is guilty of conflation, in this case “upwards conflation”, which “is some property of people... which is held to account for the entirety of the social context” (p. 21). Instead of blurring the particular power of individual agency to generate social structures as occurred in Medieval times, the Modernists obscured the power of social structures to constrain individual agency. The gambit of Late Modernity’s neoliberal theorists to purposefully blur the lines between agency and structure is what Archer identifies as “central conflation” (Archer, 1996). Instead of recognizing the specific powers of individual agency and social structures, the central conflationists collapse the distinction altogether and render agency and social structures as undistinguishable products of one another.

Agency, Social Structure, and Emergence: Critical Realism Deconstructed

Agency is the interplay between an individual and society. Dave Elder-Vass (2012) explains that, “An agentic subject is a person who has the capacity to experience, to reflect on his or her action by a social context, to act with some degree of autonomy” (p. 184). Social structures, as described by Douglas Porpora (1998), are “systems of human relationships among social positions” (p. 339). They act as nexuses for connecting groups of individuals, to coordinate agency. Furthering the discussion, Elder-Vass (2012) contends that social structures are composed of norm circles, which he describes as, “an entity with the emergent causal power to increase the dispositions of the individuals [agency] to conform to the norm endorsed and enforced by the norm circle concerned” (p. 26). Highlighting the complexity of relationships, Elder-Vass stresses that individuals belong to

multiple norm circles, as multiple nexuses exist to maintain the social structure. Thus, social structures are in a continual process of re-constituting themselves based upon the norm circles and individuals who create them.

Although social structures are composed of individuals, they are capable of having greater causal influence than the mere sum of the individuals who comprise them. This is due to social structures having “properties or capabilities that are not possessed by its parts. Such properties are called emergent properties” (Elder-Vass, 2010, p. 4). Adding greater depth to this, Elder-Vass presses:

The value of the concept of emergence lies in its potential to explain how an entity can have causal impacts on the world in its own right: a causal impact that is not just the sum of the impacts its parts would have if they were not organized into this kind of whole. I shall call the capability of having such an impact a causal power of the entity concerned. (p. 5)

In context of this dissertation, it was the emergent causal powers of two of constellations of norm groups, liberal theorists and capitalist ideologues, that initiated the emergence of adult education’s formation of *homo economicus*. This overall, critical realist ontological characterization will be assumed as the dissertation works to explain the shifting purposes of adult education.

The idea that social structures have emergent properties suggests that they are susceptible to change, yet social structures are discernible over long periods of time suggesting that they must have a degree of sustainability. The cause of this sustainability (even in contexts of changing circumstances) can be found in the relationship between human agency and social structures; both are capable of change yet manage to maintain a degree of sustainability. To account for this dynamic relationship between stability and change, critical theorists such as Margaret Archer mobilize the concepts of morphostasis and morphogenesis. According to Archer (2012), “periods of

stability...are analysed as morphostatic...relations that tend to preserve or maintain a system's form of organization or state. Conversely, morphogenesis derives from those processes that tend to elaborate or change a system's given form, structure or state" (p. 5). This description can be used to describe social structures, or, as conceptualized by critical realists, norm circles, as they remain constant but change over time.

Returning to agency, Archer (2012) adds, "It is agency, that generates both morphostasis and morphogenesis and, in turn, these very different relationships between components of the social system exert causal powers only by working through social agents" (p. 5-6). This intricate method of describing emergent social structure helps clarify the role that agency plays in their construction: agency both maintains stability and produces change.

In addition to its overarching grounding in the critical realist ontological characterization of reality as laminar and emergent, and to its more specific critical realist depiction of the laminar and emergent interplay of agency and social structure, this dissertation will seek theoretical sustenance from the critical realist characterization of the morphostatic/morphogenetic processes that have led from liberalism and capitalism to the emergence of neoliberalism. As it consolidated within early mercantile norm groups and developed and expanded into its more elaborated industrial forms, capitalism was able to incorporate liberal social theory as a means to justify its rampant and oppressive growth and then hide behind the term to legitimize this growth. As this dissertation will argue, within modern day neoliberalism, adult education discourses have moved beyond being a justification for the growth of capitalism and, caught up in a new dance of morphostatic and morphogenetic forces (that include neoliberal justifications at their core), have become a means to further the growth of capitalism.

A Critical Realist Account of Adult Education

Adult education can be divided into practice and theory. Practice entails a substantive engagement with the world, oftentimes in social contexts. In adult education, practice is visible in the social actions that make up teaching. “Social events” according to Dave Elder-Vass (2010), “are produced by the interaction of both structural and agential causal powers” (p. 4). In other words, in social events, people interact with each other within a context of pre-established natural and social structures. As a social event adult education has been in existence since humans began teaching social values and cultural norms to one another.

According to critical realism, theory is comprised of social norms produced by social actions. Once formed, theories create a facilitative context within which subsequent social actions transpire. As a normative social structure (a collection of norms that condition – but not determine – action), adult education has, over time, acquired emergent properties that have provided it with emergent causal powers. According to Dave Elder-Vass (2010), “an emergent property is one that is not possessed by any of the parts individually and that would not be possessed by the full set of parts the absence of a structuring set of relations between them” (p. 17). The emergent powers of a normative social structure are composed from the sum of the collective individual actions of social agents. This social agency interacts with social structures a continuous and dynamic way that gives social structures a “tension” between remaining constant yet changing over time. It is the agency of the individuals, and the tensions that they create, that allows adult education to be both morphostatic (forces that maintain stasis) and morphogenetic (forces that promote change).

According to Elder-Vass (2012), to identify and examine the varied types of individual agency and the power relations which leads to a social event, “we must engage in two distinct but complementary sorts of activities” (p. 18). The first activity he identifies as retroductive analysis, which focuses on “single causal powers and explaining the mechanisms that produce them” (Elder-

Vass, 2012, p. 18). The second activity is retrodictive analysis, which focuses on “a specific event, and seeks to identify the set of powers that cause the event concerned... and how they interacted with each other to cause it” (Elder-Vass, 2012, p. 19). Retroductively, then, this dissertation will examine the causal powers of social structures that have led to the emergence of specific forms of adult education. Retrodictively, it examines how adult education discourses interact with other social structures to condition (but, again, not determine) emergent forms of social activity.

To understand the interaction of practice and theory, a critical realist transcendental ontology attempts to identify the causal properties and emergent powers of both normative structures and the social event. While it is important to understand the act of teaching, this dissertation will focus on the broader normative context (the larger social structures) of adult education as it is this element which variously constrains or enables specific social actions.

In important respects, the norms of adult education have concrete origins in the social engagements of real historical individuals. Norms are not created from thin air. Rather, they are the result of real engagements of real people in historical contexts (pre-structured for them by their own forebears). As such, adult education’s historically emergent properties and powers are inevitably biased as they were generated under conditions of particular configurations of social agents (or, to use Elder-Vass’s terminology, norm groups). The empirical question thus becomes: who in history has participated in the development of adult education theory and practice? How have social structures created by historical agents shaped what adult educators hold as valuable? Does the knowledge that is esteemed in adult education derive from self-serving interests? Is it used to deal with the contextual discontinuity of social relations (reorganizing citizens as they move from rural to the urban) or is it used to create social discontinuity (protest against the need for society to be reorganized) or is it used to create contextual continuity (creation of ideologies that incorporate citizens into the new urban structure)?

This relates well to Elder-Vass (2010) and his theorization of norm circles, particularly how norm circles are created. Capitalists have legitimized (normalized) neoliberalism to allow their capitalist inspired norms for social conduct to become normal. This in turn creates the normal and the norms for multiple norm circles (which even can appear to contradict). The norm or normal becomes the moral authority as it possesses the causal power to legitimize knowledge claims.

Aside from being a social structure and entity, adult education is also a causal mechanism, as it has the ability to connect and transform norm groups. As a causal mechanism, adult education is used by norm groups to make claims that shape, or at least have the power to create, reproduce, transform, and legitimize knowledge claims. Norm groups, also known as normative social structures, are both morphogenetic and morphostatic as they produce or reproduce social conditions that, once they have emerged, reach back and condition subsequent actions of the very norm groups that developed them.

This dissertation will highlight the historical agency of liberal philosophers who, as part of their work, developed norms for both youth and adult education. These philosophers – working in the context of their own historical norm groups – acted as agents to create, reproduce, and transform ideology and instruction from one constellation of norm groups – liberalism – to another constellation of norm groups – capitalism.

Normative social structures can be problematic to examine as they elude direct observation but remain perceptible in the varied ways they act to shape social actions (their causal powers). Lewis (2000), refers to this as the, “causal criterion for existence, according to which unobservable entities can be known to exist through their impact on observable events” (p. 209). For this dissertation neoliberalism’s influence on adult education will be observed in the adult education discourses that favor unfettered capitalist development.

Method

Dialectics and Critical Discourse Analysis

The under-labouring of this dissertation is meant to help adult educators and researchers in the field of adult education understand the liberal basis which should be present in the neoliberal adult education discourses. With this knowledge, researchers will be better prepared to plan future actions to limit the pernicious effects of neoliberalism.

To date, liberalism, and especially neoliberalism, has evoked a substantial and nuanced engagement by adult educators, both in Canada and beyond. As will be recounted in Chapter 10, this engagement has made great headway in revealing the pernicious ways neoliberalism has insinuated itself into the theories and practices of the field. As will also be related, however, much more work needs to be done to assess the complex ways capitalism, liberalism, and neoliberalism have shaped the history of adult education. A key intention of this dissertation is to add fuel to the flame of critique that already exists in the field.

Gail Edwards (2011), in her aptly titled article *The Past and Future Inside the Present: Dialectical Thinking and the Transformation of Teaching*, suggests that, “to think critically about the future of education, we must go beyond cataloguing the errors of transmission pedagogy and instead examine the ‘past inside the present’” (p. 44). Edwards argues that Marx’s dialectic provides the strongest methodology for this kind of temporal study. “Dialectical thinkers,” Edwards contends, “begin from an ontological position which treats reality as a structured whole constituted by interdependent processes in flux” (p. 50).

In his book *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, David Harvey (1996) provides a deeper description of Marx’s dialectics. Harvey begins by stating that, “dialectical thinking emphasizes the understanding of processes, flows, fluxes, and relations” (p. 49). These, he adds, operate, “within bounded fields” (p. 52). Although operating within bounded fields, the “processes,

flows, fluxes, and relations” (p. 54) of phenomena like adult education are not homogeneous but are heterogeneous. It is from and within this heterogeneity that “transformative behavior” (p. 54) can emerge. Transformative actions that take place in complex and heterogeneous contexts create new processes, flows and meanings that frame and inform future actors in a heterogenetic space. Harvey (1996) adds that, “dialectical enquiry is itself a process that produces permanences such as concepts, abstractions, theories, and institutionalized structures of knowledge which stand to be supported or undermined by continuing processes of enquiry” (p. 55). For this dissertation, the permanences under investigation are the adult education discourses that become reified in a range of policy and strategy documents.

A final outcome of a dialectical process is the aspiration of each party to create a Utopia, as each is moving towards their own grand vision of how the world should operate (Harvey, 1996). Each party or norm circle, through the agency of individuals, involved in the creation of liberal and neoliberal adult education discourses wanted to (and continues to want to) build a society that is just and true to their normative perspective. It is the melding of various discursive visions of the future that adult education discourses of the present are created. This is a continuous process. As such, individual agency constantly alter and change the permanences creating new emergent Utopias.

Liberal and neoliberal discourses are the central points of investigation of this dissertation. For Alvesson and Kärreman (2000), discourse is the, “general and prevalent systems for the formation of and articulation of ideas in a particular period of time” (p. 1126). Returning to Edwards (2011), the notion of a ‘particular period of time’ is interesting as she suggests that to understand the present we must account for the past and the future.

Additionally, Teun van Dijk (1988) contends, “discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure. Rather it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes” (p. 2).

"Discourse," as described by Wodak (2009), "is to be seen as a form of social action, always determined by values and social norms, by conventions (as naturalized ideologies) and social practices, and always delimited and influenced by power structures and historical processes" (p. 3).

Norman Fairclough (2004) explains the position of discourse in social research:

My particular area of concern... is with discourse as an element or 'moment' of processes of social change, how discourse figures within such processes in relation to other elements or moments, and what constitutive or performative effects discourse may have, under what conditions, upon these other (non-discursive) elements or moments. This broad concern with discourse as a facet of social change is present in a great deal of contemporary social research (para. 1).

To this, David Harvey (1996) adds that discourses are created dialectically and are heterogeneous.

Thus, discourse is a continually evolving transmission of a dialectically created meaning or understanding of social structures at a certain fixed time. The primary concern of this dissertation is to assess how the agency of liberals has been manipulated by capitalists, to construct adult education discourses to meet the demands of the modern capitalist marketplace. This under-labouring is important, the dissertation argues, as it can provide an enhanced basis for an ongoing critical engagement with the place of liberalism in adult education. The dialectic for this takes place between global and local norm circles engaged in various discourses. Since dialectically created discourses emerge from heterogeneous voices both the global and the local are broken down into the smaller norm groups.

Dialectical reasoning provides a method to understand the creation of adult education discourse, but another method is needed to explain how liberal discourses are transferred from norm group to norm group. Critical discourse analysis provides such a methodology.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be used in this dissertation to track the dialectical transformation of liberalism, which tried to dis-embed individuals from repressive social regimes, to neoliberalism, which tries to embed individuals into an oppressive social regime. CDA is useful because, as Sheyholislami (2001) claims, it “aims at making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be opaque to the layperson” (p. 1).

This dissertation is guided by Norman Fairclough’s interpretation of CDA. The strength of Fairclough’s (2010) interpretation is that he intentionally places CDA within the capitalist structure, “because”, as he points out, “the character of the economic system affects all aspects of social life” (p. 1). It is further strengthened by his assertion that, “CDA has three basic properties: it is relational, it is dialectical and it is transdisciplinary” (p. 3). Explaining how this works, Fairclough outlines how CDA is an:

Analysis of dialectical relations between discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as analysis of the ‘internal relations’ of discourse. And since analysis of such relations cuts across conventional boundaries between disciplines (linguistics, politics, sociology, and so forth), CDA is an interdisciplinary form of analysis, or as I prefer to call it a transdisciplinary form. (p. 4)

Given that liberal and neoliberal discourses are complex historical entities, CDA is well suited to expose their emergent formation and the effect that they have had on adult education over time and space. The specific discursive forms that the dissertation subjects to CDA analysis are foundational historical texts written by a retinue of theorists and philosophers spanning four centuries.

In *Discourse and text: linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis*, Norman Fairclough (1992) outlines the importance of textual analysis by arguing that it, “ought to be more widely

recognized, within the framework for discourse analysis, as part of the methodological armoury of social science” (p. 211). To back up this contention, he lays out four reasons for this claim. The first reason is theoretical since, “texts constitute one important form of social action,” (p. 211) they are dialectically located between, “macro social interests” and “micro social analysis” (p. 211). His second reason is methodological since, “Texts constitute a major source of evidence for grounding claims about social structure, relations and processes” (p. 209). The third reason is historical because “Texts are sensitive barometers of social processes, movement and diversity, and textual analysis can provide particularly good indicators of social change” (p. 211). Fairclough’s final reason is political, “It is increasingly through texts (notably but by no means only those of media) that social control and social domination are exercised (and indeed negotiated and resisted)” (p. 212). These four justifications are central to this dissertation as they provide the temporal-spatial-social framework to examine liberalism and how it has been used to legitimize various iterations of capitalism.

Wenger (1998) claims that despite normative communities of practice having boundaries, they have, “developed ways of maintaining connections with the rest of the world” (105). This connection is maintained by boundary objects, which are, “artifacts, documents, terms, concepts, and other forms of reification around which communities of practice can organize their interconnections” (p. 105). From Wenger's list of boundary objects, this dissertation analyses documents or texts that connect normative communities of practice because, as Elder-Vass (2012) points out, we use texts, “as sources of both knowledge and normative guidance” (p. 45).

Relying on Etienne Wenger’s (1998) work on communities of practice, all the theorists that this dissertation will examine will be approached and understood not as stand-alone individuals but as members of communities of practice. Wenger identifies communities of practice as social groups that have shared histories of learning that enable them to constitute collective norms that guide thought and action, but that does not make them homogeneous. To this, we can add Harvey’s

(1996) contention that normative communities are heterogeneous and can be broken down into smaller normative communities of practice that reach agreement through dialectical processes. Communities of practice are social structures that are created by the composite agency of individuals. CDA is used in this dissertation to isolate and explore the agency of prominent liberal and adult education theorists in relation to the social structures, especially the communities of practice, of the time and place in which they were working. Focusing on key members of historical social groups (the theorists and philosophers who are at the focus of this dissertation) opens a window onto their cultural milieu and the impact of their agency on emergent communities of practice. An historical narrative provides the reader with a sense of the social structures that influenced the agency of these writers, as well, as the social structure the writers were contesting and trying to construct. As well, liberal theorists came to view adult education as a critical method to uphold and advance their beliefs in freedom and social justice.

Longue Durée

This dissertation covers a broad swath of history and geography, from the fall of the Roman Empire (approximately 450 AD) in Southern Europe through to the emergence of modern-day global capitalism. Examining such a broad swath of history through simple chronological and spatial lenses would not clarify the influence that liberal theorists played in the emergence of capitalism as a global social organizing force nor would it explain the emergence of adult education as both a product and critique of liberalism and capitalism. Thus, to track continuities over time and space despite constant social change and disruptions, this dissertation is inspired by the *longue durée* approach of historians such as Fernand Braudel. According to Tomich (2011), “In Braudel’s conception, the *longue durée* provides the unifying element of human history. Humans make their history through space and time” (p. 55).

Chronologically, this dissertation highlights the series of events that led to the establishment of neoliberalism as the basis of modern socio-economic organization. It begins with the development of the feudal system that emerged in Western Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire. It was this feudal system's highly restrictive social organization that set the preconditions for the rise of liberal social theory as liberal moral theorists sought to find a means for citizens to be provided with a sense of earthly liberation rather than feudalism's heavenly salvation. To find the suitable material social conditions for freedom and salvation, liberal theorists eventually aligned themselves with capitalism's emerging economic organization as it provided liberal theorists with a social organization that contrasted with feudalism's restrictive social practices. The modern practice of adult education, which emerged during the British Industrial Revolution (Waller, 1956) was inspired by this early relationship between liberalism and capitalism. Subsequent iterations of capitalism and liberalism have given rise to new, additional purposes for adult education that have eventually led to modern times where much the role and purpose of adult education has been caught up in the wheels of neoliberalism.

The underlying motivation for the under-laboring of this dissertation is to provide an in-depth explanation of the past within the present. Chronological historical research lacks this function as its purpose is restricted to providing evidence of past events that led to modern day events. To develop a more nuanced analysis and explanation of the past within the present, this dissertation will use a retroductive analysis as it allows for the identification of the causal powers and forces which led to the emergence of social events (Elder-Vass, 2012). For this dissertation, a retroductive analysis will be used to identify the agentic forces and social structures that underpin the rise and dominance of neoliberalism and capitalism in our contemporary global society.

The critical realist use of retroductive analysis postulates the idea of an unfolding universe replete with the emergence of new phenomena emerge. Retroduction enables this dissertation to

identify the agents and social structures and account for their interactions that led to the emergence of new the new entities, powers, and social events that characterize adult education in neoliberal times. Retroductive analysis can play a useful role in historical research as it allows for the events of the past to be held in time, from which point a retroductive analysis can be completed to identify all the components that were necessary for its emergence to be identified and examined. From there, it is possible to engage in a “retroductive” analysis to understand more clearly the participation of different entities in the production of specific social events. Once the point of emergence (time and place) of an event is identified and all the events and forces of the past that were needed for it to emerge are identified through retroduction, the research will adopt a retrodiction approach to explore ways that entities contributed to the production of actual social events.

Geographically, this dissertation locates the emergence of adult education in Western Europe and tracks its growth with the concurrent growth in capitalism and liberalism. As capitalism and liberalism expanded geographically, so too did the need for and use of adult education to the point where capitalism, liberalism, and adult education have become global phenomena. Obviously, examining liberalism, capitalism, and adult education in all of their permutations as a global phenomenon would be far too extensive for this dissertation, so, to make things a more manageable Cape Breton will be used as a regional exemplar to explore the specific ways that capitalism and liberalism have shaped adult education. With Cape Breton as an exemplar, this dissertation will highlight how shifts in the relationship between liberalism and capitalism influenced regional adult education initiatives.

Dissertation Summary

With a point of emergence in Western Europe’s Age of Enlightenment, capitalism has become an all-encompassing economic system, with tentacles encompassing the globe. The vast reach of capitalism makes it difficult to provide a coherent examination of its contours, including its

relationship with liberal social theory, adult education, and, ultimately, the millions of people throughout history influenced by its emergence and development. To narrow the scope, and to provide a specific context, this dissertation uses the story of adult education's emergence in the eastern Canadian island of Cape Breton as it underwent the historical transformations driven by capitalist development.

Although I live in Halifax and study at Mount Saint Vincent University, I am originally from Cape Breton. I grew up on the west of Cape Breton Island, in the small community of Belle Cote. It is my connection to the 'Island' that has inspired me to use it as a regional exemplar. I have experienced first-hand the effects the capitalist inspired economy has on individuals and communities of Cape Breton. Like many others, I was urged to move away, in my case, by teachers and community members, to get a 'good education'.

I can look upon my family history, on my father's side and see how my forebears left Scotland sometime around 1830, to settle in West Lake Ainslie, rural Cape Breton. My great grandfather moved his family from West Lake Ainslie to the Sydney Area in the early 20th century to work at the newly founded steel plant. I can also look at the present and note how nine of my thirteen nieces and nephews, who were all born and raised in Cape Breton, have moved away from the Island to seek employment.

It is my connection to Cape Breton Island, and its grounding in the norms of Western World thought and social organization, that shapes my subjectivity throughout the following dissertation. As indicated above, my family was part of the European settler culture that colonized the land which became known as Canada. As such, I view and question the rise of liberalism, neoliberalism, capitalism, and adult education from a settlers' perspective; a perspective that has been shaped by the dominant male patriarchy of Western European thought.

Also shaping the lens of my subjectivity are my rural working-class roots. These roots have always shone a light on the class divisions within society, but more deeply, on the divisions within social classes. Although the African Nova Scotians who worked at the Steel Plant or in the coal-mines shared the social injustices wrought by industrial capitalism on the working-class, their struggle for justice has also always been caught up in culturally-founded racial prejudices and biases. In addition to racial prejudices and biases, religious affiliation, nationality, sexual orientation, sex, and even family name shape the forms of social discrimination that are at the focus of the following dissertation. As a cultural being, I am inevitably part of this fabric of domination that, despite every effort I might make to rise above my own biases, in the end leaves me with a constrained (but hopefully not too oppressive) perspective.

With this in mind, *Chapter Two* of this dissertation begins with a general account of Cape Breton Island since capitalism washed upon its shores with its colonization by Europeans. It tells the story of the historical development of Industrial Cape Breton (Sydney and area) throughout the 20th century, as this has been the focal point of capitalist development in Cape Breton. As the chapter concludes, it begins to weave the emergence of adult education into the narrative as an adjunct to a litany of social movements on the island. The narrative of adult education in Cape Breton is broadened in later chapters as it provides examples of its shifting practices.

To better understand the story of the emergence and development of adult education in Cape Breton, the dissertation then argues that we need to investigate a much broader history. Both liberal social theory and capitalism are constructs of Western European social development and are part of a historical narrative that pre-dates the arrival of Europeans in Cape Breton. Thus, to appreciate the intertwined (emergent and laminar) relationship between capitalism, liberalism and adult education, a broader historical investigation is necessary. *Chapter Three* provides a brief account of Western European society, in particular the Western European body politic and the

socio/economic conditions which provided the impetus for change in its feudal socio/economic system. Following this account, the Chapter provides a brief description of capitalist and liberal social theory. These theories, the Chapter contends, led to the emergence of the Industrial Revolution and laid the foundation for the emergence of adult education.

The Industrial Revolution of Great Britain can be isolated as a point of emergence of modern adult education practice. *Chapter Four* continues the dissertation's more comprehensive historical exploration by looking at the socio/economic conditions in Britain which gave rise to the need for adults to be educated in order to meet the demands and needs of an industrial economy in that country and the social structures needed to support it. The chapter examines shifts in the industrial economy of Britain during the 19th century which called for emergent adult education practices to meet growing needs of a populace that was coming under control of capitalist governance. Extending its reach beyond the shores of Britain, *Chapter Four* seeks to understand more deeply the ways adult education was also emerging in other Western European nations. In the end, this chapter provides a cursory look at adult education in continental Europe.

From that point, the dissertation shifts its focus from an historical review of adult education to an examination of the emergence of adult education theorization within Modernity's liberal philosophy from the seventeenth to nineteenth century. Although based on educational norms inspired by ancient Greek and Roman philosophers, liberal theorists modified their views to reflect the social conditions of the time. *Chapter Five* reviews the work of five liberal theorists – John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Adam Smith, Mary Wollstonecraft, and John Stuart Mill – which threads together an emerging appreciation of education and then adult education in the changing social norms of the burgeoning capitalist industrial economy. Analyzing the work of these five liberal theorists enables the chapter to track the emergent role of education in the development of Western

European capitalist's society and to specify education as an entity with the power and potential to change or maintain the status quo of capitalist societies.

The last of these liberal philosophers, John Stuart Mill, wrote during the mid to late 19th century, when Great Britain was at the height of its power and was spreading its social norms around the world. *Chapter Six* takes this point as its departure, when Western European culture was washing full-force upon the shore of North America and playing a determinant role in creating its emergent form of citizenship. This was a pivotal time in the historical development of adult education as proponents in its first norm circles were becoming aware of its power and potential to generate norms for the production and maintenance of citizenship. *Chapter Six* shows how the powers and potentials of adult education, from the late 18th to the early 19th century, were socially transcendental as discourses generated by large national and international norm groups were brought to life in regional context. Thus, adult education discourses, which were developed in response to Western European inspired capitalism, emerged as forms of citizenship education in Nova Scotia and Industrial Cape Breton.

At the turn of the 20th Century many Western countries held a great deal of optimism about the future due to new scientific and technological inventions. This optimism was dashed with the outbreak of WWI. During and after the war, there was great concern amongst governments and social leader of the war's effect on society and citizenship. *Chapter Seven* reviews the possibility of liberal inspired adult education in helping rebuilt societies devastated by war. *The Way Out* (1923) and *The Report* (1956), were two British publications that illustrate the interest British intellectuals and adult educators placed in liberal social theory to re-construct a society recovering from the effects of WWI. Examining liberal inspired adult education in the United States, *Chapter Seven* looks at the development of the New School for Social Justice, the emergence of the American Association for Adult Education, and the Carnegie corporation contribution to liberal adult education in the United

States. Despite the liberal optimism at this time, it was soon lost as the Western world hurtled towards an economic depression and another world war.

WWI along with two other global events – the Great Depression and WWII – had world leaders call into question the telos of Western Societies within the capitalist/liberal state. Liberal social theory and capitalism's social influence ebbed to the margins of society with the emergence of nationalism, socialism, and communism. Though marginalized, they did not completely fade away.

Chapter Eight looks at the work of three twentieth liberal theorists – Ludwig von Mises, John Milton Keynes, and Friedrich Hayek – who kept liberalism alive and whose theorization firmly embedded it in capitalist economic theory.

In his work, Von Mises (1985), uses liberal ideals to advocate for capitalism as a method to organize society that could provide security and freedom for citizens within national and global body politic. Mises' work acts a connection between the early theorist, pre-20th century, and more contemporary liberal theorists of the 20th century, in particular, the two most influential liberal theorists of the era, Keynes and his friend and rival Hayek. These liberal theorists were concerned with the rise of the socialist state and poisonous nationalism. Blending their economic evaluations with liberal moral theory, both of these theorists would influence the global capitalist economy from the end of WWII through to today. In his work, Keynes, saw the need for the need for government to intervene in the market to ensure that safety and security could be found in society. This is significant, as the rise of nationalism and socialism had pushed liberal theory away from freedom and towards security. Like Keynes, Hayek also advocated for security more than freedom but in his view, security could only happen with limited government intervention on society. Hayek felt that the social telos of the time was leading to conditions of old when feudal relations ruled the body politic.

From the ashes of WWII, when many societies and economies had been shredded, it was Keynes' economic theorization and a revival in liberal thought that emerged to guide and reconstruct capitalist societies. *Chapter Nine* examines the emergence of Keynesianism, and the social welfare state that it inspired, that acted as a bulwark against rising tides of communism, socialism and nationalism. Within a Keynesianism paradigm, adult education was a means to build a just and fair society by providing education that would serve both the intellect and the marketplace. It was adult education with a social conscious as it emerged as a means to construct cooperative social norms for citizenship.

Keynesianism lasted until the early 1970s when shocks to the capitalist world sent capitalism looking for new ways to organize itself (Harvey, 2005). *Chapter Ten* explains how the theorization of Hayek laid the foundation of the new capitalist order, eventually emerging as neoliberalism. Hayek's theorization called for limited government intervention in society as he was fearful of the rise of totalitarianism and its restrictions on individual freedom. As was the case of Adam Smith, Hayek did not pick up on the ruthless behavior of unfettered capitalism. He missed the argument that capitalism is a hierarchical social structure which depends on central planning and government intervention. Neoliberalism has rebuilt the body politic into a social structure that resembles feudal relations, the very social structure which liberalism has traditionally rallied against. Within a neoliberal construct, *Chapter Ten* argues formal adult education is used as a method to develop human capital as it is the individual's duty, as in feudal times, to prepare themselves for the economic overlords.

Reducing people to human capital, as neoliberalism does, embeds them into the economy. This has an atomizing effect upon people, producing *homo economicus*, who Peter Fleming (2017) describes as "the totally over-promoted, overrated and mythical figure" known as "rational economic man" (Introduction). *Homo economicus* presents a unique problem to the development of

society, its atomizing effect on individuals prevents them from being able to influence social change (Archer, 2000). They are caught up in the norms produced for them, are capable of replicating those norms, but are incapable of producing norms which differ from the status quo. Returning to Cape Breton, *Chapter Eleven* contends that regional adult education discourses influenced by larger international and transnational neoliberal inspired discourses are compelled to accept the economic status quo and produce human capital for the capitalist project. Adult education in this scenario is restricted as it becomes a tool for social mobility within the capitalist paradigm.

This dissertation tracks the emergence of modern adult education through the constantly shifting dynamics of liberalism, capitalism, and neoliberalism from Early Modernity's Western Europe to our contemporary global capitalist economic structure. Returning to Cape Breton Island, the *Conclusion* reviews how global capitalism has changed the use of adult education over time in small Island communities. The dissertation ends with a reminder to adult educators of the role that liberalism can play in buttressing the pernicious effects of neoliberalism.

Chapter Two

Knowledge is Wealth: A Story of Adult Education in Cape Breton Island

Over the door of the former community hall in the Cape Breton community of Belle Cote was a sign prominently displayed since the 1930s. On it, inscribed in large letters, were the initials KIW. According to my mother, a lifelong inhabitant of this tiny Cape Breton community where I grew up, this sign was erected by community member, John LeBlanc, to capture the prevailing belief of the day that the pursuit of learning was the best way for people of the community to enjoy success. According to John, KIW – knowledge is wealth – was something all Cape Bretoners had to embrace. Larger than life adult education figures, Fr. Jimmy Tompkins and Fr. Moses Coady, leaders of the famous Nova Scotian Antigonish Movement, were squarely behind him. For them and for many others in the region, adult education had a powerful role to play in helping rural Cape Breton communities like Belle Cote enhance their material, social, and spiritual well-being.

It is remarkable to think that, despite the prominence of adult education in a small community like Belle Cote in 1930, adult education as an organized social practice had a relatively short history. Before the 19th Century, adult education was barely considered. Other than fairly rarified contexts like universities, people lived and learned in the flows of their daily lives (Jarvis, 1983). An inscription like KIW would not have been associated with adult education in these earlier times. It is interesting to explore the upsurge of adult education in the shifting social contexts of the 18th and 19th Centuries, in large part in concert with and entwined with the growing sentiments of Liberalism that were developing in Europe at the time. To provide concrete grounds on which to track this development, it is helpful to begin with an actual place. Cape Breton, I believe, is a fine context within which to begin this exploration.

Cape Breton Island lies on the Eastern edge of North America. Assuming that that the First Nations people of North America crossed the Bering Strait, then moved south and east it would

have been one of the last places in the Americas that they ventured into as vast distances and the vestiges of glaciation slowed their eastward movement (Lothrop, Lowery, Spiess, & Ellis, 2016). Conversely, being on the eastern edge of North America, Cape Breton was one of the first places colonized by Europeans as they made their way to North America (Arsenault 1978, Riendeau 2007). Today's Cape Breton Island is an emergent culture with powers and composition that can only be created by the intersection of a variety of cultures (peoples) who have settled on its landscape.

The founding people and culture of Cape Breton Island are the Mik'maq, who call the Island Unama'k. The Mi'kmaq people are representative of the diverse cultures of the land of Canada before European colonization; a land that had no less than 58 nations (Dickason, 2002, p. x). As is the case of all the founding nations, the Mi'kmaq had (and still hold) an evolved world view, where, according to Dickason (2002) they were "part of the cosmological order" (p. x), not dominating the cosmological order. It is a world view in which all people were related, which differs greatly from the anthropocentric and individualistic view of the European's who settled and colonized their land and often viewed the founding nations as primitives.

Within the Western view, the Mi'kmaq are stereotyped as having a hunter/gatherer economy but, according to McGhee (2011) they "were neither settled nor migratory" (p. 22). McGhee's description of the Mi'kmaq continues:

The environment of their birth has always been suited best to seasonal use so that, compatible with the rhythms of the earth, families were responsible for a hunting ground, a fishing river, or waters and a planting home, and they traveled to other resources throughout the year. They lived within the beauty and cycles of their lands (p. 22).

This way of life was drastically altered when they were forced to adapt to a new way of living/surviving after the arrival of European colonizers whose citizens reorganized the use of the land and waters that had once provide all the sustenance the Mi'kmaq needed.

Relations between the Mi'kmaq and the Europeans, and indeed among the Europeans in the New World, was highly complex as regional relationships between the people were caught up in international disputes and cultural differences (Samson, 2011). For example, the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians maintained cordial relations made “possible because the Mi'kmaq and Acadians followed different economic cycles and because, initially, population densities were low” (Wicken, 2011, p. 184). Due to their close relationship, through trade and intermarriage, many of the Mi'kmaq adopted Catholicism from the French Acadians. Over time, as Acadian farming and fishing interests grew, and their population continued to expand, tensions developed between the two communities throughout Nova Scotia.

On an international level, both France and Britain, were fighting for control over Eastern North America. After much international squabbling and outright hostilities, France and Britain signed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, leaving France with Île Royale and Île Saint-Jean (modern Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island) and Great Britain in control of the rest of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland (Chafe & Lower, 1957). To defend their remaining interests, France established a post in Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, to protect and raid the shipping lanes of the St. Lawrence Seaway. It was from Louisbourg, according to Plank (2011), that the French offered a place for the Mi'kmaq and Acadians to settle in Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island), to live within the French Empire.

Upset with losing mainland Nova Scotia, in 1744 the French attacked the English controlled Nova Scotian town of Canso “as a first step toward capturing Nova Scotia” (Plank, 2011, p. 166). This attack “secured a wartime Franco-Mi'kmaq alliance” (Plank, 2011, p. 166) but placed the

Mi'kmaq as enemies of the New Englanders (allies of the British) who were outraged at the French for trying to control their fishery. Ultimately, this led to the government of Massachusetts in 1744 placing a bounty on the scalps of the Mi'kmaq. Thus, caught up in the intrigue between France and England, regionally and internationally, the Mi'kmaq ended up fighting for not just rights to their ancestral lands but for their very survival.

In an attempt to protect some of the Mi'kmaq, a delegation of Acadians questioned whether “people of mixed ancestry were liable to be scalped” (Plank, 2011, p. 167). This relates back to the intermarriage between the communities. Taking a Eurocentric stance, it was decided that “Farmers, herders, merchants, and fishermen who spoke French, lived in Acadian villages, and conformed to European customs would be exempt from the bounty policy” (Plank, 2011, p. 167). The British, at this time were accepting of the Acadians living in their territory but this soon changed.

The Acadians were the first European colonizers to develop permanent settlements in what is now known as Nova Scotia. Immigrating from France in the early to mid-1600s, they first colonized the Annapolis Valley where, during the 100 or so years that they lived there, they prospered economically and socially (Arsenault 1978, Jobb, 2005). The land that the Acadians farmed, built and maintained through an elaborate diking system, was fertile. It allowed them to develop a standard of living that was better than a comparable lifestyle in France, and as Chiasson and Lacourcière (1998) point out, “Acadia was even too prosperous in the eyes of the neighboring English colony, Boston, which feared its growth” (p. 1).

In the long drawn out political/military manoeuvrings between England and France, in which the Acadians wanted to remain neutral, the British eventually prevailed and in the above-mentioned conflicts between the French and British, were provided with a rationale to expel the Acadians from the land. The British Governor in Nova Scotia, Colonel Charles Lawrence, “refused to accept the notion of Acadian neutrality” (Riendeau, 2007, p. 74) and began the process of

dispossessing them from the land and the lifestyle they had cultivated. Chiasson and Lacourcière (1998) provides this description of what became known as the Expulsion of the Acadians:

On September 3, 1755, the Acadians, from whom the English had taken away their guns and boats, were lured into their churches by a wily stratagem and made prisoners of the King. All their goods, so long coveted by the English, were confiscated. This was the expulsion: they forced everyone at bayonet point to embark on boats in the midst of confusion, without any concern as to whether they put on the same boat members the same family. (p. 3)

Many of the dispossessed Acadians (the ones that survived the savagery of the Expulsion from their land) settled all along the Eastern Seaboard of North America: some hiding in the backwoods of Nova Scotia, others in Prince Edward Island, some as far south as Louisiana, while others went to France (Arsenault 1978, Jobb 2005). Eventually, many returned, and some settled around the coast of Cape Breton. This resettlement gave rise to a unique culture as their traditions were reshaped by the physical geography, economy and cultures of the Island.

Like the French Acadians, many of the Scottish colonizers of Cape Breton Island were expelled from their land in what has become known as the Highland Clearances (Nova Scotia Archives, *The Scots*, 2018). With the movement of industrial capitalism into Scotland from England and the union of the two nations, the traditional Highland feudal clan system was destroyed. As Michael Perelman (2000) observes “as new opportunities for profit emerged, some lairds started to shift their reference point from the self-sufficient clan economy to the world of the Lowland and English aristocracy” (p. 140). Perelman continues by noting that, “to satisfy their newfound lust for luxuries, the lairds cast aside their traditional obligations to the community. Even though, originally, they only held their land as leader of a clan, they laid claim to clan land as their personal property” (p.141). After the Battle of Culloden in 1745, when the clan system was broken for good, the Scottish peasant was left vulnerable to the whims of capitalism and many migrated from their rural

lands to burgeoning cities of the United Kingdom. Others left the Old World, migrating to the New World. Like the French Acadians, many of the Scots migrated to Cape Breton Island where they formed communities that strove to maintain their cultural ways.

The Economy: Post European Colonization

The Mi'kmaq, the Acadians, the Scottish, as well as other peoples who have settled on Cape Breton Island are representative of recurring demographics shifts that have become part of its identity. Recently, compelled by a neoliberal capitalist economic ideology, many men and women of Cape Breton have left their homes and communities to ply their trades in far off places, most notably the mining of the tar sands of Alberta. As the population of Cape Breton decreases, those left behind must contend with constant family, social and cultural upheavals as they fill the void of lost social, cultural, and economic capital. Despite opportunities for seasonal work in local communities, many of the seasonal employment openings on Cape Breton are being filled by migrant workers from countries such as Mexico and the Philippines.

Shifting demographics caused by fickle capitalist development is nothing new in Cape Breton. Historian Rusty Bittermen (1993) describes how in the late 1800s and early 1900s the economic structure of the European colonizers of Cape Breton was largely dependent upon a seasonal and transitory workforce. This compares favourably with the description of journalist John DeMont (2013) of skilled (mostly male) workers in modern day Cape Breton who feel compelled to leave their families and communities to work in far off mega-projects. Both narratives describe how many of these workers opt to travel back and forth between their work and family, creating difficult contradictions in their lifestyles of when families are together and when families are apart.

David Harvey (1996) regards unemployed citizens who have limited chances of gaining employment locally, who are at the beck and call of far-off industry to fill employment gaps when and where needed, as “an industrial reserve army” (p. 416). This is an apt description of the work

force of Cape Breton Island since the colonization of Europeans. Interestingly, during the several decades that stretched between the times described by Bitterman and DeMont, a very different dynamic was at play as citizens of Cape Breton stayed home and many more immigrated to Cape Breton to work in the burgeoning coal and steel industries of their region.

The original iteration of Cape Breton's economy, post-European colonization, centered on catching and exporting fish. There was also some mineral extraction (mainly coal and gypsum) and farming but these were small and local operations, mostly to satisfy domestic needs. It was not until the early to mid-1800s that coal mining and then gypsum mining became organized commercial ventures (Nova Scotia Archives, *Men in the Mines*, 2005). A sign of stronger economic organization was signaled in the early 1900s when "some poor Acadian fishermen from Chéticamp organized themselves and, in 1915, founded the first sales' co-operative in the Maritimes" (Chiasson & Lacourcière, 1998, p. 53). The seminal event of Cape Breton's post colonization economy was the opening of the Sydney steel plant in 1900 (Mellor, 1984). The steel plant transformed a loosely structured economic system into a highly structured and integrated economic system that imported industrial goods and produced, manufactured, and transported steel products.

The opening of the steel plant and subsequent spinoff businesses established a need for coalminers, steel workers, and other labourers. Drawn by the prospect of jobs workers from around Cape Breton began to migrate to Sydney, New Waterford, Glace Bay and surrounding towns. Local migrants from rural Cape Breton and the Maritimes were mixed with immigrants from Europe (Wales, Scotland, England, Hungary, Italy, the Ukraine, and Poland, for example), the West Indies (Barbados), the Middle East, and Newfoundland (Nova Scotia Archives, *Industrial Cape Breton 1890-1920*). With vividness, Mellor (1984) paints a picture of Cape Breton in the early years of the 20th Century:

Men were arriving daily by the hundreds. To give them shelter, large boardinghouses or “shacks” as they were known locally, were hurriedly built, each accommodating a total of seventy-two men, with each bed shared by two men on a shift basis. Forty cooks were employed by the company to feed the multitude of workers, but the price of each meal was deducted from pay envelopes at the end of the week.

Thousands of other workers “squatted” in crude, homemade shanties constructed out of rough boards and tar paper. (p. 6).

Despite its powerful imagery, Mellor’s description is only partly accurate. Missing from his account are all the women and children who accompanied the thousands of men who were arriving to work in the mines and plants of Sydney and surrounding towns. They, too, had to endure the hardships that the coalminers and steelworkers went through in order to survive as the economy transitioned to an industrial economy.

The shift to an industrial-based capitalist economy and its need to re-organize societal relations in order for it to function resulted, as it always did, in class struggle. In Cape Breton, most of the discord came as coal miners and steel workers battled mine and steel plant owners for better wages and safer working conditions (Mellor 1984, Frank 1999).

These fractious relations were reflective of worker/owner relationships found throughout Canada and, indeed, the industrializing world. According to Macgillivray (1974), the ongoing threat of civil unrest in Canada played an important role in the constitution and development of the Canadian military forces. As he points out, “from 1867 to 1933 the military came to the aid of the civil power in Canada on at least 133 occasions” (p. 45). On a number of occasions during the late 19th Century and the early 20th century, military forces were sent to Industrial Cape Breton at the behest of mine owners to help them bring a disgruntled labour force under control. Mellor (1984) and Frank (1999) describe how these class struggles reached a peak in the early 20th century as

influential institutions such as the church, the socialist party, the international communist party, large business, international trade unions, and the state fought for control over the economy and social life of Cape Breton.

In August 1922, the federal government dispatched the Canadian Military to Industrial Cape Breton at the request of the President of the British Empire Steel Company (BESCO), Ray Wolvin. BESCO operated the coal mines which supplied coal to the Sydney Steel plant. Wolvin asked for military intervention to quell a looming strike after BESCO cut the miners' wages by 35% (Macgillivray, 1974). Quoting from the *Maritime Labour Herald* of 1923, Macgillivray (1974) provides perspective of the time:

The wage schedule was accepted by the miners under the muzzle of rifles, machine guns, and gleaming bayonets with further threatened invasions of troops and marines, with warships standing to. The miners, facing hunger, their Dominion and Provincial governments lined up with BESCO...were forced to accept the proposals. (p. 54)

Interestingly, as Macgillivray points out, while local officials like the mayor of Glace Bay (a coal mining town) did not want military intervention as the miners were acting peacefully, the mine owners themselves exerted powerful influence over the decision. This example highlights the ways government was aligning itself with business during the early decades of the 20th Century.

The eventual suppression of wages took a toll on the miners and their families. Mellor (1984) writes:

Inevitably, with the family incomes amounting to practically nothing, grocery bills at the company stores mounted to astronomical figures to put workers and their families hopelessly in debt to the company. And with the poverty and lack of nourishing food, sickness and epidemics took their toll. (p. 171)

Playing a particularly pernicious role in the exploitation of labour was the Company Store, a symbol of the corporate control in the day-to-day lives of the citizens. The Company Store obliged company employees to use them as the prime point of purchase, thus serving to keep workers in constant debt to company shareholders.

Despite their hardships brought on by strikes, Cape Breton miners and their families fought relentlessly for better working conditions and fairer wages. During a strike in 1925, the Company Stores were burned down, never to reappear in Cape Breton (Macgillivray, 1974). This indicted that towns such as Glace Bay were transitioning from company towns to labour towns: “In the labour town, community life was influenced less by the paternalism of a predominant employer than by the demands of working-class institutions such as the trade union and the labour party” (Frank, 1981, p. 171). This transition and reconfiguration of the body politic of the town reflects an empowerment of the working class. As Frank, later notes, “The rise of the labour town reflected a general change in the balance of power in coal mining society” (p. 179). This transition was taking place within the larger evolution of the Island’s industrial capitalist economy.

Eventually, class conflict eased and, by the mid-1900s (the period after WWII), the battles between the large international enterprises and emergent trade unions entered a period of comparative calm. Unfortunately, within the class struggles were other social struggles, often to do with race and ethnicity. As Reid, (1999) points out, despite the African Nova Scotian community having:

School teachers, professional musicians, skilled tradespeople, owners of small businesses, two physicians, and seventeen men studying – among other professions – law and medicine at Dalhousie University in Halifax... they were forced to accept that the most densely polluted sector of the city was the only physical space they

were permitted to inhabit. Those who so much as ventured from the area after 8:00 p.m., for instance, were routinely beat up. (p. 93)

The area that African Nova Scotians were forced to live in was Whitney Pier, adjacent to the coking ovens of the steel plant, the most polluted area of the city.

According to Jensen (2002), as the steel and coal mining industry “faltered, the unions became less antagonistic to the company and coordinated more of their efforts to make the mines as productive as possible” (p. 26). During this period, there was also the development of a collective voice for the people. In particular residents of Glace Bay (the town in which Jensen based her research) “came to imagine themselves not as an isolated company town but as a part of modern Canada” (p. 25). This emerged through the social welfare programs that were instituted by the federal government of Canada inspired by the globally recognized Keynesian economic policy. These programs, financed through both individual and business taxes, demonstrated that the capitalist economic structure could benefit all who are part of it. As well, the opening of the Canso Causeway in the 1955 connected Cape Breton to the rest of North America, easing the feeling of isolation.

By the end of the 20th century, and into the start of the 21st, the calm had turned into a malaise. Government welfare programs still protected/supported citizens and communities, but changes in the form of cutbacks to the social welfare system began to send ripples of discomfort through the social fabric. The steel mill and the mines closed, the churches – in particular the Catholic Church, which had gone through much turmoil – had its influence degraded, and, most significantly, the local economy drifted haphazardly from an industrial economy to a knowledge-based economy. Once again, the citizens of Cape Breton were on the move for work — this time mostly as an industrial reserve army for megaprojects in Alberta and elsewhere.

Once the coalmines, the steel plant, and their many spinoff industries closed, much of the antagonism between various social factions fizzled out as businesses and unions diminished. To make up for the loss of steel plant and coalmines, the government darted about to try to support the development of new businesses, most notably through community economic development initiatives (DeRoche, 2003).

This description of Cape Breton's economy is entwined with the emergence and development of adult education in the Cape Breton. As will be seen below, capitalism and adult education have a complicated relationship that has extended over large tracts of time and space. The various iterations of capitalist inspired global economic organization that have washed over Cape Breton depends upon a specifically trained workforce, one that contributes, in a positive manner, to the bottom line of capitalist stakeholders. As technology has continued to develop and as general consumerism has grown, the need for adult education has expanded. In the modern neoliberal environment, adult education tied to the economy has become an economic asset: power holders consistently flout adult education as a benefit both for individuals and for business. It has not always been this way.

In some of its early iterations, often inspired by liberal social theory, adult education was used by social movements to enable citizens to find individual freedom by combating the oppressive regime of capitalism. Before an examination of adult education in neoliberal times (highlighted by Cape Breton) can be approached, an examination of the social milieu from which adult education emerged must be first examined. Thus, the next chapter looks at the emergence of both liberalism and capitalism in Western Europe as the pre-conditions that led to the emergence of adult education.

Chapter Three

The Emergence of Liberalism and Capitalism

When tied to the norms of neoliberalism, the delivery and outcomes of adult education inevitably trend towards serving capitalist interests as it is commandeered to bind citizens to the norms of capitalist economic ideology. Yet, when looking at the current state of adult education, especially in regions such as Cape Breton Island, the norms that still prevail in the field were created, not under the aegis of neoliberalism, but by social movements seeking to liberate citizens from the cultural norms that bound them in place.

As will be seen below, there is a continuity that exists between older modes of adult education and new, more expressly neoliberal modes, especially their shared dedication to developing specific norms of citizenship. But the two impulses for adult education are very different and have very different consequences. The difference between the two comes in their interpretation of liberalism. Traditional interpretations of liberalism, shaped by liberal moral philosophers, call for the freedom of individual from traditional cultural norms; whereas, the neoliberal interpretation of liberalism, shaped by capitalist ideologues, calls for individuals to conform to the norms of a capitalist economic structure. Thus, the norms of modern adult education are often tied to two norm producing social structures: liberalism and capitalism. Originally both of these norm-producing social structures emerged from separate schools of thought but, over time, they have developed a deeply connected relationship.

Considering capitalism and liberalism as social structures imbues them with social presence and power. Critical theorist Dave Elder-Vass (2010) defines an entity "as a persistent whole formed from a set of parts that is structured by the relations between these parts" (p. 17). He continues by noting that "the social power that tends to encourage us to conform to any given norm is in fact an emergent causal power of a specific social entity, a specific group of people: a normative circle." (p.

7). Thus, Elder-Vass contends, "For an entity to have emergent properties, it must first of all exist, and the concepts of morphogenesis and morphostasis are used in explaining how this comes to be" (p. 33). The concept of morphogenesis and morphostasis can be understood by observing an individual over time. The person remains constant (stasis) over time but the body is constantly changing and regenerating itself (genesis).

The education of adults has no obvious starting point as adults have always had the need for education. Inspired by Edwards and Brehm's (2015) interpretation of Margaret Archer's extensive theorization on morphostasis and morphogenesis, it can be argued that modern adult education is an entity which has a point of emergence, specifically the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Establishing and exploring the point of emergence of modern adult education allows for an examination of how the interplay of liberalism's and capitalism's ideologies have shaped and shifted adult education discourses over time, from a liberal interpretation of freedom for individuals to a neoliberal monetization of adult education and the rise of *homo economicus*.

"The value of morphogenesis approach" according to Edwards and Brehm (2015) "is its treatment of time – that is, the way that it temporarily separates structure and agency" (p. 275). Separating structure and agency over time and place, puts one in a position to complete an analysis of the relationship between the social structures of capitalism and significant agents of liberalism at key points in their development.

On their own, liberalism and capitalism could not have fashioned modern adult education practice. Instead, its properties emerged as a result of their varied interactions. Clarifying what is meant by emergent properties, Elder-Vass (2010) writes, "For thinkers in this relational field tradition, emergent properties are defined as properties and powers of a whole that are not possessed by its parts" (p. 16). Thus, the powers and properties of modern adult education practices are unique to the time and place of its emergence.

The Pre-conditions for Adult Education

Donovan Plumb (1999) asserts that people learn. It is a basic cognitive ability inherent in all animals (including human beings). Education is a deliberate act that strives to motivate and direct this cognitive ability with the intention of producing, reproducing or transforming shared social norms. Given that the deliberate development and sharing of social norms lies at the very basis of human culture and society, it is impossible to pinpoint a time and place when education started. Despite this, we can identify when various forms of educational practice emerged. For example, Christian religious education – the spreading of Christian norms – would have started no earlier than 2000 years ago whereas online education needed the development technological advances of the last 50 or so years.

These entities possessed causal powers (capacities for collective social action) that enabled them to participate in the creation, dissemination and transformation of social norms. Elder-Vass (2010) asserts:

The value of the concept of emergence lies in its potential to explain how an entity can have a causal impact on the world in its own right: a causal impact that is not just the sum of the impacts its parts would have if they were not organised into this kind of whole. (p. 5)

During a period now known as the Modernity, two potent social movements emerged in Western Europe that had a ripple effect on societies across the globe. One of the social movements, liberalism, sought to redefine the norms of the body politic of Western European. The other social movement, industrial capitalism, sought to reorganize the economic norms of Western Europe. These two social movements emerged concurrently and were instrumental in forming the normative social structures that gave rise to the practice of modern adult education.

To better understand the emergence of liberalism and capitalism, it is helpful to consider, for a moment the notion of Western Europe. As is often the case, Western Europe is a much more complex concept that one might at first assume. Levack, et al. (2007a) offer clarification by describing how Western Europe began in the Middle East, probably around Mesopotamia. Over several centuries, emergent Empires spread their culture and social patterns westward, mostly through political domination. These empires included the Egyptian, the Persian, the Greek, the Roman, and, though not a true empire, the Christian. The Christian empire, or Christianity, fractured into two principle groups. One group was the Latin or Roman Catholic, the other was Orthodox Catholic, according to Levack et al. Western Europe eventually became dominated by what they describe as Latin Catholicism. It was regions that accepted Latin Catholicism during the first part of Medieval period that eventually coalesced into the Western World. European regions that adopted alternative cultural/social structures, such as Orthodox Christianity, remained on the outside of Western Europe. It was from the kingdoms, regimes, and empires built on Latin Christianity that the social norms and rules of governance espoused by liberalism and capitalism emerged and spread, eventually to become a global phenomenon (Levack, et al. 2007a)

If, as is assumed in this study, that modern adult education is distinguished as a communicator of norms consistent with the ideals of a society based on liberal and industrial capitalist ideology, we can surmise that its emergence took place in Western Europe in the late eighteenth century, a period broadly identified by historians as the onset of Modernity (Finger 1989, Van der Veer 1998). According to Eyerman (1992):

Modernity has its roots in the attempt to come to grips with the meaning and significance of the social changes occurring in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century, namely, the effects of industrialization, urbanization, and political democracy on essentially rural and autocratic societies. (p. 37)

During this period, adult education emerged within social organizations (themselves made up of a varied and interacting and interacting landscape of norm groups) influenced by liberalism and capitalism.

Arising as they did during the same time and place in Western Europe's shift to Modernity, liberalism and capitalism have had a complicated relationship through time and space. Thus, it is necessary to outline an overview of each movement and then to look at how the relationship between each social structure provided the mechanisms from which the practice of adult education emerged. In order to sketch an overview of liberalism and capitalism, it is necessary to understand the social and cultural milieu which gave their rise.

The term 'milieu' is used here deliberately, as Michel Foucault (2007) writes, "What is the milieu? It is what is needed to account for action at a distance of one body on another. It is therefore the medium of an action and element in which it circulates" (pp. 20-21). The 'action and element' for the rise of liberalism and capitalism in Western European culture dates back to the fifth century Europe, a period that was synonymous with feudalism.

The Pre-Conditions of Liberalism

Feudalism.

Using critical realist Margaret Archer (2007) as a guide, the Medieval period was culturally and socially morphostatic: "repetitive situations, stable expectations, and durable relations" (p. 49). Everyday life followed a path of contextual continuity. During this period, Greenblatt (2011) writes, "identity came with a precise, well-understood place in a chain of command and obedience" (Chapter 1). Thus, social classes were stagnant and the possibility for social or class movement was negligible. Day-to-day life in much of Western Europe was anchored in the traditional and local community. The style of government was feudal. Feudalistic government placed citizens under the

jurisdiction of local lords, who, themselves, in a layered hierarchy, pledged fealty to regional lords, all of whom were linked, sorted and governed by the Roman Catholic Church.

From the 5th century A.D. through to about the 15th century, it was the Roman Catholic Church that promulgated the “great chain of being” (Wilson, 2000, p. 133) that justified the hierarchical social relations of the age and promised eternal salvation for a compliant citizenry, no matter what their assigned station in life. The Church gained ascendancy as it had moved in to fill a gap in governmentality after the fall of the Roman Empire. Baldwin (1953) explains:

Until the fifth century the papal possession of land was primarily a matter of property ownership. With the disappearance of the Western Roman empire and the consequent absence of any effective central government, there arose a new and more significant question of political jurisdiction. As imperial authority, now centered in Constantinople, became less and less effective in Italy, the popes were forced to provide for the administration of their lands. (p. 77-78)

The Roman Catholic Church presented both a “circumstantial” and a “structural” problem to the ruling state government. “The circumstantial problem” according to Manent (1994) “is well known in the general disintegration following the barbarian invasions, the Church had to take on social and political functions not carried out by civil authorities. Thus an ‘unnatural’ amalgam of secular functions and specifically religious ones was formed” (p. 4). The structural problem, as Manent continues, relates to the contradiction between the Church’s doctrines and the intersection with heavenly ideals and material realities. He explains the contradiction as thus:

Although the church leaves men free to organize themselves within the temporal sphere as they see fit, it simultaneously tends to impose a theocracy upon them. It brings a religious constraint of previously unheard-of scope, and at the same time offers the emancipation of secular life. (pp. 4-5)

Confounding the problem was the Catholic Church's lack of rules for governing the material world. As Manent continues, "unlike Judaism and Islam, the Church does not provide a law that is supposed to govern concretely all of men's actions in the earthly city" (p. 5).

Despite this, the Catholic Church rose into a position of dominance in Western European feudal governmentality. Baldwin (1953) contends that, in Western Europe, "society was formed by religion to an extent never equaled in any other epoch of its history; and, as a result, an inextricable association of things religious and secular developed" (p. 1). "The church was part of the everyday fabric of everyday life for most individuals", according to Brotton (2006), "and this meant that the distinction between the sacred and the profane became blurred" (Chapter 3). Citizens sought eternal salvation through their embedded relationship with state as they were unable to recognize themselves separate from the government. As Baldwin (1953) notes, "the idea of a "church" as an organization apart from the rest of organized society was foreign to the medieval mind" (p. 81). Thus, citizens considered themselves as being part of the body politic in an almost literal form.

It was the authority of the Roman Catholic Church of this period that Adam Smith (2003) reflected upon when he wrote his seminal work *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776:

In the state in which things were, through the greater part of Europe, during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and for some time both before and after that period, the constitution of the church of Rome may be considered as the most formidable combination that ever was formed against the authority and security of civil government, as well as against the liberty, reason, and happiness of mankind, which can flourish only where civil government is able to protect them. (p. 1013)

Interestingly, Smith is contending that a national government is weak against larger international forces. This has become a recurring theme, particularly in neoliberal times.

According to Manent (1993) the Church was most effective in working with sovereign heads of state. Within the feudal system, the citizen or serf pledged allegiance to his/her lord who in turn pledged allegiance to the Pope who, in turn, pledged allegiance to the Christian God. Through this system, citizens of Western Europe were granted eternal salvation through the various intermediaries of Christendom as the Papacy configured the body politic.

In the period leading up to the Renaissance and Enlightenment – 9th century on – the traditional life of Western Europe was centered on feudal market towns based on an honorial class system centered around the sovereign's court. According to MacKenzie (1950) “feudalism was basically a system of land tenure by which the freeman held land from his lord for certain services – military and other- and the lord in turn owed service to the king as overlord” (p. 9). MacKenzie continues, “feudalism was a whole way of life – a social system in which the lord and vassal were bound together by the closest possible ties” (p. 9). It also supported a static class system, restricting class mobility. This static system was not conducive to the drive of the emerging class of capitalist.

Like social life, the economy during the Middle Ages was stagnant as feudal relations kept economic growth and development in check. The strict religious governmentality of the period was not favorable to the entrepreneurship needed for capitalism to develop and expand. For instance, the practice of collecting interest on loans was considered usury and thus sinful. Also, inhibiting the growth of commerce in Western Europe was its agriculture-based economy, which had suffered through little or no innovation. The only wealth created tended to be for the ruling sovereigns who seemed to be in a constant state of war with other sovereigns (religious and secular) as they fought over land and social entitlement.

One part of Europe which did not follow the closed nature of European commerce were the Italian city-states that had access to the Mediterranean trade routes. In his historiography of the precondition for capitalism, Braudel (1982, 1992a, 1992b) details the rise of the Italian city-states and

the development of a merchant class who tapped into products of ever widening trade routes. The new merchant class of city-states such as Florence and Venice were able to use their wealth to work the speculative trade markets. Aside from access to the flow of trade routes, being part of a city-state would have weakened influence of the Papacy. Manent (1994) comments, “the city-states... because their magistrates, being a plurality, did not fill the first condition for being the image or lieutenant of God: unicity” (p. 7). Thus, as parts of Europe transitioned out of the Feudal period and moved toward what has become known as the Renaissance, new avenues began to open up for commercial development.

Throughout Western Europe, during this period, formal education was dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. Myers (1953) describes formal education of Medieval Britain as being dominated by religious dogma. With friars, monks, and nuns as the principal providers of education and given their religious orders, education was heavily biased: “academic education was still under the aegis of the Church; the teachers were therefore clerics and the curriculum was devoted to ecclesiastical ends” (p. 77). The leading educational discourses, according to Myers, were channeled through the Church. Even the chancellor of Oxford University was a bishop.

Despite the Church’s involvement in education, Myers contends that by the 14th century this was changing due to, “the growing complexity and sophistication of society, with the rise of a lay culture, and the need for an increasing variety of skills outside the orbit of the Church” (p. 78). Formal adult education, as a social structure, existed in limited form.

In his work on the history of adult education in Great Britain, Thomas Kelly (1970) notes that, “historically the earliest motive for adult education was religious” (p. 1). Kelly (1970) details the use of education by the Church to the mostly illiterate masses. “Their education was of that practical kind which is acquired at the plough-tail, at the bench, or in the kitchen”, Kelly writes “But there is an impressive body of evidence to suggest that even the early medieval period was more literate than

how often been supposed, and that the later Middle Ages saw a rapid rise in the general level of literacy” (p. 3). One of the drivers of literacy was the invention of the printing press which allowed for a rise in the number of text available for the average citizen (Brotton, 2006). The printing press helped lead to the eventual emergence of such liberal educational institutions as public libraries and the Mechanic Institutes.

Eventually the Feudal system began to weaken as the economy started to shift its organization towards monetary capitalism and the influence of the Catholic Church waned. Leading the breakdown of feudal societies was the Italian Renaissance. Feudal relations restricted the material freedom of the citizens as freedom was to be found in eternal salvation after death: The Renaissance challenged this.

The Renaissance.

The first sustained attack or critique of the Papal system of governance came during the Renaissance – a social awakening based on a revival of Greek and Roman social theory. Positioned in opposition to the generally held Christian beliefs of the day, Grecian and Roman social theory placed humans at the center of the universe instead of the Christian God.

The Renaissance, in Symonds (1970) view, “is the history of attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit manifested in the European races” (p. 22). This self-conscious freedom was inspired by the humanist’s approach found in ancient Greek and Roman literature. The humanist approach began a process of re-conceptualizing the body politic – Brotton (2006) contends that the “Renaissance humanism had a pragmatic aim to supply a framework for professional advancement, in particular to prepare men for government” (chapter 2) – as governmentality started to be guided by secular relations, moving away from Christian Biblical interpretations where it was believed that laws and social relations were guided by heavenly norms.

Using Daniel Dennett's (2003) terminology, governmental ideology moved from the creationist idea of laws being “skyhooked” into place, suggesting that laws come down from the heaven, to the idea of laws being “craned” into place through evolutionary, dialectical processes. “Renaissance Humanism – the recovery of Latin learning – indeed dramatized, as the textbook cliché runs, ‘man’ as the center of the universe,” writes Miskimin (1969) “but ‘man’ means here is a highly cultivated, sensitive, and grateful paragon of the Renaissance, and not ‘man’ the all-encompassing medieval common noun that generously includes all ranks, no matter how humble, so long as they be Christian” (p. 164). A citizen’s personal conceptualization of their position in the universe was changing.

A new social self was in its nascent and emergent form. According to Margaret Archer (2000) “the emergence of our “social selves” is something which occurs at the interface of structure and agency” (p. 255). It is hard to judge how far and quickly the emergent sense of self transcended society, as there was probably a delay as the populace of Western Europe was in the burgeoning stages of emerging from its restrictive feudal/ecclesiastical relations. The changes would probably have started with the traditional social elites, in this case the state, the church, and the nobility and worked their way down through the social structure.

The Renaissance also signaled a period when the pace of change started to pick up in the lives of the average citizen as technological growth was starting to increase but, as yet, there was still no need for adult education as a practice that would be recognized today. In pre-industrial Europe, Peter Jarvis (1983) argues, most cultural knowledge could be learned in childhood. According to Jarvis, the formal adult education that did exist tended to be for the social hierarchy.

The secular humanists’ ideology that emerged can be seen in the writings of Renaissance political theorist Machiavelli (2007). In his book the *Prince*, he theorizes about which methods work and which ones do not work in the building of a principality. Although not considered a liberal

theorist, Machiavelli is putting forward the idea of how individual citizens could gain power through a rational material methodology. Writing in 1532, Machiavelli recognizes that governments, in particular nation states, are often in a state of flux as they rise up only to be torn down. He identified the strengths and weaknesses in the development of government, how to gain power and how to hold power. Key to Machiavelli's method of theorizing is his examination of the individual agency and the social structures that citizens need to construct in order to attain governmental power and the agency/social structure relationship needed to maintain that power.

Although centered in the Italian States, the Renaissance, which incidentally provided the intellectual inspiration of our modern university system partially through "the discovery of the lost works of Aristotle" (Rait, 1912, p. 6), was not just a Southern European event. This is exemplified by the work of Roger Bacon, an English philosopher who was a proponent of scientific reasoning. As Burke (1927) notes, "Bacon did what no man had done, he devised a scientific method of approach which has become the working principle of all modern scientific investigation" (p. 80). Despite his work in helping to lay the foundation of material moral rational philosophy, Bacon, from the vantage point of modern times, was an enigmatic person, as he was also heavily influenced by spiritual beliefs.

There was also a shift emerging in the feudal rural agriculturally-based economy. The advent of the three-field system allowed for greater food production, as well as new plough and mechanical technologies were integral to the development of towns and larger urban areas, but it was not sufficient to feed a growing and expanding city (Miskimin, 1969). Miskimin contends, "the agricultural hinterlands of such great Italian cities as Genoa, Florence, and Venice were never adequate to feed their populations" (p. 23) due to this they had to expand the range of their trade for food production thus making these cities the first centers of centralized trade which, according to Braudel (1992a), was a forerunner of modern capitalism.

In his long *durée* assessment, Braudel (1992b) details how the centers for world trade shifted northward from Italian city-states, first to Spain and Portugal. With changes in ship building technology and navigation these nations were able to raid and exploit the wealth of far off populations in the New World. They were able to accumulate vast amounts of wealth by raiding the wealth of places such as Central and South America. Finding new avenues for resources was one piece in the puzzle for capitalists, the second was to create new markets and to develop a consumer culture.

Roland Bainton (1970) notes that “The period of the Renaissance in the late fifteenth century came close to confronting the Church with a rival view of life” (p. 101) but it was not able to usurp the influence of the Church in European society. As the Renaissance faded a new movement, the Protestant Reformation, emerged in Western Europe to counter the changes brought about by the Renaissance’s call for secular government and to launch another attack against the Catholic Church, in particular the Papacy.

Also, Italian commerce began to decline when the North-Western Europeans started venturing to the Americas and a new zone of trade (and of plunder) opened up. Funding for the arts, a hallmark of the Renaissance, dried up as new religious movements moved to the foreground (Brotton, 2006).

The Protestant Reformation.

Aside from the Roman Catholic Church being a strong influence on the body politic of Europe it had also become the creator of economic wealth. This was most evident when the Papacy moved from Rome to Avignon, France, from 1305-1378, a move necessitated by the Church having almost gone bankrupt because “the King of France forbade any exportation of gold to Rome” (Bainton, 1970, p. 100). The Catholic Church took on monetarist/capitalist tendencies and “the finances of the Church shifted from revenue in kind to revenue in coin” (Bainton, p. 100). The

Catholic Church, according to Brotton (2006), wanted to match and exceed the Eastern Orthodox Church (with which it had a brief unification in 1439) and the Islamic Ottoman empire to become the universal center of religion and culture but in order to do this the Catholic Church needed money.

One of the methods which the Catholic Church used to make money was the monetization, or capitalization, of eternal salvation through the sale of indulgences. Bishop (nd) defines indulgences as, “monetary payment made to absolve one from sin and to reduce the time spent in purgatory. Could be purchased for the dead already in purgatory” (Definitions). Schwiebert (1970) succinctly calls this period “the corruption of the Renaissance Popes” (p. 103). This, among other issues with the Church, led a Roman Catholic monk by the name of Martin Luther to rise up in protest. In Luther’s opinion, the Papacy was moving Church ideology away from the Church of the Apostles.

Angered by the direction of the Catholic Church, in 1517 Martin Luther (1957), a German monk, posted his 95 Thesis on the Church Door in Wittenberg, Germany. Chief among Luther’s concerns were the collection indulgences. In Thesis 32, he wrote: “Those who believe that they can be certain of their salvation because they have indulgence letters will be eternally damned, together with their teachers” (p. 11). Later, in Thesis 36, he contends that “Any truly repentant Christian has a right to full remission of penalty and guilt, even without indulgence letters” (p. 11).

Luther’s reformation rose from his anger at the Papacy’s control of the Christian Church. Luther felt that, “The Church must cease to be an empire to become a congregation of believers” (Tawney, 1948, p. 99). Luther was anti-capitalism and advocated for an enrichment of the peasant. Contending that salvation was in the hands of the individual, Luther created a new norm for many citizens of Western Europe, interestingly, this norm, the responsibility of taken care of the self, was to be picked by capitalism and liberalism. As Bishop (nd) contends, “for Luther, salvation could not be found in membership within an institution, or in the hands of human beings. Rather, he saw it as

a spiritual gift directly from God to the individual” (para. 5). For those who chose to follow Luther, he effectively did away with the Papacy.

Following on the heels of Luther was John Calvin. He too, argued for a reformation of the covenant between Christians and their concept of God. It was Calvin who provided the Protestant Church with an ideological foundation (Levack, Muir, Veldman, & Mass, 2007b). Calvin differed from Luther in that his philosophies were urban in nature and were open to the growth of capitalism. One social norm holding back the growth of capitalism was interest on loans. It was a tradition of the Christian Church, Luther included, to condemn interest on loans as, considering it to be usury. Calvin accepted interest on loans, with certain conditions (Perry, et al. 2000).

Concerning Calvinism, Tawney (1948) comments:

Its enemy is not the accumulation of riches, but their misuse for purposes of self-indulgence or ostentation. Its ideal is a society which seeks wealth with sober gravity of men who are conscious at once of disciplining their own characters by patient labor, and of devoting themselves to a service acceptable to God. (p. 114)

By allowing his followers to sell the product of their patient labour to the capitalist system, Calvin provided industrial capitalism a connection to the of the Christian God. Between Luther and Calvin, a connection to the moral authority of a Protestant Christian Church that seeks salvation through an individual covenant with a Christian God emerged. They infused capitalism with “the Protestant work ethic” (Weber, 1958).

The Protestant Reformation began in Germany and Switzerland then spread across Europe, inspiring the English King to break away from the Catholic Church, which gave rise to the Church of England (Levack, et. al, 2007b). According to Tawney (1948) and Braudel (1992b), Britain had traditionally been on the periphery of European culture and commerce but as the ‘new worlds’ of the Americas were discovered by Europeans and ocean borne commerce emerged, England became

the center of world commerce. This radically transformed English social life. King Henry of England seeing the money being made by the Catholic Church set about creating a Christian church from which he could retain the profits. It was not a straight forward process but it did cause a further distancing of the Catholic Church from the lives of the citizens.

Throughout this period, 1400 to 1500, the pace of change in Western Europe began to quicken. Tawney (1948) points out:

A man who was born when the Council of Basel [mid fifteenth century] was sitting saw also, if he lived to a ripe old age, the dissolution of the English monasteries. At the first date Portuguese explorers had hardly past Sierra Leone; at the second Portugal had been master of an Indian Empire for almost a generation. In the intervening three-quarters of a century the whole framework of European civilization had been transformed. (p. 80)

The problem with this age, according to Tawney (1949), were the constant wars that plagued Europe. Wars, whose outcomes often led to financially broke sovereign governments, saw those sovereigns go to bankers to fund their governments. Tawney writes, “The financier received his payment partly in cash, partly in concessions, which still further elaborated the network of financial connections that were making Europe economic unity” (p. 83). Capitalism, as we know it today, was in its infancy.

The Foundation of Western European Capitalism

The Emergence of Urbanization.

David Graeber (2001) contends that all societies have an economy: a place – the market – where people come together to buy, sell or barter products. Iterations of economy include potlatch, cowrie shells, and wampum. Capitalism is just another iteration of an economy but with a unique method to organize social relations. For capitalism to work it needs to organize social relations to

allow for monetary profits. Where all other economies tended to be local or regional market forms, capitalism is the only one to become a global force. Setting itself apart from the regional economies, capitalism works best with anonymous social relations.

Capitalism is a Western European urban form of governmentality based on a monetary economy. It is an economy conceived and organized for both the creation and constant movement of money and monetized resources. To accomplish this capitalism created the ethic of consumerism. This is contrary to the constant movement of money as it is a dead-end economic structure as once a product is consumed; it has no economic value unless it can be re-sold. Due to this, capitalism has created a marketing substratum to find and create new markets for their products as well as a banking system to keep money moving. Being a consumer-based money economy, it is highly volatile. If the consumers decide not to spend or lacks the money to spend (the Depression of the 1930's), the economy shrinks. If consumers spend money, then the economy expands (Post WWII capitalist economic boom).

One means to creating a consumer culture in Western Europe, was the growth of towns and urban areas. Towns and cities are unsustainable structures; they do not have the resources to maintain themselves and thus they rely on the countryside to support them. Braudel (1992a) points out that a town, "has to dominate an empire, however tiny, to exist" (p. 482). Towns and urban areas alter the economies of scale of production: for citizens of a town to survive the rural areas must produce excess food, fuel, and raw materials and transport it to the town. To facilitate this a strong, centralized government was needed to organize the relationship within the urban areas and to organize the countryside to provision the urban. It had to reorganize a body politic, which had no free title to land, in order to create an economy of industry production and consumerism. "Commercial and industrial activity was crucial to the survival, growth, and development of the cities of fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; without manufacturing and trade," Miskimin (1969)

contends, “the towns would quickly have reverted to the level of the villages of the seventh century, minute and skeletal shadows of urban communities” (p. 82).

Sadly, one of the factors which led to the growth of towns were massive civilian die offs due to wars and diseases that caused negative population growth, a spin off effect of which was a redistribution of land and wealth (Perry, Chase, Jacob, Jacob, Von Lune, 2000). Many citizens had to abandon the rural communities to seek employment in towns and cities. As towns grew and expanded, they needed more rural resources to maintain their existence. Finding or landing a job in the towns was not easy in the early years as towns were still small and the industrial mode of production was not individually controlled. Many industries were controlled by trade guilds, who were protective of their members and were difficult to break into (Braudel, 1982)

Capitalism, according to Tawney (1948), was sporadic in its early development, from Venice to Madrid to Lisbon, capitalism rose then faded. It was not until the rise of Antwerp as a global trading center that capitalism started to emerge as a global force (Braudel, 1982, Tawney, 1949). Antwerp, according to Tawney (1948) was, “the first city to tap the wealth, not of an inland sea [referring to the Mediterranean], but of the ocean, stepped into a position of unchallenged pre-eminence almost unique and European history. The long sea-roads which ran east and west met and ended in its harbours” (p. 83). Antwerp and Bruges led the movement for Western European nations to shift from a feudal/agrarian economic system to a mercantile system of production and trade: a system which paved the way to industrial capitalism.

Mercantilism

The mercantile system reorganized the economy as the State (mostly Holland and England) became increasingly involved in international trading system with the goal of creating greater income for itself. The state did not control the means of production with the trading partners. Instead, it imposed taxes and tariffs on imports thus creating income. Mercantilism was a precursor or, at least,

opened the doors to the colonization of far off lands as the dominant trading nations were able to impose their economic might upon the nations and countries they traded with – they may not have controlled the mode of production, but they did control the terms of trade.

Commenting on the mercantile system, Heckscher (1936) identifies that the general belief in European countries was that there was a limited number of resources to go around:

It is true that mercantilist believed in their almost unlimited ability to develop the economic resources of their own country ... but they only hoped to do so at the expense of their neighbours. That the wealth of the world as a whole could increase was an idea wholly alien to them, and in this they were 'static' to a degree. (p. 48)

Mercantilism was a competitive economic system, with most of the competition existing between Holland and England. "In foreign trade and business organisation the influence of mercantilism was much more complicated," because, as Heckscher (1936) continues, "the Dutch and English method of equipping trading companies with powerful privileges, not to say sovereign powers, certainly gave a great impetus to their development and was a characteristic example of western mercantilism" (p. 48).

A problem or "mistake" for the Dutch mercantilism in Brazil, according to Braudel (1992b), "had been to try to erect a commercial superstructure without gaining control of production, without colonizing the territory in the modern sense of the word" (p. 233). This mistake can be applied to the British in India. The influence of the mercantile nation was not strong enough to sustain the mode of trade. Although Mercantilism created wealth and developed markets for products, it was limited in terms of growth, and due to over excited speculative investments, caused economic overheating leading to events such as the South Sea Bubble (Braudel, 1982).

Returning to the town/countryside narrative, Braudel (1992b) explains:

Merchant capitalism, by circumventing the restrictive practices of the urban guilds, thus created a new industrial arena – in the countryside but controlled from the towns. For everything came from the towns, everything started there. The English industrial revolution was created on the pioneer towns of Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester and Liverpool. (p. 312)

These pioneering sites were in Marx's terminology greenfield sites (Harvey & Marx, 2010) areas that were without the restrictive rules and regulations of the established urban areas.

The mercantile systems gave way to the capitalist system which saw the state become less entrepreneurial and more managerial in terms of money. One of the effects of mercantilism was the breakdown of the town guild system, which Heckscher (1936) describes, "The medieval towns had created the most consistent, vigorous and long-lived system of economic policy that has ever existed, the most important parts of which were the guild system" (p. 46). More and more, as the guild system eroded, the mode of production came under the influence of one owner, the capitalist.

Conditions Which Gave Rise to Capitalism

Capitalism needs both space and markets to grow. In comparing Amsterdam to London, Braudel (1992b) notes:

London did, like Amsterdam, export capital, but the loans were often made to finance foreign sales of British products and were thus another way of re-stimulating national growth and production. There was nothing of the kind in Amsterdam. Since the commercial capitalism of the Dutch city was accompanied by no major industrial production. (p. 246)

Along with products, industry produces money.

Money, and the need of government to control it, set new social norms and reconfigured the body politic of Western Europe. This was seen most distinctly in Great Britain. In Britain, after the

Norman Invasion of 1066, the English Monarchs set up a rudimentary parliamentary system. In this parliamentary system, the Monarch exercised control of the state by appointing councillors and deciding when parliament would meet. Over time the Monarch's power began to wane and, as MacKenzie (1950) notes, by 1258 parliament as a social structure, the House of Commons, that we would recognize today, was established.

As is the case today, the British parliamentary system was comprised of House of Lords – made up of the most powerful social elites – and the House of Commons – made up of representatives of the citizens. Of interest is the narrative of how the Lower House or the House of Commons wrested control of the government from the Upper House or House of Lords. This was accomplished by the House of Commons controlling the purse strings for the Government, each time the reigning Monarch would go to war they would have to ask the House of Commons for more money. Each time they provided funds for the Monarch, the representatives in the House of Commons would demand more control of governmental affairs. Eventually, the House of Commons emerged as the most influential power in the British government, usurping the House of Lords and the Monarchy. The Canadian parliament, which is based upon the British parliamentary system, has the House of Commons in full control of the national government with talks of abolishing the Upper House or Senate.

As Western Europe transitioned into Modernity and industrial capitalism started to take root, particularly in Great Britain, there was a shift in the social structure of Western Europe as the “positions” (Lawson, 1997, p. 165) in the governmentality changed. More and more capitalists, with their monetarist inspired norms, began to infiltrate or direct different levels of government. Key to this is the role that finances played in the governmentality. During the Medieval period in European the Monarch(s) controlled the finances as they collected them from the citizenry in the form of

tariffs but, as the British example illustrates, the so-called representatives of the people were able to wrest control of the money from the Monarchs.

It was a transition with broad and far reaching implications. In *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Foucault (2008) outlines a shift of governmentality that occurred in Western Europe in response to the change from a pastoral governmentality (also known as a feudal socio/economic structure) to a capitalist inspired governmentality. During this period of Modernity, the sovereign's civic responsibility transitioned from protecting the souls of the citizenry – by offering eternal salvation – to protecting the body corporeal of the citizenry – by offering the good life on earth. This could be accomplished through the capitalist economic system of industrial production.

Capitalism was gaining influence and setting emergent norms in the social, political and economic structure of Western Europe but in order to grow and thrive it needed a “regime of justification” (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2000, p. 219) to prop it up. The emerging theory of liberalism provided a rationalization for the growth of capitalism. As will be argued later, capitalism provided liberals theorists with a social model in which they could construct their versions of a just society.

Liberalism

In order to sustain its growth and expansion, industrial capitalism relied on social philosophies to help it reshape and redefine the previous static social and economic relations of Western Europe. Calvin's acceptance of interest on loans and the emergence of the Protestant work ethic acted as a “regime of justification” for capitalism to provide another means for salvation. But, where non-secular philosophies help re-organize the economy, it retained some of the static social trappings of feudalism, the emerging secular philosophy of liberalism offered capitalism a radical new method to build social and economic relations that only it could benefit from. Liberalism emerged as a “regime of justification” for capitalism to reorganize both social and economic

relations free from feudal relations. Although, in true ironic fashion, relations within capitalism have always resembled feudal relations.

Like Christian philosophy, liberalism is a grand narrative that emerged to guide the growth and development of the body politic of Early Modernity's Western Europe. Surfacing as a critique of the feudal body politic, liberalism is an urban moral social philosophy that arose in Western Europe during the first stages of Modernity. As a grand narrative, it has consistently provided a rationale for Western European states to develop new forms of governance as they moved from an ecclesiastical to a secular model. This move to a secular government was precipitated by a societal shift as Western European society was transforming from a feudal/agricultural base to an urban/industrial capitalist base. As this transformation was taking place, liberal philosophers crafted a philosophy of individual freedom and liberation through rational enquiry. This worked well for capitalists as it provided justification for the construction of a material class structure based on the recognition of the individual as being able to control their own future and position in society.

At its core, liberalism critiqued the static relationship of the state and the individual. "When we speak of the state", Thorkild Jacobsen (1949) explains, "we usually imply inner sovereignty and independence of all external control. Moreover, we think of a state of as dominating a specific territory, and we see as its chief aim the protection of its members and the furthering of their well-being" (p. 200). Furthering the well-being of its members is key to Jacobsen's explanation as the state is a social structure with emergent powers to shape the agency of its citizens, both individually and collectively. "Liberalism," Parekh (1972) explains, "takes the natural physical individual as the ultimate social reality and views him as an essentially possessive and private being shut up in his own subjectivity. The limits of his body are considered the limits of his self" (p. 81). Michel Foucault (2007) refers to the relationship between state and individual as governmentality: the art of government.

Ontologically, liberalism places humans as the center of the environment, separate from religious and state dogma. Epistemologically, liberalism strives for freedom of the individual or, at least, to explore the limits of freedom by identifying inhibitors of freedom. At its core liberalism is philosophy of social justice in which all individuals are to be considered free or, at least, have the ability to find freedom. Liberalism's first philosopher, John Locke (1967) opines, "men being... by Nature, all free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of this Estate, and subjected to the Political Power of another, without his own Consent" (p. 348). In this work, Locke argues for two core liberal values: the separation of state and nation and the right of each person to be considered independent. By freeing the individual from traditional social bonds, liberals believe, each person can achieve the good life and find their greatest sense of being.

Liberal scholars who emerged during first stages of Modernity built upon the work of Renaissance and Enlightenment scholars as they continued to envision structural changes to ecclesiastical governmentality. Taking a secular and rational approach, liberal scholars, based mostly in Western Europe, challenged the ruling system of government by questioning the role of those who govern had in the lives of the citizens. An emergent principle concerned the sovereignty that each person (the individual) has over their own body. Challenging the believe that the sovereign had the right to rule each person's body (and soul) as if they were an extension of the state, liberals argued that each individual had sovereign right over their own body. This blossomed into the liberal notion of limiting role of government in the lives of the citizenry.

Through limited government involvement in the lives of the citizenry, liberals believe that conditions for human freedom and liberation through rational enquiry would be enhanced. Foucault (2008) contends that "liberalism formulates simply the following: I am going to produce what you need to be free. I am going to see to it that you are free to be free" (p. 63), it is up to each person to find their route to freedom. During the early stages of Modernity, the envisioned freedom was from

the present governmentality as both the social and the economic were closely entwined in feudal relations. By the middle of the 18th Century, liberal moral theorists, such as Adam Smith, began to view capitalism as a social structure that could best support their call for individual freedom as it could support the innate abilities each person has. Individuals, within the capitalist social structure, could select the social relations and work position that provided the best value.

To guide their theoretical arguments liberal theorists evoked the model of the *state of nature* to guide their accounts of the emergence of human society. The *state of nature* breaks society down to primitive forms of human agency, allowing liberal philosophers to theorize about emergent human society by postulating how people act with minimal social structure. For liberal philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (n.d.), the “most ancient of societies, and the only one that is natural, is the family” (chapter 2). Once society was broken down to primitive forms of basic human agency, liberal moral philosophers such as Rousseau, John Locke, and Adam Smith would theorize about the successive layers of social structure needed for the development of modern human society.

While there are weaknesses with Modernity’s liberal philosophers use of the *state of nature* to explain the emergence of society and social structure – despite arguing for a secular state, they tended to conceptualize the State of Nature within the Christian ideal of the Garden of Eden as they adopted a slightly creationist ontology –, the *state of nature* was and remains an effective method to guide the theorization of the relationship between individual agency and the state as it identifies the levels of social structures needed to develop a society. It also provides a place to judge or theorize what morals are needed for an individual to development and how the state can best serve the freedom of an individual. The *state of nature* challenged the downward conflation of the state creating the individual, instead it argued for an upward conflation of the individual creating the state.

In a liberal framework, the state’s role is to create a system of social and moral justice in which all people are to be considered equal, secure, and free to seek the good life. Commenting on

the work of John Locke, Ruth Grant (1987) notes, “There are two characteristics of man’s natural state: that all men are free and equal, and that there is a natural law that commands the preservation of all mankind. These are the two premises of Locke’s argument” (p. 65). If all people are free and equal how can one rule over another? This is a key question of liberalism. The traditional governmental structure, which had dominated feudal Western Europe, was guided by the believe that government was inspired by divine law superior to any law society could create. Locke (1967), on the other hand, advises that individuals should be provided with an opportunity to have to agree to the role of government and the state. If individuals agree to the role of government, they are, in essence, creating the government. They are creating the state and the nation.

Another key contribution of Locke is his thoughts on ownership and value. By contending that individuals have the right to property ownership, Locke questions a fundamental value of the feudal system which limited individual property ownership as all property and resources (including each person) was believed to be owned by sovereign power. Manent (1994) sums up Locke’s argument “it is human labor, and not nature, that gives things their *value*” (p. 43). Thus, if an individual works a piece of land, it is their labour that provides the value not the state. This emerged as one of the prime tenants of liberalism and one that played into the hands of capitalist ideologues as it made the capitalist marketplace the judge of value, not the state.

According to Manent (1994), “Locke embodies the moment when liberalism became fully aware of its foundation in the individual right to property”. He also adds, “At the same time, he made it possible to understand how the liberal philosophy of natural right spontaneously transformed itself into an entirely different type of thought: political economy” (p. 46). Political economy is the entangled relationship between governmental social structures and the capitalist economy which governs the distribution of wealth (Mill, 1965).

Locke and fellow liberal theorists, such as Smith and Rousseau were working to redefine human social relations by theorization of how social relations emerge and how they are enacted. Referring to the *state of nature*, they could analyze human relations in what they considered to be its the purest form. Possibly, because of their Christian background they were missing a vital component of their argument: people are born into pre-existing social structures and that those social structures influence individual agency which then impacts social structure (Elder-Vass, 2010). This relates to the above theorization of Margaret Archer concerning the emergence of the social self. As Western Europe was transitioning from rural/agrarian to urban/industrial the social self of many citizens was being impacted by a capitalist inspired social structure.

Capitalism and the Emergence of the Industrial Revolution

To instigate a social system of producers and consumers, capitalism broke the traditional economic and political system of Western Europe and put into place a new form of governmentality and a subsequent reorganization of the body politic. This new governmentality was brought about by capitalists who pushed forward the liberal ideal that the government and the body politic is in the hands of the citizen. Thus, each citizen controls their own salvation: a salvation can best be found through security in the material economy and the freedom of social mobility.

To institute the development of a consumer culture, which it needed to sustain itself, capitalism aided in the establishment of a mobile class system through the development of an emergent urban working class during the shift to urban/industrial development. This new urban class system is a highly contentious among its defenders and critics. As this dissertation will show in later chapters, notable liberal theorists Adam Smith, Ludwick von Mises, John Keynes, and Friedrich von Hayek represent a school of thought that argues capitalism is the best method to organize socio/economic structures in order to create a free and just society.

The life blood of capitalism is the creation of surplus wealth, generally expressed in the form of money. This economic organization is based on making “surplus [monetary] profit” (Marx, 1977, p. 251) from invested money. Capitalists are simply citizens who invest their money with the goal of making more money. Lending money to collect interest or the purchase of a product for resale is the most basic form of capitalism. Another form is the investment of money in a business or industry with the aim of a return of profit on the investment. It as a gamble and reward economic system but capitalism is much more than an economic system.

Fernand Braudel (1992b), who wrote extensive on the preconditions of capitalism, advises:

The worst error of all is to suppose that capitalism is simply an ‘economic system’, whereas in fact it lives off the social order, standing almost on a footing with the state, whether as adversary or accomplice: it is and always has been a massive force filling the horizon. Capitalism also benefits from all the support that culture provides for the solidity of the social edifice, for culture – though unequally distributed and shot through with contradictory currents – does in the end contribute best of itself to propping up the existing social order. And lastly capitalism can count on the dominant class who, when they are defending it, are defending themselves. (p. 623)

In order for capitalism to become “a massive force filling the horizon” it had to reconfigure social relations and find a legitimizing theory to support its growth.

The biggest challenge posed to capitalism’s reconfiguration of social relations was the emergent social structure created as rural citizens migrated to urban areas. A trenchant example was the Scottish Highland Clearances, when Highland Scots were evicted from their land to make room for commercial agricultural – mostly sheep raising. The Highland Clearances broke the traditional feudal clan system and capitalism began imposing itself into the social fabric of Scotland. Perelman (2000) identifies how, after the Highland clearances, there was a shift to land ownership as common

or clan land became private land, owned by clan leaders who used it a resource for personal profit. As mentioned previously, many of those who were cleared out of the Highlands settled in Cape Breton.

The saga of the Highland Clearances highlights how rural land usage was changing to keep urban areas fed and powered. Urban areas were creating a larger and larger footprint on the countryside as it ceaselessly searched for fuel, food, and resources (material and human) for the consumer economy.

Traditionally the consumer products of Western Europe were produced within the craftsman guild system, a system where the craftsmen were able to control the means of production. Industrial capitalism blew this apart as Marx (1977) clearly explains:

The capitalist system presupposes the complete separation of the labourers from all property in the means by which they can realize their labour. As soon as capitalist production is once on its own legs, it not only maintains this separation, but reproduces it on a continually extending scale. The process, therefore, that clears the way for the capitalist system, can be none other than the process which takes away from the labourer the possession of his means of production; a process that transforms, on the one hand, the social means of subsistence and of production into capital, on the other, the immediate producers into wage labourers. The so-called primitive accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production. It appears as primitive, because it forms the prehistoric stage of capital and of the mode of production corresponding with it. (pp. 874-875)

Marx continues, “The economic structure of capitalist society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society. The dissolution of the latter set free the elements of the former” (p. 875).

The growth of the market led to a break-down of the guild system as the artisans became wage earners. Regarding education, the guild system was organized around a master/apprentice relationship, reminiscent of Lave and Wenger's (2005) situated learning, in which the senior members of the guild taught the craft to the junior members. The break-down of the guild system put an end to the master-apprentice relation. Braudel (1982) explains:

It is perfectly clear that the labour market – as a reality if not as a concept – was not a creation of the industrial era. The labour market was the market upon which a man offered himself, without any of his traditional means of production, if he had ever had any: a piece of land, a loom, a horse or cart. All he had to offer was his arm and hand, his 'labour' in other words. And of course, his intelligence or skill. The man who hired or sold himself in this way was passing through the narrow opening of the market out of the traditional economy. The phenomenon can be seen with unusual clarity in the case of the miners of Central Europe. Having long been independent artisans, working in small groups, they were obliged in the fifteenth and sixteenth century to put themselves under the control of the merchants who alone could provide the considerable investment required for equipment to mine deep below the surface. And they became wage-earners. (p. 52)

More and more the citizenry of many Western European states became separated from the means of production and moved to towns to sell their ability to labour. This allowed the forces of capitalism an opportunity to reorganize social system into system of production.

The Industrial Revolution, though rightly considered an urban event, also impacted rural areas. Not only were citizens of rural areas moving to urban areas to find work, the rural areas were being reorganized to supply the needs (raw material and energy) of cities.

As Modernity took hold in Western Europe, the pace of change through one's life span started to increase as technological innovation and the migration to burgeoning towns and cities altered the basic survival knowledge of citizens. Along with, or in concert with, the rise of the Industrial Revolution were numerous agricultural and industrial inventions. For example, in Britain plowing and planting innovations, inventive uses of steam power, and expansion of canal and railroad networks, increased the pace of manufacture and distribution (Perry et. al., 2000).

The learning systems that were in place were not robust enough to help citizens deal with this socio/economic shift. It was the consolidation of the conditions of Early Modernity that activated the need for a broad learning system to enable adults to absorb the fast-paced socio/economic alterations generated by emergent forms of governmentality being inspired by liberal social theory and growing industrial capitalism.

New forms of education were needed to help educate citizens, particularly adults, who were moving into unconventional communities, experiencing change at a rate not experienced before, developing a new body politic, and adjusting to new economic conditions. New forms of adult education were needed to help citizens deal with change.

Chapter Four

The Emergence of Adult Education

In his historical study of adult education, J.F.C. Harrison (1961) brings to light the need to appreciate the social and cultural setting of adults engaged in adult education. “To any tutor in the field”, Harrison contends, “the chastening importance of environmental factors in adult education is soon brought home. He soon learns the extent to which the horizons of his work are determined by the social and educational background of his students” (p. 3). With this in mind, Harrison contends that historically, “the ground to be cultivated” for adult education “was primarily among working classes, and, moreover, that’s the ground that required very considerable cultivation before it could be expected to yield much of a harvest” (p. 5).

In terms of social structure, the working class was a revolutionary class. Emerging during the British Industrial Revolution, it was the first class to become fully indebted to capitalist production as its members sold their ability to labour for monetary gain. From its monetary gain the working class was able to purchase goods from the capitalist economy. Thus, the working class emerged to form the base of the consumer economy, allowing for the near continuous growth of the capitalism.

The emergence of the working class and the capitalist consumer economy signaled a change to the body politic of Western Europe as it shifted to an industrial economy. England, which had been peripheral to the European economy, moved to the center of burgeoning global capitalism as London took over the reins of international commerce (Braudel, 1982). Capitalism, in particular industrial capitalism, was redefining fundamental social relations as burgeoning cities increasingly sucked resources from rural areas. Human labour and consumer power, the living capacities of women, men, and children of the age, were the resources at the very centre of this swirling urban vortex. The mass migration of people from the country-side into the cities was to be a key feature of industrialist capitalist development for centuries. It has yet to cease.

Migration from rural/agrarian communities to urban/industrial communities disturbed the close-knit social fabric of former agrarian societies. It altered citizens' sense of the past and the embedded socio/cultural relations through which they understood their world. Whereas lives were once morphostatic, guided by familiar social norms and permeated by contextual continuity, the lives of citizens became morphogenetic, struck through by unfamiliar social norms and shaken by contextual discontinuity.

Mabel Tylecote (1957) describes the emerging social circumstances in Britain during the late 1700s and early 1800s:

The social conditions which followed in the wake of the changing character of industrial organization aroused not only fear but also widespread concern of a philanthropic kind; for the concentration of manual workers in the new industrial towns afforded a spectacle of mass deprivation, as well as an opportunity for large-scale agitation. (p. 26)

There had been poor in Western Europe and around the world prior to the Industrial Revolution, but a new urban poor emerged. Typified by women, men and children working and living in brutal conditions and receiving little financial benefit. Karl Marx (1977) uses the death of Mary Anne Walkley to paint a picture of the working conditions for the working class during the Industrial Revolution:

Mary Anne Walkley had worked without intermission for 26½ hours, with 60 other girls, 30 in one room, that only afforded 3 of the cubic feet of air required for them. At night, they slept in pairs in one of the stifling holes into which the bedroom was divided by partitions of board. And this was one of the best millinery establishments in London. Mary Anne Walkley fell ill on the Friday, died on Sunday, without, to the

astonishment of Madame Elise, having previously completed the work in hand. (pp. 364-365)

Harrison (1961) suggests that, “it was characteristic of the new industrial society that the distinction between the ‘poor’ and ‘the working class’ tended to become obliterated, and that successive visitations of unemployment and epidemic disease exercised a levelling effect within the working class as a whole” (p. 7). As was the case in the feudal system, the working class – whatever the feudal working class was – suffered through poverty, but with one major difference, the emerging capitalist inspired working class had options for social mobility not experienced before.

This opportunity of social mobility – which aligned itself with the liberal promise of freedom and the pursuit of happiness – acted as an enticement for people to enter into the capitalist economy. Since the Industrial Revolution through to today, the ideology of trickle-down economics and the lure of social mobility convinced citizens of the value of the capitalist dream. For the upper class, the liberal ideology promised even greater wealth and social power. For the working class, liberalism offered a chance, ultimately, to join the middle class and the better quality of life it promised. It was in this milieu of dynamic social change that modern adult education had its point of emergence.

The Stimulus for Modern Adult Education

The Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction contends, “Education of adults did not begin with the nineteenth century. But they derived a new stimulus from social and intellectual ferment which accompanied the break-up of the old regime” (Waller, 1956, p. 164). Pre- Industrial Revolution – the old regime – adult education was parochial and communal in nature, used by community and social leaders as a form of governmentality to maintain and enforce social order. Some formal schooling for children existed, emanating from Christian sponsored Sunday schools. These Sunday Schools, according to Hudson (1851), laid the foundation

for adults who also wanted to learn – mostly literary skills. Hudson details how, during the eighteenth-century, adults would attend school with children but “the first school established in Great Britain exclusively for the instruction of adults, was at Bala, a village in Merionetshire, in the year 1811 staffed by the Rev. T. Charles, B.A., Minister of the place, who found there was an aversion on the part of adults to associate with children in their schools” (pp. 2-3). These adults were being taught basic literacy skills as low levels of illiteracy were holding citizens back. On one front, social leaders were developing a more literate citizenry. A citizenry that would be better able to handle the increasing pace of knowledge transfer and ideas. On another front, burgeoning capitalism needed workers with reading, writing and numeracy skills for the workplace.

On the first front, the invention of the printing press was making a greater number and variety of books available to the general public. Most of the printing presses were found in the Western Europe, which Brotton (2006) notes, partitioned knowledge from the rest of the world:

At the beginning of the 15th century, literacy and books were the preserve of a tiny, international elite focused on urban centers like Constantinople, Baghdad, Rome, and Venice. By the end of the 16th century humanism and the printing press had created a revolution in both elite and popular apprehension of reading, writing, and the status of knowledge, transmitted via the printed book, which became focused much more exclusively on northern Europe. (Chapter 2)

This allowed ideas, philosophies, and concepts from Western Europe a space to ferment.

On the second front, literacy skills were becoming an important form of human capital for those who wanted employment or to remain employed as capitalism continued to grow. Titmus (1989) explains:

The Industrial Revolution, occurring first in England then throughout Western Europe and North America, was an upheaval that produced the need for writing and

computation skills, particularly for armies of clerks, secretaries, and salespersons, and provided the opportunity for people to be educated considerably beyond their previous expectations. In some European countries, notably in Northern Europe in Russia, changes in farming technology in rural living also required and stimulated further education. (p. xxv).

The new world of Industrial Capitalism sparked a need for new forms of education for adults as the social order was changing and Western Europe was becoming the center of the global economy and learning.

Capitalism was also having a profound effect on state security. Shifting social demographics resulted in civil discontent, most strongly observed when citizens left rural communities to live and work in towns and cities. Vast populations began to pool in sprawling urban areas creating a new social class of poor and impoverished citizens tearing the social fabric of many countries. At the same time, rapid technological and mechanical transformations generated by competitive capitalism began to outstrip worker competence and, thus, reduce the competitive capacity of capitalist enterprise, and, consequently the integrity and security of emerging capitalist states.

It was within the confluence of these interacting social forces that emergent forms of adult education first began to consolidate. Adult education was needed to enable citizens to enjoy and disseminate a variety of texts. Adult education was activated to better enhance the skills and abilities of adults in the workplace by providing literacy skills to keep them up to date on technological advancements. Adult education was activated to help quell civil discontent. Those who first took notice of the emergence of the new social phenomena of adult education, saw it and began to talk about it in primarily two ways: as a means to integrate citizens further into the flows of capitalist society or as a way to save people from its ravages.

The telos, or the purpose, of society was changing. In a feudal society, the telos of the poor was to be poor as God ordained, but in a secular industrial society, with an emerging working class, the telos of an individual was no longer considered static. Social mobility, up or down, was now a possibility.

The Emergence of Adult Education as Social Security

Government, which depends upon internal security, had to intercede in the development of society in new emergent ways due to the rise of industrial society, as the alliance, which government(s) had with Christianity, was shifting to an alliance with business and commerce. It was in this milieu of insecurity wrought by social change, with workers and their families caught up in the grinding wheels of poverty, that saw the rise of adult education primarily among the working class.

The Christian Churches were among the first to take on the challenge of educating adults caught up in the emergent class system of industrial capitalism. Though the Christian Church had lost much of its influence by the early 1800s it still carried considerable social authority and wrestled with capitalism and the secular state for control of the body politic. Johnson (1993) contends, “religion was the source of order, in society and in individuals; God was a kind of policeman in the sky” (p. 17).

By their very nature, churches have always utilized a regional ontology to educate adults within the narrow range of religious doctrines that seeks redemption and salvation. Seeing the havoc that industrial capitalism was creating in society, church leaders stepped in to educate and save the souls of the masses. Along with their long history of relief programs for the poor, in eighteenth century Britain, churches began to formalize education, for example, with literacy programs to enable a reading of the gospels (Hudson, 1851), to save the souls of the increasing number of poverty-ridden citizens.

Other social reformers heeded the call to help the poor, too. Prominent liberal social reformer and philanthropist of this period, Robert Owen (1972), reflected the opinion of many others concerning the need to educate the poor. “Either give the poor a rational and useful training,” Owen contends, “or mock not their ignorance, their poverty, and their misery, by merely instructing them to become conscious of the extent of the degradation under which they exist” (p. 154). Owen, a mill owner, saw the need for social security and tried to create new norms for the community around his mill in New Lanark, Scotland and, indeed, for England when he promoted the idea of unionizing all English workers (Perry, et al., 2000, p. 555). Fulcher (2004) explains that, aside from controlling the factory, “Owen also controlled the community. He sent around street patrols to report drunkenness and fined drunks next morning. He insisted on cleanliness and established detailed rules for the cleaning of streets and house” (Chapter, 1). He did this for the betterment of his fellow citizen and society.

While the religious leaders used adult education as a means to save souls, social reformers, such as Owens, went one step further by publicly voicing concerns about the impoverished. Both the Church and reformers sought to allay the potential of social discontent created by the oppressive social relations and contextual discontinuity created by capitalism. It was in this milieu of poverty and social unrest that adult education was taking root.

Adult Education as a Source for Working Class Empowerment

While the Christian Churches and social activists were opening up new avenues for adult education to address issues of poverty and providing security for the state, capitalists and an emerging cadre of industrial intellectuals began to advocate for forms of adult education that could empower workers with the technical skills needed to run industrial machines and technologies as well as to empower them with a voice in the body politic. The training and empowerment of the working class, who now had to contend with unprecedented advancements in the workplace due to

revolutionary technological and mechanical progress while dealing with emergent social power structures, furthered the growth of adult education

This training and empowerment started with learning societies, local assemblies with narrow mandates, that emerged to help the working-class deal with and embrace changes in society and in the workplace. Mable Tylecote (1957) describes 18th century British learning societies as local associations “based upon popular interest in science and combined with recreational interests” (p. 2). These societies faded away but not before leading to the creation of larger educational institutions such as the Mechanic’s Institutes of Britain. The “original purpose” of these institutes, according to Boone (2004), was to provide “technical, scientific and instructional materials...The members and subscribers were able to get the materials they wanted to read, regardless of what the government felt was appropriate” (p. 21).

The Mechanics’ Institutes were amongst the most influential and successful adult education movements of the early mid 19th-century. Under the tutelage and inspiration of George Birkbeck, Mechanic’s Institutes had a point of emergence in Edinburgh, Scotland, during the 1820s. Ground-breaking in style and form, they were dedicated to helping the emerging industrial working class with a coherent teaching and learning organization. According Bryant (1984), the Edinburg Mechanics Institute employed a different approach to funding, “the School was financed and controlled by ‘leading citizens’ and attracted almost 500 members from 48 different trades its first year. An important educational innovation in the teaching of adults was for student monitors to lead small classes of revision lectures” (pp. 5-6). The Mechanics’ Institutes were seeking a new enlightenment for the citizenry, one prompted by Western Europe’s turn to a capitalist industrial economy.

As the 19th century was closing, the Mechanic’s Institutes faded in number and importance because as Goldman (1995) points out, “their limited curriculum and the overbearing influence of their middle-class sponsors deterred the working men for whom they had been established” (p. 11).

Despite the weakening of Mechanic's Institutes, adult education, itself, was becoming an integral part of British society; it was becoming normalized. Goldman (1995) sums up adult education as being "generally designed to assault illiteracy and develop godliness among the poor, and by mechanics' institutes that emerged in the 1820s to spread knowledge of science and its applications among artisans" (p. 11). In addition, to its increasingly prevalence, adult education began to shift its focus to more expressly political ends, although Freire (2000) would rightfully argue that all educational acts are political.

Along with educating workers, Mechanic's Institutes also played a role in the emergence of Mutual Improvement Societies which Watson (1989) notes "complemented the activities of mechanic's institutes" (p. 8). Where Mechanic's Institutes served a broad-minded mandate, Mutual Improvement Societies tended to serve local needs. Whether they had broad or local mandates, both of these institutions of adult education acted as seedbeds for future political agitation.

One such forum for political agitation was the Chartist Movement. Griffin (2014) comments on the importance that the Mutual Improvement Societies had on Chartist's Thomas Cooper, "the small club had taught him to read with a purpose, collect his thoughts, write an essay, present an argument, and speak in public – all skills which could prove invaluable to the future Chartist leader" (p. 586). Armed with this education, Cooper became a leading figure in the Chartist Movement, which was "the first distinctive workingmen's movement of modern times" (Faulkner, 1916, p. 10).

A key plank in the Chartist's platform was their advocacy for universal male suffrage. They believed that working class males should have a voice in the body politic through parliamentary reform by providing universal male voting rights (Harrison and Hollis 1967, Chase 2007). Although the Chartist Movement only lasted from the 1830s to the 1840s its impetus remained and in 1918 the British House of Parliament passed the Representation of the People Act. Lyndon (2015) contends that this act finally brought about universal suffrage in Britain: "The 1918 Act is, rightly,

most famous for having brought more than eight million women into the electorate; but for the first time, it also enfranchised more than five million men over the age of 21 without regard to property or class” (para. 8).

Influence of Liberalism on Adult Education

The ideologies that supported working class movements such as the Chartist were often inspired by liberal social theory. As stated above, liberalism emerged as a critique of government and the established social order. Thus, liberalism emerged, during the 19th century as a backing for radical social behavior which “unnerved the state and the propertied classes” (Roberts, 2010, p. 6). In this milieu of working-class and political agitation, liberalism emerged as a strong voice within the British political system and, obviously, forming into its own political party which originally advocated for political change, such as voting rights (Roberts, 2010).

As a political force, liberalism was able to use adult education as a means to inform and bring about social change inside and outside Britain. J. W. Hudson’s 1851’s *The History of Adult Education* notes, “immediately upon its being known in the United States of America that adult schools were in successful operation in England, the ‘friends’ and ‘Freemasons’ of New York and Philadelphia opened both male and female schools in the center of those cities come, including one Philadelphia ‘for men of colour of the African race’” (p. 8). At this time, English liberal theorists such as Lord Brougham and Vaux, who wrote *An inquiry into the colonial policy of European powers* (1803) and Thomas Clarkson, who wrote *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species: Particularly the African* (1887), were questioning the morality of Britain’s participation in the slave trade. Ironically, it was this slave trade that was providing the human labour power that drove American capitalism and industrial growth and provided Britain, itself, with the cotton and other agricultural products needed to fuel its own industrialization.

Liberal principles for social equality of women also fed the growing prevalence of adult education movements. Hudson (1851), reviewing emerging adult schools in Bristol, notes that “Two hundred and twenty-two men and two hundred and thirty-one women (in all 453) were under education at the time of the Society” (p. 4) in 1813. By 1816, Bristol had 28 schools for men and 35 for women. Recognizing the inequality that women were facing in the workplace, the Edinburgh Mechanics Institute asserted that “females should be admitted to all its privileges free, as a small pittance received by them as wages what inadequate to bear and expenditure for education” (Hudson, 1851, p. 81).

The rapid expansion of newspapers in the 19th Century made possible from advancements in printing, speed of newsgathering, and swiftness in distribution both drew upon and added fuel to the expansion of adult education aimed to enhance literacy. A rapidly expanding literate readership was demanding to know more (and be included more) in the political issues of the day:

The nineteenth century witnessed remarkable changes in newspaper production. The forces of the Industrial Revolution combined not only to expand the size and circulation of newspapers enormously, but to revolutionize their methods of gathering news, to mechanize their printing, and to transform their lay-out and appearance. Population was growing rapidly, education was steadily extending literacy, political questions were arousing more widespread interest among the middle and lower classes, economic development was swelling the demand for advertising, improvements in transport and communications were expanding markets, and, at the same time, increasing and quickening the supply of news, while the progress of liberalism led to the gradual removal of the 'taxes on knowledge'-the newspaper stamp, advertisement and paper duties-which had for so long crippled the expansion of the press. (Musson, 1958, p. 411)

The impact of education, in particular, a liberal education, was surfacing in British society. The Chartist Movement and Mechanic's Institutes are exemplars of the effects that adult education was having on the public as they were actively working to alter the body politic of England.

Unlike in preceding centuries, average 19th Century citizens had an opportunity to have a voice in the affairs of the age. Better educated, literate, informed, they were now in a position to advocate for their rights and to seek a better life through active political engagement. Politics, as described by Foucault (2008), is the art of government. In the new ideals of Western Europe, the average citizen could have an impact on the art of government through social organizations who embraced adult education as a key way to prepare their members for active citizenship.

Although liberal philosophy could be identified as inspiring some branches of adult education in the early years of the Industrial Revolution it was not until it became part of University Education Departments that adult education turned to a liberalism to form the foundation of emerging adult education movements. In his research of Oxford University's involvement with adult education Goldman (1999), writes, "university adult education was the child of the liberalism that swept across the ancient universities in the mid-Victorian period; its initial advocates in the 1870s and 1880s anticipated the 'new liberalism' of the early 20th century; it was a means by which the labour movement after 1900 was educated for the responsibilities of power" (p. 89). Many universities, which as Goldman (1999) points out had become secularized during the 1850s, had been left with a void in their philosophical underpinnings. Liberalism was adopted to provide moral guidance in an increasingly secular world.

The liberal ideology that emerged from the University extension departments, which housed adult education, was one of creating more equitable social conditions. Goldman (1995), "Because adult education has attracted a disproportionate number of socially engaged people, because...it has sought to link education to social change, and because it has been a voluntary movement whose

students have come out of choice rather than compulsion, and have shaped their leaning in ways they believe both useful and relevant, it has been open to a wide range of influences and able to contribute, in turn, to a range of social and political endeavors” (pp. 4-5). It was not social change so much as social equality as the motive was not to change the socio/economic system as it was to improve living standards.

Adult Education in Western Europe

While liberal adult education in Britain continued to develop through programs such as the Extension Departments of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, on the European continent adult education programs were also emerging.

Casting an eye to the European continent, Hudson (1851) notes that: “the extensive legislative provision made in Denmark, Holland, in Germany, for infant and juvenile education has rendered adult schools almost unnecessary in those countries; but in France and Belgium, where the education of the labouring population has been less regarded, adult schools have been in operation for many years” (p. 23). The front loading of education in Denmark, Holland, and Germany had superseded the need for adult education as the population entered the labour force with literacy skills strong enough to maintain them throughout their working life. The pace of change may have been speeding up but, in some places, childhood education was being adapted to enhance basic literacy skills sufficient to address these changes.

Mirroring the British goal to build a secure and safe society through education for citizenship, other European countries established more modern forms of adult education throughout the 18th and 19th century. Perhaps the most significant was the Danish Folk School inspired by N.F.S. Grundtvig.

Writing and working during the early to mid 19th century, when Denmark was transitioning to a democrat form of government (Lawson, 1994, p. 613), Grundtvig established the Danish Folk

Schools to help the Danish citizens develop a new sense of nationalism. To do this he adopted the liberal critique of examining the role the state should play in Danish society. According to Korsgaard (2011), Grundtvig worked to free the people (individual agency) from princely (social structure) domination and thus create their own sense of Danish nationalism.

Inspired by four visits to England between 1812 and 1843, where he “comes face to face with modern society” (Korsgaard, 2011, p. 13), Grundtvig philosophies aligns with emerging British liberal philosophies of freedom that were coming to life during the Industrial Revolution. According to Campbell (1928), he considered that the “marvelous accomplishment of the English people” (p. 57) to be built on their sense of liberty. Denmark, which was not as industrialized as Britain, called for a different style of adult education within its’ Danish Folk Schools, as they placed a greater emphasis on rural industry, but it held the liberal premise of helping the Danish people find their full potential as human beings

Taken a slightly different tack was adult education development in Germany as it emerged from the German idea of *bildung*, which Sorkin (1983) defines as “the German conception of self-formation or self-cultivation” (p. 55). Interestingly, as the German state strived to build a great nation, it saw and used *Bildung* as a resource to meet this goal. For the Germans, building the strongest state could be accomplished by allowing space for the development of each individual to reach their full potential. This strategy was not without its challenges, though. As the same time as the state might benefit from individuals having a high level of control over their own lives, the state itself had to relinquish a level of control.

Contributing to the early German notion of *Bildung* was Wilhelm von Humboldt who “revamped the Prussian educational system in accord with the neo-humanist conception of *Bildung*” (Sorkin, 1983, p. 55). The idea of *Bildung*, within Humboldt’s framework, sees education as dancing between the state and the individual. In his view, the development of man’s freedom is something

that the state can compare itself to in order to measure its own freedom. Within this framework, it is the organisation of the state that inhibits the potential for individual freedom. Thus, in *The Limits of State Action*, Humboldt considers a state-run education to be “questionable” (Humboldt & Burrow, 1993, p. 48). For him, a freely educated individual is of greater benefit to the state than one controlled by the state. This view stems from his concern that “the citizen is trained [by the state] from childhood to become a citizen” (p. 49). How free can an individual be within a state administered education system? Reflecting the deep influence of liberalism on his views, Humboldt’s alternative to the state-managed approach to education used free tutors who “educate themselves better when their fortunes depend upon their own efforts than when their chances of promotion rest on what they are led to expect the state” (p. 51).

Humboldt’s view highlight an inherent problem for liberalism: its subjective. Within the liberal construct, individuals have the highest degree of freedom. What is not so clear, however, is what this freedom is. Is it a freedom from or is it a freedom to? Early interpretations of liberalism clearly expressed the former. Freedom was freedom from the religious state-controlled economy. Later, however, once individuals had achieved freedom from the oppressive structures of feudal society, the second notion of freedom began to prevail: freedom became freedom to act in industrial capital economy.

A little further north of Germany, the Nordic counties were moving into the modern age and used adult education build to help lead them there. As was the case in England, Swedish universities were also having to deal with new social realities of providing education to citizens who were previously denied access. Sten Högnäs (2002) writes:

In Sweden new colleges in Stockholm (1878) in Gothenburg (1891) were formed in opposition to the old universities with their exclusive character and strong classical tradition. Especially in Gothenburg there was an ambition to open the college to

those who so far had been excluded from higher education. Public lectures were for instance defined as a part of the professor's duty. But also, within the traditional universities, and especially in Uppsala, we find new and sometimes radical ideas concerning the education of adults outside the university walls. (p.40)

Adult education initiatives, such as those found in Britain, Denmark, Germany and the Nordic countries, were motivated by a need to keep up with the ever-increasing pace of change in communities and the workplace. In both spheres, adult education was being used to construct a new body political for emerging capitalist nations. With the ramped-up pace of change adult education was becoming part of the state security.

Adult Education as an Element of State Security

Throughout the 18th and 19th Centuries, one of the underlying motives that gave the rise to adult education in all contexts, was the need for a secure of population. This was necessary as capitalism needed to construct secure social conditions in order to ensure its' continuous growth. To build a sense of security, capitalism relied on liberal social theory to create an ideology that supported freedom of the individual and security for society. Security and freedom do not always go hand-in-hand. As Foucault (2008) points out, "the problem of security is the protection of the collective interest against individual interests" (p. 65). To this he adds, to have freedom we must have security.

The problem that the new freedoms gained by individuals sprung free by liberalism presented to capitalists was the inherent danger of citizens using this freedom to abandon the capitalist structure. So, while capitalists offered security through freedom, conditions also had to be in place for capitalists to control that freedom by creating new social bonds. They were able to do this by moving into positions of power in the body politic of Western Europe. By being in positions of power, capitalist could control the nature of freedom and liberty.

Thus, capitalism could create the norms for liberty, through the accumulation of wealth, where, through hard work and toil, the poor could become rich, climb the social ladder and find the good life (no longer inheriting the earth by becoming part of it). Inspired by new avenues of social mobility put in place by capitalism, a new ruling or social elite emerged thus allowing capitalists to become the new architects of governmentality.

In this milieu of capitalist inspired social change, liberal social theory was also changing, to reflect the time, space, and social milieu of the theorist. Each theorist that came along added to the theory, creating emergent dialectical discourses. This is also reflected in liberal discourses on education. Spanning a time span from the 17th to the 19th century, the next chapter explores the emergence of adult education through an exploration of the work of five prominent European liberal theorists (four British and one French) to examine how liberalism became aware of emergent power and potentials of education and then adult education.

Chapter Five

Liberal Theorizing Before the 20th Century: Underpinning the Sentiments of Adult Education

The term liberal education can be misleading as it defines a mode or style of education. Education philosopher, Robert Hutchins (1995), presents liberal education as “training in the liberal arts and of understanding the leading ideas that have animated mankind. It aims to help the human being learn to think for himself, to develop his highest human powers” (p. 7). This is in-line with the historic interpretation of a liberal style of education which tended to be directed towards the upper classes who had the luxury of learning: education for the free citizen not to free citizens. Writers such as Kimball (1986) trace this idea of liberal education back the Greeks: “it is another of those elemental facts that Greeks, or Athenians, of the fifth and four centuries B. C. E. developed the idea of educating in a cultural ideal the free citizens with leisure to study” (p. 14). The Greeks had a belief in the concept of telos, which David Denby (2005) describes as the belief that “you could never evolve beyond what you were meant to be” (Chapter 7). Thus, for the lower classes, there would be no need of a liberal education.

This notion of liberal education is pointedly different from Modernity’s liberal formulation which theorizes education as a means to critique the body politic with the expressed aim to transform society and improve the social context in which citizens live – to disrupt the telos of the individual and society. During the earlier part of Modernity, formal education structures existed primarily in universities, which were populated by the upper classes and the religious orders. It was not until university reforms of the 19th century that education began to open up to an emerging working-class.

Universities, the main context of formal education in early modernity, were comparable to guilds as they instructed “a union among men living in a Studium and possessing some common

interests to protect and advance” (Rait, 1912, p. 10-11). This idea of a union indicates that formal education was broken down into specific fields of study. Rait explains how students from all over Western Europe studied law in Bologna, while philosophy and theology students were drawn to Paris. Technical education, the other principle source of education in Europe, would have been found in town guilds.

Whether found on University or in a guild, from the Medieval period to early Modernity, educational contexts of Western Europe were shaped by either the state or the church. For example, it was either the church or the state that conferred what Rait (1912) terms “special privileges” (p. 8) to the universities they founded. It was in this context of competition between church and state for moral social authority over the body politic that early liberal philosophers found themselves. Thus, liberal philosophers’ line of rational argumentation revolved around how actions of the state affect the development of citizens.

It was the underlying duty of early liberal philosophers to understand the relationship between citizens and the state. Does the state create the citizen – downward conflation, in Margaret Archer’s (1996) sense of the term – as had been previously believed? Or, does the citizen create the state – Archer’s upward conflation? Importantly, for this dissertation, what role does education play in the creation of the state and of the individual?

Throughout Modernity, the focus of liberal theorists, often referred to as moral theorists, was to redefine the role of the state in civil society. The state was also redefining itself through the economy. State leadership was shifting from pre-ordained sovereigns to citizens, who could rise up from the general public. Missing from the liberal critique was recognition of who were the citizens that had taken over governance. Liberal philosophers were overlooking the capitalists who were taking over control of the economy as it was capitalist that were creating the industrial economy. This was seen in the House of Commons taking control of English Parliament from the House of

Lords. For reasons that are not clear, liberal moral philosophers – from early Modernity’s Adam Smith to late Modernity’s Friedrich Hayek – failed to realize that the new capitalist inspired rulers would not be able to create social conditions that would be just. Liberal philosophers may have seen the new freedom presented by the emerging capitalist inspired body politic, in the form of fluid social class mobility, as the Utopia – Thomas More’s (2012) idealized society in the state of nature – that they were seeking.

If it is true that liberal philosophers believed that the new body politic, as formed within the capitalist’s economic structure, would best serve the freedom and security of the social relations they envisioned, then it is understandable why they centered their critique on traditional sovereign power. The problem presented by concentrating their critique on traditional sovereign power was that liberal moral philosophers were slow in identifying the pernicious effects – principally the oppressive relation needed for the accumulation of wealth in a capitalist society – that the emerging capitalist class were having on the body politic. This oversight may explain the emergence of the interdependent relationship between liberalism and capitalism.

Like the relationship between capitalism and liberalism, the relationship between liberalism and adult education emerged over time as the liberal view of education was conditioned by the time and place of liberal moral philosophers. Early formulations of liberalism paid attention to the education of children (mostly male) and little attention to the education of adults. As time passed, the education of adults (both male and female) emerged as an important component of liberal social theory. It is upon successive generations of liberal theorists, that the modern liberal adult education discourses are built, although neo-liberalism has taken it in directions that vary from the early discourses.

What follows is an exploration of five leading liberal moral theorists of the 17th, 18th and 19th century. This exploration serves two functions. First, it tracks the emergent value that liberal moral

theorist placed on education. Early liberal moral theorists, such as John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau, focused their examination of formal education on the preparation of young people for adulthood. This was in keeping with the idea that the pace of change in an adult's lifetime was still slow in comparison to modern standards, thus much of what citizens needed to know could be learned early in life. Later, liberal moral theorists, such as Adam Smith, Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill, adjusted their views of formal education to include the educational needs of women and university-age students. Second, this chapter identifies the reasons why liberal moral theorists, mostly notably Adam Smith, viewed capitalism as a social system most conducive to the goals of liberalism. Identifying how early liberal theorist connected liberalism and capitalism places us in a position to better understand the eventual emergence of neoliberalism that will be explored in later chapters.

John Locke

Liberal philosophy did not suddenly appear on the intellectual landscape of Western Europe. Instead, it emerged as part of the changing social and cultural milieu that marked the transition to Modernity. Early liberal theorizing built upon the conceptions of writers like Machiavelli, who dissected the peregrinations of governance in Renaissance Italian city states. Liberal theorizing was also built upon the conceptions of non-liberal writers such as political philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, who wrote during the English Revolutionary Wars. In his seminal work, *Leviathan* (1937), written in 1651, Hobbes contends that a strong, authoritative ruler was needed in order to keep peace. He believed that, in the *state of nature*, we have warlike tendencies. For Hobbes, strong government was needed to protect individuals from each other. Breaking away from the tradition of ascribing the power of the ruling class – kings and queens – as divine right, Hobbes took a material stance and suggested that the power of the ruler was agreed upon by the citizens of the state (Perry, et. al., 2000).

John Locke, often credited with being the first liberal theorist, built on the work of Hobbes. Like Hobbes, Locke theorized the relationship between individuals and government (between agency and social structure). Unlike Hobbes, however, Locke believed that authoritarian governments were not needed. He contended that individuals in the state of nature were not necessarily warlike. Contrary to Hobbes, Locke called for a reduction of the role of government in society.

In his theory of society building, Locke recognized the importance of education for the individual. In, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1997) written in 1689, he argues that no knowledge or idea is innate but comes from shared understanding. Locke states, “I know it is a received doctrine, that men have native ideas, and original characters stamped upon their minds, in their very first being” (p. 109) but what if, he asks, a man’s mind is a “white paper” (p. 109). If this is the case, people would then get their ideas from experience. In this essay, Locke develops the idea that a person is born into a society with all of its incumbent social structures that influence individual agency. Thus, society influences the development of the people, but the people also influence the social structure that helped create them.

With this in mind, Locke is able to recognize the important role education plays in the development of society and how children should be prepared to assume their place in society. In his book, *Thoughts Concerning Education*, originally published in 1693, Locke provides direction to parents on how to raise their children or, as Yolton and Yolton describe, he “gives parents a manual on how to guide and mould children into moral, social beings” (Locke cited in Yolton, & Yolton, 1990, p. 2). The term manual is appropriate as Locke provides instructions on how to raise children in a slightly detached and rational fashion. The instructions run a wide gamut, including what a child should wear; what exercise they should take part in; what they should read.

In a later work, *The Conduct of Understanding* originally published in 1706, Locke begins an analysis of the disguised powers of the state. Locke contends:

In truth the ideas and images in men's minds are the invisible powers that constantly govern them, and to these they all universally pay a ready submission. It is therefore of the highest concernment that great care should be taken of the understanding, to conduct it right in the search of knowledge and in the judgements it makes. (Locke, Grant, & Tarcov, 1996, p. 167)

'Invisible powers that constantly govern men', brings to mind Stephen Brookfield's (2005) comments on ideology. According to Brookfield, ideology is "the system of beliefs, values, and practices that reflects and reproduces existing social structures, systems, and relations" (p. 68). Continuing, Brookfield contends that, "ideology maintains the power of a dominant group or class by portraying as universally true beliefs that serve the interests mainly of this dominant class" (p. 68). Liberal moral philosophers, such as Locke, were deeply interested in exposing commonly accepted ideologies of the dominant class – usually the governing class – that held citizens in place within a social structure.

To counter ideology or invisible powers of governance, liberals began to advocate for a broad and deep learning system. Locke (1996) continues by calling for a wide ranging (that is, a liberal) education:

But yet everyone must agree that he shall know a country better that makes often sallies into it, and traverses it up and down, than he that like a mill-horse keeps going around the same track, or keeps within the narrow bounds of a field or two that he delight him. He that will enquire out the best books in every science, and inform himself of the most material authors of the various sects of philosophy and religion, will not find it an infinite work to acquaint himself with the sentiments of mankind

concerning the most weighty and comprehensive subjects. (Locke, Grant, & Tarcov, p. 173)

The term science is intentional as it subscribes to a rational/material methodology of finding a true way of living.

Later, Locke (1996) adds a note of caution concerning reading and understanding. “Reading,” he contends, “furnishes the mind only with materials of knowledge; it is thinking makes what we read ours. We are of the ruminating kind, and it is not enough to cram ourselves with a great load of collections; unless we chew them over again, they will not give us strength and nourishment” (p. 193). Here Locke is pulling at the idea of reflexive learning; we should ponder what we have learned and not idly accept what is being told.

Continuing, Locke (1996) comments that, “Books and reading are looked upon to be great helps of the understanding and instruments of knowledge.” But he has some reservations about reading the right or wrong book because, “there is no part wherein the understanding needs to be more careful and wary conduct than in the use of books; without which they will prove rather innocent amusement than profitable employments of our time and bring but small additions to our knowledge” (p. 199). It is important to remember that, at this point in history, the printing press was just starting to revolutionize the speed at which ideas could be transmitted. Brotton (2006) observes that “the speed and quantity with which books were distributed suggests that print cultivated new communities of readers eager to consume the diverse material that rolled off the press” (Chapter 2). Thus, while helping Locke share and transmit his ideas, the printing press was also aiding in the transmission of many other ideas.

The liberalism that Locke and all other liberal philosophers advocate is locked in a moral paradox of right and wrong. The free person for whom they advocate should be able to choose the education or knowledge they want, (i.e. the books they read). At the same time, though, all

knowledge, if keeping with agency/social structure argument, is formed within social structures that produce and reproduce norms. So, although it is through the individual agency of the writer that every book is written, the writer is always influenced and shaped by the norms of their social structure. The writer is free to either spread the norms of their surrounding social structure or to question them. The reader, whose norms are produced and reinforced by their social group, draws on these norms to help them form and to disseminate the knowledge supplied by a book, or to test the knowledge claims sustained in the fabric of their social context.

When liberal education philosophers consider the question, “What is proper supplied knowledge?”, they are challenging the validity of normative claims. If, as is the case of Locke’s example of the mill-horse, they move away from the wheel and find knowledge that is contrary to the creation of a free and just society, is that valid knowledge? Do the norms support liberal views? In a society where religious text supplies the norms of clergy and government, is this proper knowledge? What is proper knowledge? How does a person disseminate knowledge?

Locke’s liberal theorization is focused on critiquing government and the body politic. He relies on the ideal of the *state of nature* to explain the emergence of people and the social arrangements that constitute society. As Locke (1967) writes:

The state of nature is governed by a law that creates obligations for everyone and reason, which is that law, teaches anyone who takes the trouble to consult it, that because we are all equal and independent, no-one ought to harm anyone else in his life, health, liberty, or possessions. (p. 4)

Political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes (1937) believed that in the state of nature we are violent. Contrarily, Locke believed that we are peaceful in the state of nature. Later, French liberal philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, would take up this more positive view of the state of nature to

extend Locke's efforts to explain social and individual inequality and the role of education in an emerging liberal society.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

As was the case of Hobbes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote during a period of civil strife – in his case, when France was on the cusp of revolution. The last decades of the 18th Century was a period when the Ancien Régime rapidly disintegrated given rise to the deeply problematic question of who should govern and how. How might a new government operate? What might post-revolutionary France look like? To ground his argument, Rousseau offered the idea of the social contract to theorize social relations. He argued that people are always trying to recapture the freedom they had in primitive societies in the state of nature. In his book the *Social Contract*, written in 1762, Rousseau (n.d.) contends:

The problem is to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain as free as before. (chapter VI)

The question for Rousseau was where this individual freedom might be found and, for the purpose of our investigation, the role that education might play in the constitution of individual freedom?

In his quest for a liberal answer to this question, Rousseau turned to a critique of social power relations. At this time, French society was divided into three legally sanctioned groups: The First Estate (the Church), the Second Estate (the aristocracy), and the Third Estate (bourgeoisie and commoners) (Perry et al, 2000). Where did the power of each of these Estates come from, he asked? Was it from on high (governmental social structure), from the people (individual agency), or did it come from a space in between (civil society)? Manent (1994) explains this key liberal problem as follows:

The foundation of liberalism is this distinction between civil society and the state: the latter is the representative instrument of the former. Civil society tends to be self-sufficient. Within it, members are governed neither by political power nor by other members; each of them is the source of his actions. They freely exercise their talents to ensure their preservation and even the most comfortable preservation possible – they seek to “better their condition”. They also want to gain recognition for their merits, in particular intellectual and artistic merits, from their equals. As for the state, by representing and serving the individuals interesting for self-preservation it promulgates laws that guarantee to each person security hands free pursuit of happiness as he conceives it. (p. 66)

In *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, written in 1755, Rousseau sees social relations in the state and civil society as unequal. This inequality comes in two forms: the first is “natural or physical” while the second “consists of the different privileges” (Rousseau & Cres, 1992, p. 16). Using the state of nature argument, Rousseau contends that all people are more or less equal in that everyone must take care of her or himself. When people start to live in communities, however, the relations change. Taking a cue from Locke, Rousseau contends that inequality starts with the ownership of a resource and the need to work or depend on each other to maintain that resource. As a result of this connection, people start to place a value on the relations that they have with one another. “From the moment one man began to stand in need of the help of another; from the moment it appeared advantageous to any one man to have enough provisions for two,” Rousseau (1992) contends, “equality disappeared, property was introduced, work became indispensable, and vast forests became smiling fields, which man had to water with the sweat of his brow, and where slavery and misery were soon seen to germinate and grow up with the crops” (p. 51). Thus,

inequality is a natural product of society. This is what Manent (1994) means when he comments that, for Rousseau, “the spirit of society was inequality” (p. 65).

According to Rousseau, we are born equal. This implies that social privileges are not provided by a spiritual power, instead, social privileges are material and, important for our current argument, can be earned through education. In his book *Émile, or, on Education* written in 1762 Rousseau contends, “everything that we do not have at our birth and which we need when grown is given us by education” (Rousseau & Bloom, 1979, p. 38). Rousseau categorizes education into three forms or stages. The first is “The internal development of our faculties and of our organs is the education of nature” (p. 38). The second is “the use we are taught to make of this development is the education of men”. The third “what we acquire from our own experience about the objects which affect us is the education of things” (p. 38). Limiting his theorization of education to children, Rousseau, like his contemporaries, places education as close to our primal state of nature as possible. The young child is a vessel awaiting the sustenance of education.

With far reaching consequences for what was soon to emerge as the entire edifice of education, Rousseau (1979) argued that people must experience the world and be educated to acquire the capacities to face the realities (oftentimes, harsh) of a rapidly changing society:

But given the mobility of human things, given the unsettled and restless spirit of this age which upsets everything in each generation, can one conceive of a method more senseless than raising a child as though he never had to leave his room, as though he were going to be constantly surrounded by his servants? If the unfortunate makes a single step on the earth, if he goes down a single degree, he is lost. This is not teaching him to beat suffering; it is training him to feel it. (p. 42)

Frederick Dame (1996) contends that, although Rousseau focused on the education of children, his work can be used to “outline a conception of adult education” (p. 206). “For

Rousseau”, according to Dame, “education, self-improvement, is one of the fundamentals of human life, one of the traits separating man from beast” (p. 206). From this, Dame developed the idea of a “Rousseauian” style for education that can be applied to adult education. This style looks at the relationship between citizens and social structures and what knowledge is needed to navigate this relationship. Given the speed of social change occurring in Rousseau’s lifetime, as the economy of Western Europe transitioned to industrial capitalism, the need to educate adults to meet the changes rapidly came to the fore. While certainly not alone, Rousseau’s insistence on the key role of education in an emergent liberal society formed an important foundation upon which contemporary forms of adult education were built.

Adam Smith

As described in Chapter 3, Western Europe’s transition to industrial capitalism had a profound effect on the emergence of modern day’s adult education. The transition from an agriculture to industrial economy varied from country to country. According to Perry et. al. (2000) an outcome of the French Revolution was the perpetuation of “traditional agricultural and commercial practices” (p. 514) which slowed the transition in France. As for the Netherlands, which had developed a strong transportation links and banking system, “they lacked the natural resources” (Perry et. al., 2000, p. 514) for industrial capitalism. Leading the charge to industrialization of its economy was Great Britain as it had a stable government, natural resources, and a labour pool willing to accept the change to capitalism (Perry et.al., 2000).

It was in Great Britain that the primary characteristics of Modernity developed and the emergent relationship between liberalism and capitalism increasingly intertwined. Capitalism, a monetized economic social structure, needed to hide its more pernicious features as it forcefully (oftentimes, even violently) reorganized the socio/economic relations of Western Europe. Liberalism’s critique of social structure, mostly the traditional body politic of Western Europe,

provided a moral justification that capitalism could draw on to justify and legitimize its ongoing growth and expansion. Because capitalists acted to overthrow (or at least escape) the oppressive stasis of traditional social relations, liberals identified capitalism to be the system most likely to support the creation of opportunities for individual freedom.

Although it is unclear when liberalism and capitalism developed what can best be described as an interdependent relationship, Scottish liberal moral philosopher, Adam Smith, was a key figure in their linking. Smith lived, taught, studied, and wrote during the socially turbulent early stages of the Industrial Revolution. It was a time when his native Scotland was emerging from its feudal clan system and its capital city, Glasgow, was on the cusp of becoming a major player in industrial capitalism. Smith was concerned with how citizens were to live, thrive, survive in a context so replete with emergent social norms. Within this context, he addressed the role that education of adults – mostly young, male adults – would play in the creation and maintenance of a socio/economic system based on capitalistic free-market norms.

Adam Smith is most famous for his 1776 publication, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations*. This work acts as a text book for industrial capitalism's development, as it provides a rational, scientific examination of the burgeoning capitalist industrial development of Scotland. It is also an appeal for the development of an economic structure with limited government intervention better known as the free-market capitalist economy.

In *the Wealth of Nations*, Smith's liberal sentiments are difficult to discern. His deep indebtedness and commitment to the values of liberalism are far more obvious in his earlier text, the *Theory of Moral Sentiment* (1759), which is based on a liberal moral analysis of people's response and reaction to the new social arrangement being created by industrial relations as people moved from rural to urban communities and were incorporated into the capitalist economic system.

According to McElvoy (2015), central to the *Theory of Moral Sentiment* is its examination of “our ability to understand what the other people want and to see ourselves as others might” (podcast) as Smith analyses what morals guide our actions and how those morals affect the ways we care for one another. To guide his argument, Smith offers the notion of the impartial spectator to explain how morals direct our actions. According to Fawcett (2015), the impartial spectator “is an imaginary third party in your head, monitoring whether you are behaving reasonably well from the point of view of someone looking at you” (podcast).

This imaginary third person in our head is our reflexivity. Archer (2007) describes reflexivity as the “regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa” (p. 4). For Smith, the impartial spectator is a self-disciplining apparatus that allows individuals to control their actions. Our reflexivity should help us act in a morally correct manner.

Kennedy (2008) contends that, “It is from social pressures of living in society that we judge the merits or demerits of society. It would be easy to overlook this observation” (p. 48) but “Smith dramatized it neatly” (p. 48). Smith accomplishes this by examining how we endorse or approve the morals of society that allow us to sympathize with one another. This is termed the, “the principle of approbation” (p. 314) by Smith (1976) and concerns, “the power or faculty of the mind which renders certain characters agreeable or disagreeable to us, makes us prefer one tenour of conduct to another, denominate the one right and the other wrong, and consider the one as the object of approbation, honour, and reward; the other as that of blame, censure, and punishment” (pp. 314-315). The starting point is the autonomous notion of the individual as the happiness of the individual can affect the “happiness of other people” (p. 219). This goes two-ways as a smile from a stranger can affect an individual’s happiness.

The social turbulent time of the Industrial Revolution provided Smith an opportunity to compare the social relations that develop in pastoral countries, which would have been familiar clan relations, to those in a commercial country, which would have been more anonymous or, at least, between members of society who are brought together through commercial/business relations. In his examination, Smith felt that poor moral sentiments may develop in a pastoral clan system as the moral duty of each clan members is to their clan. If poor moral sentiments, or more poor cultural norms, develop in a clan there is little chance of them changing as they will be the norm standard of by which successive generations are guided.

In a commercial society, the anonymous relations that are needed to keep it functioning should prompt citizens to act in civil manner and to be respectful to one another. These anonymous relations have the potential to create new emergent relations and a shared sense of duty between people and thus society. Smith suggested that citizens who are respectful to one another will create a more secure society for all.

Smith (1976) uses the relationships that could develop in a commercial setting to highlight the benefits of non-clan relationships as it is 'necessary' for people in business to develop good relations with one another as they need one another "Colleagues in office, partners in trade, call one another brothers; and frequently feel towards one another as if they really were so. Their good agreement is an advantage to all; and, if they are tolerably reasonable people, they are naturally disposed to agree" (p. 224). An interrelationship between liberalism and capitalism is the best way forward for Smith.

Examining the effect that the state can have on individuals, Smith suggests that, "The wisdom of every state or commonwealth endeavours, as well as it can, to employ the force of the society to restrain those who are subject to its authority, from hurting or disturbing the happiness of one another" (p. 218). He also notes how, "The rules which it establishes for this purpose, constitute

the civil and criminal law of each particular state or country” (p. 218). Rules that emerge broadly from the people, become laws that are upheld by the state that regulates how citizens treat one another.

McElvoy (2015) stresses that *The Theory of Moral Sentiment* is needed to understand Smith’s more famous work the *Wealth of Nations* (2003). It is here that he advocates for capitalism as a fertile environment for liberal social theory to develop. In doing so, he reshapes liberalism in such a way that capitalists can use it to justify and legitimize capitalist social relations (increasingly inequitable, socially destructive, and violent). Adam Smith reworked liberalism into a regime of justification that protected capitalism from opposition. For example, the most famous concept in the book concerns the “invisible hand” (p. 572) of the economy, which Peter Jarvis (1993) explains is “a mechanism which requires neither government intervention nor central planning” (p. 129). The invisible hand, which is the emergent power of the capitalist economy, will, according to Adam Smith, create a better society if each person is allowed to seek employment that will be most advantageous to themselves or their self-interests which will ultimately be beneficial to all of society. Intervention by government in the job market, in the form of taxes and tariffs, would not be as advantageous to society.

When Smith wrote *The Wealth of Nations*, the government of Great Britain and, indeed, the whole of British society, was changing dramatically. Industrialization, urbanization, social dislocation, exploitation, impoverishment, mass migration, and social disintegration, all the result of an unprecedented expansion of capitalist social relations were ever more in evidence. The role of Government, which had previously been to manage the feudal economy and, then, to administer the mercantile system, shifted its focus with the emergence of the Industrial Revolution.

Capitalist society needed new social norms to organize effective social relations. One of the norms that Smith strongly advocated was limiting government intervention into social relations,

including, notably, the relations involved in securing capitalist profits (i.e., the relations of capitalist enterprise). Governmental interventions took many forms, from collecting taxes and tariffs on consumer goods to dispensing funds to public works and other general supports for the citizenry. By limiting government's involvement in society, Smith (2003) believed that a "simple system of natural liberty" (p. 873) would spontaneously emerge to the benefit of all. In his view, the emergent powers of society are sufficient to create the conditions for freedom for each person to live their lives privately; to choose their own employment and thus be able to "bring his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of man" (p. 873). There will be inequality as each person will be in competition with one another but, because of the anonymous relations, a stronger society will emerge

Society, which binds people together, needs a social control mechanism which is the role of the Sovereign. In Smith's view, the Sovereign is responsible for providing conditions of security and justice to all while setting up a not-for-profit infrastructure. Missing from this assessment is mention of the capitalists who are the main beneficiaries of the physical and social infrastructures put in place by the Sovereign.

As he searched for a basis for building a safe and secure society that still supported an individual's freedom to choose and to act, Smith engaged in a substantial analysis of the role of education in his conception of the liberal/capitalist society. In Part III of the *Wealth of Nations, Of the expense of Public Works and Public Institutions*, Smith identifies the educational structure that could be most conducive to supporting a newly emerging society. Applying free-market principles to teachers and instructors, Smith argued that teachers and instructors in the pay of a University's endowment would not be as good as teachers and instructors who have to compete with other teachers and instructors on the free-market. The problem, identified by Smith (2003), is that they are accountable to the endowment, not their students nor their vocation. "Their subsistence, so far as it arises from

their salaries, is evidently derived from a fund, altogether independent of their success and reputation in their professions” (p. 964). He argues that social structures limit an instructor’s agency to teach.

The same free-market argument holds true for students. Smith (2003) argues against “scholarships, exhibitions, bursaries, etc.” (p. 966) as they impinge upon the university that a student will choose. The combination of an endowed university professor and a student who attends because of a scholarship impairs the power of the free-market to maximize the social benefits of education.

Whereas Locke was concerned with the education of the elite and Rousseau looked at education of the young, Smith focused on the education of young adults. Comparing public schools to universities, Smith (2003) contends, “In England, the public schools are much less corrupted than the universities . . . The reward for the schoolmaster, in most cases, depends principally, in some cases almost entirely, upon the fees or honoraries of his scholars” (p. 969). Smith proposed that, rather than a system of patronage, higher education would be better supported by the free-market. In a context where teachers have to prove themselves against other teachers, competition would bring out the best in the individual.

Smith also provided a liberal critique of the ways ecclesiastical Universities limited study to religious tenets and concerns. Constrained by the interests of their religious patrons, Universities had not kept pace with advancements in science and moral theory. As Smith (2003) relates, “But when moral, as well as natural philosophy, came to be taught only as subservient to theology, the duties of human life were treated of as subservient to the happiness of a life to come” (p. 976). Universities were not preparing citizens with capacities to address the realities of the here-and-now but, instead, were preparing churchmen to shepherd their flocks for a life after death:

But though the public schools and universities of Europe were originally intended only for the education of a particular profession, that of churchmen; and though they were not always very diligent in instructing their pupils, even in the sciences which were supposed necessary for that profession; yet they gradually drew to themselves the education of almost all other people, particularly of almost all gentlemen and men of fortune. No better method, it seems, could be fallen upon, of spending, with any advantage, the long interval between infancy and that period of life at which men begin to apply in good earnest to the real business of the world, the business which is to employ them during the remainder of their days. The greater part of what is taught in schools and universities, however, does not seem to be the most proper preparation for that business. (Smith, 2003, pp. 977-978)

In the tradition of liberal scholars, but not modern neoliberal scholars, Smith (2003) looked to ancient Greek and Roman societies for inspiration. He contends that they provided a liberal education in the sense that they allowed citizens to pick and choose their education and that the state did not pay the instructors. Since they had private academies, “The teacher had no jurisdiction over their pupils, nor any other authority besides that natural authority which superior virtue and abilities never fail to procure from young people towards those who are entrusted with any part of their education” (p. 983). Expanding his argument, he considers “instruction of people of all ages” (p. 995), lifelong learning perhaps, as being too religious in its bearing as “This is a species of instruction, of which the object is not so much to render the people good citizens in this world, as to prepare them for another and a better world in the life to come” (p. 995). Liberalism is committed to a material existence.

Smith (2003) argues that “in the liberal education or loose system” (p. 1002) there will be greater enjoyment to the lives of the citizen. Smith was gravely concerned that people who were

moving to the city were in danger in losing their moral anchor. In their traditional communities a person was tightly connected to unquestioned norms. “But as soon as he comes into a great city, he is sunk in obscurity and darkness. His conduct is observed and attended to by nobody; and he is, therefore, very likely to neglect it himself, and to abandon himself to every sort of low profligacy and vice.” (p. 1004). The social structures that conditioned the lives of citizens were replaced by the emergent and far more nebulous norms of industrial capitalism; the economic system that Smith believed would best support his liberal ideology.

Even though the work of Smith supported the idea of embedding liberalism in the capitalist economic system, he remained committed above all to his liberal moral values. Given the choice of the time, feudal/clan or industrial capitalism, it is apparent why the seemingly more open, capitalist system would appeal to Smith the liberal. Free-market capitalism, he believed, would provide individuals with the strongest likelihood of finding freedom and security. Capitalism would enable people to find the best use of their talents and skills. Unknown to Smith, however, as he was connecting liberalism to industrial capitalism, he was also sowing the seeds for the eventual emergence of what we now recognize as neoliberalism. In harmony with Smith, proponents of neoliberalism contend that free market capitalism is the very best system for supporting individual liberty. There is a telling difference, however. Whereas Smith believed in the moral priority of the individual and saw capitalism as best serving this liberal value, neoliberals prioritize the capitalist economy and see the individual as subservient to capitalism’s overarching imperatives. When it comes to education, Smith’s focus is on ways education can enhance conditions for liberal morality. As we will soon see, the focus of neoliberals is very different: rather than supporting the development of individuals, neoliberals see education to be in service of the needs of the capitalist system.

Before moving on, it is important to note another feature of Smith's work. Smith (2003) is male-biased in his appraisal of women's education. He comments that, "There are no public institutions for the education of women, and there is accordingly nothing useless, absurd, or fantastical, in the common course of their education," and contends that women "are taught what their parents or guardians judge it necessary or useful for them to learn, and they are taught nothing else" (p. 636). Smith views this as acceptable as the education that women do receive:

Tends evidently to some useful purpose; either to improve the natural attractions of their person, or to form their mind to reserve, to modesty, to chastity, and to economy; to render them both likely to become the mistresses of a family, and to behave properly when they have become such. In every part of her life, a woman feels some conveniency or advantage from every part of her education. (p. 636)

The education of women which Smith is describing, is very narrow in focus and is what can be at best described as informal. It is liberal theorist Mary Wollstonecraft who questioned these norms and who expounded on the importance of educating women.

Mary Wollstonecraft

The Industrial Revolution threw the men, women, and children of Western Europe into the chaos of unrecognizable social situations. While liberal theorists, such as Locke and Rousseau, recognized and discussed the plight of men and children (mostly male children), they largely remained silent about the pitiable condition of women. The attention that women did receive was not one of equality. Liberal theorist, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for example, viewed women as second-class citizens, at best. In a characteristic assessment of the role of women in society, Rousseau (1979) writes:

Woman and man are made for one another, but their mutual dependence is not equal. Men depend on women because of their desires; women depend on men

because of both their desires and their needs. We would survive more easily without them than they would without us. For them to have what is necessary to their station, they depend on us to give it to them, to want to give it to them, to esteem them worthy of it. They depend on our sentiments, on the value we set on their merit, on the importance we attach to their charms and their virtues. By the very law of nature women are at the mercy of men's judgments, as much for their own sake as for that of their children. (p. 364)

A stand-out exception to the views such as this was Mary Wollstonecraft, one of, if not the first female liberal theorist of the age. Wollstonecraft (1792) took umbrage with Rousseau's opinions of women and their education. She argued that women must have the same freedom as men and, with remarkable foreshadowing of what was eventually to become a much broader women's movement, asks, "Who made man the exclusive judge?" (p. 5). She saw clearly that the social structures of her English society had been constructed mostly by men. These social structures, she argued, served to restrict a women's ability to learn and grow.

Drawing on the moral framework afforded by liberal theorists (a bit ironically, like Rousseau, himself), Wollstonecraft (1792) argues that education of women will allow them to be aware of the social structures which restrict their freedom:

Contending for the rights of woman, my main argument is built on this simple principle, that if she be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue; for truth must be common to all, or it will be inefficacious with respect to its influence on general practice. And how can woman be expected to co-operate unless she knows why she ought to be virtuous? unless freedom strengthen her reason till she comprehend her duty, and see in what manner it is connected with her real good? If children are to be educated

to understand the true principle of patriotism, their mother must be a patriot; and the love of mankind, from which an orderly train of virtues spring, can only be produced by considering the moral and civil interest of mankind; but the education and situation of woman, at present, shuts her out from such investigations. (p. 4)

Wollstonecraft reasoned, in the logical rhythm of a liberal argument, that if the state and society cares about the education of the child, and women are the primary education providers, then women deserve a proper education. Wollstonecraft tacitly acknowledges Locke's argument that people are not born with innate knowledge but, instead, are educated by the society that they live in. In true liberal fashion, she believes and argues that social norms which deny women an education is a societal problem.

Continuing with the liberal critique of questioning and exposing the power social structures has on the individual, Wollstonecraft worked to re-define the role of women in society by stating that they were equal by attacking the supremacy of white male property owners. As was observed in the previous chapter, the Chartists movement sought suffrage for all men of England because, at this time in England, only those men who owned land could vote in parliamentary elections. Wollstonecraft pre-dated the Chartist claim and, forty years prior to the rise of Chartism, sought property rights (and, thus, suffrage rights) for women.

Believing that education will lead to equality, Wollstonecraft (1792) questioned the goals or aims of education. She also compares formal to home education and looks for a rounded education.

One cause of this barren blooming I attribute to a false system of education, gathered from the books written on this subject by men who, considering females rather as women than human creatures, have been more anxious to make them alluring mistresses than affectionate wives and rational mothers; and the understanding of the sex has been so bubbled by this specious homage, that the

civilized women of the present century, with a few exceptions, are only anxious to inspire love, when they ought to cherish a nobler ambition, and by their abilities and virtues exact respect. (p. 7)

This stands in contrast to Adam Smith, who opined that women's education (restrictive and gender focused) was sufficient for women.

During Wollstonecraft's lifetime, the role of women in Western European society was changing. Urbanization forced families to redefine familial and social roles. Wollstonecraft (1975) argued that a liberal education was necessary for women struggling to come to terms with these great social changes. A liberal education would provide women with new skills and values that would enable them to become better citizens.

According to Janes (1978), "When the Rights of Women first appeared in 1792, reviewers and readers alike agreed with its recommendations for reform in women's education" (p. 297). Unfortunately, Wollstonecraft's reputation suffered soon after her death (she died at the age of 38, 11 days after giving birth to her daughter, Mary), when her husband, William Godwin, published *Memoires of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Godwin revealed to the public that Wollstonecraft had had a child out of wedlock, attempted suicide, and committed other actions that went against the social norms of the time (Janes, 1978). For this, she was publicly vilified, and her work was shunted aside (but, fortunately for posterity, never completely lost). When it finally was brought back into public view in the first decades of the 1900s (Virginia Wolfe counted amongst her earliest promoters), Wollstonecraft's work would come to be a lasting inspiration on social activists' intent on moving the rights of women from the margins into mainstream social and political discourse.

Wollstonecraft helped lay the foundation of a liberal-inspired adult education that would have ripple effects for years to come. Although Wollstonecraft has been rightly hailed as one the

first feminists of the modern age, she should also be hailed as one the first to provide a philosophical base on which later forms of adult education could take root and grow.

John Stuart Mill

Even though early feminists like Wollstonecraft did not, themselves, directly impact the prevailing patriarchal discourses of their time (Wollstonecraft's work was quickly marginalized), other contributors (unfortunately, given the times, they had to be male to be taken seriously) did offer progressive, liberal views related to the plight women in the 19th Century. Perhaps most notable of these emerging male, liberal voices was John Stuart Mill. Mill highlighted and then questioned the social norms that marginalized women in a way that unsettled mainstream political discourse. He argued in a liberal, rational way that, as long as women were excluded from political life, half the population did not have the same opportunity for personal advancement due to ancient customs and laws. In, *The Subjection of Women*, originally published in 1869, Mill contended that inequality is "now one of the chief obstacles to human improvement" (Mill cited Okin, 1988, p. 1). Human improvement is one of the cornerstones of liberalism because through human improvement, the improvement of the individual, it was believed that a stronger and more civil society could be built. Following Locke's critique of the ancient regime and the divine right of kings, Mill contended that it is, in actuality, individuals, and not some other form of divine hierarchy, who are responsible for changing society. As long as women are treated as second class citizens or worse (as Wollstonecraft had pointed out), then civil society is weakened. For Mill, then, the question becomes: How can society be changed? One way is to provide citizens with greater opportunities. Observing the increasing urbanization of society and subsequent changes in employment patterns, Mill demanded that women be admitted "into professions and occupations hitherto closed against them becomes every year more urgent" (Mill & Okin, 1988, p. 14). He prefaced this statement by

declaring “the claim of women to be educated as solidly, and some branches of knowledge, as men is urged with growing intensity and with a great prospect of success” (p. 14)

Mill contended that the subjugation of women by men was universal but believed “that this relic of the past is discordant with the future and must necessarily disappear” (Mill & Okin, 1988, p. 17). As an English Parliamentarian, Mill felt that his country could inspire other countries to shift to a more liberal view (at the time of his writing, the reigning monarch was Queen Victoria, thus the sovereign’s face of the British Commonwealth was that of a woman).

Women’s agency, through their morals, Mill believed, would help build a more civil society. One of the obstacles that women had to overcome to have greater influence in the political process was their lack of voice in the British Parliament. Although Great Britain and the whole of the British Empire was governed by a Queen, women had little to no voice in parliament and were being excluded from the political process. To make this change, however, women needed to be directly included in deliberate educational initiatives to prepare them for these new more active political roles (Mill, 1867a).

Advocating for universal suffrage as an avenue to bringing women into the political process, in 1867 Mill presented a petition to the English House of Commons calling for women’s right to vote. In *The Admission of Women to the Electoral Franchise*, a speech Mill (1867b) gave to the English Parliament, he contended:

It is the thought, perhaps, that those [women] more principally charged with the moral education of the future generation of men, cannot befit to form an opinion about the moral and educational interests for people: and that those [women] whose chief daily business is the judicious laying-out of money, so as to produce the greatest results but the smallest means, cannot possibly give any lessons to right honorable gentleman on

the other side of the House or on this, who contrive to produce such singularity small results with such vast means. (p. 8)

The generally held belief of the time was that men had superior skills at administrating a budget. Mill contested this by arguing that women have a better economic sense as they have to shrewdly devise a budget for the home.

As was the case of Adam Smith, education was a key component to the society Mill envisioned, but Mill was not concerned with the role of the sovereign in higher education; he was more interested in the substance of the education. In an address he delivered to the University of St. Andrews, Feb. 1st 1867, he carefully laid out a liberal vision of education within the context of a University. Mill (1867a) begins by making the claim that a University “is not a place of professional education” (p. 4). Instead, the education that students receive at a university should be a “general education”, which would make students “capable of apprehending principles, instead of merely cramming their memory with detail” (p. 5). This suggests a needed level of critical thinking.

Mill categorizes two levels of education, higher and lower. The lower is the fundamental education that is received before University. More modern approaches consider this front-end loaded education. The higher limit is where liberal education would be found. Liberal education is not teaching knowledge but teaching “the philosophy of knowledge” (Mill, 1867a, p. 2). Mill advocates for both a broad and deeper knowledge as this combination “gives an enlightened public” (p. 6). This indicates that a liberal education of the learned person can influence society; be of benefit to the community. He writes:

Government and civil society are the most complicated of all subjects accessible to the human mind: and he who would deal competently with them as a thinker, and not as a blind follower of party, requires not only a general knowledge of the leading facts of life, both moral and material, but an understanding exercised and disciplined in the

principles and rules of sound thinking, up to a point which neither the experience of life, nor any one science or branch of knowledge, affords. Let us understand, then, that it should be our aim in learning, not merely to know the one thing which is to be our principal occupation, as well as it can be known, but to do this and also to know something of all the great subjects of human interest: taking care to know that something accurately; marking well the dividing line between what we know accurately and what we do not: and remembering that our object should be to obtain a true view of nature and life in their broad outline, and that it is idle to throw away time upon the details of anything which is to form no part of the occupation of our practical energies. (pp. 10-11)

Mill (1867a) proposed that encouraging language acquisition could help people understand one another more deeply. In particular, he suggested that learning Latin and Greek would broaden cultural awareness and deepen interpersonal understanding. In Mill's view, a truly advantageous liberal education would engage students in a quest for the noble ideal of seeking the truth of the ancient Greek philosophers. This view aligns with Mill's work on utilitarianism or Happiness theory. In 1863 he wrote: "The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals, Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain, and the privation of pleasure" (Mill, 2011b, What Utilitarianism Is). The greatest morality of utility to the world is to seek pleasure.

The Happiness Theory emerged from the teaching of Epicurus, which Greenblatt (2011) describes as breaking the bonds which held individuals socially immobile by contending we are composed of atoms and, thus, there are no gods above us who will punish human souls in the

afterlife. According to Greenblatt, “life’s ultimate goal is pleasure” (Chapter 3), not hedonistic pleasure, but the pleasure of living a morally correct life on earth.

As mentioned above, Britain, led by Queen Victoria, had established a worldwide empire that disseminated its consciousness around the globe (as were other Western European nations). So, it was interesting in the Speech to St. Andrews University that Mill (1867a) suggests that “International Law.... should form part of all liberal education” (p. 16). Mill viewed international law not as true law but as “a set of moral rules, accepted, as authoritative by civilised states” (p. 16). Presumably, these civilized states were, in his mind (and likely in the minds of his compatriots of the day) of a Western European consciousness. The centers of capitalist and liberal production had been moving west since the first embers of capitalism were ignited. As Mill indicates, liberalism, like the British Commonwealth, was spreading, becoming an international force. For him, the spread of liberal values, so essential to creating truly moral and ethical societies through the world, required conscious educational efforts. At the 20th century approached, ideas like those of Mill, would grow in importance. Along the way, so would liberal social initiatives like those of adult education.

The emergent value that liberal moral theorists like Locke and Rousseau placed on the education of children became a basis for later liberal moral theorists, such as Adam Smith, Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill, to promote the necessity for the education of women and university-age students, and founded a liberal basis for the growth and development of adult education. Unlike the days of mercantile capitalism, in which there was very little interest in broad global transformation, the new capitalists’ society, to which liberalism was bonded, pursued a far more intrusive and far ranging process of global colonization in order to expand their markets for both consumerism and raw materials. Instead of being a minor activity reserved for the elites of society, education, including adult education, became a major social force. As the citizens of Europe (and elsewhere) were driven by poverty, slavery, social dislocation, and hope, were forced from their

homelands, they were accompanied in their migrations by a growing, overarching liberal sense of the importance of education. In North America, an emergent society especially impacted by the tenets of Liberalism (it inspired the American Declaration of Independence), adult education acquired a particular force and vitality.

Leaving behind the examination of the work of prominent liberal theorists, the next chapter provides a narrative of the role that adult education played in the development of citizenship in the early years of Canada. Here we will see adult education used as a social mechanism by dominant social groups to develop the norms of an emergent country.

Chapter Six

Adult Education in Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1867 to 1939

As was the case in Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution, by the end of the 19th Century, adult education was being promoted in Canada as a means to integrate citizens into the consolidating national capitalist economy. Also, just as in Britain, Canadian social reformers were also turning to adult education as a way to protect citizens from the negative side-effects of rapid capitalist development, including massive immigration and pullulation movement, industrialization, political reform, and familial and community change.

As adult education developed in North America, it became better organized and stable. Increasingly, a growing contingent of adult educators began to perceive and discuss it as a potentially powerful social force. Starting with a general overview of the history of colonialism and the consolidation of the Canadian nation state, this chapter tracks the early development of adult education in Canada.

North American Colonization by Europeans

Braudel (1992b) maintains that, “The colonies only existed to serve the wealth, prestige, and strength of their mother-country” (p. 401). This was true of North America when first colonized by Western Europeans. The natural resources – such as fish, lumber, beaver pelts, minerals – were extracted to the benefit of the European economy not to build local or regional economies. It was the emergent local economies – economic structure created by the colonizers that fed the colony not the colonizing nations – that led to the creation of the new sense of nationalism, citizenship and fidelity within colonial North America. This was exemplified by the American Revolution, which was precipitated by the British government not allowing Americans to be represented in British Parliament despite collecting taxes on American products, hence the famous Boston Tea Party.

Citizens of America wanted a democratic voice in the government and pledged their loyalty to an emerging sense of nationhood (Perry et. al., 2000).

America became a sovereign nation in 1776 when they broke free from the yoke of British colonial practice. Providing intellectual and moral backing for the American Revolution and the creation of its Constitution was moral liberalism. The line in the American Declaration of Independence, which reads ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness’ emphasises the liberal sentiment on which the United States of America was formed.

Ninety-one years after America become a sovereign nation, Canada (in a less revolutionary display) became a sovereign nation. At the time of confederation, Canada’s economy was shifting from ‘serving the wealth, prestige, and strength’ of Great Britain, to a stronger economic relationship with the United States (Reindeau, 2007). Using economic geographer Richard Peet’s (1991) theorization on Central America, Canada’s economy moved from being peripheral to the European economy to being peripheral to the American economy. As was the case of Great Britain, Canada’s economy expanded as it shifted from rural natural resource extraction to urban industrial manufacturing.

The British North America Act of 1867 granted sovereignty to the citizens of Canada. Originally comprised of four provinces, with a population of less than 3.5 million (Riendeau, 2007), Canada continued to expand its territory until 1949 when Newfoundland became its tenth province. Much of the motivation for this expansion grew from the Canadian government’s mistrust of American expansion in Western North America (Newman, 1987). Canada actively supported western settlement well into the early part of the 20th century. Western settlement was assisted by technological advancements. Riendeau (2007) explains that, “the prospect of developing the Canadian West was enhanced by improvements in agricultural techniques and technology that enabled settlers to cope with natural limitations of climate” (p. 219).

Canadian territorial expansion efforts succeeded: “From 1896 to 1914 upwards of 2.5 million immigrants came to Canada, with about 1 million of them settling on the western prairies” (Riendeau, 2007, p. 219). This influx of immigrants to Canada had a profound impact upon its social structure. As immigrants simultaneously entered and built their new settlements, as they confronted each other and their new physical environment, their varied social norms shifted and blended to create newly emergent, distinctly Canadian, social structures. These immigrants were not settling virgin lands. Instead, they were settling in the lands already occupied by Indigenous people. The immigrant settlers were part of intentional effort by the Canadian government to colonize and claim the land before the America could lay claim to it (Newman, 1987).

An emerging Canadian society, and the social norms governing it, was developing on several fronts. The original rural society of the first European colonizers was in transition to an urban society. The market place, where people interacted, was moving from resource base to an industrial base – this was tied to the urban shift. The newly arriving immigrants were adding to, adapting, and forging a Canadian identity.

It was a national identity that was heavily influenced by the British national identity. Exemplified by the original Canadian national flag with the Union Jack printed on a red background. Also, the third verse of the original national anthem spoke to the nation’s British connections:

On merry England's far famed land
May kind heaven sweetly smile,
God bless old Scotland evermore
And Ireland's Em'rald Isle!
And swell the song both loud and long
Till rocks and forest quiver!

God save our Queen and Heaven bless

The Maple Leaf forever! (Carstens, 2013, p. 258)

Canada at the turn of the twentieth century shared some characteristics with Britain, especially in its social and political structure, but there was a significant difference; while Britain had centuries to define its national identity, in the 19th Century Canada remained in the process of forging its own.

Despite its own unique developmental circumstances, European (and, especially, British) liberal discourses played a strong part in this identity formation process. For instance, Michael Welton (2013) contends that, “the British governing class wanted to create a society of liberal subjects: persons who would see themselves primarily as individuals with rights who would ascribe to notions of private property as well as British values (affirming our ties to the British monarchy) and norms (which were assumed to be Christian)” (p. 31). Welton’s comment highlights interesting tensions in the discourses influencing Canadian development: on the one hand, these discourses advocated secular liberal norms, and on the other hand advocated the ongoing importance of non-secular Christian norms. In the Canadian context, a new norm-al was being contested.

In *Security, Territory, Population* (2007) Foucault provides an interesting method to conceptualize norms and what is normal:

The norm is an interplay of differential normalities. The normal comes first and the norm is deduced from it, or the norm is fixed and plays its operational role on the basis of this study of normalities. So, I would say that what is involved here is no longer normation, but rather normalization in the strict sense. (p. 91)

There was an interesting battle emerging between a sense of normality evoked by social continuity (especially the continuity with British social norms and values) and the new normal evoked by social discontinuity (evoked by the diversity of backgrounds and experiences of Canadian immigrant society).

Immigration and the Emergence of Canadian Citizenship

As was the case in Britain, 19th Century Canada was faced with enhancing the social security of an emerging working class who were on the move from rural to urban areas. In addition to this internal migration, however, Canada, unlike Britain, was also faced with massive immigration. Commentators of the day were deeply concerned about the magnitude of changes produced by rapid immigration. For example, in his introduction to James Woodsworth's (1909) book, *Strangers within our gates or Coming Canadians*, J. W. Sparling wrote, "Perhaps the largest and most important problem that the North American continent has before it to-day for solution is to show how the incoming tides of immigrants of various nationalities and different degrees of civilization may be assimilated and made worthy citizens of the great Commonwealth" (p. 3). While Woodsworth, himself, agreed that immigration was a challenge, his view was that it was not immigration per se that generated the largest difficulties. Rather, it was the diversity of immigrants that was seriously challenging social security and order. He felt, for instance, that the "ideal" immigrants were from Britain, the people who laid the foundations of Canadian society and identity. The Puritans, the Quakers, the Cavaliers, the Germans, and the Scotch-Irish were considered to be good quality people to make up the new nation. Woodsworth (1909) had a second tier of citizen, "a different and less desirable class of immigrants" of whom the "greatest in numbers and importance where the Irish" (p. 189). For Woodsworth, despite their differences, Irish people were marginally acceptable as they understood British society and could assimilate into the growing number of "people fitted for the new civilization", the English, Scottish, German, and the Scandinavians who made up the bulk of immigrants at the turn of the 20th Century (p. 198).

Echoing what is happening in modern day Canada, Woodsworth was concerned with "progressive immigration policy" (p. 201) that Canada was implementing at the time. He wrote of how, in the United States, "restriction leagues and rigid immigration laws are being enacted" (p.

201). Without more restrictions, he contended, more and more immigrants would into Canada from the United States and elsewhere. How, he wondered, would this groundswell of immigrants affect Canadian society? Concerned about the impacts of unfettered immigration, Woodsworth opines:

English and Russians, French and Germans, Austrians and Italian, Japanese and Hindus –a mixed multitude, they are being dumped into Canada by a kind of endless chain. They sort themselves out after a fashion, and each seeks to find a corner somewhere. But how shall we weld this heterogeneous mass into one people? (p. 203)

For many social leaders, basically in agreement with Woodworth's assessment of the immigration problem, emergent social movements armed with enhanced capacities for supporting adult education would become a most promising response.

The Emergence of Adult Education for Citizenship in Early Canada

The *state of nature* (to use the Liberal term for it) of Canada in which advocates of adult education found themselves in at the turn of the 20th Century confronted them with both great challenges and great promises. The early 20th Century was a time of optimism about the future due to scientific and social advancement. It was also one of great concern about the future due to the oppressive nature of capitalism and nascent globalization (Welton, 2013). Squeezed on both sides by optimism and concern, adult educators pushed their discipline forward in a variety of ways with one common goal: to support social movements committed to creating social norms that could produce a more secure, content, prosperous and free population of Canadian citizens.

Although one might assume that early instances of adult education might have opposed capitalist development, in actuality, for the most part, adult education largely fell in line with the spirit of capitalism, which is always remarkably capable of adapting to varying social conditions. An unstable and potentially dangerous citizenry was not conducive to the growth of capitalism. To create conditions of stability and calm, the supporters of capitalist development began seeking the

partnership of Christian churches. In the early decades of the 20th Century, before a more serious reworking by liberal discourses, adult education developed a substantive entwinement in social gospel movement, long involved in the incorporation of Native Americans into the European colonies. It is important to take a moment to trace this entwinement as it provides insight into the basis of early forms of adult education.

The roots of social gospel movements extend deep into the fabric of European society. In his account of the Western European spread of Christianity, Joel Spring (2007) provides context that helps explain the impulse underlying the social gospel movements. According to Spring, Christian proselytizing can be traced as far back as the Roman Empire. When the Empire collapsed in the 5th Century, the Roman Catholic Church (Christianity) rose into prominence and continued the Roman effort to convert all they considered pagan to Christianity. “The combination of Roman ideals of civilization and a belief that Christian’s had the duty to convert the world’s population” Spring (2007) writes “convinced many Westerners that it was their responsibility to spread Western civilization and Christianity to rest of the world” (p. 3). Blumenfeld (2006) refers to the result of this as “Christian Hegemony.” He defines Christian hegemony as:

The overarching system of advantages bestowed on Christians. It is the institutionalization of a Christian norm or standard, which establishes and perpetuates the notion that all people are or should be Christian, thereby privileging Christians and Christianity, and excluding the needs, concerns, religious cultural practices, and life experiences of people who are not Christian. (p. 196).

Blumenfeld (2006) contends that “White Christian European Americans” used Christian hegemony to convert and assimilate Native Americans as they “deculturalized indigenous peoples” (p. 200). This deculturalization was accomplished in many ways: “confiscation of land, forced

relocation, undermining of their languages, cultures, and identities, forced conversion to Christianity” (p. 200).

The ongoing push of Western Europeans and the Christian Churches to deculturize and assimilate Native Americans and the First Nations of Canada was similarly applied to new immigrants who were settling in Canada. The argument for this, according to Sparling (1909), was, “Either we must educate and elevate the incoming multitudes or they will drag us and our children down to a lower level...I fear that the Canadian churches have not yet been seized of the magnitude and import of this ever-growing problem” (p. 4). Speaking to his contemporaries, Sparling justifies his argument by contending that, if governments did not educate and elevate, the immigrants “will drag us and our children down to a lower level. We must see to it that the civilization and ideals of Southeastern Europe are not transplanted to and perpetuated on our virgin soil” (p. 4).

The Social Gospel movement, like the early adult education initiatives of Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution, was motivated to build a secure society through the improvement of the individual. “The Social Gospel movement” according to Dorothy Lander (2007) was “usually associated within liberal Protestantism during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in North America and Europe, converged with progressive adult education and community leadership as the means for reshaping society into the democratic Kingdom of God on earth, through the development of people” (p. 79). With its close ties to Christianity, the social gospel movement became part of the adult education movement dedicated to building Canadian citizenship.

The tone of the Social Gospel was less of conquering and colonizing – although there were strong elements in it – and more for seeking justice: albeit, justice in the Western European Christian concept of justice. Alfred Fitzpatrick’s Frontier College exemplifies this type of adult education for citizenship as he, and his movement, sought justice for workers who toiled in labour camps on the frontiers of Canada (Fitzpatrick, 1920). Fitzpatrick believed that all aspects of the

workers' lives were worthy of education, as Cook (1987) notes "To teach men the dangers of filth in the causes of disease was equally to preach the gospel. This religious sentiment was at the heart of Fitzpatrick's every act" (p. 36).

Fueled by powerful beliefs advocated by the Social Gospel Movement, committed cadres of adult education practitioners engaged in ventures like the Frontier College and others, and, together, began to create a voice for adult education in Canada. They advocated for the rights of the marginalized and insisted on the need to build a safe and inclusive society. Buffeted by broad social forces and trends that shaped their visions and honed their commitments, and, importantly, whose impact on them personally may not have been completely appreciated or fully understood, these practitioners worked to legitimize and instantiate emergent 'Canadian' social norms in their communities.

Community Adult Education in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton

At the same time, as early adult education drew sustenance from the Social Gospel Movement, it also drew strength from advocates located more securely in the upsurge of socialist influence throughout the world. While socialism developed and was activated primarily in the workplace in the form of trade unionism, it also manifested more broadly in a range of community and familial contexts. Drawing broadly on the burgeoning socialist discourses of the day, adult education in Canada began to be energized by socialist commitments and values in a multitude of contexts and initiatives. An important example of socialism's influence on adult education at the time can be found in the work and influence of Cape Breton activist and adult educator, J.B. McLachlan.

Jensen (2002) comments "Through newspaper accounts in biographical information regarding the early labor movement in Glace Bay, it was clear that labor leaders saw education as a primary goal for the empowerment of the miners" (p. 46). One such labour leader was J. B.

McLachlan who, in 1902, arrived in Cape Breton from Scotland (Mellor, 1984). McLachlan was a combination of a militant, intellectual and trade union leader (Manley, 1992). Within six years of his arrival, McLachlan was blacklisted from the mines for his unionist activities. When his voice was quieted by his dismissal from the mines, he went on to publish his own newspaper, the *Maritime Labour Herald*, to educate and rally citizens to his cause (Mellor, 1984) of confronting industrial capitalist's ideology.

While his work for better rights for the miners is well publicized, other aspects of his work are less known. Frank (1981) describes how, in 1917, J.D. McLachlan launched a "Wage Earner's Contest" in which "the women of the coal towns were invited to explain how they could maintain a family of two adults and five children on a daily wage of \$3.50" (p. 137). McLachlan highlighted the important but all too often unappreciated role that women in Cape Breton were playing in the maintenance of family and community. Frank (1981) sheds light on the women's role during this period:

But the most common form of women's work, however, was household labour:

women worked in the home, isolated in their workplace and dependent on the income of male wage-earners. As a miner's wife wrote in 1921, 'A house is a woman's workshop and she is there night and day the whole year through'. (p. 137)

McLachlan was not alone in his socialist activism. Coming to the aide of women in Industrial Cape Breton were initiatives such as the Women's Institutes, started by Adelaide Hoodless in Hamilton, Ontario, in 1897. The Women's Institutes took up the cause of creating conditions for a more secure citizenship by advocating for and supporting women in the homeplace. "A nation cannot rise above the level of its homes" Hoodless is quoted as saying. "We women must work and study together to raise our homes to the highest level possible" (Howes, 1966, p. 112).

In 1911, after visiting Ontario, Dr. Melville Cumming, principal of the Nova Scotia Agricultural College “recommended that the province start” the Women’s Institutes (A Century of Help, 2013). In 1914, the Province of Nova Scotia passed the “Women’s Institutes Act” (Nova Scotia Government, 1989). The first Nova Scotian Women’s Institute was, established in 1913 in New Glasgow, and, in 1921, the first was established in Point Edward, Cape Breton (A Century of Help, 2013).

In her review of the Point Edward Women’s Institute’s minutes, Diane Lewis (personal communication, 2013) found that the women involved “provided some education for themselves by taking a correspondence course in dressmaking, learning about national concerns through current research and discussing pressing public health issues. They also discussed the virtues of butter vs. margarine and learned about serious public health menace, tuberculosis”. The Women’s Institutes brought women together to learn and socialize as the context of their social lives was in constant transition and, not unlike the workplace, new adaptation skills were needed.

In some instances, the distinction between the influence of the Social Gospel Movement and the influence of socialist movements in general is more difficult to discern. This is certainly the case with one of the most well-known examples of community adult education in Nova Scotia. The “Antigonish Movement” led by Jimmy Tompkins and his cousin Moses Coady had a significant impact on the social development of the province for over three decades.

In the *Life and Times of Jimmy Tompkins*, Lotz and Welton (1997) note how the Carnegie Corporation, on the behest of two Catholic priests in Nova Scotia, granted Saint Francis Xavier University, a small Catholic university in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, with “\$50,000 to endow a chair in French and four bursaries” so that the university could work to preserve Acadian culture in Cape Breton (p. 33). With these funds in hand, Fr. Jimmy Tompkins, a Roman Catholic priest from the Margaree area of Cape Breton Island and a professor and administrator at Saint Francis Xavier

University worked alongside his cousin and fellow professor, Fr. Moses Coady, to instigate the Antigonish Movement. The goal of this movement was to bring education to empower the people of Eastern Nova Scotia. Their work contained elements of the social gospel, socialist values, as well as liberalized capitalist sentiments. The movement worked to mitigate the harmful effects that capitalist economic development was having upon the communities throughout Nova Scotia.

The narrative of Fr. Tompkins and Coady's involvement with adult education reflects the ongoing issues of citizens who are forced to move at the behest of economic conditions. At the time of their work, the economic structure of cities and towns in Nova Scotia seemed to be meeting the needs of their citizens. In the rural areas though, conditions were harsh due to the seasonal allocations of labour and uneven labour practices. Lotz and Welton (1997) describe the efforts of Tompkins to mitigate the situation as follows:

[Fr. Tompkins'] own university, St. F. X., took the brightest of local youth, educated them in traditional academic ways, and gave credentials – then saw many of them leave the region. This outmigration increased as times became tougher in eastern Nova Scotia after the First World War. Father Jimmy believed that educated ordinary people who *stay* [author's italic] were the key to revitalizing the region and creating prosperity for all. (p. 6)

It should be noted that, even in Tompkins' days, stories of citizens leaving their communities to seek employment prevailed in Cape Breton underlining the region's ongoing involvement with the capitalist economy.

Despite the secular socialist influences on their work, the religious aspect of eternal salvation was keenly present in the work of these two priests and elides more with the social gospel. The Church was becoming less antagonistic to capitalism as can be seen in the work of Father Tompkins who actively married the Catholic Church's doctrine of salvation to the liberal doctrine of wealth

accumulation, and even a bit of Marxism, as he prodded the working class to unite in order to control the means of their production. This is seen in his work with the lobster fishermen of Little Dover, Nova Scotia, who, under his mentorship, began to process and sell their own catch to reap the financial rewards themselves (Lotz & Welton, 1997). The adult education initiatives offered by Frs. Tompkins and Coady provided security and freedom on earth for the fishermen.

Fr. Tompkins' work and stationing – some refer to it as exile – in Little Dover stems from a disagreement he had with St F. X. and the Roman Catholic diocese of Antigonish over a Carnegie Corporation sponsored study which suggested an amalgamation of Maritime Canada's university. In the Preface of *Education in the Maritime Provinces of Canada*, Henry Pritchett (1922) explains that the reason for the study was “to report on the situation with a view to suggesting a constructive policy for the particularly of the institutions that had applied for aid” (p. vii) as several institutions from the Maritime provinces had applied for financial assistance the “past ten years” (p. vii).

The study writer's, Learned and Sills (1922), note the strong connection between religion and the citizens. They contend that “the people are thoroughly denominationalized” (p. 14) because of this relationship with the power of the Christian Church, “The educational institutions of the Maritime Provinces cannot be understood apart from the denominational religious life which created and which still definitely fosters them” (p. 14). They also noted that due to a relatively small population, as compared to the New England states or Montreal, “It is clear...that little can be achieved without cooperation” (p. 32). What Learned and Sills recommended was an amalgamation of the Maritime universities, with Dalhousie University in Halifax becoming the central university of the Maritime provinces.

This idea struck a chord with Fr. Tompkins who started to advocate for a Maritime and Newfoundland university amalgamation as he considered that it would provide a better and stronger education than the education that St. F. X. provided to the Roman Catholics it taught. It was Fr.

Tompkins' advocacy which rubbed the University and Diocese the wrong way and was the cause of him being sent to Canso to be a parish priest (Lotz & Welton, 1997). Fortunately, he took with him his passion for education which he extolled upon his parishioners.

Lotz and Welton (1997) note that "Father Jimmy believed that educated ordinary people who stay were the key to revitalizing the region and creation prosperity for all" (p. 6). Fathers Coady and Tompkins, deployed adult education as a method to confront the threat posed by communism and socialism, and the deplorable working/living conditions many of the citizens of Nova Scotia lived (Mellor 1984, Frank 1999). They used adult education to create more secure living and social conditions for the citizens of Cape Breton. As was the case J. B. McLachlan, Frs. Coady and Tompkins were concerned about the welfare of the backbone of any community, the family: much like Rousseau had contended. Thus, communist/socialist leaders, church priests, and liberal theorists all sought social justice for 'the family'.

The work of Frs. Tompkins and Coady became instituted 1930 when St. F.X opened an extension department which became known as the Antigonish Movement. In her book *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education Today*, Anne Alexander (1997) describes the "philosophical underpinnings of the Antigonish Movement" as:

People wedded to the philosophy of the Antigonish Movement believed that through education and economic cooperation people could enhance their own lives and create a more humane society. The cornerstone of this basic philosophy emphasized the value of each person, hence empowering people for action. (p. 78)

The importance of economic corporation exemplifies the relationship with capitalism as it was a burgeoning industrial capitalist economic structure which the Christian theory was eliding with, mirroring the liberal belief that capitalism provided the surest way to develop a secure and peaceful society.

Sounding like liberal theory, the Antigonish Movement was founded on the importance of each person being responsible for their own educational development for their community and the capitalist economy. Fr. Coady (1939) in his book, *Master of Their Own Destiny*, explains:

If the masses of the people have become, in a sense, slaves, it is because they have not taken the steps or expended the effort necessary to change society... Let us take a lesson from the man in whose window a light burns late each night. He does not watch the clock or wait for a whistle. He is sufficiently interested in the advancement of his own affairs to work overtime without compulsion. (p. 17)

There is an elision of religious doctrine meeting capitalism and liberalism. Freedom on earth and salvation in heaven.

From their fragmented work on adult education, Frs. Coady and Tompkins were able to construct a discursive command center for adult education for Nova Scotia and eventually worldwide. While the Antigonish Movement was being developed the Government of Nova Scotia was also getting involved with adult education.

As historically significant as the Antigonish movement and other community focused adult education initiatives (like the Women's Institutes) were in the early decades of the 20th Century, there were other initiatives more formally supported by the Government of Nova Scotia that aimed to address various social needs (especially of rural people). One example was the effort the provincial government made to set up travelling libraries to distribute books to citizens in all provincial counties. This was observed in a January, 1931, article, *Information Concerning Travelling Libraries*:

The travelling library system now being out into operation by the Department of Education will be a long step toward the establishment of permanent lending libraries in every county of the Province. It will bring during the year at least one hundred well-

chosen books to each rural district. To the rural people who have so long have been deprived of the personal pleasure, the culture and breadth of information that come from reading of good books these travelling libraries will be of inestimable value.

(Information Concerning, p. 52)

This also suggest that the government had grown to a stage where it was able to meet the intellectual concerns of the citizens and the need for a liberal education.

Vocational Adult Education in Nova Scotia

According to Dewey (2009), “education, in its broadest sense, is the means of this social continuity of life” (p. 7). As Margaret Archer (2012) might frame it, education is a means for securing “contextual continuity” (p. 16) For the most part, the telos of adult education during the early part of the 20th century was to serve social movements dedicated to keeping social discord and cultural chaos that were spawned by the growth and development of capitalism in check. One path, seen above in instances like the Antigonish Movement, focused on creating a safe and secure society through the development of community vitality (including economic vitality). Adult education, in Cape Breton – and as was the case in Canada – aimed to create contextual continuity. There was another path, however, that focused on enhancing the vocational knowledge and skills of workers. This path, too, has a rich history in Nova Scotia, and it is worth looking at it as a prelude to exploring a more general liberal and then more specific neoliberal development of adult education in the province.

In the March 1931, edition of the *Journal of Education*, the connection between education and vocation is initiated. In an article titled *Does Education Pay*, it is noted that “the effect of education on the future and social status of the individual has formed the theme for widespread discussion and debate for many years. Do men succeed because they have received good educations or in spite on them?” (Does Education Pay, 1931, p. 44). The article looks at, and questions, an American report

that suggests that a good education can be equated with better pay. During this period, adult education was used, but not always identified, as a key component of social movements for the creation a secure, safe and free society. It was also gaining recognition as a mechanism for economic growth and development, informed by capitalistic social ideals.

As industrial capitalism came to have more forceful impacts upon the lives of workers, the vocational education of adults was instituted by government and industry to enable workers to adjust to and fit into the emerging industrial economy. Industrial capitalism was also having a forceful impact upon the communities in which the workers lived, but, unlike its pursuit of vocational education, it was less inclined to deal with the societal problems it was creating.

Cape Breton Island, and its entwined relationship with the province of Nova Scotia, provides an example of the emerging interest in vocational education of adults during the first quarter of the 20th Century. Erna MacLeod (1996) observes that the main industries that drove Cape Breton's economy were "dangerous occupations with little opportunity for upward advancement or variety of experience" (p. 27). Fishing, marine trade, lumbering, farming, and mining, the staples of Cape Breton's economy, were growing in size and in technical sophistication. The incorporation of new technologies necessitated specific skills. As the speed of change in the workplace amplified, vocational colleges and schools emerged to help workers keep up. Spring (1998) explains that "Under human capital theory, education is a social investment that, in the most efficient manner, prepares human resources (students) to contribute to economic growth" (p. 6). As will be seen in later chapters, the need for human capital development becomes an important component of the neoliberal educational argument.

Other Nova Scotia contexts experienced a similar upsurge of vocational education initiatives. MacDonald (1986) records that the Halifax Marine School opened in 1872 and a Mining School opened on 1888. MacDonald observes how, "a further advance in vocational education was noted in

the report of the Superintendent of Education for 1885, where it was indicated that the legislature had passed an Act to encourage agricultural education" (p. 25). This legislation indicates the growing awareness of owners and managers in Nova Scotia's basic industries (mining, steel production, forestry, and fishing) the positive economic benefits of education.

Writing in 1921, F. H. Sexton (1921) explains that:

The coal mining schools and engineering schools are of the type known as "industrial continuation schools". They are established and maintained in practically every coal mining town in the province. To them the colliery workers turn in order to secure the knowledge which enables them to obtain certificates of competency required for administrative positions. Preparatory classes in arithmetic and English are provided for those men suffering from limitation or defects of earlier training. (p. 70)

"In April, 1907," MacDonald (1986) notes, "Nova Scotia became the first province in Canada to lay the foundation for a system of technical education by legislative enactment" (p. 25).

Sexton (1921) points out how, "Simultaneously with the State of Massachusetts, the Province of Nova Scotia became a pioneer in 1907 in establishing by legislative enactment a comprehensive system of technical education" (p. 69). Concerning the Act, Guildford (1987) comments "its advocates predicted that government-supported technical education would bring many benefits to Nova Scotia. Skilled workers would improve productivity. Professional engineers would ensure that the most up-to-date processes were used. Industrialist would have access to government research laboratories to solve the most perplexing problems" (p. 71). While benefiting society in general, the real beneficiaries were industry in the form of human capital.

Industry benefited from having the cost of training the workforce and the development of human capital, which they inordinately benefited from, covered by the province.

Concerning this cost Sexton (1921) wrote:

It is true that our province had already for twenty years carried on continuation classes for men employed in the coal mining industry. This effort was a modest but effective one, and the views had been accepted by the Government that definite education for industrial purposes should be provided at public expense. (p. 69)

Thus, government became a promoter/producer of human capital. Also, the infrastructure (roads, railroad, ports, etc.) needed for the growth of industrial capitalism, was also paid for by various levels of government. Led by government and industry, a commitment to developing vocational training laid the foundation for what, in 1988, was to be established as Nova Scotia Community College (Dennison, 1995).

The two paths followed by adult educators in Nova Scotia early in the 20th Century, emulated and reflected (with interesting regional differences) in the paths followed by adult educators across Canada eventually were caught up in a much broader sweep of liberal educational initiatives that gained steam at the approach of mid-Century. Despite the lasting influence of early community-focused adult education movements and initiatives, and regardless of the power and eventual domination of vocational adult education at the close of the 20th Century, it is very important to track the emergence and growth of the liberal influence on adult education to most clearly understand the stunning impact that neoliberalism would come to have on adult education in contemporary times.

Chapter Seven

Liberalism's Hope for Adult Education after World War I

Liberalism as a broad social philosophy was deeply impacted by dramatic events that took place early in the 20th Century. World War I disrupted the social fabric of nations around the world. Millions of men and women fought, died, or were physically and emotionally injured during the war; leaving great voids in nations, communities, and families. The wretched conditions, which the men who fought in WWI would have experienced in the trenches of Europe, is captured by Wade Davis (2011), “The smell of the trench was of fear, and of sweat, blood, vomit, excrement, cordite, and the putrescence of cadavers” (Chapter 1). The norms created in the trenches, on battlefields, in families dealing with loss, and between warring nations conflicted with the norms which had governed society during the pre-war years. A new normal was needed to stabilize Western society. In the face of such massive challenges, solutions offered by Liberalism seemed rather small and obscure.

As the War ended, and in its immediate aftermath, concerns about the war's effects on citizenship arose. For example, Davis (2011) points out that the understanding of post-traumatic stress disorder caused by the horrors of war was starting to emerge. Governments, most notably the British and American, recognized the need to ease the transition of returning war veterans back into an economy ever more dependent upon skilled labour. Vocational education was promoted as a key means to aid this integration. There was also a growing appreciation of the need for education to help in the construction of a society afraid of being drawn into another war. As Turner (1980) notes, “The brave new world, then can only be created by renewed individuals, their character, capacities, and vision transformed by education, and dedicated to community service” (p. 173).

It was at this time, with a state of nature recovering from dystopic social conditions, that adult educators recognized a need for reflexive adult education discourses in addition to vocational

education. These educators began to contend that adult education could play a key role in addressing the great social challenges of the age.

The British 1919 Report: The Need for Liberal Education in Response to WWI

As WWI drew to a close, the British government commissioned a panel of top academic scholars to write a report on the powers and potentials of adult education in post-war society. *The final and interim reports of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, 1918-1919*, also known as “the Report”, “was a product of the ferment of a destructive war” (Turner, 1980, p. 173). Turner describes how “the Report” attempted to address the massive impacts of a war “in which the whole population of the nation was involved and which produced a great deal of introspection about the purpose of individual life and the structure which would best express the aims for which Britain was making such a vast sacrifice” (p. 173). Looking back at “the Report” in 1956, Waller considered it to be, “the most important single contribution ever made to the literature of adult education. Notable still for its comprehensive scope in philosophic coherence, it has served two generations as a store of information and ideas” (p. 15). *The Report* identified the role that liberalized adult education could play in building and maintaining a safe and secure society by providing the intellectual tools and space for citizens to think critically about their role in the body politic.

The contributors of the *Report* defined adult education as “all the deliberate efforts by which men and women attempt to satisfy their thirst for knowledge, to equip themselves for their responsibilities as citizens and members of society or to find opportunities for self-expression” (Waller, p. 59). It is important to note how this view goes beyond the narrow mandates of vocational education and community education discussed in the previous chapter. The liberal perspective that animated the report called for a far broader range of educational opportunities for citizenship than the narrower, much more skills focused perspectives of the vocational or community view. Although “the Report” writers acknowledge the need for vocational education to rebuild the

economy, they continually stress the need for non-vocational education because: “Men and women who a generation ago would have accepted without criticism the first opinion offered them, desire now to use their own minds and to form an independent judgment. They seek education because they believe that it will enable them to do so” (Waller, 1956, p. 70). A few pages later they write, “Men and women should be conscious that they require knowledge to form an enlightened opinion upon public issues is at once evidence of mental receptiveness and the best guarantee of sanity in public life” (Waller, p. 75). The emergence of a liberalized adult education as a possible social mechanism for the development of a democratic society was being formulated.

Throughout the *Report*, the contributors use the term ‘men and women.’ This is a break from earlier writers who single out men, sometimes using the term men while implying both men and women, other times referring only to men, and sometimes (even more restrictively) referring to men who held property. WWI had a liberating effect upon women in many Western Societies. As Waller (1956) observes, “women made her mass escape from domestic captivity, replaced men in offices, provided herself in many fields, and at last got the vote” (p. 18). This right to vote was part of the John Stuart Mill’s (1867b) liberal agenda.

Liberal values and commitments can also be observed in the importance that the contributors of the *Report* accord university education, in particular University tutorial courses. They are wary of “older universities, which have aimed at qualifying men for the service of Church and State” (p. 74) as they identify the importance of university tutorial classes as a means to satisfy the needs of adult learners.

“The Report” writers center their argument on their contention that, although the mature student in a tutorial class “has normally no full-time secondary education experience,” they have a greater capacity to learn than “the undergraduate [who] has no experience of industry and politics” (p. 80). The distinction between young learners and mature adult learners, including those of the

working classes, is important as universities up until this time were generally not accessible to mature or working-class students. Turner (1980) places the importance of university education in early 20th century England in perspective:

We do well to remind ourselves that the proportion of the population which went on to higher education was far smaller than it is today, that wealth and social status were of critical importance in selection for university entry and that consequently there were very large numbers of people in the country who had the ability to profit from a university education but had not had the opportunity to do so. The provision of a form of university education was therefore seen by many of those who attended the university tutorial classes as being the first step on the road to changing the system so that their own children would have a better opportunity for obtaining the higher education which they had been denied. (p. 177)

While the *Report* was written with great optimism for the liberal spirit to guide the reconstruction of a shattered society, it was ultimately cast aside as post WW I optimism fell into despair due to the failures in the capitalist economy during the 1920s and 1930s. Despite this, “the Report” does indicate the emergence and formulation of liberal adult education discourses as a discernible mechanism for social change. It provided a space for adult education philosophers to move away from vocational education to education focused on higher intellectual attainment (Waller, 1956).

The Way Out: Essays on the Meaning and Purpose of Adult Education.

Although the *1919 Report* never lived up to the British government’s lofty goals for adult education, it does suggest that adult education was being recognized as a mechanism capable of contributing to rebuilding a shattered society. This recognition was furthered in 1923, when the British Institute of Adult Education published *The Way Out: Essays on the Meaning and Purpose of Adult*

Education. As the title indicates the contributors to the book believed adult education discourse and practice could act as a mechanism for both individual and social change – a way out of the social mess immediately after WWI.

The book opens with a chapter by A. E. Zimmern (1923), *The Evolution of a Citizen*, who notes that along with Great Britain and the United States:

Other countries, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian succession States in particular, are faced with immense tasks of material reconstruction and intellectual re-orientation; but the external framework within which their labours are needed is ready to hand, and the nature of the task required of them, severe though it may be, is visibly indicated. (p. 20)

Describing a period of doubt, Zimmern contends that the victorious countries did not want to replicate the conditions of the pre-war but were unsure of how to proceed into the future. Arguing that adult education was a method that could take England away from its Island mentality, Zimmern contends it could be used to develop a continental or world citizen.

As was argued in the *Report of 1919*, the importance of universities being accessible to lower classes was picked up by Viscount Haldane of Cloan in his chapter *A Vision of the Future*. Cloan (1923) argues that the time was right for universities to expand throughout the country:

But hitherto the University has been accessible only to a few. Our aim is to bring its moulding [*sic*] influence to bear on as many possible, and we believe that this is more practicable than has hitherto thought. We look forward to a time when throughout the land there shall exist subordinate centres of University activity, established and directed with the goodwill and direct assistance of the University themselves. (p. 8)

It is interesting to examine Cloan's assertion that the University has a 'moulding influence' on society. This attests to the high regard that liberal higher education held in shaping English society.

Having the universities extend or branch out throughout the country and having them more accessible to the populace suggests that they were replacing, or at least competing with social structures, particularly the church, which held the power of instruction since feudal times. Liberal adult education discourses, disseminated by universities and available to the masses, were considered the best moral guidance for the body politic.

At this time in Great Britain, there was a growing recognition of the working-class having a greater influence on the growth and development of British government. In less than a century, women and unpropertied males (made up primarily from the urban working-class) moved from being pawns of the state to being able elect their parliamentary representatives due to universal suffrage, which was implemented in 1918. With this in mind, H.J. Laski (1923), in his chapter *Knowledge of Civic Discipline*, commented, “If we emphasize the importance of education to the workers, it is because with the devolution upon them of the main burden of political power, the responsibility for the *ethos* of the state lies largely in their hands” (p. 55). The need for an electorate, capable of appreciating the potential influence on the development of the state, emerged as a central theme for liberal adult educators.

Thus, when Laski (1923) writes: “Citizenship is the power to contribute one’s instructed judgement to the public good” (p. 50), a shift from traditional views of citizenship is apparent. Citizens were no longer part of a feudal system in which they had little influence on the body politic. Through their ability – which in context of this book was recent – to vote they could now influence the affairs of the state. Of concern for Laski was the failure to provide the electorate with a liberal education that would allow them to appreciate their “responsibilities” or their “powers” (p.48). The traditional education of adults had failed to provide them with the knowledge of their emergent position in society. According to Laski, adult education had to provide adults with this knowledge.

Adding to Laski's call for liberal adult education as a means to educate adults about their power to sway government Lord Percy, in his chapter *Education and National Politics*, brings up the liberal paradox of allowing the individual the freedom to choose their education. "Adult education must, in its essence" Lord Percy (1923) contends, "always be voluntary, a thing offered or rejected at will. There can be no forced attendance, there cannot even be any compulsory examinations" (p. 62). He does not believe that any one organization should have hegemony in adult education. The cautiousness he has of political parties is found when he states if "everything that education means – are to be squeezed into the mould of a political party or a particular conception of state organization, then such a tendency can only be called the suicide of liberty" (p. 61). For Lord Percy, "government and citizenship, however loftily conceived, do not constitute the chief end of man" (pp. 61-62). The goal of men and women, through adult education, is to be continually and actively involved in learning and to defend the liberty that had been won.

Adult Education in Post-WWI United States: The New School.

Both the *1919 Report* and *The Way Out* are significant to the ongoing narrative of adult education as they represent the institutionalizing of adult education discourses within social structures dedicated to creating and promulgating liberal forms of society. This institutionalizing of adult education was also occurring in the United States. One example of this trend towards institutionalization was the New School for Social Research, which opened in New York City in 1919. In *Toward a History of Adult Education in America*, Stubblefield (1998) explains that the New School emerged from its founders' frustration with the ways universities were changing. They were concerned about the professionalizing of knowledge in the "scholarly disciplines and the development of the academic profession" (p. 4). This was connected to the growing liberal sentiment that American university professors had lost, or were in the process of losing, their independence as the state became more involved with directing and controlling university education.

The founders of the New School for Social Research – James Robinson, Charles Beard, John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen – felt that the liberal ideals of university were being broached. They set about creating an educational institute for adult education based upon their liberal ideals. Unlike traditional universities, the New School for Social Research was interested in attracting mature students to study. Unlike their British Liberal counterparts, who advocated an adult education system dispersed in universities throughout the country, the founders of the New School wanted adult education centralized.

As was the case of the *1919 Report* and *The Way Out*, the New School opened with the optimism of creating social change but soon stumbled due to a fear of communism and had to re-orientate itself. In the aftermath of WWI, Stubblefield (1998) explains, “a period of severe repressive activity known as the ‘Red Scare’ [communism] swept the country” (p. 11). Though short lived the Red Scare “devastated civil liberties, the labor movement, and faith in reform.” Stubblefield observes how, during its brief existence, the founders of the New School for Social Research, “grappled with fundamental questions” key to future of liberal adult education studies. For instance, they asked:

How can adults gain understanding of knowledge about the social order? Under what institutional auspices can such knowledge be produced and disseminated to the adult lay public? What should be the social purposes of this new adult education? (p. 4)

Under their aegis, liberal adult education in America began to acquire a greater level of professionalism and institutionalism.

The move to professionalism during the 1920s, was further promoted by the establishment of the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE), an association which owes its emergence to the Carnegie Corporation – the same corporation that supplied funding for Fr. Jimmy Tompkins. “The Carnegie Corporation’s activity in adult education was an experiment to promote a particular

idea of adult education,” Stubblefield (1988) explains, “and to foster its acceptance among the organizations that claimed to have adult education as their major interest” (p. 22). According to Stubblefield, this ‘particular idea’ was based on liberal principles, a point which is also identified by Ellen Lagemann.

Lagemann (1989), contends that the traditional liberal stance of critiquing the body politic emerges:

The premise that leadership was urgently needed in cultural affairs. If culture were left to evolve willy-nilly without guidance and criticism of educated connoisseurs, the crass, material self-interest of individual entrepreneurs would triumph over the public’s need for sound information and true beauty, and the forces of the market would triumph over the ennobling mission of culture. (p. 100)

What is of special interest is the addition or the acknowledgement of capitalism as part of the body politic and meritorious of critique.

Further connection to liberalism can be gleaned from Amy Rose’s (1989) research into the Carnegie Corporation where she observed that the “Carnegie’s philosophy of giving was based on the encouragement of individualism and self-reliance while eschewing out-right donations to the needy” (p. 141). This places Carnegie’s philosophy in line with the traditional liberal’s state of nature where individuals are responsible for themselves.

Despite these developments (rather modest in the broad scheme of things), liberal forms of adult education discourse and practice eventually failed to catch hold. As WWII approached, greater world events began to suppress liberal sentiment. Populism, totalitarianism, and poor economic planning shunted liberal ideals aside. The few liberals who managed to maintain a toehold and continued to advocate liberalism as a way to pursue a safe and secure society did so on the fringes of academia.

Yet, liberalism did manage to survive despite social and political conditions that could have exterminated its flame. The next chapter reviews the work of three leading liberal theorists of the early to mid 20th century who managed to keep liberalism alive. These three liberals – Ludwig von Mises, John Keynes, and Fredrich Hayek – theorized how liberalism could be used to contest the rising tides of populism (including communism and Nazism). Although they, themselves, paid little attention to adult education, their work – especially that of Keynes and Hayek – was to have profound effects on adult education discourse in the aftermath of WWII.

Chapter Eight

Three Theorists who kept Liberalism Alive in the Early to Mid-Twentieth Century

Between the 1914 and 1945, waves of fervent nationalism, conservatism, and the rise of communist and fascist states pushed liberal adult education discourses to the margins of citizen education. Confronted with these political sentiments, liberal theory lost the momentum that had driven its growth since the Industrial Revolution. It was largely cast aside. For the few remaining liberal theorists, this period proved to be a turning point. They began to restructure liberalism to contend with the rising tides of collectivism and militarism that were sweeping through Europe.

This chapter highlights the work of three of these liberal theorists – Ludwig von Mises, John Milton Keynes, and Friedrich von Hayek – who saw in liberalism a basis creating socio/economic conditions for peace, not war. Each theorist was affected by the horrors of war and each believed that liberal social theory provided the soundest philosophical platform on which to construct a society capable of surviving the threats of both communism and fascism. While they continued to hold firm to key liberal tenants, their training in economics distinguished them from earlier liberal theorists. Their additional training in economics gave them a rather unique view of the ways things like freedom and security were grounded in society.

Although the work of von Mises is important – he was Hayek’s mentor – it is the work of Keynes and Hayek that have had the greatest influence on the adult education practice and theory since the end of WWII. It is important, at this point, to highlight a key difference in their impact: The *new liberal* theoretical foundation laid out by Keynes was adopted by Western capitalist countries to develop a bulwark against communism sentiment in the immediate aftermath of WWII until the early 1970s; the *neoliberal* liberal theoretical foundation laid out by Hayek became a global socio/political force when the communist threat started to wane in the 1970s. To better understand

the influences of these three very different theorists, it is helpful to consider their work in greater detail.

Ludwig von Mises

Although not as widely known as his followers, Ludwig von Mises provides a link between early liberal philosophers such as Smith and Locke and subsequent liberal theorists like Hayek and Keynes. Hayek (2012) contends that von Mises was not solely focused on economics. “Mises’s work,” Hayek observes, “as a whole, covers far more than economics in the narrower sense” (p. 165). Due to his “penetrating studies of the philosophical foundations of the social sciences and his remarkable historical knowledge,” Hayek felt that this placed von Mises’ “work much closer to that of the great eighteenth-century moral philosophers than to the writings of contemporary economists” (pp. 165-166). It is von Mises’ historical knowledge that allows him to pull together the strands of theory and philosophy on which liberalism was founded into a broad and coherent narrative.

Within his broad narrative of liberalism, von Mises supplies an explicit justification for the integration of liberalism and capitalism. For von Mises (1985), “A society in which liberal principles are put into effect is usually called a capitalist society, and the condition of that society, capitalism” (p. 10). He justifies this comment by claiming:

It is thanks to those liberal ideas that still remain alive in our society, to what yet survives in it of the capitalist system, that the great mass of our contemporaries can enjoy a standard of living far above that which just a few generations ago was possible only to the rich and especially privileged. (p. 10)

In von Mises’ judgment, it was the 18th and 19th Century development of capitalism that allowed for the unprecedented development of human society as it provided equal rights and opportunity for all to enjoy a higher standard of living.

Capitalist society had demonstrated that the attainment of a higher standard of living and the possibility of social mobility was possible without violent social upheaval; capitalism thrives in a context of safety and security. According to von Mises, (1985) the international division of labour put in place by capitalism acts as a method of mutual dependence that guards against national and international upheaval:

It is from the fact of the international division of labor that liberalism derives the decisive, irrefutable argument against war. The division of labor has for a long time now gone beyond the boundaries of any one nation. No civilized nation today satisfies its need as a self-sufficient community directly from its own production. All are obliged to obtain goods from abroad and to pay for them by exporting domestic products. Anything that would have the effect of preventing or stopping the international exchange of goods would do immense damage to the whole of human civilization and undermine the well-being, indeed, the very basis of existence, of millions upon millions of people. In an age in which nations are mutually dependent on products of foreign provenance, wars can no longer be waged. Since any stoppage in the flow of imports could have a decisive effect on the outcome of a war waged by a nation involved in the international division of labor, a policy that wishes to take into consideration the possibility of a war must endeavor to make the national economy self-sufficient, i.e., it must, even in time of peace, aim at making the international division of labor come to an end at its own. (p. 107)

Later advocates of neoliberalism and globalization would be able to use such liberal thinking to justify continuous capitalist expansion.

In order to maintain peaceful relations, governments have to limit their involvement in the marketplace (von Mises, 1985). This assertion countered the belief in socialist and communist

contexts that the state should control the marketplace. For liberals and capitalists, the role of government should be guided by the free marketplace and not the reverse. As was the case in classic liberalism, von Mises contended that government bureaucracy should be kept to a minimum to allow citizens closer access to center of power.

In the *Social Contract*, Rousseau refuses to question the existence of individual autonomy. The existence of servitude, he contends, is not the natural-born state of humans. Rather, servitude comes about when people enter mutual agreements that commit them to living according to restrictions: “Since no man [sic] has a natural authority over his fellow, and force creates no right, we must conclude that conventions form the basis of all legitimate authority among men” (n.d. p. 5). In alignment with this view, von Mises’ theorizes that all people are born equal and, as a result, capitalism poses no fundamental restriction because everyone in the marketplace, including workers, are free to choose to participate or not in capitalist relations. Neither von Mises nor Rousseau question the idea of the worker being free to choose. Neither of these theorists appreciates, however, how workers are citizens who are born and raised in capitalist societies and who have no option but to work in some type of industry if they are to survive. It is the social structures into which people are born that deeply determine the work people ‘choose’ and the lives they end up having.

As Hayek noted, von Mises was integral to the maintenance of liberalism after the world was shaken by the WWI. He was also integral to maintaining liberalism after the world was shaken again by WWII. From the late Nineteenth century onward, Britain and other Western European nations had drifted toward socialism. This shift was disconcerting for liberal philosophers such as von Mises as they associated it with the rise of centrally planned economies and the totalitarian state. The brutal carnage that raged through Europe and much of the world as a consequence of Stalinism and Hitlerism, provided good reason, it seemed, to be concerned.

The emergence of socialism and communism, characterized by increasing levels of government bureaucracy, prompted von Mises (1945) to argue that modern bureaucracy is akin to feudalism upon which “the modern state” had been built. In fascist and communist totalitarian states, citizens appeared to have little influence over the affairs of government.

Pondering the problem of how citizens could have greater influence in government and the body politic, von Mises (1945) concluded that it was in their role as consumers. The place in society where the power of the consumer can best be activated is in the marketplace as it “is a system which automatically values every man according to the services he renders to the body of sovereign consumers, *i.e.*, to his fellow man” (p. 51). Von Mises puts into light the relationship between the consumer and the producer. He notes how, “The common man is the customer for whom the captains of industry and all their aides are working” (p. 107). To make this argument, von Mises cites fundamental or basic services such as police, medicine, and transport as examples of how the market ultimately serves the citizenry, but he fails to note the fact that luxury (beyond necessity) items, which industry entices consumers to buy, provide little of value to ordinary people while generating inordinate wealth and benefits for the rich.

Although von Mises’ view on the role of education in society is little known (he seldom writes specifically about education), he does, at one point, provide a critique of the Universities of Europe:

In most countries of the European continent the universities are owned and operated by the government. They are subject to the control of the Ministry of Education as a police station is subject to the head of the police department. The teachers are civil servants like patrolmen and customs officers. Nineteenth-century liberalism tried to limit the right of the Ministry of Education to interfere with the freedom of university professors to teach what they considered true and correct. But as the government

appointed the professors, it appointed only trustworthy and reliable men, that is, men who shared the government's viewpoint and were ready to disparage economics and to teach the doctrine of government omnipotence. (p. 100)

Missing from von Mises' diagnosis, however, is the bias that is inherent in any system of education. What happens when the market drives the education system? The 'freedom' of professors and the research that they will carry out will be guided by capitalists' economic rules and regulations. So, despite Mises' (1945) contention, "Modern policies result in tying the hands of innovators no less than did the guild system of the Middle Ages" (p. 23), he fails, as other liberals have, to consider the biases of capitalism. His contention that, "Under capitalism everybody is the architect of his own fortune" (p. 120), reveals his trenchant lack of insight into the power of social structures to influence (and in some contexts, nearly determine) human agency.

Two Liberalisms: The Impact of the London School of Economics and the Liberal Summer School

In 1951, when reflecting upon the history of liberalism, Friedrich Hayek (2012) claimed that, "At the end of the First World War the spiritual tradition of liberalism was all but dead" (p. 163). All but dead, it turns out, but not quite completely dead. The liberal spirit, according to Hayek (2012) was kept alive mainly at the London School of Economics (LSE) where the "foundations were laid for a new development" (p. 164). The very fact that it was a School of Economics that offered sanctuary for liberalism presages the direction which a variant of liberalism was soon to take as liberal social theory became explicitly part of capitalism's economic theory. The connection between economics and liberalism was not new, as was evidenced in the work of Adam Smith, but by the late 19th Century and into the early 20th Century, in the work of theorists like von Mises and in contexts like the LSE, the connection between the two had deepened. Within the LSE, a form of liberalism

completely entwined in capitalism, eventually to become known as neoliberalism, would rapidly develop.

In a similar, but very different way, the spirit of liberalism was also kept alive in Britain by the Liberal Summer School (LSS), which according to Ann Moore (2009) was “Founded in 1921 as an annual week-long residential school to develop innovative Liberal policies, domestic and international, for the post-war world” (para. 2). During the interwar period the annual sessions were held alternately at Cambridge and Oxford University. The LSS was established by the Liberal Party in Britain and, as Moore (2009) points out, “The lectures, the discussions, and the interaction within the influential group behind the Schools, developed and influenced Liberal Party thinking throughout the 1920s and ’30s, and disseminated ideas through the other parties, both in Britain and the US” (para. 6). The LSS brought together an interesting mix of politicians, intellectuals and the capitalists. One of the leading figures of this school was John Maynard Keynes.

In his book *Liberalism Divided*, Freedan (1986) contends that, during the inter-war period, liberalism faced an “ideological crisis” as it was trying to adjust to emergent realities caused by social structures which dampened notions of individual freedom (p. 1). Liberalism had never been a unified school of thought; instead, it had always adapted to changing social conditions as theorists sought to redefine human agency through rational thought and processes. In Freedan’s view, one of the principal problems that liberals were facing in the interwar period was that “the state,” which was the “creation of intelligent humanity,” was encroaching on the lives of citizens (p. 9). Despite being the creation of supposedly rational people, the state was “turning upon its maker; the increasing intrusion of power, struggle, and class into social relations” (Freedan, 1986, p. 10). Liberal theorists in both the LSE and the LSS were left to devise new ways liberalism could protect the freedom and equality of citizens from the encroachment of the state.

Due to liberalism's ability to change and evolve, it was able to distinguish itself from more rigid Western conservative and religious philosophies and to muster a counter attack against the encroaching state in society. Thus, it was from the LSE and the LSS that two schools of liberal thought emerged to guide Western governments throughout the second half of the twentieth century through to our modern times. Keynes' new liberalism guided the world economy immediately after WWII. As Keynes' new liberalism faced economic crisis at the end of the 1960s, Hayek's neo-liberalism (at this point, the hyphen is used to emphasize the newness of this brand of liberalism) surged into place. The work of Keynes and Hayek would come to have a profound effect on the direction that adult education would take in the second half of the 20th century. Let us take a more detailed look at their contributions.

John Maynard Keynes

The work of John Maynard Keynes deeply impacted the direction which liberal theory would take soon after WWII. A graduate of Cambridge University, Keynes was in a small group of British intellectuals who were intent on keeping the spirit of liberalism alive. Keynes, like von Mises, was greatly affected by WWI – his brother Geoffrey was surgeon on the frontline trenches. “Keynes and his circle had been shocked by the outbreak of the war,” according to Skidelsky (2010) as it “extinguished their hope for a ‘new civilization’” (chapter 1). Skidelsky contends that Keynes and his coterie, “were liberals who held that the state had no right to make people fight” (chapter 1). They were outraged that any state – as in the case of any other war – was able to put into place ideologies of nationhood powerful enough to compel soldiers to charge across battlefields facing almost certain death.

Throughout WWI, Keynes worked as an economic advisor to the British government. As the war was drawing to its conclusion, he attended the Paris Peace Conference as part of the British delegation. It was his disagreements with the resolutions drawn up at this Conference that were to

inspire his liberal/economic theorizing. Keynes was convinced that the economic penalties handed to the losing sides would create greater divisions among European nations. He sensed that the economic penalties would keep people in servitude. For Keynes the future was not rosy.

Looking back at the pre-war European economy, Keynes (1971) remarked, “The greater part of the population, it is true, worked hard and lived at a low standard of comfort, yet were, to all appearances, reasonably contented with this lot” (p. 6) He then adds the liberal element of social freedom when he observes:

But escape was possible, for any man of capacity or character at all exceeded the average, into the middle and upper classes, for whom life offered, at a low cost and with the least trouble, conveniences, comforts, and amenities beyond the compass of the richest and most powerful monarchs of other ages” (p. 6).

The rising tides of progress had made it possible for the commoner (the former serf) to live like a monarch (the new capitalist). The punitive penalties handed to the Germans would push them back to feudalism.

Keynes (1971) was also becoming increasingly wary of the rising power, influence and independence of the United States. He noted that, “Europe’s claim on the resources of the New World was becoming precarious” (p. 15). The colonies and former colonies of Britain, particularly the US, could no longer be relied on for material resources as they were shifting their focus from feeding the European economy to catering to the needs of their own emerging economies. Keynes was upset that the war “was making Britain dependant on the United States” (chapter 1).

According to Davidson (2009), the problem for Keynes in the immediate aftermath of WWI was he “did not have an alternative economic theory to juxtapose against classical theory” (p. 13). This changed during Great Depression, when in 1936 he published *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. In this work, he challenges the classical theory of economics because, as Keynes

(1973) states, “the characteristics of the special case assumed by the classical theory happen not to be those of the economic society in which we actually live” (p. 3). For Keynes, classic economic theory was out of touch with reality.

A general theory is just that, a theory in which Keynes tries to develop a more universal concept of the economy. Facilitating the shift to a new theory to explain the modern economy, Keynes looked at the classical economic definition then offered new ones through a process of reclassification.

It is this process of reclassification, also understood as economic values, that is the true strength of Keynes’ work. As Davidson (2009) contends, “He was able to reorient economic analysis in his mind toward a realistic analysis of the economic world in which we actually live” (p. 3). This reclassification exposed the weaknesses of traditional economic analysis by questioning laissez-faire capitalism made famous by Adam Smith’s ‘invisible hand’. Employment within such an economic style will be cyclical, with boom and bust constantly disturbing the labour market. Bearing in mind that Keynes was most active during the Great Depression, the idea of the laissez-faire economic policy looked weak and the need for full employment was needed. For Keynes, the way to full employment is through government involvement in the economy but, and being a true liberal, limiting that involvement to the economy or mode of production not in the everyday lives of the citizen.

Keynes developed the idea of the middle way that called for strategic government economic intervention. Skidelsky, as cited by Davidson (2009), contends that Keynes’ proposition was more than a middle way – it was a new way. Instead of taking existing conceptions for granted, Keynes’ questioned the role of the individual in society and the economy. He challenged his contemporaries to ask if it is the economy that takes care of individuals or if individuals are responsible for serving the needs of the economy. In the middle way, Keynes places his liberal theory between the classic

liberal laissez-faire tradition (the economy in service of the individual) and the emerging socialist state (the individual in service to their society).

Although Keynes completed most of his writing and analysis during the inter-war period, it was not until after WWII that his theories took root becoming a dominant influence over the world socio/economic order for over 25 years. The vast uptake of his ideas became popularly known as Keynesianism. According to Anne McElvoy (2015, podcast), John Maynard Keynes' *new liberalism* differed from classic liberalism in that it advocated strategic government involvement in the economy. At the same time, Keynes' new liberalism contended that the state should not interfere in the personal lives of its citizens.

Despite spending his life studying economics, Keynes did not consider himself to be simply an economist. Skidelsky (2010) notes that there is a difference between "Keynes' economics" and "Keynesian economics". Keynes' economics were "philosophically driven. It was informed by his vision of the 'good life'; it was permeated by his theory of probability.... Philosophy comes before economics" (Chapter 2). In other words, Keynes' economics were essentially a variant of liberal philosophy. On the other hand, Keynesian economics focused almost exclusively on the economy and contained little truck with more philosophical ideas about the good life or about the respective roles of citizen and state in the modern world. While it may have been founded in liberalism, Keynesian economics ended up far from the underlying intentions and concerns of its earlier forbearers, including Keynes himself.

How the role that adult education would play in Keynes philosophy is a point of conjecture as he did not include any express analysis of adult education in his work. For Keynes, adult education would certainly have been considered as part of the monetized economic milieu as a means to raise the fortunes of the working class, to free people monetarily and intellectually. A contemporary of Keynes, adult educator George Mallory (who had the interesting misfortune of

dying while trying to summit Mt. Everest in 1926) offers a brief work that helps provide some insight into Keynes' view of adult education. As Mallory relates, "It was all rather unorthodox... They [Cambridge] were looking for a historian who could design a curriculum suitable for workingmen and women, and who was willing to travel from village to village in the greater Cambridge area, reaching out to those who had never had an opportunity to attend proper and decent schools" (Davis, 2011, chapter 12). If this were the case, then Keynes, a stalwart member of the Cambridge crowd, would certainly have shared the concern for the ordinary citizen evidenced in this passage. He, like his colleagues, would have recognized and valued the intellectual abilities of the working class.

Fredrick von Hayek

One of the most influential liberal theorists of the 20th Century and a leading architect of what we now broadly recognize as neoliberalism, was Hungarian philosopher, Fredrick von Hayek. Like his mentor von Mises, Hayek began his career as part of the Austrian School of Economics, an assemblage of avant-garde economists who developed their own emergent norms for economic theorization (Tittenbrun, 2008).

Like Keynes, Hayek – who according to David Jones (2012) were friends – was disturbed by what he saw during WWI (Hayek fought in the Hungarian army) and WWII, and worked to theorize how situations that caused war would not rise again. This sentiment is seen in Hayek's (1965) best-known work, *Road to Serfdom*, published in 1944, where he noted, "we can learn from the past to avoid a repetition of the same process" (p. 1). Continuing with this idea he adds, "If in the long run we are the makers of our own fate, in the short run we are the captives of ideas we have created. Only if we recognize the danger in time can we hope to avert it" (p. 2).

In *The Road to Serfdom*, Hayek (1965) points out that "the present crisis of our civilisation...may be the result of genuine error on our own part, and that the pursuit of some of our

most cherished ideals have apparently produced results utterly different from those which we expected” (pp. 10-11). European society, he observed, had emerged from the Renaissance with an enlightened sense of the of individuals in the body politic – both the builder of society and master of their own destiny; however, the totalitarianism of Germany, Italy, and Russian had worked to destroy this enlightened view and had re-established the state as the builder of society and master of all individual citizens.

It was radical changes in Britain, which had occurred since the Industrial Revolution, that inspired the work of Hayek (Jones, 2012). A new class, the working class, had emerged and had real influence in government, which had become more dynamic as the leaders of government could change more quickly than the previous feudal government. Citizens were becoming closely connected with the government. Hayek was intrigued by how an urban working class had emerged to structure government.

Key to Hayek’s work was understanding how individuals were able to create a new socio/economic structure. He struggled to understand how collective norms are activated by individuals and how an individual’s norms are activated by the collective. How did the capitalist economy emerge from disparate individuals to become a social structure within the modern civilization? What assemblage of social structures, made up of individuals, built society?

To explain this, Hayek examined the transition of European society from feudalism to capitalism. Beginning in the merchant cities of Italy, capitalist-fueled social transformation flowed among the low countries of Europe, all the way to Great Britain. As it moved, capitalism shifted these societies from “a rigidly organised hierarchic system into one where men could at least attempt to shape their own life, where man gained the opportunity of knowing and choosing between different forms of life” (Hayek, 1965, p. 14). This transformation, according to Hayek (1965) “is closely associated with the growth of commerce” (p. 14). So, this social change was grounded in

shifts to the economy: the marketplace, for Hayek, had become the key mechanism for social change.

This makes sense when considering that Western Europe had progressed along rational liberal lines of redefining the individual as being free within the economy and thus society. The rise of socialism/communism repudiated this telos allowing Hayek to place liberalism in direct opposition to socialism. He takes particular aim at Germany for taking over intellectual space from England allowing German socialist ideals to become incorporated into national economic discourses. In an interesting twist, Hayek (1965) points out that socialism “gained acceptance under the flag of liberty” (p. 24) as it was able to alter the meaning of freedom to one of an equal distribution of wealth. Where is the liberty, he wonders, in a planned and restrictive economy?

The Western World, Hayek felt, was heading down a socialist/authoritarian path, which would undo much of the progress of personal liberation that liberalism/capitalism had fostered ever since the Renaissance. In the first chapter of *The Road to Serfdom* – titled ‘The Abandoned Road’ – Hayek lays specific blame for this societal shift on the German socialist economy, which, leading up to the start of WWII, was highly centralized and restrictive. Planned socialist economies, such as that of Germany, takes away the competitive nature that societies need to grow. There is no freedom of choice in the context of a state that is in full control of production and consumption.

To counter what he saw as a growing problem of government economic intervention, Hayek call for the decentralization of government to bring it in line with what existed in the diverse and much more open institutions of the capitalist economy. In the opening line of his article, *The Use of Knowledge in Society* (1945), Hayek ask “What is the problem we wish to solve when we try to construct a rational economic order?” (p. 519). He answers this question with a problem:

The peculiar character of the problem of a rational economic order is determined precisely by the fact that the knowledge of the circumstances of which we must make

use never exists in concentrated or integrated form, but solely as the dispersed bits of incomplete and frequently contradictory knowledge which all the separate individuals possess. (p. 519)

In this intriguing answer, Hayek suggests that an emergent economic order can be fashioned and rationalized from seemingly unconnected sources, without a central or universal planning mechanism. How is this accomplished?

How decentralized capitalism would work can be gleaned from Hayek's interest in how norm groups are developed (he does not use the term norm groups). Integral to this process is creating conditions in which the 'incomplete' and 'contradictory' knowledge that individuals hold can be pulled together. If one person or a few people hold all the knowledge (or are allowed to hold all the knowledge) a centrally planned economy is the only way forward. Although Hayek accepts that planning for the economy is necessary, his concerns centers around who should do the planning: central planning with one person having a monopoly of the knowledge or decentralized planning where there is a strong element of competition. "Planning in the specific sense", Hayek (1945) writes, "in which the term is used in contemporary controversy necessarily means central planning—direction of the whole economic system according to one unified plan. Competition, on the other hand, means decentralized planning by many separate persons" (520-521). Hayek favors decentralized planning as it allows for the all the varied knowledge which individuals own to be enter the conversation, the best will emerge the rest will be discarded. Knowledge is this reasoning is communal, nobody can know everything. "Practically every individual has some advantage over all others because he possesses unique information of which beneficial use might be made" Hayek (1945) contends that this information can be used only with their, "active cooperation" (p. 521). In essence, he is calling for cooperative competition: two seeming contradictory terms but, if considered within the concept of dialectics, it makes sense.

Viewing the capitalist economy as dialectical put Hayek's (1945) in a position to contend that no one person need know everything for society to function. For an economy to work without centralized control, however, cooperation and communication are vital. As is the case with the emergence of civilization, which Joseph Heath (2014) describes as "complex, organized societies based on extensive systems of mutually beneficial cooperation among genetically unrelated individuals" (Chapter 1), capitalism, according to Hayek, did not emerge out of a single or central plan. Dialectics allows for the emergence of a group consciousness to creates an unconscious action. "We make constant use of formulas, symbols, and rules whose meaning we do not understand" writes Hayek (1945) "and through the use of which we avail ourselves of the assistance of knowledge which individually we do not possess" (p 528).

As was the case of his mentor, von Mises, and his friend and sparring partner, Keynes, Hayek did not directly write or theorize about education in society, although the theorization of these liberal philosophers – in particular Keynes and Hayek – was to have a powerful impact on adult education in the second half of the twentieth century. For Hayek (1945) the problem was how to create a system concerned with, "how to secure the best use of resources known to any member of society" (p. 520). At this time, Hayek is starting to give rise to the theory of human resource management or the theory of human capital. The theories which measure the value and worth of people by what they can contribute to the economy.

Hayek recognized knowledge as a resource with important economic implications. The question, for his emergent regime of neo-liberalism was, how is knowledge best activated in society? How can knowledge be created and promulgated to best serve an economy which keeps society safe and secure? These questions would form the basis of neoliberal inspired adult education theory and practice.

Before, turning to exploring how neoliberal forms of adult education theory and practice emerged and developed, let us take a few moments and consider the brief period (mostly during 1950s and 1960s) in which adult education discourses inspired by Keynes's new liberalism took root in capitalist economic countries.

Chapter Nine

The Influence of Keynesianism on Adult Education 1945 to 1970

This dissertation has shown that liberal adult education discourse and practice, since the 18th century, has been shaped by the relationship between liberal social theory and capitalist economic organization. Each shift in this relationship caused adult education to reorient itself in order to guide citizens through periods of social change. From the mid-1940s to the early 1970s, when Keynes new-liberalism guided Western capitalist economies, adult education was reconstituted to help Western countries navigate the middle way between the social good and the demands of capitalism.

“The first half of the twentieth century” in Joseph Heath’s view (2014), “was arguably the most catastrophic in the history of Western civilization, beginning with two almost unimaginably destructive wars and culminating in the development of a nuclear standoff that came rather close to destroying all of humanity” (Introduction). Assessing the rise of nationalist sentiment, ruined economies, growth in class struggles, and increase in conflicts that occurred between the two World Wars, Tony Judt (2005) judged Europe, during first half of the twentieth century, as civilization gone wrong. “By 1940”, Judt comments, “to observant Europeans, the grandest of all Europe’s illusions – now discredited beyond recovery – was ‘European civilization’ itself” (p. 5), but Europe did recover. Much of the credit goes to American intervention to aid in capitalist re-development for several European nations (Spring 1998, Chua 2003).

New-Liberal Adult Education

Despite the antagonism between capitalism and communism pushing Western nations to the brink of another world war, their disagreements seldom reached the point of outright hostilities. The Western capitalist world needed to break from the historical material processes of a body politic which kept putting into place socio/economic conditions that led to violence, war, and economic upheaval, the contextual continuity which citizens were conditioned to accept.

Keynesian liberal economic theory emerged as the socio/economic model to alter this historical material processes. The effect of Keynesianism was a restructuring of the body politic of nations, international relations, and international governance through deliberate government interventions in the capitalist economy. Although changes to the economy were created and promulgated at national and international levels of government, the real effects were felt by citizens as they had to normalize a new normal. As was the case since the Industrial Revolution, adult education emerged to help citizens rationalize change and create new social norms.

Immediately after WWII had ended, America instituted the Marshall Plan to provide financial aid to European capitalist countries, as well as, “Japan and colonial territories” (Plehwé, 2009, p. 245). With this plan in place – along with the development of the International Monetary Fund and The World Bank – capitalism expanded along the borders of communism and competed with communism to infiltrate the socio/economic structure of non-aligned or third world countries. With the threat of socialism and communism lurking on the borders, business leaders and government instituted social welfare programs and strengthened unionism, to assuage the demands of the working class.

Adult education emerged to educate citizens to the new realities and complexity of the post-WWII world. This was in keeping with previous descriptions of the tradition of adult education being a mechanism of social movements to help citizens contend with changes to the complexity of social fabric and the body politic caused by capitalist development. Part of its underlying task, after WWII, was to help citizens, within the zone of capitalism, to understand and adjust to the new economic principles of embedded liberalism – having society control and influence the marketplace.

In their review of adult education in the United States, Mezirow and Berry (1960) contend that:

The period 1945-1957 has witnessed the most spectacular growth in the history of the adult education movement in the United States, both in numbers participating and in development toward professionalization. Estimated participation has been reported to have increased nearly 59 percent during the five-year period 1950-1955 alone. C.

Hartley Gratan attributes the dynamism of the period to the social disturbance and national insecurity resulting from World War II and the Cold War. (p. vii)

This indicates that adult education was being used a mechanism to produce social security. Also, noted in Mezirow and Berry's study was the development towards professionalism as adult educators were learning how to be educators.

According to Webster Cotton (1968), adult education was moving in two distinct directions. One direction had adult education continuing with its role in the "social reformists tradition" (p. 76). The other direction, which he notes is the newer of the two tradition, was with the "professional tradition" (p. 76). Cotton identifies an important difference between the two, the social reformists "direct their rationales to a national audience" (p.76) whereas the professional tradition limit "their rationales at a more restricted audience" (p. 76). The professional tradition lacks the capability of addressing societal problems, as it developed from and focuses on a small spectrum of norm. It is the social reformist tradition who are most adept at dealing with emergent societal problems.

As was the case of the United States, adult education in Canada was divided into the social reformist and professional camp. "The social movement dimension of adult education", according to Selman (1995) "reached its high point in the Forties and early Fifties, with elements of professionalism developing rapidly by the end of the period" (p. 31). While the social reformists were more in keeping with the social gospel genre, the professional tradition was in the capitalist

camp. Where were the threads of adult education inspired by liberalism? During the period of embedded liberalism, the liberal educator could be found in both camps.

Following on the heels of Britain and the United States, during the Great Depression of the 1930s Canada started to transition away from a laissez-faire capitalist's economy to embedded liberalism. In the post WWII era, it became known as the Keynesian welfare state. Indicative of this was Canada's transition to a welfare state, which started in the 1930s. Dingleline (1981) explains that "The economic depression of the 1930s forced a change in the social attitudes of Canadians" (p. 5). Societal attitudes towards poverty and unemployment were changing, according to Dingleline, as there was growing support for the federal government of Canada to intervene and help citizens who were feeling the effects of job loss and poverty. Thus, in 1935 the Federal Government of Canada introduced the Employment and Social Insurance Act. Opposition to the Act stalled its passing as it was declared 'ultra vires' of the British North America Act, but it did lay the foundation for future welfare programs in Canada. Notably, the Unemployment Insurance Act in 1940 (Dingeldine, 1981, p. 7).

The Canadian Unemployment Insurance Act was passed during a period when employment levels were high in Canada. This may seem counter-intuitive but, as Dingleline (1981) notes, high employment levels meant that fewer people would actually use it, allowing the government to use payments made into the fund to pay for the war effort. In 1996, the name "Unemployment Insurance" was changed to "Employment Insurance (EI)" "to reflect the program's primary objective of promoting employment in the modern economy and labour force, and to move away from the image of supporting unemployment" (Makarenko, 2009, Trends in Unemployment Insurance Since 1971).

Employment Insurance has continued to be a key component of Canada's economy as it acts as a mechanism to assuage workers' agitation and to deal with excess human power, it has

become a mainstay in Cape Breton's economic structure. In the period immediately after WWII, Keynes' new liberalism also took root in the form of other socio/economic policies that led to the rise of the welfare state most popularly in the program of universal medical coverage.

With the implementation of the Unemployment Insurance Act, the Canadian Government had a vested interest in providing employment opportunities for its citizens. In his historical account of adult education in Canada, Daniel Schugurensky (n.d.) found that, "In 1960, the Government of Canada passed the Technical Vocational Training Assistance Act (TVTA Act) ...for the first time since Confederation, federal money was made available to assist with secondary schools in provinces – specifically related to the promotion of technical and vocational education" (no page). This was beneficial for the government in two ways; it would prevent citizens from collecting unemployment benefits and, by being employed, they would be able to contribute to the fund. It also helped industry as it would contribute to the consumer culture. This indicates a change of the government's role in the body politic as it is moving from its traditional managerial role to taking on a role of entrepreneurship (Harvey, 1989).

In response to the socio/economic norms introduced by embedded liberalism and the rise of the Keynesian welfare state, adult education reconstituted itself. Webster Cotton (1968) claims that adult education, in the period after WWII, moved to "increasing attempts to make adult education a profession, to provide adult education with a sounder theoretical foundation, and to develop a philosophical foundation for adult education" (p. 11). In Cotton's opinion, adult education during the pre-war period was idealistic and hopeful for the future, whereas, post-war adult education became more formalized and designed to have an impact on the social conditions of the time. There was also a growing acceptance that adults could learn – and unlearn – a change from the idea that only children could learn, as was highlighted by Rousseau's *Emile*.

Across Canada, adult education continued to spread through a mix of “voluntary organizations, co-operatives, university and agricultural extension” (Selman, 1987, pp. 8-9), which was dedicated to the promotion of specific types of citizenship norms. Norms, which would accept greater government intervention in society, while resisting the spread of communism. Missing from the research is adult education’s role in convincing business people to accept the welfare state but, like embedded liberalism, business people may have been viewing themselves as embedded in society. They would have also needed to accept the welfare state, as both a citizen and a business person, in order to suppress communist sentiment. Later, with the rise of neoliberalism and globalization, the notion of citizenship changed as being part of a state or nation was altered and business people were dis-embedded from the state or nation and adopted as a class of global capitalists.

Adult Education for an Inclusive Society

Nationally and internationally, Canadian adult education initiatives were garnering attention. Returning to Selman (1987), he notes how the Antigonish Movement was gaining international attention, as well, the Frontier College and the Banff School of Fine Arts, “were also well known in some circles” (pp. 8-9).

Building on initiatives like the Antigonish Movement and inspired by the American Association for Adult Education, in 1935 the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) was formed (Selman 1987, Welton 2013). The CAAE, under the guidance of leaders such as Roby Kidd and Ned Corbett, was able to advocate and support national and community-based adult education initiatives. Selman (1987) describes how the CAAE in conjunction with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation sponsored “the National Farm Radio Forum and the Citizens' Forum, which made imaginative combined use of broadcasting, print and local discussion groups” (p. 8). Premised by the idea that it “could lead to the formulation of policy on the great issues of the day”,

the Citizen's Forum is described by Welton (2013) as "a bold attempt to influence the political discourse of Canadian capitalist society" (p. 131) by providing citizens with a voice in government. This iteration of liberalism started during WWII as there was an urgent need for social planning, or as Welton (2013) terms it a "social purpose" (p. 131).

Adult education with a social purpose, inspired by the spirit of Keynesian socio/economic theory, was exemplified at the Regional Adult Education conferences held in Nova Scotia during the 1950's. Held in Amherst, N.S., June of 1951, the first conference was attended by a diverse group of organizations which included: regional universities, churches, trades, media, and government (MacDonald, 1951). This conference, for Mairi MacDonald (1951) was important as it signaled an "opportunity for the workers in this broad field [adult education] to meet and try to coordinate their efforts" (p. 14). Keynesian inspired adult education was being used to bring people together to create norms for the body politic of Nova Scotia.

At the 1953 conference, held at Saint Francis Xavier University, Donald Wetmore (1953), writes that he:

Counted 51 organizations with delegates – groups like the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Regional Libraries, the department of education and agriculture – people from community councils, from farm forums, recreation associations, Home and School. Toronto sent visitors from the C.B.C., the National Film Board, and the Canadian Association for Adult Education. (p.13)

The "greatest benefit resulting from this conference," for Wetmore, "was that these people... should reach mutual understanding" (p. 13). Quoting a speaker from the Canadian labor congress, Wetmore writes that he "realized that the days of the closed-fist-loud-bellow collective bargaining have given way to the intellectual and informed approach to all labor's problems" (p. 14). A liberal, rational approach was being used to make societal changes to inform governmentality.

While adult education was creating space for social transformation of the body politic by allowing citizens a voice in government, the government of Canada was getting involved with adult education on the supply and demand side for labour. Oddly enough, this was in-line with the new direction of Keynesian liberal social theory as the economic was embedded with the social.

A new type of professionalism in adult education came to the fore during WWII as technical and vocational education was needed for the war effort. Along with being needed for the war effort, vocational education was also viewed as a method to reintegrate veterans back into the economy and society after the war was over; earlier if they returned injured. "In April 1944," according to Charles Phillips (1951), "a program for the rehabilitation of veterans, called Canadian Vocational Training, provided technical courses in some 60 different fields for 55,000 men and women" (p. 9). The Federal Government also provided money for university education. Thus by "November 1946 there were 35,000 veterans on attendance at the universities" (Phillips, 1951, p. 10). The Veterans Rehabilitation Act was felt across the country. Regionally, in Cape Breton, according to MacDonald (1986) the "rehabilitation of servicemen became a major factor in 1945, resulting in establishment of a trade school at R.C.A.F [Royal Canadian Air Force] Station, North Sydney" (p. 29).

The federal government was not the only level of government interested in adult education. In Nova Scotia, as WWII was winding down, the Adult Education Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Education was established. The reason, according to Guy Henson (1954) – who was the guiding figure in adult education in Nova Scotia – was that:

People were under the stimulus of hopes for a better society and a better world which had sustained morale in the democracies through the storms and adversities of war.

Adults had been learning on an unprecedented scale for combat, civil defense, and war industry, had become course-conscious, and had awakened to the idea of continued education. (p. 6)

In an earlier piece by Henson (1946), *A Report on Provincial Support of Adult Education in Nova Scotia*, adult education took on the spirit of democratic freedom by exploring multiple thoughts of how the world works. “Opposing principles are put forward from different sources and interests which must live and work together in an atmosphere of freedom”, writes Henson, “and which sometimes seeks to have different sets of truths form the basis of education” (p. 24). Again, this was being measured against socialist or communist governments. Knowledge could help adults see through or understand the ideology of propaganda.

Throughout this report, Henson frequently calls upon the ideal of democracy. “Democracy depends on the spirit of citizenship”, contends Henson “and it has been said that a measure of this spirit is in the variety and strength of the voluntary bodies promoting the public good in diverse ways” (p. 33). In this scenario, a liberal education is necessary for democracy when totalitarian regimes are on the borders.

With this being a report to the provincial government, Henson (1946) explains to the government that, “Adult Education has, however, but recently emerged as a broad movement; for various reasons it is today a social force and a personal urge which has never before commanded so much attention and, in many quarters, so much hope” (p. 7). Part of the emergence of adult education is due to educators, such as Henson, recognizing that childhood education was not adequate for a society in which change was occurring at an unprecedented rate. He makes an interesting comparison between adolescent education and that of adults. “In childhood education, the four recognized cornerstones are the home, the school, the church, in the community” (p. 9). For adults the cornerstones changes as the diversity of influences increase:

For adults, by contrast, the educational influences are most indirect, diffuse, and hardly distinguishable in the warp in woof of life. Work replaces schooling as the universal activity and may be a stimulating or a deadening factor. The newspaper, magazine and

book, the radio, the filling, the church, the political parties, occupational association, social and fraternal groups form a complex of agencies which have to main part in transmitting knowledge and opinions to grown-up people. (p. 9)

Guy Henson merges social, individual, and the economic into one, “unless it plays in enabling the people to use their intelligence, their skills and their finest qualities for economic and social progress, and for achieving a richer and happier life” (p. 10). Thus, adult education is best employed when it allows individual citizens to make positive contributions “to the wealth and prosperity of the province and promise him [sic] a fair place in the complicated social and political organization of today” (Henson, 1946, p. 10).

Later, in 1954, Edgar Fortune, who was the “late Field representative of the Adult Education Division for Cape Breton Island” (p.23) of the Department of Education contended:

Today there is a need as never before for education as a vital force in our lives, not merely during the years of formal schooling, but throughout our whole lifetime. Never before in history has Nova Scotia, Canada, or the world at large so needed sane and sound thinking, an informed, reasoned, and constructive public opinion, as a means of solving our complex social, economic, and political problems, as a tool for removing some of the evils and injustices which exist. Education, if it is to be a vital force in our democracy, must be life-long and continuing process. (1954, p. 22)

This is a combination of the old and new spirit of liberalism seeking the emergence of new form of adult education; lifelong learning.

With citizens becoming directly involved with the body politic, adult educators were beginning to view adult education as a permanent social structure. Furthermore, the powers and potentials of adult education were becoming evident to adult educators. Educators, such as Henson

and Fortune were looking at adult education in terms that social movement responsive to the demands and wants of the whole body politic.

In Cape Breton, with the steel plant workers and coal miners now unionized, adult education related to class struggles and social movements slackened. According to Friesen (1994), during this period, Canadian adult education followed the American example and became increasingly conflated with labour education. Gereluk, Briton, and Spencer (2003) explain that, “labour education includes all union and independently provided education designed to strengthen union representation, activity and culture” (p. 1). This education was used to identify and explain workers’ rights and provide greater equality in the workplace. Although this labour or union education was being felt locally, it was being disseminated both nationally and internationally as adult education was gaining greater prestige in large organizations. In the aftermath of WWII, the business class was less antagonistic to unionism as they wanted to regain a sense of normalcy for men and women returning from military duty as they worried about the threat of international communism.

Labour unions are a point of contention among some liberals. For example, Hayek (1965) believed that unions would take away the autonomy of the worker as unionism had strong ties to communism and the Bolshevik Revolution [noted Cape Breton Mine Union leader J. B. McLachlan had visited Russia in the 1920s, influencing his determination to empower the working class (Mellor, 1984)]. Hayek also argued that those workers who are not part of a union would not have the same rights of unionized workers. Furthermore, it was felt that the self-interest of trade unions would negatively impact the economy as unions tend to act like the feudal guild system, which capitalism had splintered during the industrial revolution. Acting as they do, unions put pressure on the economy by demanding higher wages, driving up inflation (Morton, 1950). The emerging neo-liberals, led by Hayek, believed that the mechanisms of the free market, and proper moral sentiment, should be adequate to protect the rights of the workers.

Vocational education was also developing and growing on Cape Breton Island. This draws from larger international social fears of employment and the lack of it during the Great Depression. MacDonald (1986) notes that in 1947, vocational education was “organized separately from the Nova Scotia Technical College” (p. 29). The significance of this move was that “The provincial Department of Labour was given jurisdiction over the operation of training unemployed people” (p. 25). This was managed by the Vocational Education Branch of the Department of Labour. A significant portion of education was now in the control of the government, as such, all members, from administration to teachers, could be considered agents of the state. Being agents of the state, they act under government policy sentiment of the day. If the government policies and norms are influenced by Keynesian welfare state dogma, it is reasonable to conclude that agents of the state will use those norms to administer and manage adult education. This also indicates that governments role in education is work related and that Halifax, the seat of government in Nova Scotia, was in control of education.

In 1988, the vocational schools transformed into the Nova Scotia Community College (NSCC). The emergence of the NSCC signaled a move away from new-liberal inspired adult education to a neo-liberal inspired adult education. The effects of this will be examined in Chapter 11 Further events, such as the fall of Berlin Wall, pushed the threat of communism and socialism aside. In 1992, Francis Fukuyama (2006) published *The End of History and the Last Man*, a book that claimed that capitalism was the culmination humankind. According to Fukuyama, there was no need for social movements as the social movements created by capitalism had led society to its finest destiny. Neo-liberalism became neoliberalism and gained hegemony in global body politic.

The next chapter will provide a brief narrative of the rise of neoliberalism. As well, it examines how capitalism’s use of neoliberalism has embedded capitalism into the individual. In

order to accomplish this, neoliberalism has shifted adult education discourses way from the building a secure society to creating individuals that support the continued expansion of capitalism.

Chapter Ten

Neoliberalism: Embedding Capitalism in the Individual

In Keynes middle-way liberal economics, the capitalist class purposively strove to be more responsive to the needs and demands of labour. Business owners and national government united in giving more rights to the working class in order to maintain peaceful social relations and to keep communism ideology from infiltrating Western countries. By the late 1960s and into the 1970s, with the threat of communism starting to wane and the memories of two world wars ebbing, the capitalist class started to reassert itself and began to withdraw from the concessions made to the working class. To re-assert themselves, the capitalist class adopted the neo-liberal theorization of Hayek. Where Keynes' middle-way theorized the capitalist's economy as being embedded and responsive to social relations, Hayek's neo-liberal theorization has individuals embedded and responsive to the demands of capitalism.

Within neo-liberalism, adult education remained as a social program for the development of citizenship. However, the goal was not for a 'liberal' minded citizenship instead it was for marketplace citizenship. This chapter will provide a brief narrative of the rise and institutionalization of neoliberalism into the global economy. It will conclude with a description of how neoliberalism adult education focuses on human capital development.

The Rise of Neoliberalism

Although Keynesianism economic ideology held hegemony in Western capitalism's body politic, which was spreading through increasing globalization, not all liberals and capitalist were content with the Keynesian approach. An alternate form of liberalism, based on Hayek's socio/economic theorization, waited in the wings for an inevitable crisis of capitalism that would allow them to push for the socio/economic reforms based on their neoliberal ideals. The crisis of capitalism that they had waited for started to emerge in the late 1960s and became a full-blown crisis

in the early 1970s when an economic condition known as stagflation set in (Harvey, 2010).

Stagflation was caused by capitalists accumulating and banking monetary capital at an unrepresented rate but not being able to find any suitable investment opportunities for their money. At this time, they had fully exploited their own marketplaces and were stymied in their attempt to gain access to new ones. In the 1970s, the only way for capitalists to find new markets for the circulation of their money was to attack the very Keynesian ideology that had served their interests in the decades following WWII. No longer was the goal to build a safe and secure society, the goal shifted to opening up resources for capitalist develop.

In their efforts to solve this crisis of capitalism, the global capitalist class adopted the economic principles shaped by Hayek and the supporters of his socio/economic theory. Through Hayek's theorization, the economy shifted to pseudo-laissez-faire capitalism. Whereas, under a traditional laissez-faire ideology, government does little to interfere with the growth of capitalism; under a neoliberal ideology, government must interfere to dissolve obstacles that get in the way of continuous economic growth. One of the more effective and pernicious strategies was the privatization and subsequent commodification of common resources (Patel, 2009). This along with a host of other strategies such as the breaking of union power and authority (Harvey, 1996), and the encouragement of personal monetary debt (Graeber, 2012) broke the Keynesian new-liberal economic structure. The demise of communism in the late 1980s provided the rationale and moral imperative for neoliberalism to become an influential global force for socio/economic development.

As mentioned previously, the term neoliberal does not mention capitalism, this is either an attempt to hide the term capitalism or illustrates how liberal social theory has become absorbed by the capitalist economy. Where liberal social theorist from John Locke to Adam Smith to Friedrich Hayek considered themselves to be moral theorists, modern liberal theorist are predominately economists. David Graeber (2011) believes that economists have become the "high priest of our

society” (para. 1) and, as such, economists have strong influence on much of the modern adult education discourses. In their self-exalted position, they have been able to stymie critique of the economic system by embedding adult education into the capitalist structure. It is the modern economists who have created the *new spirit of capitalism* (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005). It is also the modern economists who have a profound influence on modern adult education discourse

For Plehwe (2009), there is no comprehensive definition of neoliberalism as its ideologies and theories have roots in four countries: The United States, France, Germany, and Great Britain. Due to this, Plehwe contends that “neoliberalism must be approached primarily as a historical ‘thought collection’ of increasingly global proportions” (p. 4). Despite its international origins, the neoliberal ideologies produced in the United States are the ones that took root and have dominated international discourse. The American approach is explained by Foucault (2008) as follows:

“American neo-liberals apply, or at any rate try to apply economic analysis to a series of objects, to domains of behavior or conduct which we’re not market forms of behavior or conduct: they attempt to apply economic analysis to marriage, the education of children, and criminality, for example” (p. 268). To this can be added Harvey’s (2010) assertion:

Once you put a price tag on something, you can put a price tag on anything, including conscience and honor, to say nothing of body parts and children. You can hang it on natural resources, on the view of a waterfall; you can certainly put a price tag on land and speculate on shifts in land prices (p. 60).

With a neoliberal version of laissez-faire capitalism in place (such as the commodification of resources, including adult education itself, that were previously considered common resources) American neoliberalism has been adopted as a global neoliberal strategy.

The Emergence of the Chicago School of Economics and the Mount Pèlerin Society

It is important, at this point, to take time to examine the social structures (including the proponent of these structures) that enabled neoliberalism to move into a position of dominance in the global economy. Two structures, the Chicago School of Economics and the Mount Pèlerin Society, emerged to act as seedbeds for neoliberalism and, of importance for this dissertation, to influence the creation and promulgation of adult education discourses.

As discussed previously, during the interwar period – WWI and WWII – two of the key locations for keeping liberalism alive were Cambridge University (Keynes) and the London School of Economics (Hayek). Immediately after WWII, Hayek and his cadre of liberal philosophers set about building a network for the construction and promulgation of (neo)liberal ideals in response to their fear of the reconstruction of the socialist state. In 1945, after delivering a lecture in Detroit promoting *Road to Serfdom*, Hayek was invited by Harold Luhnow to write an American version of the book. Van Horn and Mirowski (2009) describe Luhnow, who was president of a philanthropic fund known as the Volker Fund, as “a strident anti-New Deal conservative” who “had been searching for intellectual weapons to curb the power of government in the postwar era” (p. 141). It was the Volker Fund, managed by Luhnow, that provided grants for “a special cadre of liberals devoted to developing a very specific agenda of doctrines to be planted and nurtured at Chicago” (Van Horn & Mirowski, 2009, p. 153). In America, during the post WWII period, the Chicago School of Economics became the discursive command center for a cadre of neoliberal thinkers.

While Hayek was developing the Chicago School of Economics as a center for liberal aspirations in America, he was also working with other liberal philosophers to develop the Mount Pèlerin Society to address his vision of an international center for theorizing liberal ideals. According to Plehwe (2009), Hayek’s aim for the Mount Pèlerin Society was an “international academy... designed to create a space where like-minded people who share philosophical ideas and political

ideals mingle and engage in a process of further education and collective learning dedicated to advancing the common neoliberal cause” (p. 5).

Guided by Hayek’s believe that the social welfare ideology of Keynes represented a move towards an authoritarian regime that could restrict human freedom and security, the Mount Pèlerin Society set about constructing differing norms for their idealized society. The members envisioned a rational socio/economic structure based on a revamped theory of liberalism arguing that less government could best provide security and freedom by providing favorable market conditions in which businesses could grow.

Like the Chicago School of Economics, Mount Pèlerin was conceptualized as organization where people – mostly male – who shared common socio/economic norms could meet:

The international academy Hayek sought was actually designed to create a space where like-minded people who shared philosophical ideas and political ideas could mingle and engage in a process of further education and collective learning dedicated to advancing a common neoliberal cause. The effort of the incipient neoliberal thought collective led to the creation of a comprehensive transnational discourse community.

(Plehwe, 2009, p. 5).

The Chicago School of Economics and the Mount Pèlerin Society became the discursive command centers of neoliberalism through the authority of the individuals who made up the structures. David Livingstone (2010) provides an interesting insight into the intellectual credibility of this network by noting, “eight Mont Pèlerin members, including Hayek and Friedman, have won Nobel prizes in economics. Of seventy-six economic advisers on Ronald Reagan’s 1980 campaign staff, twenty-two were from Mont Pèlerin” (p. 5). Neoliberals infiltrated the highest levels of capitalist government. Changes were emerging in the body politic, a change that harkens back to feudal body politic as the national or regional governance was overridden by a larger social norm producer. In feudal times, it

was the Papacy of the Catholic Church, for capitalist countries it was becoming neoliberal inspired think-tanks.

When considering the work of Hayek (1965), the development of think tanks goes against his own social philosophy, as he contends:

The concentration of all decisions in the hands of authority itself produces a state of affairs in which what structure society still possesses is imposed upon it by government and in which the individuals have become interchangeable units with no other definite or durable relations to one another than those determined by the all-comprehensive organization. (p .27)

He wrote this in response to his concerns regarding the emerging welfare state, which “has largely replaced socialism” (p. ix), as he had a strong aversion to regimes which countered the ideals of the free market.

Aside from receiving international accolades for theorizing neoliberal ideals, Livingstone (2010), indicates that there was also a need to market neoliberalism as acceptable socio/economic ideology. In order to market their ideologies, neoliberals had to teach and educate. This is seen in comments made by Hayek during his speaking tour of America in 1945:

I think there is a great educational task to be fulfilled. We must make the masses of the people learn and understand the problem that is before us, make them capable of discriminating between methods which will achieve the end and methods which are empty promises. (Van Horn & Mirowski, 2009, p. 140)

This task of educating was accomplished by infiltrating key international organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) with a cadre of neoliberal trained philosophers and economists. This is exemplified by Nobel

prizewinner and Chicago School of Economic member Theodore Schultz becoming active in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the 1960s.

Along with infiltrating key international organizations another important marketing/teaching tool for neoliberalism to gain hegemony in socio/economic debates was the proliferation of think-tanks. Carroll and Shaw (2001), Peet (2008), McDonald (2013) suggests that the dramatic rise in think-tanks over the past 50 years was an intentional act of the global capitalist's elite to generate a shift to neoliberal theory of socio/economic governance. They contend that think-tanks are part of the economic elite's – it is the elite who provide the funding for liberal philosophers/economists to continue their work – aspirations to formulate policies that encourages political debate that align with their neoliberal agenda.

David Harvey (2007) provides this incisive commentary on how think-tanks operate:

Independent “think tanks” financed by wealthy individuals and corporate donors proliferated—the Heritage Foundation in the lead—to prepare an ideological onslaught aimed at persuading the public of the common-sense character of neoliberal propositions. A flood of policy papers and proposals and a veritable army of well-paid hired lieutenants trained to promote neoliberal ideas coupled with the corporate acquisition of media channels effectively transformed the discursive climate in the United States by the mid-1980s. (p. 31)

With strong financing (from right-wing financiers) and an obedient cadre (generally neoliberal trained economists) in place, neoliberal think-tanks are adept at shaping public ideology to accept that the core liberal values of individual freedom, liberty and security are to be found in the capitalist economy.

The strength of these institutions, according to McDonald (2013), is “a presumed legitimacy and credibility with the media, policy makers, and public” (p. 2). Examining the growth of right-wing

think tanks and how their education wings have become increasingly important, McDonald notes a “sheer lack of diversity in education policy discourse across almost all think tanks and policy organizations in Washington DC” (p. 21). Building on her work, MacDonald (2014) notes that “an increasing number of think tanks founded over the past 30 years are ideologically driven rather than research based” (p. 846). This indicates that the education policies, which these right wing think-tanks create and promulgate, are not based on credible evidence but are more capricious in nature.

Think-tanks and international organizations provide a space for the economic elite to use neoliberal ideologues – ideologues who replaced philosophers – to espouse ideologies that support continuous economic growth but more importantly these think-tanks also market neoliberal ideologies into the everyday life of citizens around the world. In effect, they are centers that shape and promulgate discourse continue to act as mechanisms that connect the global economic elite to everyday citizenship. One of the methods used to make the connection is adult education.

Neoliberalism and adult education

Within the neoliberal philosophy, adult education discourses fall under capitalist market rules and terminology. The role that education plays within neoliberalism was poignantly marked by former British Prime Minister Tony Blair (1998), who wrote, “education is the best economic policy we have” (para. 1). Blair’s comments were made in light of the latest iteration of the capitalist economy, the knowledge economy. In this milieu, it is important to consider who should bear the cost of ‘education’ and for this we can look to neoliberal theorists Milton and Rose Friedman (1962). They contend, “individuals should bear the costs of investment in themselves and receive the rewards” (p. 105). In other words, individuals can create their own conditions for freedom by paying into the capitalist structure.

Recently, as capitalist’s economies have shifted their focus to the knowledge economy, adult educators have been used to communicate market demands, as well, they have become facilitators to

meet the needs of the market. Adult education and the economy have become consolidated, and citizens have become valued as economic resources. In this relationship, capitalism calls for a specially trained/educated workforce, one that is willing to abide by the strictures created by its economic dominance. David Harvey (2010), in *A Companion to Marx's Capital*, conceptualizes the incongruous role that education must play within the capitalist system:

Capitalism requires fluidity and adaptability of labor, an educated and well- rounded labor force, capable of doing multiple tasks and able to respond flexibly to changing conditions. Herein lies a deep contradiction on the one hand, capital wants degraded labour, unintelligent labor, the equivalent of a trained gorilla to do capital's bidding, without question at the same time it needs the other kind of flexible, adaptable, and educated labor, too. (p. 231)

The re-orientation of the body politic provided by neoliberalism altered the orientation of adult education because, within the regime of neoliberalism, adult education acts as an adjunct of the economy. Being an adjunct to the economy, adult education is a capital asset and a source of income by becoming a fetishized commodity, exemplified by credentials replacing meritocracy in the workplace. Adult education also becomes an equation that mirrors the double ledger accounting of the Venetians with the difference being that the commodity is human knowledge which translates into human capital.

Human knowledge is being used for the iteration of capitalism known as the knowledge economy. The knowledge economy should be the highest representation of a liberal education and knowledge, as it places knowledge as the high point of a society but it is a highly-constricted use of knowledge. The goal is not to learn widely but to have knowledge that contributes directly to the capitalist economy. Knowledge within the neoliberal knowledge economy has emerged as a euphemism of skills training. In this limited setting, neoliberal ideology uses its causal powers to

focus adult education discourse upon economic necessities. It has also created a regime of moralization which conflates adult education with the capitalist's economic system. This was done by placing arguments in economy development discourses and then bringing in education to aid economic growth. This can be observed in Hayek's (1945) article *The Use of Knowledge in Society*, where he subtly does not speak of education rather, he looks at the economy and how education can be used to aid its construction. Within the regime of neoliberalism education becomes a mere economic accessory.

Education and knowledge, within the neoliberal framework, are resources. For Hayek (1945) the problem is, "how to secure the best use of resources known to any member of society" (p. 520). At this time, Hayek is starting to give rise to a theory of human resource management or human capital. The theory of human capital sees the value and worth of people measured by what they can contribute to the economy. This is done through the application of Boltanski and Chiapello's (2005) "regimes of justification" (p. 168). It is a regime of scientific and moral logic, often supplied by economists, applied to the economy.

Human Capital Theory.

The theory, or at least the notion of human capital has been around for a long time, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade is a shameful example. According to Kiker (1966), the emergence of human capital theory can be traced back to the work of seventeenth century economist William Petty. This was the period of Western European mercantilism, which Peet (2008) describes as a period when, "the state intervened vigorously in international relations leaving important economic forces such as trade to be guided solely by the vagaries of the market" (p. 147). For Petty, humans, who make up a state had an economic value that could be used to express the power and richness of the state. In this setting, human capital was no longer a value to the sovereign – whether it be King/Queen or God – but to the economic sovereign who controlled the body politic of a nation.

Knowledge as capital is a resource of the state: it becomes a statistic. In *State, Territory and Population* (2007), Michel Foucault provides an etymological definition of statistics, which fits in with Petty's work:

Statistics is knowledge of the state, of the forces and resources that characterize a state at a given moment. For example: knowledge of the population, the measure of its quantity, mortality, natality; reckoning of the different categories of individuals in a state and of their wealth; assessment of the potential wealth available to the state, mines and forests, etcetera; assessment of the wealth in circulation, of the balance of trade, and measure of the effects of taxes and duties, all this data, and more besides, now constitute the essential content of the sovereign's knowledge [these are the types of statistics Petty examined]. So, it is no longer the corpus of laws or skill in applying them when necessary, but a set of technical knowledges that describes the reality of the state itself. (p. 354)

The trouble with using Petty and Foucault in a neoliberal setting is that the definition of the state has been reconfigured through the processes of globalization. While nation states still exist, there emerged a level of governance above the state. As was the case in feudal Europe, higher powers regulate the global body politic. Thus, Wall Street and the Silicon Valley have replaced the Vatican; multinational corporations can influence how national government operate; think-tanks are used to guide national legislatures.

The development of modern notions of human capital can be connected to the Chicago School of Economics, as this account by Michael Peters (2002) outlines:

Gary Becker (1964), drawing on the work of his teachers at the University of Chicago — Theodore Schultz, Greg Lewis and George Stigler — began to theorise education as a form of human capital in the early 1960s. Both Becker and Machlup, along with

Milton Friedman, were members of the Mt. Pellerin Society established by Austrian economist Frederick von Hayek, who had taken up a chair at the University of Chicago in 1950 and exercised a strong influence over the development of contemporary forms of American neo-liberalism (p.92)

When the term emerged in the 1960s, proponents of human capital placed it in the Keynesian liberal ideal of creating communities and societies that would support individual freedom which in turn would be supportive and improve communities and society security.

This was also a period when the economy was embedded in social relations. Sensing that the term human capital might be misinterpreted, sounding like a form of slavery, Theodore Schultz (1961) suggested, “our values and beliefs inhibit us from looking upon human beings as capital goods, except in slavery, and this we abhor” (p. 2). Instead, it should be understood that, “by investing in themselves, people can enlarge the range of choice available to them” (p. 2). Schultz was hanging on to the humanist view that education could be used for the creation of a more civil and just society, but he is also taking the American neoliberal position by suggesting that people invest in themselves. Theodore Schultz was an economist who gained much of his notoriety at the University of Chicago School of Economics, winning the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1979. It was Schultz's conceptualization of human capital that would inform the position of adult education within influential transnational institutions such as the OECD.

Since the 1970s, international adult education discourse has been dominated by UNESCO and the OECD (the OECD acts to inform the World Bank and the IMF). During the 1960s and into the early 1970s UNESCO was the dominant voice and tended to present adult education in terms of community and society building. This can be witnessed in *Learning To Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow* (Faure et al., 1972), also known as the Faure Report after the reports principal author. It was this document which put forth the idea of a learning society: learning

embedded in social relations. During this period, the OECD had a lesser voice with its interest in adult education following along the Swedish model of recurrent education as can be seen in *Recurrent Education: A Strategy for Lifelong Learning* (Kallen & Bengtsson 1973). At this time Samoff and Carrol (2004) note, the World Bank began using human capital theory as a way of justifying education programs in third world countries.

In the 1960s, the justification for connecting education to human capital was that education would create opportunities for higher incomes which, in turn, would lead to a better life for individuals and society. Thus, even though notions of human capital development surreptitiously informed international institutions education discourses at the time, they were not promulgated strongly or directly. This was soon to change.

Fueling this change was the United States and Great Britain temporarily pulling its funding from UNESCO thus undermining its influence. While this was happening the IMF, the World Bank, and the OECD were being infiltrated by cadres of economists who were under the influence of neoliberal policies and strategies; the emergent norms that these economists developed reconfigured the structure of their respective organizations. Evidence for this reconfiguration can be found in the OECD (McCracken et al., 1977) report, *Towards Full Employment and Price Stability*, commonly referred to as the McCracken Report after the report's principal author. The OECD commissioned the report to help it develop better mechanism to deal with economic problems that had risen during the 1960s and early 1970s under the influence of Keynesian policy. Significantly, this reflects the OECD's increasing focus on economic issues. Keohane (1978) observed that the OECD, "appointed eight eminent economists, most of whom have held high governmental positions" (p. 108), to write the report. By having economist write the report, they create the norms for formulating adult education discourse.

As 1970s rolled into the 1980s, the OECD, the World Bank, and the IMF were integrating the neoliberal discourse into their language and their policies. The game that these three institutions began to play was to claim that education systems, supported by the Keynesian inspired welfare state, were the cause of the poor economic growth of the 1970s. An OECD report *Education in Modern Society* (Istance, 1985) highlights this claim:

One fact is that growth faltered with the recession of 1973, 1979 and the early 1980s, at the very time when, according to the theories, countries should have been reaping the economic benefits of rapid educational expansion. Though few contended that education alone guarantees growth, the confidence of earlier economic theories of education was undermined. (Istance, pp. 26-27)

By exposing, or at least suggesting that the welfare states' promulgation of education was ineffective, the OECD suggested new approaches, such as a greater focus on skill development, to guide the world out of poor economic times. Adult education moved from UNESCO's interpretation of adult education as a guide to developing a healthier society and positioned in the OECD's ideal of tying adult education to the creation of a society run by economic dictates.

By the 1990s the OECD became the dominant voice in the adult education discourse. The OECD helped shifted adult education to lifelong learning by dis-embedding it from social relations, altering the perception of adult education by stealthily linking it to human capital development. A close examination of two OECD documents, *Measuring What People Know* (Miller, 1996) and *Human Capital Investment: An International Comparison* (OECD, 1998), provides a picture of the OECD's use of human capital since that period. In these documents, the OECD positions lifelong learning as a contributor to human capital development. Education is framed by the OECD, as a tool for high-technology economies that rely on highly skilled workers, as well as for workers who need

upgrading, to stay “competitive.” Any pretext for education being beneficial for social improvement or the benefit of the individual is absent in these documents.

Glen Rikowski suggests that human capital is a product of our modern capitalist world and is best defined as, “humans as capital” (2000). The individual has become a cog in the capitalist wheel of economic betterment. Competition is prevalent at all levels, ranging from the local to the international. “Knowledge acquired for use in the workplace” (OECD, 1996, p. 82) is now the driver behind adult education discourse.

In *Human Capital Investment: An International Comparison* (1998), the OECD defines human capital as:

The quantity of human capital investment can most readily be measured through two resources devoted to learning: money and time.... The amount of money spent by participants in courses of study, serve as useful approximations of human capital formation. In practice, the concepts of time and money investments overlap, since forgone earnings can be an important element of the cost of learning that takes place beyond compulsory schooling. Both time and money expended are indirect measures of capital formation, since a dollar of spending or an hour of study produce highly variable types and quantities of human capital. (p. 35)

This quote illustrates how neoliberal economists have denuded notions of adult education of any sense of civic engagement and social justice; economists have reduced adult education to a cost/benefit analysis. This has become the neoliberal spirit of adult education, but it is not without its detractors. A strong voice in the response has been academia.

The Academic Response.

The spirit of neoliberalism was able to establish itself as a global ideological force in a relatively short time, from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s. By the 1990s it was a global

phenomenon. This sudden emergence of neoliberalism had an immediate impact upon adult education discourse and practice. According to Rubenson and Walker (2006), adult education emerged as “a central issue in national policies on education” (p. 173). For governments, which incorporated a neoliberal capitalist ideology that places the capitalist economy ahead of social needs, adult education discourses favored economic development.

The global reach of neoliberalism has altered the modern nation state, reverting it to a structure that is akin to feudal Europe where an external social structure (the Christian Church) provided guidance to internal affairs. In today’s globalized world, the external guidance for national adult education policy is provided by transnational organizations such as the European Union and the OECD – which also informs the World Trade Organization and the World Bank. These organizations have moved adult education practices and policies into the capitalist sphere, narrowly focusing adult education on human capital development. The spirit of adult education, in this milieu, is dedicated to the creation of the capitalist citizen or *homo economicus*. This narrow scope of adult education has prompted a backlash amongst many adult education academics who have emerged to challenge neoliberalism’s ideological dominance.

There is a tacit agreement amongst the academics that neoliberalism must be challenged. Due to the wide variety of interests and concerns of the academics, the challenge has taken many forms, ranging from the general to particular critiques. The challenge is also taken place at different levels, moving from the grass-root to the global level. Together, academics are working to develop an emergent dialectical discourse to challenge neoliberalism’s influence – one could argue dominance— in adult education discourse.

Some academics choose to challenge neoliberalism’s influence on adult education by investigating the transnational institutions that create and promulgate adult education discourses. In *The Political Economy of Adult Learning in Canada*, Rubenson and Walker (2006) analyse “the political

project of adult and lifelong learning as it is being fostered by intergovernmental bodies” (p. 173) and how it is activated in Canada. Through a comparison of the influence that prominent international organizations – OECD, EU, and UNESCO – have had on the various iterations or waves of modern adult education and lifelong learning, they conclude that the, “neoliberal tide that came to sweep the Western world ... issues such as equality, democratization, and civil society, which underpinned the first wave of lifelong learning, ceased to inform the educational discourse in the coming years” (p. 174). The first wave has ultimately been replaced by a third wave that is focused in skill development for the capitalist economic structure. The end result benefits the global economic elite. In their opinion, “Adult learning for all”, which is promoted by neoliberals, “does not seem to be the Canadian way” (p. 184).

Another challenge to transnational organizations was mounted by André Grace. In his book *Lifelong Learning as Critical Action*, Grace calls for lifelong learning to be critical of the neoliberal agenda of organizations, such as the OECD, “that emphasizes learning to advance local, national, and global economies” (Grace, 2013, p. 15). Instead of linking transnational organizations influence to national adult education discourses, Grace is more concerned with their impact on the marginalized in society. This is picked up in his book chapter *Lifelong Learning as Critical Action for Sexual and Gender Minorities as a Constituency of the Learner Fringe*. Here Grace (2016) advocates for the “learning fringe”, who “tend to matter little as learners in the neoliberal milieu and their concerns are largely ignored or treated peripherally in mainstream lifelong learning” (p.18). Grace is transcending multiple scales in his militant particularism as he applies a top-to-bottom approach in his challenge to neoliberalism.

In an article by Shauna Butterwick (2009), *Gender Equity and Social Reform*, her critique takes a grassroots approach by advocating for the “lone mothers” (p. 184) to be provided with better welfare support as they try to “transition from welfare ... into paid work” (p. 184). In respect to

neoliberalism, Butterwick contends, “The notion of a good society that would offer greater support in order to reduce poverty is greatly weakened by neoliberal policy that prefers market-based solutions to poverty” (p. 184). Interestingly, in her grass roots approach, Butterwick calls for changes to occur at a wide range of scales, “intervention within multiple policy jurisdictions such as welfare, food security, housing, health care, labour laws, and free trade agreements” (p. 197). Butterwick, complimenting and contrasting to Grace, provides a bottom-to-top analysis.

This grassroots approach is also reflected in Patricia Gouthro’s (2009) article *Neoliberalism, Lifelong Learning, and the Homeplace*. Here she uses critical feminist theory “to consider why the homeplace is rarely considered in lifelong learning discourses” (p. 157). The source of the problem, Gouthro’s work reveals, is the neoliberal stress on the importance of “(a) individualism, (b) competition, and (c) the influence of the marketplace in shaping learning contexts” (p. 158). Due to this, Gouthro contends that the homeplace, which “is a central site of living and learning” (p. 160), is seldom considered in the discourses of adult education.

Shifting the scale of critique is English and Mayo’s (2011) article, *Adult Education and the State*. In this article they center their challenge on neoliberalism’s influence on adult education by contending that, contrary to neoliberalism’s advocacy of the state being less intrusive in public affairs, the opposite is happening. The state is in fact becoming more involved in public affairs and has shifted the focus of adult education to the development of human resources for the marketplace, where neoliberals and capitalist benefit the most.

In his book *The Value of Nothing*, Raj Patel (2009) contends that the push back against neoliberalism and capitalism is to be found in small, regional social organizations and counter-movements dedicated to taking back the global commons. Part of the neoliberalism agenda has been the commodification of common resources such as land, water, and food. Patel reviews the development of counter-movements in organizations, such as la Via Campesina, which is “a

movement with over 150 million members in sixty-nine countries, all of them peasants, farmers, farmworkers, or landless people wanting to grow food” (p. 119). As part of their food sovereignty campaign, Patel (2009) notes, La Via Campesina ties this issue with basic human rights and social security. At a 2008 conference, La Via Campesina developed the slogan “Food sovereignty is about an end to all forms of violence to women” (Patel, 2009, p. 124).

Counter-movements and social organizations, such as La Via Campesina, characterize another facet of critique as they are regional norm groups that “occupy spaces” such as “streets, plazas, and squares” (Torres, 2011, p. 47). The Occupy Movement represented a social movement that used physical space, as well as, “a whole panoply of user-generated social media and social networking, including Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Tumblr, Livestream, and other platforms” (Gamson & Sifry, 2013, p. 159) to stage its militancy against capitalism. This indicates critique is occupying both physical and metaphysical spaces.

Within social movements, Torres (2011) contends:

Adult learning and education does not feel empowering for the social movements when it is treated simply for legitimization purposes of the capitalist state, rather than as a genuine approach to deal with intractable problems of poverty, illiteracy, second chance programmes for youth and adults, citizen education or apprenticeship programmes. (p. 52)

The space that Karen Barbour (2018) uses to contest neoliberalism is a dance studio. As she explains, “Framed within my critical feminist pedagogy, my intention is that discussions in the dance studio support students to develop a critical awareness so that they may offer conscious contributions to their communities to activate for positive social change” (p. 165). Referring to Harland et al. (2010) review of “New Zealand Education Act” (p. 166) Barbour, who is an academic, notes that, according to the Act, “academics are expected to act as ‘critic and conscience of society’” (p. 166)

Supporting Barbour's point that part of an academic's role is to be a critic and conscience of society is a research project by Fejes, Runesdottar, and Wärvik (2016). From their project they noted that, "that teachers emerge as the main source of resistance towards an institutional logic emerging in the wake of marketization, while principals and students to a large extent conform to the emerging institutional demands." (p. 1). Thus, this work supports this sampling of militant particularism of academics who are challenging neoliberalism's influence in adult education.

The ontological root of critical realism is exposed when academics level their critique at neoliberalism. Through their agency – often influenced by the social structure of universities and academe in general –, they have the potential to reconstruct, or, at least, change the social structures put in place by capitalism. The dynamic and complexity of the norm group or, in this case, norm constellation, is also exposed. Though they are a heterogeneous group, academics are united in their epistemic stance against neoliberal policy.

These academics represent a small sample of those who are engaging in a battle against the social force of neoliberalism. It is a force working to create an economic system in which individual citizens are fodder for continuous capitalist expansion. Using Cape Breton Island as an exemplar, the next chapter examines a society and individuals caught up in the wheels of capitalism. In this case, the society is capitalism and the citizens are reified as *homo economicus*.

Chapter Eleven

Neoliberalism's *Homo Economicus*: The Rationalization of Adult Education in the Spirit of Capitalism

Adult education, when embedded in neoliberalism's human capital theory, seeks to create citizens that are socially passionless and economically rational. Neoliberalism creates social relations that are analogous to feudal relations where each citizen's mortal body is controlled by an overarching power. Akin to the papacy, it is a power that lies above the nation and the state. Citizenship is not determined by an individual's relationship to their home community, instead, it is defined by their relationship to the capitalist economy.

When citizenship and adult education are placed together within a neoliberal sphere, the emergent 'social self' of Archer's (2000) theorization is epitomized by *homo economicus*. Although John Stuart Mill did not write about *homo economicus* in *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, originally published in 1844, characteristics of *homo economicus* can be discerned in his comments on political economy:

It is concerned with him [man] solely as a being who desires to possess wealth, and who is capable of judging of the comparative efficacy of means for obtaining that end. It predicts only such of the phenomena of the social state as take place in consequence of the pursuit of wealth. It makes entire abstraction of every other human passion or motive; except those which may be regarded as perpetually antagonizing principles to the desire of wealth, namely, aversion to labour, and desire of the present enjoyment of costly indulgences. These it takes, to a certain extent, into its calculations, because these do not merely like other desires, occasionally conflict with the pursuit of wealth, but accompany it always as a drag, or impediment, and are therefore inseparably mixed up in the consideration of it. (2011a, Essay V)

Homo economicus represents humans as economic capital – human capital – in a raw form. It is cold, detached and goes against the social ideals, often generated by adult educators, of building stronger community bonds. The spirit of neoliberalism is found in *Homo economicus*.

The spirit of neoliberalism and *homo economicus* exists within the complex social relations that creates society. Each day we traverse across the terrain of family relations to community relations to work relations and many others that make up our social lives. As we traverse this terrain, we must negotiate and make concessions between the social systems that make up our lives. To conceptualize and explain the concessions and negotiations that must be made to navigate the complexity of social relations, Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) have identified seven contemporary "logics of justification" (p. 23): the inspirational city, the domestic city, the reputational city, the civic city, the commercial city, and the industrial city, and most recently the projects-oriented or connectionists city. People can borrow or use any one to justify their actions, hence the term 'logics of justification'.

Of the seven cities or *cités*, the projects-oriented city most closely justifies the neoliberal ideal society. Chiapello and Fairclough (2002) provide this description:

In the Project-oriented *Cité* activity overcomes the oppositions between work and non-work, steady and casual, paid and unpaid, profit-sharing and volunteer work. Life is conceived as a series of projects, the more they differ from one another, the more valuable they are. What is relevant is to be always pursuing some sort of activity, never to be without a project, without ideas, to be always looking forward to, and preparing for, something along with other persons, who are brought together by the drive for activity. (p. 192)

While the *cité* was developed by Chiapello and Fairclough to explain the social relationships that the management class navigates, it also applies to the working class of the capitalist world. It is the working class, or blue-collar workers, who are often impacted by the changes to the spirit of

management. Also, impacted are families, communities and societies at large, as workers and managers exist in all these realms.

The *cité* acts as a point of reference to measure, evaluate, and justify socio/economic associations. According to Boltanski and Chiapello (2005), “the projective city serves at once to criticize ‘industrial’ or ‘civic’ arrangements that are deemed insufficiently flexible and to point out those features of the connexionists world that do not conform to the justice which this world claims as its own” (p. 522). In the ideal projects-oriented city, life becomes, in Marcusean terms, ‘one-dimensional’ (Marcuse, 2002). The workplace flows into the home and social relations become work connections, connections control society’s sense of being, and life lacks contradiction. Ideologies emerge which have people proudly proclaiming that they work 24/7 (Marx, who advocated for shorter workweeks and few work hours, would be rolling on his grave). People who do not take part in the projective cite are pushed to the margins.

Those who lack flexibly – skills and physical – are shunted aside and are either easily exploited by capitalism or left to fend for themselves. In this situation, those who are mobile can thrive. This is a mobility that exists at the intersection of different realms: the realm of geography as people move across the landscape, the realm of the workplace as workers move from position to position, and the realm of class as it activates class mobility.

An avenue to these forms of mobility is education. In the neoliberal milieu, capitalism calls for labourers to be willing to pick up some, if not all of the cost, for educating and re-educating themselves. Education becomes capital and those, who have what Andrew Sayer (2005) refers to as, “education capital” (p. 79), are in the best position to thrive. This relates to Rousseau’s acceptance of inequality as being natural, those with education capital hold an advantage over those who do not.

Sayer (2005) uncovers the inequity within education capital’s creation by linking it to cultural capital:

Educational capital is of particular importance, because the mechanisms governing access to it appear to be purely meritocratic and hence legitimate (at least where education is free), when in fact its acquisition is strongly facilitated by cultural capital. Indeed, as Bourdieu brilliantly demonstrated, educational institutions tend to function as mechanisms for helping those with plentiful cultural capital convert it into legitimate, indeed consecrated, form of educational capital, and for those lacking capital from doing so. (p. 79)

Education capital, cultural capital, human capital all flowing into one common catchment basin, capitalist economic growth.

The *cité* of neoliberalism helps justify the inequalities of the education capital. Eventually justificatory regimes become instantiated into everyday practice. Many adult educators have been caught up in it as they have become cogs in a process that churns out neoliberal-inspired human capital for the workplace. This is part of capitalism's drive for profit as it embeds educators into the capitalist system.

As part of capitalism's relentless drive for profit, business discourse is used to produce the norm for policy generating by organizations, such as the OECD. The new norms work to the advantage of business bottom line as they have reduced the investment cost in education for businesses. It is a reconfiguration of the body politic, where once businesses, guilds, or trades accepted responsibility for training workers, now it's the individual's or government's responsibility. Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) maintain that in modern capitalism, "the cost of maintaining and reproducing labour have thus been transferred largely to the private individuals and the public sector" (p. 251). This presents an interesting scenario; during the Keynesian period, government taxed businesses at a higher rate than during the neoliberal period. In effect, the higher taxes acted as a funnel for business to pay for education but with changes in taxation, the public is now picking up

the cost. There is also the cost driven by the commodification of knowledge from which capitalists also profit.

Inspired by double-entry book keeping, capitalism's necessity for profit activates a system of adult education that manufactures workers that are physically mobile, able to adapt to constantly unfolding change in the workplace, and who are also acquiescent. The irony is, capitalism gets them to pay for it as it has been effective at redirecting public funds to programs that are instrumental in nature and are uncritical of capitalism. In this scenario, funds are withdrawn from institutions and programs that do not contribute directly to the capitalist economy and are directed to those educational institutions that support the goals of capitalism. This, once again, is reified or personified by *homo economicus*.

Autonomous Reflexivity and *Homo Economicus*.

Ideologies, such as human capital, emerge, become mainstream, and citizens adapt. One way that they adapt is through their reflexive abilities. This can be explained through *homo economicus* and Archer's theorization of human reflexivity. Archer (2007) contends that we have four types of reflexivity:

- Communicative reflexives: Those whose internal conversations require completion and confirmation by others before resulting in courses of action.
- Autonomous reflexives: Those who sustained self-contained internal conversations, leading directly to action.
- Meta-reflexives: Those who are critically reflective about their own internal conversations and critical about effective action in society.
- Fractured reflexives: Those whose internal conversations intensify their distress and disorientation rather than leading to purposeful courses of action. (p. 93)

The socio/economic environment in which we live gives rise to a specific reflexivity that best suits the socio/economic milieu. Thus, communicative reflexivity, which emphasizes static social context and little social mobility, thrived during the feudal ages. Meta-reflexivity, which considers the social environment and is capable of change, is kept at bay by capitalists. It is autonomous reflexivity that best suits modern capitalist's goals as it will accept the status quo and not seek change. The only change they seek is through the pursuit of own social mobility. Autonomous reflexives can be reified as *homo economicus*, willing to have the economy embedded in themselves by becoming human capital and by treating others as human capital. Troublingly, this can be rationalized.

Archer contends that modernity wants to create the ultimate rational person. There is nothing wrong with being rational. Rationalism underpins the rise of liberalism and Modernity as it upholds the rigors of scientific inquiry. The problem created by *homo economicus* is the lack of critical thinking abilities: abilities that are necessary in building a more just and liberal society.

Neoliberalism, through *homo economicus*, has embedded the economy in the citizen. Rationality, in this case, becomes a rationality derived from capitalism calculus. The questions for *homo economicus* become: What is the bottom line? How can my personal social mobility be attained? What is it in for me economically? How do I change myself to be a greater participant in the capitalist regime?

One route for *homo economicus* to enter, to become a greater participant, in the processes and flows of capitalism is explained by Foucault (2008), "*Homo oeconomicus* is an entrepreneur, an entrepreneur of himself" (p. 226). Furthering this thought, Foucault contends, "being for himself his own capital, being for himself his own producer, being for himself the source of his earnings" (p. 226). In essence, citizens have to figure out a way to sell themselves to the capitalist system, to become human capital, which ties back to education. As Joel Spring's (1998) points out, "under human capital theory, education is a social investment that, in the most efficient manner, prepares

human resources (students) to contribute to economic growth” (p. 6). This is especially true in this period of neoliberalism which calls itself the knowledge economy.

Human capital in the form *homo economicus* is a creation of the capitalistic society. Though not real, *homo economicus* does provide a measuring tool to understand the attributes citizens need to live in a capitalist society. The biggest problem *homo economicus* presents to the development of society is their atomistic tendencies, which prevents them from being able lead social change (Archer, 2000). They are caught up in the norms produced for them, are capable of replicating those norms, but are incapable of producing norms which differ from the status quo.

So, while adult education is increasingly caught up in the creation of humans as capital, its history suggests that it is also capable of educating to challenge this problem. Where once liberal theorists sought a means to freedom in a feudal society, now the question is how freedom can be found in a capitalist society, which maintains relations that are akin to feudalism.

Adult Education and the Emergence of *Homo Economicus* in Cape Breton

Freedom for some, in a capitalist society, can be summed up by Eric Kieran’s (2007) observation that it is “a peculiar definition of freedom when the price of a job requires workers to leave home, heritage, culture, tradition, language, and the community of friends and family” (p. 309). This strikes at the heart of the dilemma that many citizens in Cape Breton, and indeed around the world face as they feel they must move –physically, socially, intellectually – to make themselves a marketable commodity (Brigham 2016, Fraser 2013). It has been a dilemma that has been part of the culture of Cape Breton since the arrival of the European colonizers. Adult education has played and continues to play a role in shaping citizens to contest or accept their position in the capitalist economic society.

Representative of the way in which adult education is implicated in the wheels of Cape Breton’s capitalist economy is the Nova Scotia Community College (NSCC), which has two

campuses on Cape Breton Island, one in Sydney and one in Port Hawkesbury. It would seem obvious that an education structure or institution such as the NSCC, which is administered by the provincial government, would be nested within the provincial Department of Education. This is not the case, it is nested within the Department of Labour and Advanced Education. This suggests that the focus of the NSCC system is on production for the labour force, a sentiment reflected their mission statement: “Building Nova Scotia's economy and quality of life through education and innovation” (Nova Scotia Community College, retrieved June 15, 2018.). As is the case with the term neoliberalism, the term capitalism lurks behind this mission statement as the ‘economy’ is capitalism, implicating education initiatives within the milieu of a capitalist economic structure.

On its own the Vision Statement for the NSCC strikes a positive tone, “Transforming Nova Scotia one learner at a time” (NSCC, retrieved June 15, 2018) but placed within the context of the above mission statement the question arises, transforming for what? To be a stronger contributor to the economy? This indicates that the college system is structured to producing employees for the Nova Scotia economy. Part of the problem is that many of these students find it necessary to move away to find employment. Thus, citizens and businesses of Nova Scotia have paid for some of the cost for the student’s education, but they do not reap the rewards of the investment. Therefore, NSCC is in a quandary, how does it justify its existence? It depends upon the provincial government for the majority of its funding. The body politic, in which is caught up, demands access to employment, yet the employment opportunities presented in the province are limited. Plus, the wages of many Cape Breton Island jobs are much lower than found in the mega projects, such as the Tar Sands of Alberta, which have been the traditional lure of Cape Bretoners.

Citizens are at the whim of, and are disciplined, by the capriciousness by a national, international, and transnational body politic of capitalism. The situation is summed up by “Teacher Darlene MacLellan [of Inverness]” who “said every classroom in the town's only school has students

with fathers working in Alberta. Last year, that included five of the 18 students in her class” (Davy, 2013).

Also vulnerable to the capriciousness of neoliberalism is Cape Breton University (CBU). Located in Sydney, it is the only university on Cape Breton Island. Rosanna Tamburri (2014) outlines how CBU, “Like several of its counterparts in Atlantic Canada” (para. 3) is having to contend with shrinking enrollment. Part of the problem is an all-too-familiar lament; “an outflow of local residents in search of better economic prospects” (Tamburri, 2014, para. 3).

Along with a decline in student enrollment (or because of it), CBU has had to make spending cuts. A 2018 article in the local paper, *The Cape Breton Post*, relates that, “interim CBU president Dale Keefe noted that as a result of the funding loss, CBU took steps including closing the Canada Games Centre, cancelling the varsity women’s volleyball program and eliminating about 75 positions” (King, 2018, para. 4). The 75 positions suggest that there may be another 75 people looking for work

According to the Nova Scotia Department of Finance’s, *Labour Trends Report* (March 2019), as of March 2019, the unemployment rate in Cape Breton was 16.7%. For comparison purposes, the national unemployment rate was 5.8%. For the NSCC and CBU, high rates of unemployment, provides the impetus to offer citizens education to get them into the workforce. This highlights the economic difficulty found in Cape Breton’s economy. Calling on Richard Peet’s (1991) characterization of Latin America’s position in the geography of the capitalist world, Cape Breton holds a unique geo-economic position. While it is part of Canada, a first world country, it is, at the same time, peripheral to the economic structure and business centers of Canada. This position of being in the first world provides protection, as it draws on the economic benefits accrued by Canada’s overall economic status. Being peripheral to Canada’s industrial heartland makes it susceptible to the whims of what David Harvey (2014) terms “uneven geographical development”

(p. 138). Changing demands of capitalism has often left Cape Breton vulnerable, struggling to maintain its' social form and cultural identity.

The Workforce of Cape Breton.

In some respects, Cape Breton Island, to use Harvey's (1996) terminology, has become "an industrial reserve army" (p. 416). Many men and women are trained in skills for which there is no local application, meaning they must move to away to take full advantage of those skills. Harvey contends that members of the 'industrial reserve army' who move away will receive less financial reward as capitalist can play into their desperation for work and offer lower wages. The dynamics at play within Canada are putting a twist on this as many workers are able to earn high wages when they go away to work.

Paradoxically, an emergent problem is the lack of workers in both seasonal and/or low paying jobs in Cape Breton. The Provincial government continues to scramble about looking to find people to fill gaps for vacant jobs. In July 2017, the government of Nova Scotia joined with the other Atlantic provinces and the Federal government in an initiative titled "Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program" (Nova Scotia Immigration, nd.). The goal is to attract immigrants to fill employment gaps.

Immigrant workers have a tradition of coming to Nova Scotia to fill in gaps in employment. One farm in Cape Breton, Eyking's farm, acknowledges on their website:

Starting in 2007, through the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, Eyking Farms began hiring Jamaican workers to help supplement their Cape Breton workforce.

Currently, there are 16 employees that come from Jamaica to work the fields in Millville. Although farm work is physically demanding, many of the Jamaican workers return year after year – and they've developed committed relationships – because Eyking Farms recognizes that their employees contribute a great deal to the success of

the family farm. In return, the farm provides its Jamaican workers with the opportunity to support their families back home. (Eyking Farms Our People, nd)

This movement of immigrant labourers from places such a Jamaica, was highlighted by Susan Brigham (2016), who interviewed five Jamaican women who work unauthorized in Canada. The workers on the Eyking's farm differ from Brigham's unauthorized migrant workers as they are authorized to work here and are thus awarded greater of legal protection, but all are caught up in the quandary of "absence from home" (p. 184). Although they can contribute to the economy of their communities through remittances, the communities lose valuable cultural capital.

Capitalism has been problematizing communities since at least the Industrial Revolution, when women, men, and children left rural communities to work and live in urban areas. In urban areas they had to figure out how to live, survive and create new communities. In rural areas, communities have had to figure out how to create new identities as they have had to supply the raw material –human and material – for the capitalist/urban growth. In the spirit of historical materialism, this process of having workers move has continued on in one form or another and communities have to continually re-identify themselves.

Modern capitalism or neoliberalism has put into place a body politic that has workers in Cape Breton at the beck and call of far-off work sites. Yet, jobs on the Island are unfilled despite higher than national unemployment rates. So, employers on Cape Breton look for and recruit marginalized workers from other countries, some are authorized, others may not be unauthorized. This is in keeping with Nancy Fraser's (2013) observation that "the social processes shaping their lives routinely overflow territorial borders" (p. 191) as capitalism has mushroomed to encompass the globe. The neoliberal body politic extends from the individual through the family to the local community and the larger international community and back down to the individuals, whose shared norms created the communities and the normalization of adherent theories and philosophies

Returning to Cape Breton, Jensen (2002) notes the desire of some workers is to get enough hours of employment to allow them collect unemployment insurance (UI) benefits. This reliance on UI (pogey in the Cape Breton vernacular) has been instrumental in creating a new spirit of capitalism in Cape Breton, as it has ensured the potential for a relatively stable standard of living.

Unemployment insurance has created an interesting economic dynamic as both business leaders and workers have come to rely on it to organize the material conditions of the island. The Federal Government, which administers the program, can change the rules governing its usage, thus using it as a means to both discipline and reward the work force and business. The reliance on unemployment insurance structures communities, influencing the flow of people as they either can move in and out of places seeking employment or remain in places with few long-term employment prospects.

Also, in the communities, is “the homeplace” which Gouthro (2009) notes “is usually absent from adult education discussions” (p. 160), which is ironic from the above noted history of adult education in Cape Breton where organizations such as Women’s Institutes were used to help in the homeplace. Neoliberalism attempts to limit adult education discourses to education for earning money (Gouthro 2009, Brigham 2016). Essentially, it creates a firewall between the homeplace and the workplace that is permeable in only one direction. The workplace can infiltrate the homeplace but not the other way around as the homeplace does not have economic value. Unless the homeplace can be commodified – for example, sending children to day cares which commodifies parenting and allows parents to enter the workplace – it has limited value to capitalism.

The capitalist system has created a public perception of adult education, exemplified by the body politic of Cape Breton, that focuses on jobs and money. Although the economy is embedded in the citizen, they are on the edge, in the literal sense, of the economy. Adult education becomes a tool for community building but for a capitalist inspired community.

During the period of industrialization – 1900-1940 – adult education emerged as a means for social movements to inform and influence citizens concerning their position on the changing social demographics of Cape Breton Island. Social theorists, Boltanski and Chiapello (2005), offer an interesting framework to distinguish the varied uses of adult education during the last decades of the 20th century. Up until the middle of the century, adult education was used as a platform for the fomentation of social critique; a critique that sought to uncover the oppressive relationship wrought by capitalism. During the final three decades of the century, however, the social critique of the early years was replaced by, what Chiapello and Boltanski identify as “artistic critique” (p. 37). Artistic critique, according to Boltanski and Chiapello, is bohemian in style and, rather than challenging the overall social oppressiveness of capitalism, seeks to expose limitations on individual freedom and creativity. Whereas the social critique of the early years highlighted pressing problems like poverty and oppression, the artistic critique of the last decades of the century focused on the many ways industrialism led to inauthentic and dehumanized forms of life, the empty life of consumer culture. The difficulty of this latter form of critique, however, is that capitalism, itself, is not seen as the root cause of social unease. Instead, with clever footwork, it was possible for neoliberalism to offer capitalism as the solution to and not the cause of contemporary problems. With neoliberalism on its side, contemporary capitalism has been able to absorb and use both artistic and social critique to the ultimate benefit the economic elite.

In pockets across Cape Breton Island, citizens have taken up the cause of employment mainly through small, local initiatives. The Island is populated by a number of community development organizations, whose goal is to keep their communities viable. One example is the community of Chéticamp, which has set up the Community Committee of Chéticamp – Le Moine (CCCL), in order to bring a level of sustainability to the community (Comité Communautaire de Chéticamp, nd). The same applies to Mabou and District Community Association, “whose main

purpose is to develop, direct and promote initiatives that foster growth and development in the community” (Mabou and District Community Development Association, nd). Associations and community groups, such as these are limited by lack of funding and scarce resources and thus are sell themselves to the entrepreneurial spirit of which *homo economicus* has domain over.

In his book, *The Death of Homo Economicus: Work, Debt and the Myth of Endless Accumulation*, Peter Fleming (2017) contends that the term *homo economicus* can no longer be applied to the ideals of capitalism. While his critique is strong, Cape Breton allows for the construction of neoliberal *homo economicus*, individuals who are empowered by the capitalist economy but who are also at the behest of the capitalist economy. In the modern capitalist milieu, neoliberal *homo economicus* is an everyday person trying their best to exist in modern society. They are inherently self-centered in the sense that they must learn to take care of themselves first. Yet, they are not cold, passionless people, as they have family, friends, and community that rely on their remittances from the capitalist economy to provide subsistence.

They may be a person who leaves their family for three weeks, to return for one week. The reason for not moving may be that the spouse is from Cape Breton and does not want to leave home and community as the sense of place. Unfortunately, the sense of community and place has been devalued by outside forces as the value is judged by how one can make a living in this place. Modern social media platforms have emerged as a method to keep them in contact with their family when they are missing. Gifts and vacations assuage the guilt of being absent for much of the year. They are, by definition no different than the ‘foreign worker’ who comes to Cape Breton to fill the gaps in employment in restaurants, in fish plants, on farms, and other workplaces. Thus, they all must inure themselves to the social and personal complications of coming and going away.

While believing that they are breaking the culture of dependency Cape Breton’s neoliberal *homo economicus*, those who choose to stay, are aware of the number of hours needed to work in order

to qualify for unemployment insurance benefits. They are at the whim of government programs: a government that like *homo economicus*, has had the economy embedded in it. In the world of finance there is term 'mobile capital' which denotes the ability to move money in order to accrue greater profits. The term can also be applied to *homo economicus* as they must be mobile to be caught up in the wheels of neoliberalism. Those who lack mobility are easily cast aside. Education is seen as a capital gain and a means to mobility.

Cape Breton's neoliberal *homo economicus* is a useful regional exemplar to highlight the spirit of adult education when found within the domain of the current neoliberal apparatus. Compared to the early iterations of capitalism on Cape Breton, the modern citizen has access to greater material wealth and socio/economic security (a security developed during the Keynesian era), yet they remain at the fickle impulses of capitalist development. A downturn in the international price of oil may reverberate in the Island's culture as men and women, who had been working in the Alberta oilsands project, come streaming back 'home' putting pressure on an already weakened social infrastructure. The unpredictability of tourism can see great financial windfalls for the Island economy with the opening of high-end golf courses, such as the ones in the town of Inverness, only to see the service industries struggle to attract staff as they cannot afford the competitive high wages that the citizens demand.

Where is the liberalism in Cape Breton's *homo economicus* or the global capitalist economy? Where is the sense of freedom that citizens and adult educators have worked for? Notice the term, sense of freedom, as freedom is an individualized expression as we free ourselves from one social condition only to be absorbed by another, as David Graeber (2001) contends, "Unless one wishes to live a solitary life freedom largely means the freedom to choose what sort of obligations one wishes to enter into, and with whom" (p. 221). In neoliberal times the role of liberal adult educators must

transcend the contentious arguments of individual freedom and to help citizens be aware of the shackles of the social conditions in which they live in.

Returning to Belle Cote

The Belle Cote Community Hall with its KIW sign is long gone. In its original iteration, KIW, as discussed in the opening, would be the person with knowledge capable of helping and educating community members. Knowledge, also known as a ‘good education’, was also used to help with surplus labour, as it could provide community members with the ability to move away and in the hope of making a good living. Community members that moved away, especially the first generation, were expected to share any money they made with family members.

As Belle Cote transitioned into the post WWII period, the social structure changed. The paved roads started to attract tourists – the world-famous Cabot Trail runs through Belle Cote. The advent of electricity, telephones, and televisions changed the local culture by exposing and connecting it to popular culture and global affairs. By the 1960s and 1970s, Knowledge is Wealth had shifted. More citizens had at least a high-school education, lessening the need for cooperative knowledge. For many, education was a method for social mobility and became conflated with the capitalist economy.

Modern Belle Cote still holds many of its older cultural characteristics. It remains a small community where everyone knows each other and where cooperation is needed for community growth and development. At the same time, it is also going through cultural change as the economic base has become tied to both regional and global impulses. Japan, once a mysterious place on the other side the world, now has the ability to set the prices of fish caught at the local wharf. However, Belle Cote’s citizens are still moving away to the seek employment (some who had left have returned to retire). Those who have remained constantly have to rebuild the social and cultural structures of a

community that is forever being transformed by the incongruous contextuality caused by global capitalism.

In an ironic neoliberal development, one of the local restaurants has been forced to hire staff from abroad through a government hiring program. These immigrant employees, like the citizens of Belle Cote who went to Ontario or Boston or Alberta for work, send remittances back to their families in far-off lands. Social media keeps them in touch with family and children. Communities all through Cape Breton Island, which have become a human capital resource pool for economic interests that lie outside the region, are also starting to tap in to human capital from abroad to fill in employment gaps of the local economy.

Does liberalism, unsullied by its more pernicious association with capitalism carried by neoliberalism, have anything to contribute to adult education in communities such as Belle Cote? I would argue that a careful mining of early liberal ideas that helped dismantle the old oppressions of feudal society, that reinforced the value of human beings as autonomous agents in their own right, that asserted the importance of ideals like human freedom, equality, solidarity, that struggled against domination and the various forms of violence it perpetrated, still has important things to offer adult education. The liberal belief in our human capacity to seek truth, to collaboratively learn better and more tolerant ways of living together, can and should be emphasized as the reason for adult education. As adult educators since the Enlightenment have realized, adult education is the way we can bring liberal values to light. In Belle Cote and beyond, adult educators should assert the value of liberalist sentiments and struggle to slow the neoliberalist juggernaut that currently hauls adult education in its wake.

Conclusion

Contribution and Potential Implications

This dissertation has provided an under-labouring for researchers in the field of adult education to develop a stronger understanding of neoliberalism and its effects on modern adult education discourse and practice. Central to its intent has been the contention that adult educators must resist conflating liberalism and neoliberalism. To deepen our knowledge of neoliberalism and its distinctiveness, this dissertation has removed the neo from neoliberalism to examine the meaning of liberalism. What emerges is a striking difference between liberalism and neoliberalism. Liberalism is a school of thought that uses rational argumentative techniques to allow people to search for enlightenment, freedom, and liberty. Neoliberalism, on the other hand, is an economic model that advocates for capitalist economic market policies that help to broaden capitalism at the expense of social enlightenment and personal freedom – although adherents of neoliberalism would claim that it does provide monetary freedom. Conflating the meaning of liberalism and neoliberalism undermines important, perhaps essential, contributions that liberalism has made to the historical development of adult education and undercuts potential contributions it can continue to make to its development.

Though neoliberalism may be portrayed as a revival of liberalism, it is not. This is a very important point with serious implications for how we understand adult education, its origins, its development and its future. Neoliberalism is a revival of capitalism. In order to make this claim, this dissertation has examined the roots of liberalism and compared them to the practice of neoliberalism to show that they have little in common. Drawing intellectual sustenance from ancient Greek philosophy, liberals believe that learning and knowledge is the key to individual enlightenment. On the other hand, neoliberals draw their intellectual sustenance from capitalist principles and contend that learning and knowledge should be implemented to benefit the capitalist

economy. A key contention of this dissertation is that it is imperative that adult educators keep this distinction clearly in mind when they contemplate the historical features of their field.

As has been argued above, despite fundamental philosophical differences, liberalism and capitalism have been closely connected since at least the onset of the British Industrial Revolution. We have seen how, as early as the mid-18th Century, liberal moral philosopher, Adam Smith, recognized that the capitalist method of organizing the economy held the possibility of creating a safer society while providing all citizens an opportunity for a better quality of life. Liberals have longed viewed capitalism as a social structure that could facilitate the liberal objective of providing citizens with the prospect for social mobility and intellectual enlightenment. Capitalists have long used liberalism as a moral justification for its continuous expansion. Despite these concordances, however, it must be understood that the historical connections between liberalism and capitalism are not inherent. Rather than being each other, historically, they have stood beside each other and reinforced each other. In complex ways, difficult to discern but important to understand, the history of adult education has been entwined with both liberalism and capitalism, and, as a consequence, reflects the complex convergences *and* divergences that made up their rocky relationship.

Modern adult education practice, as this dissertation has argued, emerged when industrial capitalism began to restructure social relations of Great Britain. The restructuring was harsh on citizens who had to contend with an unprecedented rate of change in social and economic relations. Adult education emerged as a product of capitalism's reorganization of social and work relations to help citizens adjust to changes in the workplace and adapt to urbanization.

It is important for contemporary adult education researchers to fully appreciate how, although liberal sentiments informed some of the earliest practices of modern adult education, that it was not until the mid-19th Century that liberalist ideas were intentionally incorporated into adult education discourse and practice. British universities – most notably Oxford and Cambridge – had

become secular institutions and began to draw on liberalism to inform their practices. At the same time, they were developing adult education extension departments to provide education for the rapidly expanding and consolidating working class.

By the turn of the 20th Century, industrial capitalism had become a global and imperialist economic force, restructuring societies across the global to meet its demands. Liberalism followed in capitalism's wake to create and (somewhat in support but oftentimes in blatant opposition) to promulgate social norms to help construct a safe and secure society despite the oppressive nature of capitalist social relations. As this dissertation has revealed, it was at this time that the powers and potentials of adult education were used by social organizations both to enhance capitalist relations but also to resist or assuage its worst consequences. Like many other countries, Canada was struggling to construct norms for citizenship as a diverse tide of immigrants flooded the entire country.

To provide a better basis for understanding the origins and development of adult education, this dissertation has described how, between the two world wars of the 20th Century, rising tides of nationalism and populism pushed both liberal and capitalist discourses to the side. This proved to be a pivotal period in the relationship between liberals and capitalists as liberals had to step back and reconsider the best way for society to develop. It became clear to leading liberals, such as Keynes and Hayek, that a re-envisioned model of capitalism was the best means both to reconstruct societies decimated by war and to avoid future wars. For capitalists, forms of adult education that emerged in the aftermath of WWII accorded with their more conciliatory stance as they attempted to address the material and political demands of the working class. For liberals, adult education was increasingly seen as a way to build a more inclusive society. Adult education accorded with the liberal view that positive social development could be achieved by bringing people into a common arena and allowing each person to contribute to building a more secure and safe society.

Once the threat from communism began to abate in the 1970s and 1980s, capitalists dropped their conciliatory tone and began to attack the rights and freedoms previously enjoyed by the working classes. This shift was and remains important and contemporary adult education researchers need to remain clear about how pivotal this new attitude was in underwriting the emergence and consolidation of neoliberalism. Buttressed by neoliberalism (and unfettered by the previous sentiments of liberalism), capitalists were armed with an ideological basis for organizing greater shares of the global economy, moving capitalism into places and spaces that had previously been unexploited. Neoliberalism helped neutralize opposition and capitalism was able to cloak its destructive imperatives in the soft wool of liberal ideals.

Sharing characteristics of the Roman Catholic Church during the period of Western European feudalism, modern capitalism has taken on the features of an empire. The power and influence of neoliberalism exist above the level of the nation state or economic blocs. Capitalists, armed with the ideology of neoliberalism, have been able to discipline and coerce economic structures around the globe through a set of profit-making policies and procedures. The policies and procedures that neoliberalist capitalism has instituted for adult education have moved beyond a means to create greater profits for capitalism. Neoliberalism has made adult education a marketable commodity.

A critical discourse analysis of key liberal and neoliberal theorists and philosophers conducted in the above chapters provides insights into capitalism's current use of adult education. Emotionless, calculating, and self-serving, *homo economicus*, the neoliberal conception of the learning individual, acts as the ideal disciple of neoliberalism. All education initiatives are focused on building the "economic" capacities of the individual to support the capitalist economy. Education programs critical of capitalism or unable to generate profit for it, remain unfunded and/or are shunted to the

margins. In modern universities, who are experiencing cutbacks to government funding, capitalism is moving in to fill the void that liberalism once filled in Britain during the 19th Century.

By highlighting the many ways liberalism has evolved and transformed over the centuries, this dissertation has provided a basis for understanding more sharply how liberalism has shaped adult education over time and space. In particular, this dissertation has argued that the transformation of liberalism from its classical form focused largely on the moral topography of individual rights and freedoms to its neoliberal form focused, much more disturbingly, on abject support for capitalist development has, in the wake of this transformation, deeply (and negatively) impacted the purpose and value of the field of adult education.

By pulling back the veil on neoliberalism and exposing it as blatant ideological justification for capitalism, this dissertation has provided adult educators and researchers, critical of neoliberalism, with a more nuanced account of the relationship between liberalism and capitalism. Being critical does not simply mean the condemnation of an idea or a way of being. Instead, it is the pursuit of developing deeper levels of meaning and of understanding and of seeking out what can and cannot contribute for society building. Interestingly, and perhaps most difficult to ponder, is the ways capitalism itself, perhaps tempered by a good dose of liberalism (this was the view of early liberals) might, if constrained and controlled by robust social norms, actually have a role in building a sustainable, just, safe, inclusive, and humanitarian world. Thus, adult educators and researchers critical of neoliberalism, must be careful to not reject capitalism out of hand. Instead, measured, critical consideration of the ways current forms of capitalism have been, themselves bolstered and distorted by neoliberalism, is in order.

Liberal philosophers, Adam Smith, Ludwig von Mises, John Keynes, and Friedrich Hayek, all argued that the relations made possible by capitalism's organization of social relations could create conditions for a safe and secure society in which individuals could find a measure of freedom

and liberty. These liberals argued that capitalism's material organization could provide an effective buttress against the emergence of protectionism, authoritarianism, and the oppression of minorities through populist movements. Presently, it is these very sentiments are at the root of fractious relations between nations and within nations.

So, where does this leave us? Armed with a deepened understanding of the complex relationships between liberalism, capitalism, neoliberalism and adult education, what course might contemporary adult educators steer?

For one thing, adult educators can increase the extent that they take a measured view of the historical forces that have shaped the contours of their field, to resist the temptation simply to bundle up varied theoretical and philosophical traditions like liberalism and neoliberalism and to dismiss them (or, perhaps even more dangerously, just embrace them) without carefully teasing out the richness and complexity of their formulations. Hopefully, with some of the under-labouring already completed by works like this dissertation, current and future generations of adult educators can achieve a better, more-workable, and less reactionary view of the complex thoughts and processes that have formed their discipline. Instead of simply rejecting the theoretical discourses of liberalism, adult educators can continue to mine them for their insights and guidance.

As has been seen throughout this dissertation, social norms are never the product of individual human agents. Instead, norms are the products of discourses that flow in and through communities of practice. The communities of practice of adult education are both conditioned by the discourses and influenced by the norms they have inherited (or imbibed) from past historical actions, but they are not determined by these discourses. The discourses of neoliberalism have created a powerful normative framework in which adult education now finds itself. As this dissertation has shown, however, as pervasive and as powerful as neoliberalist adult education is, it is NOT determinative. Even at its heart, neoliberalism is fraught with the values developed and

promulgated by theorists like Locke, Rousseau and Wollstonecraft. Adult educators looking for ways to escape the totalizing grip of neoliberalism have a rich resource of ideas right at hand in the longstanding traditions of liberalism. As they seek guidance and sustenance to develop ideas and actions to oppose capitalism's most destructive effects, the rich heritage of liberalism stands ready to support them.

Ontological perspectives like critical realism and methodological approaches like Critical Discourse Analysis are particularly serviceable for adult educators looking to deepen insight and understanding of the relationships between social agency and social structure that make up their working environment. Approaching our social reality as emergent and unfolding, understanding the roles of communities of practice in norm formation (including the norms of truth and rightness), and providing a basis for critically analysing the unfolding and dialectically meandering flows of discourse provides an excellent basis for continuing to make headway in understanding the powers and potentials of the theories and practices of adult education.

Hopefully, the preceding pages provides a productive and provocative starting point for developing a more elaborate understanding of the liberal contributions to the history of adult education.

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