Globalisation and the Impact of Social Change and Economic Transformation in Lifelong Learning in Russia

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Abstract

The chapter examines globalisation, transformational social and economic changes in Russia and their implications for credentialism, learning and skills training. Some segments of the Russian economy have recognized how knowledge innovation creates wealth. The chapter demonstrates that learning and development are influenced by past and current conditions as well as the potential for future economic development. The chapter shows the extent to which continuous learning is encouraged and supported in the Russian economy. This chapter evaluates the impact of globalisation, social change and economic transformation on adult education and lifelong learning in the Russian Federation. It begins with a brief economic and historical background to lifelong learning and adult education in terms of its significance as a feature of the Russian cultural heritage. An analysis of Ministerial education policy and curriculum changes reveals that these policies reflect neo-liberal and neo-conservative paradigms in the Russian economy and education between 1992 and 2008.

Key words: adult education, credentialism, globalisation, lifelong learning, Russia, social change

Policy Issues in Adult Education and Lifelong Learning in Russia

The impact of globalisation and economic reforms on adult education in Russia

The inherited system of vocational education and training (VET) and adult education from the former Soviet Union in January 1992 was closely aligned with the needs of Soviet economy (Zajda, 2008a). As such, there was a vast network of extensive enterprise-based VET. By comparison, the World Bank’s socio-economic goals in promoting lifelong learning is to educate and train adults for human resource development, so that they become ‘productive members of the existing and potential workforce’ (Rivera, 2009, p. 290). Similarly, European Union’s policy statements on lifelong learning always stressed employability (Jarvis, 2009, p. 272). During the 1990’s, as a result of globalisation, decentralisation and privatisation in the economy, enterprise-based training ‘dropped sharply’ (Dar and Gill, 1999, see also Zajda, 2008). Furthermore, between 1990 and 1996, the size of the work force declined by 20%, from 90 million to 72 million. Some 6 million were unemployed in 1996 (Dar and Gill, 1999). Russia’s renewed emphasis on human capital and re-skilling, to some degree, global and local economic transformation, or what Roberson (1995), called, when referring to global economy ‘glocalisation’, a term aptly suited to the emerging entrepreneurial Russian economy and new employment opportunities after 1991.

Forces of globalisation and privatisation affected the extent and the nature of enterprise-based training. It was reformed to meet the emerging needs of the new entrepreneurial economy. In some ways, the reforms, associated with the transformation of Soviet-type VET sector and adult education was prompted by external pressures, especially the World Bank, with its numerous policy reports on globalisation, human capital and lifelong learning. The World Bank’s policy report Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy: Challenges for Developing Countries (2003) particularly focused on the roles of lifelong learning, citizenship education, problem-solving pedagogy, and poverty reduction. According to Rivera (2009), the report concluded that countries
needed to create ‘high-performance, lifelong learning systems’ (World Bank, 2003). If, in the Russian Federation during the early 1990s, the system tended to focus on pre-employment VET far too early, during the middle secondary school, now vocational training started in senior secondary schools. It was now more focused on job training and responded to skill shortages. School-based vocational education and training in 1995 included some 7,000 institutions, with 3.7 million students. Enterprise-based training was responsible for re-training and re-skilling of some 1.8 million workers and training another 1.3 million for new professions. Re-training for the unemployed workers and young adults is mainly provided by the Federal Employment Service (FES). In 1995 some 460,000 individuals were retrained through these programs. The completion rate was 90% and some 60% of trainees found work after their training (Dar and Gill, 1999).

The role of vocational education and training became more explicit during the 1990s, when adult education was seen as preparation for emerging jobs in the newly restructured economy. As jobs became scarce during economic downturn, due to social and economic transformations in the Russian Federation between 1991-1996, unemployed young adults were increasingly interested in continuing their vocational education and training in evening schools. According to Vershinin (2008), evening schools and adult education centres played a significant social and vocational role during the transitional stage of the economy (Veshnin, 2008, p. 62).

**Lifelong Learning Policy Imperatives from the West**

The policies of UNESCO, the OECD and the Council of Europe on the philosophy and goals of adult education are particularly relevant to the reform of lifelong learning and adult education in Russia between 1992 and 2008. The concept of lifelong education was first promoted by UNESCO in *Learning to Be: the World of Education Today and Tomorrow* (Faure 1972). This report became the leading policy document in the area, and spelled out for the first time a coherent philosophy of lifelong learning. It adopted an idealistic view of human nature and the power of education to change society, arguing that lifelong learning, if properly organised, is capable of making every citizen participate fully in this scientific humanism and of enabling individuals to play a creative role in the forthcoming technological revolution (Kallen 1979: 52). McIntosh (2005) argues that UNESCO promoted a philosophy of lifelong learning that focused on vocational training as a means to wellbeing, happiness and social justice:

> The seminal Faure Report, issued under UNESCO auspices in 1972, saw education not only as a means of promoting vocational competence and economic progress but as a way of expanding individual freedom and enabling people to live fulfilled lives in a variety of roles (Faure). Building on Faure, the Delors Report of 1996 enumerated “four pillars” of education — learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be (Delors) — to which the UNESCO Institute for Education has added a fifth: learning to change (UIE, 2003).

The World Bank, in its numerous policies stressed the nexus between lifelong learning, globalisation and market-oriented economy. The ideal of lifelong learning is, according to Rivera (2009), to promote a “change in the attitude of individuals and groups away from education for ‘grades and certificates’ toward a proactive learning approach to solving problems”. Furthermore, lifelong learning ‘relates as strongly to citizenship education as to utilitarian education geared to market-oriented, market-driven development’ (World Bank, 2003, p. 109).

Adult education policy makers in the Russian Federation, like their colleagues in Western Europe, increasingly focus on the learner as the key player in an ongoing, lifelong learning process. Of the three principles of *éducation permanente* formulated by the Council of Europe and adopted in 1971 – participation, equalisation and globalisation – the first two principles appear to be guiding the teaching/learning process in the new adult education centres in Russia as a pre-condition for active citizenship education in a democratic society (see also Jarvis, 2009, pp. 275-278). As with the OECD “Study on Sustainable Flexibility” (OECD 1997), the focus in Russian adult education
vocational programmes is, as before, on the need to train multi-skilled, adaptable and problem-solving workers.


Preston’s (1999, p. 562) metaphor of the Janus face of lifelong learning, both for the goals of personal fulfilment, social well-being and democracy, as well as for the needs of the economy, is also relevant to Russia. Her suggestion that different levels of interest are represented below the surface of the rhetoric of lifelong learning applies to Russia’s attempts between 1992-2008 to provide courses for economically dislocated unemployed adults, school dropouts and other members of the marginal and excluded underclass.

Like many countries in the West, Russia, being influenced by recent policies of UNESCO, the World Bank, the OECD and the European Commission, is responding to the different versions of lifelong learning (see UNESCO, 1997; UNESCO, 2005; World Bank, 2003; OECD, 2004; OECD, 2005; European Commission, 2006). This is illustrated by a variety of adult education articles published in *Otkrytaia Shkola* (*The Open School*) since 1995. The journal, which was first published in 1958, was known as *Vecheurniaia Sredniaia Shkola* (*The Evening Secondary School*) and re-named *Otkrytaia Shkola* in 1995. It is the official journal of the Ministry of General and Professional Education of the Russian Federation, focusing on current issues in adult education.

Between 1993 and 2009, some of the issues discussed frequently included compensatory education, education for work, social rehabilitation (officially mentioned in *Tipovoe polozhenie o tsentre onrazovaniia* – Document defining the education centre, 1993), and values and moral education (Leonteva, 1998: 6; Gubarevich and Melikhova, 2000: 19; Kadol, 2000: 26; Mezhuev, 2000: 25; Leonteva, 2000: 3). In addition to the job-related and economic policy-dependent imperatives, Russian adult educators in developing their own hybrid of lifelong learning discourse increasingly focus on the individual, democratic, and adaptive dimensions (Slovesnova, 2000: 6).

More recently, some adult education centres were restructured, due to a new financing formula based on enrolments. As a result, they became smaller ‘educational and consultation centres’ (*Otkrytaia Shkola*, 2008, p. 3), offering VET and general secondary education for school drop-outs and young adults in need of re-skilling or skill training.

**Adult Education and Lifelong Learning in Russia**

A Brief Overview of Economic Factors Affecting Adult Education

Russia occupies a land area of 17.1 million square kilometres, making it the country with the largest area in the world. The Russian Federation consists of 89 ‘subjects’, i.e. 21 republics, 52 regions (*oblast*), 10 autonomous districts (*okrugs*), and six territories (*krai*). The republics are the ‘homelands’ of non-Russian minorities. Russia’s population was estimated at 146.2 million in 1999 (a decline of five million since 1992), including 38 million pensioners. It was anticipated that Russia’s population would decline by another 10 million by 2005. In 1999 there were 78 million wage earners and the per capita GNP was US$2,250, placing Russia in the 99th socio-economic position in the world (World Bank 2001: 16). Unemployment had risen to almost 14 percent by July 1995. Poverty has also risen dramatically, with the World Bank estimating that it affected 31 percent of the population in 1999 (World Bank 1999: 67).

The History of Russian Adult Education

In 1990, the year before the collapse of the USSR, education and training in the Soviet Union was a massive exercise involving over 100 million people. The training system outside the government education sector involved some 43.5 million workers and professionals engaged in re-training or upgrading their qualifications and skills (Zajda, 2008a).
Following the break-up of the USSR in December 1991 the entire Soviet education system had to be restructured (Zajda, 1992). Between 1992 and 1996 the Ministry of Education issued significant education policy documents defining the structure and content of education in post-Soviet Russia. In 1993 temporary school curricula and programs were adopted, followed by legislation dealing with attestation and accreditation (1996), the revised law on education (1996), changes to attestation in PTUs (providing an equivalence between high school and vocational school diplomas), vocational education and training, and defining academic standards at all levels of education.

**Adult Education in Russia after 1991**

*The Concept of Lifelong Learning in Russia: Current Vocational Issues*

The term ‘lifelong learning’ has a dual meaning in the Russian context. Sometimes it refers to learning which is valid for the entire life-span and emphasises the general competencies and basic skills necessary for the whole of life. The other meaning, closer to the Western sense of the term, implies continued learning taken throughout the course of one’s life to ensure appropriate upgrading of vocational skills, and includes re-training and acquiring additional qualifications. Thus, the two views of lifelong learning in Russia, which correspond to those in the West, are the one using the ‘topping up’ metaphor (preparation for work by means of basic schooling plus vocational training – according to the needs of the workplace), and the ‘maximalist view’, where lifelong learning is defined as the identification of education with the whole of life.

During the 1950s adult education had a very concrete meaning, referring to evening schools (*vechernye shkoly*) and correspondence schools (*zaocnhye shkoly*). The term became more obscure with the emergence of the concept of continuing education (*niepreryvnoe obrazovanie*) in the 1960s and 1970s. In this period adult education included offerings by many organisations, both voluntary (including the People’s Universities and the *Znanie* Society) and government institutions. In the 1990s the newly restructured adult education centres offered courses for a heterogeneous audience, which now included young adults, adolescents, unemployed, migrants, ex-convicts, adults with special needs, and pensioners.

Lifelong learning and adult education in Russia after 1991 can be classified in six main categories, namely general education; vocational training; in-service education and training; industry-related education and training; community-based education and training; and self-education. In the 1990s it had to concentrate on the following urgent tasks:

- continuing vocational training (solving problems of unemployment and providing the necessary re-training programmes);
- providing compensatory education (compensating for the inequality in access to secondary education);
- providing social rehabilitation for individuals out of work and adolescents who had left school; and
- providing a civil society model, which promotes socio-economic transition, and democratisation.

Comparing Russia and other nations with reference to lifelong learning provisions, the following observations can be made:

1. In Russia, as elsewhere, lifelong learning is defined in the broader terms than before. Like other nations, Russia has adopted the ‘cradle to grave’ metaphor. As in Japan and Scandinavia, the broader view of lifelong learning is promoted in Russia.

2. As in other countries, Russian adult educators now recognise the importance of both economic and social imperatives, as well as the significance of citizenship education (see Korneva, Usova and Raspoutine, 2004, p. 25). Japan differs by stressing spiritual development and a better enjoyment of life. Australia and Canada, like Russia, continue to
emphasise job-related vocational training – for improving employability and competitiveness. All three recognise the importance of learning to citizenship and personal development.

3. Russia shares with other countries a diversity of learning options, including easier credit transfer, decentralisation of the adult education sector, and partnerships with the industry, private business and local community. Similar trends are taking place in Korea, where there is an emphasis on ‘access’ and credit transfers that open up study to individuals at times and places that meet their needs (Hasan, 2001: 386).

4. With its recent emphasis on compensatory learning, and social rehabilitation in adult education centres, Russia, like some other nations, is creating a new ‘culture’ of learning, where an ethic of learning is supportive of learning in all its forms. This is also found, for instance, in the Netherlands, where the goal is similarly to prevent educational disadvantage though compensatory education programmes, and ensure that individuals are not marginalised by dropping out of the labour market.

Today Russian lifelong learning and adult education is a complex and diverse network of multi-layered institutions, enabling citizens to take responsibility for bringing about improvement in their own lives. It includes vocational education, liberal arts adult education, extramural departments, and professional, industrial and commercial in-service programs. It historically combined the government education sector – with various institutions offering evening classes or external programmes and the public sector – with its own and even more diverse network of education and training for specific purposes.

In 1999, 487,400 students (an increase of 6.3 percent from 1998) attended 17,100 evening schools and 3,100 UKPs (uchebno-konsultatsionnye punkty) or “education consulting centres”, a new generic name for centres of lifelong learning and adult education in Russia (Uchitelkaia Gazeta No.2, 12 January, 2000: 8). The most popular form of lifelong learning is in-school education, as in Poland and Hungary. Paralleling the school system, its certificates are the same as those awarded by regular schools. In-school education and training take place in education centres (tsentr brazovaniia) and the increasingly popular education consulting centres (UKPs). According to Tamara Ivanova, a specialist in adult education in the Ministry of Education, these new centres provide a more flexible and need-based education and vocational training for young adults who have completed basic schooling, for school dropouts, and for individuals who are either employed, or unemployed (Uchitelkaia Gazeta, 18 January, 2000: 8).

New Policy Documents on Adult Education
The revised 1996 Ministerial policy document (first issued in November 1994) Tipovoe polozhenie o vechernom (smennom) obshcheobrazovatelnom uchrezhdeii (Policy document on the evening general education institution) reaffirmed the government’s commitment to provide citizens with basic and complete secondary schooling. In Section 2 (defining the structure), clause 8 meant that it was now possible for evening schools to find partners (enterprises, businesses, or civic groups) or to be established by community groups, societies and industrial complexes wishing offer quality education and training. Working adults were to qualify for a shorter working week on full pay. The classroom structure (Article 5) re-affirmed multi-age groupings of students, including youth and adult learners (Vecherniaia Sredniaia Shkola, 5: 8).

Section 3 defined the structure, the content and the length of the academic year. The evening schools offered two programs covering basic education (a five-year course of incomplete secondary schooling from grades 5-9) and complete secondary education (grades 9-11). The curriculum content was to be defined by the students’ needs (clause 16). The institution or the executive body of the local education authority determined the languages of instruction. All accredited institutions, however, had to offer instruction in the Russian language, the state language of the Russian Federation (clause 17).
One of the most significant developments at the policy level, was the publication of the “Draft on Education Centres” in 1993, which laid down the principles for establishing new education centres designed to meet the needs of school dropouts, school-leavers and adults. L. Lesokhina, coordinator of the Russian Academy of Education’s Adult Education Research Centre of the Institute of Adult Education, writes that the document provides the necessary legitimacy and unity of purpose for a vast network of other adult education centres. These include TSOMs (Youth Education Centres), TSOVs (Adult Education Centres), TSONs (Community Education Centres), and TSNOs (Continuing Education Centres). The newly defined education centres provided a more unified and common structure in adult education.

Such centres would have been very valuable had they been available in 1991, the year of re-structuring. Unlike the old-type vecherka (a colloquial and somewhat disparaging term for evening-school) which was not held in high popular regard, the new education centres had acquired a more desirable social status and, more importantly, they were locally funded and managed. The 1995 change of name of the Ministry of Education journal, Vecherniaia Sredniaia Shkola (Evening Secondary School) to Otkrytaia Shkola (Open School) reflected this official reorientation.

Adult Education Curriculum
The revised 1998 Adult Education Curriculum was approved by the Ministry of Education during 1998-1999. The curriculum, as in the 1993 version, consisted of core subjects (variantnaia chast) and electives (variantnaia chast). The core subjects enabled the schools to preserve a “singular educational space” or set of standards in the Russian Federation. The electives were designed to reflect national and local cultures, as well as local geography and history (see Table 1). They also made it possible for schools to reflect the needs of their students, in accordance to their interests and abilities (Otkrytaia Shkola, 2000, 4: 16-17).

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<th>Areas</th>
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<td>Philology</td>
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<td>Sciences</td>
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In addition to covering the programme in nine school subjects, individuals undergoing professional training were required to spend up to seven hours each week studying their chosen profession. Vocational training may commence as early as Grade 5, although the normal career path for vocational training is in Grades 10-12. Adult education centres were among the first institutions to respond to Russia’s transition to the market economy by offering a variety of now much-in-demand occupations – in the banking, hospitality and service sectors.

The four-year experience of working within the framework of the Basic Curriculum had demonstrated that there were some negative tendencies. Regional components of the curriculum evolved into a series of fragmented one-hour subjects, which were too diverse and superficial, and lacked academic rigour. Electives offered by the schools were either too specialised or were fashion-oriented. Students were overloaded with academic work, and yet insufficient time was allocated to the study of Russian language in the primary school, mathematics in the basic school, and science and humanities in the last two years of secondary schooling.
New Initiatives in Adult Education in Russia

The Compensatory Aspect of Adult Education

Two major changes have been evident in Russia’s adult education. They have been the growing numbers of educationally disadvantaged youth, and the growing extent of unemployment. As a result of these factors, adults now constitute about one-third, and 15 to 18-year-olds almost two-thirds, of the enrolments in evening schools.

Referring to the April 2000 additions to “The Federal Program of Developments in Education during the 2000-2005 period”, Leonteeva (2000, 5: 3), head of the Department of General Secondary and Professional Education and also a cabinet member, stressed the need to “reverse the on-going crisis” in the education system and to take the necessary steps to “normalize” the teaching and learning process. She also emphasized the social and compensatory aspect of adult education centres, arguing (p.3) that “the evening general school fulfills a major role in providing security (sotsialnaia zashchita), adaptation and rehabilitation of adolescents and youth”. Other new initiatives in adult education included the variety and flexibility of educational programs. Leonteeva (2000: 4) rated this as the most “significant” achievement of the new adult education centres:

The diversity and the complexity of the student body in the evening schools necessitates a differential approach…. Schools are already offering the following forms of learning – day-time and evening classes, distance education, four-semester year …. Special needs classes have been created.

The educational policy documents brought out between 1993 and 1998 emphasised the vocationalisation of education. The deficit model of the unschooled, or partly educated adult and adolescent, is particularly relevant to Russia and has been addressed by adult education centres. These centres now provide initial training, retraining and continuing education for a very diverse body of students, ranging from 12-year old school dropouts to adults. Major types of curricula and training programmes include: a) compensatory education; b) accelerated learning programmes; c) initial vocational training, and d) short-term intensive re-training in new skills.

Learners learn at their own pace (e.g. by means of contract learning and individualised instruction programmes), and accumulate formal qualifications ranging from basic knowledge and skills to requirements needed to access to further and higher education. Assessment is now both criterion-referenced (defining skills) and norm-referenced (defining standards), and includes a range of subjects which are academic, vocational and life-centred, and designed to take into account the individual’s personal development as well as learning outcomes.

According to Galina Koroliova (2000), principal of Moscow’s No. 18 Evening School, the “vecherka, is capable of becoming a genuine centre of all-round education, helping young people to achieve their goals” (Uchitelskaia Gazeta 10, 14 March, 2000: 9). In her centre, the ages of learners range from 12 to over 40. Students completing basic school (Grades 5-9) attend daytime classes. Those needing to complete secondary school certificate courses attend the evening classes three times a week. Seminars and group activities are held on Saturdays. This centre is so attractive to employed and unemployed adults that it had six classes of Grades 9-11, with some 150 students.

The deficit model of the unschooled and untrained adult has also been applied in Karelia, where once silenced and marginalised peoples, especially in the rural areas, have been able to play a powerful role in social and economic development. Aleksei Andeiko (2000:9) established a successful experimental rural centre of adult education offering services, which ranged from secondary schooling to education for life and leisure. He writes that “without adult education it is impossible to get the village on its feet”, or to make it economically viable. His adult education centre, operating in the local village, provides a differentiated education and training, including preparation for further education, computer literacy, farm management, music, technology, and a range of counselling and educational services. The number of adult education centres in the region
grew from five in 1996 to eight in 1999, serving some 450 adult learners (Uchitelskaia Gazeta, 14 March, 2000: 9).

**Adult Education as Social and Pedagogical Rehabilitation**

In addition to compensatory education, adult education centres in Russia increasingly performed psychological and pedagogical rehabilitation among the new underclass – adolescents and young adults with little prospect of finding jobs or places in society. One of the emerging trends in adult education and lifelong learning during the 1990s and after 2000 was social and economic rehabilitation of young adults, designed to change once unemployable and unskilled youth to skilled and employable workers (Prutovykh, 2004, p. 24). Young adults in need of social rehabilitation tend to come from difficult or broken families, in the atmosphere of alcoholism, substance abuse and physical abuse (see also Ovchinnikov, 2008, p. 31).

There were over four million besprizorniki (street children) in the Russian Federation in 2001. Over 12 million children live in absolute poverty (Otkrytaia Shkola, 1998, 6: 7), and over three million adolescents are out of school and unemployed (Otkrytaia Shkola, 2000, 2: 18). These individuals, alienated and “forgotten” by society, are desperately in need of help (see also Shekhovtsova, 2008, p. 36). Gleizer (1998: 9) captures succinctly some of the prevailing social problems:

> Millions of adolescents drop out of school. They fall under the influence of the street and become victims of criminal gangs … many more adolescents are simply roaming the streets with little to do. They lack the motivation to come to the evening school…. Without a serious psychological and pedagogical rehabilitation of these adolescents it would be impossible to attract them into the traditional educational structure. We need a transformation towards a system of education, which offers psychological and pedagogical rehabilitation. This must be a new direction in the development of the evening school.

Matveeva (1993:11), of the Institute of Adult Education, was one of the first Russian adult educators to stress the new rehabilitative function of evening schools, arguing that such institutions are more adaptive to social change. She notes the “intensely humane nature of the evening school system”, seeing it as the “only system that took upon itself to educate, train and rehabilitate young adults”. This theme featured prominently in policy documents and articles during the 1998-2000 period.

Focusing particularly on the millions of young adults not in school or out of work, Gleizer (1998) adopted rather uncritically the new category of the ‘non-learner’ which has gained currency in the UK and elsewhere in Europe. Referring as it does to the sector of the population which do not enrol in courses, it has been argued the term has become a new way of defining and “scapegoating members of marginalised and excluded underclasses” (Preston, 1999: 570). In Russia, as in the UK, policy makers and adult educators use the incentives of possible employment and qualifications and the threat of possible unemployment, poverty and withdrawal of benefits to persuade identified client categories to participate in adult education. It is hoped that many individuals in this group, who are defined as persons at risk, will be able to overcome personal inhibition, low self-esteem, and social problems by enrolling in the newly-restructured adult education centres.

Influential policy-makers such as Leonteva (2000), Ivanova (2000) and Gleizer (1998) see the social and pedagogical rehabilitation of adolescents and young adults as one of the most significant new roles of the adult education sector. With Russia having more street children today than during the worst periods of the 1918-1922 Civil War, and school dropout numbers, currently some three million, still increasing, the evening school has become a centre for social rehabilitation of adolescents at risk.

A new model of Shkola sotsialnoi zashchity (the school for social rehabilitation) was developed by Gubarevich and Melikhova (2000). It is part of the project “The Evening School for the 21st Century” (Vecherniaia Shkola XXI veka). As the authors explain (Gubarevich and Melikhova 2000: 19):
More than half of our intake consists of adolescents “at risk”. They all need social rehabilitation. They are physically debilitated, they are unable to find work, and they come from single-parent families with inadequate material needs. Their entire socialization consists of free time ... the street and street gangs.

The aim of this school for young adults is to prepare students, by means of “psychological and pedagogical” compensatory sessions and “rehabilitation” programmes geared to the market economy, to provide the necessary social and economic safety net. This is to be achieved by the creation and realisation of positive attitudes towards the self and society, the developing of self-respect and self-confidence, and the acquisition of positive attitudes towards learning. The goal is to provide the optimum conditions for developing a maximum potential for learning and personal growth, by means of effective motivational strategies.

Education for Work in the Globalised Economy

V. Musatk (2004) Principal of the Open Evening Secondary School, at Ulianovsk, observes the changing rope of the rural school for young adults. He believes that without adequate education and committed individuals, who love work, it is impossible for the nation to exist and equally impossible for the renewal of Russia to be realised. During recent years his college attracts an increasing number of young adults from surrounding secondary schools. They include students at risk (problemyne podrostki) and others who are attracted to learning skills for jobs. Thus, the college offers vocational education and training (VET), ‘social safety net’ and ‘differential schooling’ for different skilled professions (pp. 4-6). Musatkin lists the following four essential functions of the evening college for young adults in his community:

- Enable students to receive quality education and training
- By the use of special needs pedagogy and social rehabilitation to turn ‘difficult’ young adults round to learn a profession and master knowledge needed for participation in the community
- To create safe and comfortable environment in order to activate the student’s potential, best qualities of civic education and the want for work
- To help students to acquire the skills of a given profession (p. 6).

This also reinforced by Davidovich (2004) who argues that the most important function of the school is to prepare young adults for ‘honest work’, and who take pride from their work (p. 8). Evening schools have become known, according to some teachers and school principals as schools of equal opportunities (see Kamedinerov, 2004, p. 12). These vocational education and training evening schools accept young adults and adults in need of vocational education and training (VET), including those requiring re-skilling. Such schools have a number of vocational education and training curricular streams (between one to five), tailored to students’ professional needs. For instance, one such school in St Petersburg offers five streams of VET, including a compensatory and rehabilitation stream, targeting young adults at risk, those who are unskilled and school dropouts. It includes elementary VET, education for work, plus a social psychology unit (an elective) on the self and society. This particular stream is designed for young adults who are ‘struggling’ in normal schools and who have ‘not received any vocational training’ (Kamedinerov, 2004, p. 13).

Education and Vocational training issues

Nina Shipilova (Principal) and Tatiana Suchilina (Deputy Principal, curriculum) at the Evening School number 40, in Moscow, describe the school curriculum and its policy towards lifelong learning for young adults. The school has 400 students, mainly 15-year olds and 18-year and above. Half have low-skilled jobs and many come to the school due to social and economic factors— shortage of funds and inadequate schooling and skills for higher skills occupations (Shipilova and Suchilina, 2004, pp. 12-15). V. Chapaeva (2004), who is Principal of the Open College number 4,
in the city of Perm, also observes the changing social make up of the student. She notes that many young adults lack knowledge and training for jobs and are ‘reluctant to study’ (p. 14). In her school 74% are 15 to 18 year-olds and the majority are from socially disadvantaged families.

The Future of Adult Education in Russia

Continuous learning is necessary to be competitive in world markets and to work cooperatively across the globe. Such lessons are a departure from central control. However, learning and development are influenced by past and current conditions as well as the potential for future economic development. Russia’s radical post-communist ideological transformation, with its emphasis on privatisation, decentralisation and marketisation, reflecting the imperatives of the global economy, has created the need for a new paradigm in adult education. Jackson’s (1997: 53) notion of civil society is particularly relevant to Russia today. He suggests the need for a new approach to adult education and training that takes into account “people’s relations to civil society as well as to the labour market [which] is most apparent in areas where high unemployment and industrial restructuring are reducing the quality of life and life chances most dramatically” (emphasis added).

A new model of Shkola sotsialnoi zashchity (the school for social rehabilitation) and other adult education centres is partly addressing these issues (see also Lomova, 2004, p. 3). By focusing on social problems and values education, this new model offers an alternative approach to lifelong learning, similar to the ones suggested by Leonteva (2000), Musatkin (2004), and Ovchinnikov (2008).

The future of lifelong learning in Russia, amidst the competing paradigms (ranging from vocationalism to citizenship education and social rehabilitation), and the return of the learning society, rests on current assumptions and radical rethinking about the post-Soviet education system. Unlike the West, Russia, as other transitional economies, has experienced a painful decade of structural transformation through political and economic change from Soviet-type command economy to private enterprise, the coming of the information age, internationalization, and demographic changes including falling birth rates and an ageing population.

If in the past, adult education in the USSR was characterised by vocational training, the ‘topping up’ model of schooling, and leisure-oriented activities (especially taught by the People’s universities), today the leisure-oriented, spiritual, and cultural approach, which was strong in a number of East Asian countries in the late 1980s, is making a comeback. This is despite the pressure to adopt the job-related training to cope with economic and social problems. Furthermore, the social welfare dimension of lifelong learning in Russia mirrors similar developments in some Nordic countries, where the social welfare system focuses on the social and economic aspects of life – housing, culture, food and clothes, and lately, showing interest in ‘spiritual and mental qualities of life’ (Okamoto, 2001: 324). Like Japan, Russia has a very rich cultural and spiritual heritage, which is gradually being re-born after 75 years of Soviet hegemony.

Russia’s current economic and social problems, as described earlier, offer a pragmatic starting point. Russia, currently undergoing politico-economic transformation and social dislocation, has already developed a significant inequality gap between the rich and the poor by creating a new stratum of “semi-citizens”, what Jackson (1997) refers to as those with little power in the marketplace and little purchase on obscure democratic processes. Commenting on post-Soviet Russia’s new social inequality, Miagchenkov (2000: 26) writes:

Today educational transformations have divided our youth into two strata: for one group – elite education, with ruthless competitive entrance tests in the upper grades in gymnazia, litsii or kolledzh. For the other group – the “deficit” ones, or socially and pedagogically neglected [students] the road leads to the vecherka [the evening school]. In essence, the renaissance of classical by nature education is for the old and newly formed elite.
It is indeed the pedagogically neglected students, the unemployed, and those in need of the job-related skills that adult education centres serve. This observation is supported by numerous articles dealing with these issues published between 1998-2008 in *Vecherniaia Sredniaia Shkola/Otkrytaia Shkola* (Dobriakova, 1998; Ivanova, 2000; Chapaeva, 2004; Musatkin, 2004; Ovchinnikov, 2008; Vershinin, 2008).

*Does Russian Adult Education Empower the Learner?*

What Russian adult educators may not be aware of is that the lifelong learning discourse itself (despite its comforting democratic and emancipatory ethos) is necessarily hegemonic, in that it culturally reproduces the dominant ideology and social inequality (Wilson, 1999). The contemporary lifelong learning discourse in the West is defined primarily by economic and technological imperatives. Framed by the need for competitive efficiency, and outcomes-driven curricula, it reduces education to training and the mastery of job-related skills. This is particularly relevant to Russia, currently exploring alternative models of lifelong learning—as a means of redressing post-Soviet unemployment, poverty, and exploitation. In adopting the Western model of education, Russian policy makers may have failed to understand the ‘inherently contradictory nature of schooling in the West, with its teleological goals of the upward social mobility, based on elitism, privilege and exclusion’ (Zajda, 2008). Under the prevailing rhetoric of liberalisation and consumer choice, and in the face of critical economic difficulties, contemporary Russian adult education may inadvertently engage in a new form of cultural reproduction by falling into the trap of presenting a globally-dictated credentialism and vocationalism (Zajda, 2008b). Such a course would represent a transformation and reform which was largely illusory. The often-alienating Soviet state manpower planning would be replaced by the equally alienating capitalist world of work dominated by globalisation and market forces.

Adult education throughout the world, and particularly in the UK, USA and Canada, has been influenced by economic rationalism and neo-conservative ideology, and adult education in post-Soviet Russia seems to follow a similar pattern. The ideals of collectivity, social justice, human rights, and ethnic tolerance have been exchanged for key concepts from business management discourse, namely productivity, efficiency, competitiveness and quality – or the “bottom-line” of the language of profit maximisation.

As the 1960s UNESCO humanistic, social justice, and human rights tradition, gradually weakened, the economic and techno-determinist paradigm of the OECD, the World Bank and the IMF was gaining in prominence. Reich (1993) argues that the future standards of living in any country will depend on the ability of the population to sell its labour power in a global labour market. In short, the neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideology, which has re-defined education as an investment in “human capital” and “human resource development” has also influenced the thinking of policy makers, teachers and students in Russia.

The new entrepreneurial culture has become a new cultural and economic imperative, replacing the welfare provisions, and influencing the career plans of many Russian school leavers (Zajda, 2008):

The new entrepreneurial culture has a new cultural hero: the successful “fast-track, high-flying business man…Admiration for biznesmeny (businessmen), Russia’s new “cultural heroes”, has interrupted the career plans of school leavers…the young people can often earn a hundred times more than their university educated, professional parents.

The crisis of the welfare State and the weakening of civil society have affected adult education in Russia, as elsewhere. As such, it has shifted its focus, from the “learning of meanings” to the “learning of earnings” (Zajda, 1999: 159). Like all educational reforms, the current changing
nature of lifelong learning in Russia needs to be evaluated ‘within the dynamics of social inequality and the polarization of social classes’ (Zajda, 2000: 119, Zajda, 2008). Evans (1998) when commenting on effective education for the future, focuses on free and equal access and the ‘redistributive mechanisms for resources and social support’ (Evans, 1998: 135). As she puts it:

Lifelong and comprehensive educational opportunity made equally available and accessible to all is ultimately to its advantage. Only education, which develops citizenship and competence in their maximal senses, and promotes favourable conditions for their practice, will ensure empowered and participatory communities able …to play their part in the social and political processes, which will shape the socio-economic scenarios of the future (p. 135).

Conclusion

Lifelong learning in post-Soviet Russia has become an alternative track for citizenship education, vocational training and inclusion by catering to individuals in low status jobs and the unemployed. It offers both basic skill training for the unemployed or school dropouts, and provides them with strategies for using education to change the quality of their lives. To the poorer Russians it has become a lifesaving bridge – the only means of alleviating poverty. In Russia, as elsewhere, the language of participation in lifelong learning can be double-edged. An enormous task has been thrust on lifelong learning in Russia, which after all has ‘experienced democratization, humanization, differentiation, decentralization, integration, regionalization, and more chillingly, depolitization. Today the Russian school has been asked to do the almost impossible’ (Zajda, 1994: 53, see also Zajda, 2008a, and Zajda, 2009).

Lifelong learning in Russia attempts to embrace both a structural-functionalist (or consensus-based) paradigm of learning dictated by the market, and at the same time an emancipatory philosophy of learning. Only a pedagogy of engagement, or a progressive pedagogy in lifelong learning, can offer the new underclass in Russia the means to withstand some of the worst features of the global economy. One recent example of an empowering pedagogy is the Evening School number 8 in the ancient city of Vladimir (Makusheva, 2008). The adult education centre includes young adults and adults—all aspiring to receive quality education and VET training. The role of the adult education centre is to offer a quality upbringing, values and education and general secondary education, covering Grades 7-12.

Lindeman (1945) wrote that authentic and “true adult education” was “social education” and that “all successful adult-education groups sooner or later become social-action groups” (1945: 119). This means that Russian adult educators and learners alike would need to accept that lifelong learning is not just a range of techniques and methodologies for education for “grades and certificates”, and the learning of “earnings” but also a social, cultural and political practice. The new model of the School for Social Rehabilitation developed by Gubarevich and Melikhova (2000), and those proposed by Musatkin (2004), and Ovchinnikov (2008) is a promising beginning for lifelong learning and adult education in the Russian Federation.

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Introduction

Globalization has affected a wider scope that... Primarily, globalization affects the economic dynamism as international trade and the success of the free markets implicate how governments and private entities come up with decisions. However, the present economic policies have successfully produced a world market where laborers, consumers, and businesses have the potential of establishing economic relationships with others anywhere in the globe. This astonishing ability for global organizations is a product to the recent innovations and inventions. This chapter evaluates the impact of globalization, social change and economic transformation on adult education and lifelong learning in the Russian Federation. It begins with a brief economic and historical background to lifelong learning and adult education in terms of its significance as a feature of the Russian cultural heritage. This paper presents the argument that the rhetoric of lifelong learning and the learning society are really a disguise for the exercise of power. It suggests that adult educators in creating dependency through the exercise of knowledge-power regimes contribute directly to forming cultural identities that support dominant relations of power.