TITLE:
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CITATION:

ISSUE DATE:
2004-03

URL:
http://hdl.handle.net/2433/43682

RIGHT:
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Internationality of German Adult Community Education Centres (VHS) - From Cross-boarder Exchange to Intercultural Learning, Stuttgart, 5 - 8 December 2001

In this International Working Group on Historical Sources in Adult Education, at which there are numerous contemporary eye-witnesses and therefore a rich vein of personal experience, many additional contributions were made to my presentation. I welcome the interested comments and questions expressed during and after my paper, which supplemented rather than contradicted what I said. Since my presentation was based on slides, there was no danger that the thread would be lost by discussion along the way.

1 Reconstructing or Remembering?

Let me begin with two quotations:

"Let us have no illusions. People do not remember history; they always reconstruct it.... [They] do not preserve the past in their memories in the same way that the ice in the North has preserved the mammoths of the Stone Age. They start from the present – and invariably look at the past through it."

I am quite sure that this applies particularly to people who have been in senior positions in institutions for some considerable time – and who are still responsible for them while reflecting on them. Their continued involvement may inhibit the requisite objectivity and distance. Jürgen Habermas expressed this concisely, albeit in a different context, in his oft-quoted phrase “realisation governed by interest”. Institutional blindness and embellishment in order to appear successful would be crasser terms for a process that must be avoided in such positions. But you should know that I have now been associated for many years with the Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (IIZ/DVV). As long ago as 1978 I became Deputy Director, I headed projects in Sierra Leone and Hungary for a number of years under our principle of staff rotation, and I finally took over as Director of the Institute from Jakob Horn when he went to Budapest for some years and then retired.

“It would therefore be useful to have a written history of how the teaching
of adults developed, without any preconceived opinion as to its merits \(^3\)."

As I see it, Hans Tietgens' plea in respect of teaching could certainly also be applied to the history of international adult education (AE). So far there appear to have been only three attempts to address systematically the historical dimension of the international activities of the German Volkshochschulen (adult education centres, VHS):

- **The report edited by Helmuth Dolff, “25 Jahre Deutscher Volkshochschulverband” (25 Years of the German Adult Education Association) was published in 1978. This contains a review of all the areas of work of the VHS and the DVV. There is a chronological list of international events: the “1st Adult Education Conference in the British Zone in Hanover” in 1946, and the “First delegation of German adult educators in the United Kingdom” in 1947. Jakob Horn wrote the chapter on “The International Work of the German Adult Education Association in Africa, Asia and Latin America”, describing the early initiatives and projects in developing countries – largely in Africa and Latin America – the efforts of the VHS in Germany to introduce topics concerned with development, and incipient cooperation with UNESCO\(^4\).

- **When the IIZ/DVV was 25 years old in 1994, a wide-ranging commemorative publication covered far more than “our story and history”\(^5\). A whole variety of chapters by different authors dealt with fields of work and topics such as literacy and professionalization, the emphasis on development and combating poverty, women’s education and the civil society. A collection of documents also illustrated the close parallels between internationalism in the DVV and the development of international AE organizations, and the fact that there must have been a two-way influence between these.

- **The doctoral thesis by Ulrike Devers on “Adult Education in German Development Policy in the Period 1956-1970”\(^6\), supervised by Professor Künzel at the University of Cologne, then appeared in 2000. In this case, the description of the beginnings is of particular interest since it goes into the Occupation rules laid down by the Allies and the re-education that was imposed as part of these. Anyone reading the documents from the late 1950s and early 1960s, and the interviews with the representatives of the German Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) will remain in no doubt as to the crucial importance of continued outside support and funding in the early development of the international activities of the DVV.

We have now reached the next jubilee. On this day full of historical significance, the 17th June, the DVV is 50 years old. Will there be another look back at its international achievements?
2 Biographical View: Interests and Functions

I should like to make three more opening remarks drawn from my experience of life.

People often suggest, when reconstructing history and looking back on their own lives, that they were lucky to have been born when they were and not before. I have frequently thought that I am glad to belong to the middle generation, when thinking of developments in the DVV. I was fortunate enough to have experienced personally the impact of people such as Bert Donnep, Paul Dreykorn, Albert Schultz and Heinz Stragholz, who laid the foundation stones and built up the organization. When I first joined the Institute, Helmuth Dolff was Director, a colleague respected both nationally and internationally, and an officer of the European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA), being both its Treasurer and its Vice-President. In the mid-1970s, I met for the first time the joint founders of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), Roby Kidd, Paul Mhaiki and Paul Bertelson.

Professor Hans Tietgens, for many years Director of the DVV's research and development centre (the Pedagogical Institute or Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle, PAS), had to conduct a second sort of job interview with me, since my first project at the then Department for Adult Education in Developing Countries required me to concern myself with development education in the VHS. This went far beyond the previous work of the Department in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and entered the sphere of the VHS and the PAS. I held frequent discussions with Walter Ebbighausen, who can rightly be described as one of the joint originators of the DVV's international involvement, and whom I had the occasion to remember along with the historic signing of the first contract with our Russian partner Znanie when it recently celebrated its 55th anniversary in Sochi. And to return once again to being born in the middle, I can expect under normal circumstances to look forward to another ten years of professional life. I shall perhaps even witness a second round of the eastward expansion of the EU.

I mentioned the principle of staff rotation earlier. This means primarily that senior staff do not work all the time at the headquarters in Bonn, but are also posted abroad. Ideally, five out of every ten working years will be spent in Bonn, and five abroad. The aim is to learn from recent developments on the ground while feeding in what has been learnt centrally, and then in turn to bring project experience back to headquarters. In the case of many colleagues, this system has worked: Wolfgang Leumer was in Madagascar in the 1980s, and then back in Bonn, and he now heads our office in Cape Town. Hanno Schindele was in Lesotho, Henner Hildebrandt at first in Ethiopia and now in Guinea. Michael Samlowski, now Deputy Director, was for many years in Colombia.

Essentially I was the guinea pig for the DVV in this very complex arrangement.
of outward and inward postings, spending some years in West Africa in Sierra Leone, then as head of department responsible for Africa and Asia, and eventually taking over as Director in Bonn before being sent off once more to Hungary. What I have particularly enjoyed personally in this has not so much been the opportunity to swap positions within the organization. Rather, it has been and still is the variation in duties and activities. At headquarters there is responsibility for the entire Institute, with a consequent emphasis on management, staffing and finance. Abroad, the sheer volume of project management produces a quite different situation. To put it simply, I often say that 80% of the daily workload in Bonn is made up of finance, management and Association matters, while very little time, often too little, remains for educational and development concerns. And the reverse is true in a country where there is a project.

In certain phases, at least, there is thus the opportunity to pursue and develop academic interests in the course of one’s career. When I was at university in Bonn and Heidelberg, I studied comparative AE. My doctoral thesis in the mid-1970s was concerned with “Adult Education and Development in Tanzania”\((7)\), and I have never lost sight of cooperation and comparative issues in the problems surrounding international AE. I have remained committed to the theme of literacy in basic education to the present day, and have written, researched and taught about it\((8)\), particularly in the mid-1980s in Sierra Leone. The emphasis there was on orality and literality, or how writing down the previously oral literature of fables, fairy stories, songs and proverbs can contribute to literacy.

This project of the People’s Educational Association of Sierra Leone, which I helped to shape, is still running and has produced over 50 publications in ten languages. A wide-ranging collection has now been reprinted following the end of the civil war, which destroyed schools, AE centres and libraries\((9)\). In 2002, the IIZ/DVV carried out a major study for the World Bank on “Skills and Literacy Training for Better Livelihoods”\((10)\), which I saw as an opportunity to look again more thoroughly at the question of how adults who cannot read and write learn skills that are important in their lives and work. This is after all a crucial consideration for the thousand million adult illiterates in the world.

When I spent four years working in Hungary in the second half of the 1990s I was also able to devote myself principally to questions of education because Jakob Horn, who had been my predecessor as head of the project in Budapest, left me an office that was running very efficiently. In the first six months I concentrated on an informal evaluation of the future direction of project cooperation: politically, the focus was on EU expansion embracing Hungary and other Eastern European countries, and the consequent harmonization with European AE, so that the important activities of education policy and legislation, providing advice and learning, training and research, and planning of future cooperation all competed for time.
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In retrospect it can be said that the significance of the concept of AE as Lifelong Learning has come to be accepted in Hungarian education policy, that the law on AE now adopted by Parliament has incorporated a large number of our partners' demands, and that many of them are collaborating in EU programmes throughout Europe. I look back with particular pleasure on two areas: in one case I succeeded, together with three universities and two colleges of higher education, in conducting a major research project on institutions in the continuing education market in Hungarian cities\(^{(1)}\). Over 730 establishments involved in AE, training and lifelong learning were surveyed, and more than 30 graduate students wrote their dissertations on the topic under my supervision. This led to the first national conference on AE research at which all those working on evaluation and research in Hungarian AE were represented through papers\(^{(2)}\).

The second area on which I worked intensively was university training courses for AE staff. Here too, I worked with institutions in Budapest, Debrecen, Nyireghaza, Szombathely and Szeged – in effect, the entire country. The closest collaboration was with the Institute for Adult Education and Human Resource Development (FEEFI) at the University of Pécs, which still continues to teach regular courses. The award of an honorary doctorate for services to cooperation and comparative AE was recognition of both the subject and the individual, but was also a pledge for the future\(^{(3)}\).

This involvement in universities has continued in recent years, in two ways. Together with Ewa Przybylska I am preparing a research project looking more closely at university courses of initial and continuing training in Central and South Eastern Europe; it will be a review of the various courses and is also designed to identify the potential for cooperation\(^{(4)}\). At the same time, the IIZ/DVV has, with the support of Professor Siebert and the University of Hanover, begun to develop new AE courses with universities in Bulgaria and Romania. I have therefore also been teaching at the universities in Iasi and Sofia. In Rijeka too, there was an interesting seminar on AE in Europe for students of education, and discussions with the Vice Rector and professors about the possibility of adapting the Master's in European Adult Education degree, which focuses on AE institutions in European countries alongside teaching and learning, organization and administration, methods and media\(^{(5)}\).

These biographical pointers have no doubt more than sufficed to demonstrate my somewhat subjective view of things when I am asked to report on the development and role of the IIZ/DVV in international AE. But perhaps that was the intention of the organizers of this 21st conference of the International Working Group, in whose series I am participating for the first time today.

In the remainder of the paper, I should like to proceed as follows. In the first section I shall jump forward to the year 2002, illustrating with the help of charts the structure and emphasis of the current work of the IIZ/DVV. I shall then go
back to the beginnings in the 1950s and '60s, taking my cue from the title of one session at the 2001 German VHS Conference: “How we became what we are”. We shall then travel forward in ten-year leaps until we return to the present day.

3 The Position in 2002: Continuity and Innovation

There is much to suggest that AE is essentially always a local concern, in terms of both popular demand and institutional provision. Particular attention needs to be given to changes in the context of the new media. But AE has always had, and still has, regional, national, transnational, European, international, global and, increasingly, intercultural, dimensions. Let me go a step further: this is particularly true of the VHS in Germany. Not of all VHS, and not of all branches of the DVV to the same extent, but as a whole. It could also be said that the international dimensions are changing. This means quantitative growth, shifts of emphasis in subject-matter, institutional and organizational harmonization, and hence also general developments in quality.

At the frequent consultations and conferences at which I am asked to give presentations on the work of the IIZ/DVV in the course of a year to partners and participants in various places around the world, I often make use of two charts\textsuperscript{16} which clearly illustrate the context of our activities. Chart 1 shows the 1,000 VHS, the local adult continuing education centres, which work through 3,600 branches in order to reach out to the population. At a regional level, the Land Associations provide services for the VHS which form their membership. The 16 Land Associations are members of the DVV, the highest authorities of which are the General Meeting and the Board of Management, presided over by Professor Rita Süssmuth as President and Ernst Küchler, Member of the Federal Parliament, as Chair. He is responsible under the terms of Clause 26 of the Civil Code for the running of the Association together with two Deputy Chairs, Annemarie Rufer and Harald Rentsch.

Within the DVV, two units are based in Bonn: the national headquarters, headed by the Director of the Association, Ulrich Aengenvoort, whose broad range of functions can be seen from the 2001 Annual Report\textsuperscript{17}. The DVV has four committees: the Organization and Finance Committee comprises the directors of the Land Associations, the Education Committee is made up of staff of the VHS and representatives of AE as an academic discipline, the Vocational and Continuing Education Network brings together people from VHS, the Land Associations and the DVV, and the Women's Committee ensures equality between the genders within the Association. The DVV is the majority shareholder in Weiterbildungs-Testsysteme GmbH (Continuing Education Testing Systems, a commercial enterprise that is the former examination centre of the PAS) and in the Adolf-Grimme-Institut – Gesellschaft für Medien, Bildung und Kultur mbH.
Chart 1: THE SYSTEM OF VOLKSHOCHSCHULEN (ADULT COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTRES) IN GERMANY (As at December 2002)

German Adult Education Association (DVV)

- Education Committee
- Organization and Finance Committee
- Vocational & Continuing Education Network
- Women’s Committee

16 Land Associations

1,000 Volkshochschulen (VHS)

3,600 branches

Institutes linked to the DVV:

DIE
AGI
WBT
(Adolf Grimme Institute, Society for Media, Education and Culture, AGI). The German Institute for Adult Education (DIE) grew out of the DVV's PAS and has established itself as a registered association of which the DVV is a member.

The articles of association of the DVV state that: “Within the Institute there shall be an Institute for International Cooperation (IIZ/DVV)”, for which an Advisory Board shall be convened by the Board of Management and whose Director shall have special responsibility for this area of operations under the terms of Clause 30 of the Civil Code. Chart 2 shows the three structural levels of the Institute:

- The Advisory Board stands between the DVV Board of Management and the Institute. It gives advice on the Institute's policy and practice, areas of work and projects, including its budget and business plan. The Advisory Board makes recommendations in both directions, to the Board of Management on decisions and to the Institute on improvements in its work. In 2001, the Advisory Board adopted a widely respected report on “The Decline in the Importance of Education in Development Cooperation”.

- Since the 1960s, the most important funding bodies have been the BMZ and the Foreign Office (AA). By far the greatest volume of resources comes from the BMZ. Over the last ten years, we have made around 20 successful bids to various budget lines of the EU, and some ten have been rejected. We have additional funding for individual projects from the Federal Ministry of Education and Science (BMBW), the Federal Government Press and Information Service (BPA), the World Bank and others.

- In terms of projects and partners, the chart can only hint at the variety and range of the work of the Institute. It shows the cooperation with the AE regional associations, the cooperation through country projects, the combination of various individual projects into a special programme for initial and continuing training, and the addition of education about Europe to that about development policy. For the purposes of interpretation it should be noted that hidden behind the heading Publication is a specialist journal, “Adult Education and Development”, with what is now probably the largest print-run in the world: 21,200 copies in English, French and Spanish.

Chart 3 shows in percentage terms the origins and use of resources in 2002. It is clear that BMZ funding, albeit for differing regions and purposes, accounts for almost 90% of the total. The 50% or so for Africa, Asia and Latin America covers the Institute's many individual country, regional and sector projects. The resources received from the BMZ for cooperation in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe are comparable in amount and intention. While we support projects under the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe to strengthen the social structure out of BMZ funds, the AE projects in this region concerned with cooperation in cultural policy are funded out of AA funds.

Funding bodies

- Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
- Foreign Office (AA)
- European Union (EU)
- Federal Press Service (BPA)

IIZ/DVV (established 1969)

Cooperation projects and

- Regional partners (ASPBAS CEAAL)
- Country projects (Africa, Asia, Latin America, Central, Eastern & SE Europe)
- Special programmes (Africa, Asia, Latin America)
- Studentship programme (Africa)
- Global Learning + Europe-Political education (FRG)
- Publications "AE & Development" "Internat. Perspect."

Membership of EAEA and ICAE; international relations
It is not just the scale of the projects in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe that is significant. Following discussions within the Institute around the turn of the millennium, these were strategically realigned under three new headings:

- **Cooperation with countries in the first round of EU expansion:** bilateral cooperation is to be continued, while regional initiatives will address common aims and activities – education policy and legislation, cooperation in university courses, etc. The Institute has one or more partners in all countries. The IIZ/DVV Project Office in Warsaw will in future take on a coordination role.

- **Cooperation with countries in the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe:** support is to be given for the creation and expansion of AE institutions, especially for initiatives aimed at cross-border, interethnic regional networking contributing to sustainable development, integration of marginalized groups of the population and democratization of development. There are partners and/or project offices in all countries. A coordination scheme (EBiS, Adult Education in South Eastern Europe) has been set up, in which all eight countries and the IIZ/DVV are represented.

- **Cooperation with the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS):** the cooperation built up with partners in the Russian Federation will be continued, managed by our project office in St. Petersburg – given the
size of the country, this could be described as a regional project. In Ukraine, we cooperate with a smaller local partner, with the support of the VHS in Regen. In the southern Caucasus we opened a project office in Tbilisi in 2001, which takes care of Azerbaijan and Armenia through coordination centres in Baku and Yerevan. Since 2001 we have had a project office in Tashkent for initiatives in Uzbekistan and neighbouring countries in Central Asia.

If the growth in these projects is marked on a map of Central and Eastern Europe, taking in the Caucasus and the Central Asian states, it will be seen that we have thus arrived in Asia, where we have been working for a long time with partners in India, Pakistan and Nepal either bilaterally or through ASPBAE. Ultimately our work must lead to the Central Asian CIS states being included in the ASPBAE networks.

In Africa, we are also working towards regionalization. While the project office in Cape Town used to be responsible solely for South Africa, we have now begun to look after our partners in Angola, Botswana, Lesotho and Madagascar from there also. The Conakry Project Office is no longer only concerned with Guinea but also provides a direct point of contact for partners in Chad, Mali, Senegal and Sierra Leone. The same applies to Addis Ababa, which is responsible for both Ethiopia and Kenya. Until now our project offices have succeeded in looking after existing projects, but this will become more difficult if projects are set up in additional countries in the region as a result of enquiries or calls for tenders.

In Latin America too, we work in the majority of countries, not only through the regional association CEAAL but also bilaterally. The emphasis is on intercultural education in Guatemala and Mexico, women’s education extends via the REPEM network from Uruguay to all other countries, vocational and income-related activities are strongly represented in Bolivia and Colombia, and partners are engaged in agriculture in Argentina and Chile. The IIZ/DVV project office in Bolivia is now headed by a locally recruited member of staff, while the former project director, Hans Pollinger, has been back at headquarters since 2002.

For the first time in 2002, funds were made available to combat extreme poverty, when the 2015 Action Programme, which provides a binding framework for all other policy areas, was approved by the Federal Government. Under the impact of 11 September, BMZ funds from the Anti-Terrorism Package (ATP) were provided to strengthen our projects aimed at democratization, reintegration of young former child soldiers and crisis prevention. The Foreign Office (AA) has also made funds available for dialogue between Europe and Islam, which we have been able to use for Turkish-German cooperation in AE, a field which can only be described as neglected previously in view of the large number of Turks in
Lifelong Education and Libraries

Germany and of Turkish students and staff at VHS, and Turkey's growing importance in Europe.

For more than 25 years, one of the areas of work of the VHS has been development education, now renamed global learning. Unlike in earlier times, it is now generally accepted that this field is growing in importance, especially with the doubtless increasingly harmful effects of globalization. The BMZ shares this view and has in recent years increased the resources for this type of work in the VHS and elsewhere, even out of ATP funds.

In 2002 it was possible for the first time to acquire funds for education about Europe. The Press and Information Service of the Federal Government (BPA) and the EU office in Berlin are interested in raising awareness through information and education in the light of eastward expansion. The project "Awareness for a Europe of Tomorrow: Opportunities and Impact of the Expansion of the European Union" has started very successfully, and has combined thematic workshops, action days and a major publicity event with the production of materials and the distribution of a Europe Pack: the main target audience of a CD-ROM on "EU Expansion: Adventure or Opportunity" is young adults.

Two Institute projects supported by the EU under Socrates and Grundtvig should enable it to devote more attention to intercultural and inter-religious issues. This will be possible through both a network funded for three years on "Intercultural Learning in Europe" and a two-year project on "Tolerance and Understanding – Our Muslim Neighbours", in each of which a number of European partners will participate.

The project funded by the Foreign Office through which professional AE contacts in industrialized countries can be increased will remain important. You will remember that this has essentially been one of the two main props of the international work of the VHS and the DVV since the 1960s. It now fosters cooperation not only with European partners but also with partners in the United States and Australia. Cooperation with the EAEA, our regional special interest organization, has remained stable over the last ten years; Dr Michael Samlowski has just been re-elected as one of the EAEA Vice Presidents.

One of the key factors governing the way in which the IIZ/DVV operates is still the fact that it receives no institutional support. The Institute survives solely from the project funds that it can secure, which have expanded appreciably in the last ten years with the identification of additional sources of funds. The means in turn that the Institute in Bonn must fund itself from an administrative percentage to cover staff and material costs. Our largest donor, the BMZ, is no longer able to make the desirable commitments that would help in long-term project planning out of the Federal budget on the same scale as before. This affects both our partners and the Institute, especially in relation to the posting of staff abroad. It is pleasing that the Foreign Office has grown considerably in
importance in the funding of our work. The support programmes of the EU offer more opportunities than we are currently able to exploit.

It should also be mentioned that projects have in many cases shrunk in size, have become shorter and have more sharply focused aims and contents than before. This does not necessarily make projects more effective, while management and administration have become considerably more complex.

How, then, did we reach the point where we find ourselves? As suggested earlier, I shall tackle this question decade by decade.

4 The Beginnings: A Variety of Committees and a Department

Much has already been said in this Working Group about the early international contacts and exchanges of the VHS and the DVV; Kurt Meissner, for example, spoke yesterday about the early encounters with British and American AE. We know that the Scandinavian countries also played a significant role after the Second World War and welcomed colleagues on placements in their establishments. What concerns me rather more here is the organizational arrangements made for the DVV to support these international activities.

Even in the mid-1950s, the DVV had to ask itself how to respond organizationally to requests for help and for international cooperation. The DVV office only had a few staff, merely the Secretary and a clerical assistant to begin with, while the DVV executive was fully occupied with establishing the organization. But even then, European questions linked to the very difficult post-war situation, the goals of reconciliation between peoples and town twinning initiatives called for educational and organizational attention. As a first step, the European Working Group was set up in the DVV, which was followed in 1955 by a Foreign Information and Coordination Committee. Finally, in 1961, Walter Ebbighausen was appointed as the first DVV staff member responsible for foreign affairs and supported international developments together with the Director, Helmut Dolff; Erika Schmitz took care of day-to-day matters. Continued support from the Culture Department of the Foreign Office then made it possible – and it still does – to plan and conduct numerous information and professional exchanges with AE partners in Europe and other industrialized countries worldwide. This also applied during the Cold War to many countries in the Eastern Bloc, laying the groundwork for the rapid expansion of cooperation in the early 1990s with the change of regime.

From the late 1950s, DVV contacts with AE in Africa grew by leaps and bounds. This was due above all to decolonization and the start of development assistance. The Foreign Office was asked by German embassies in Africa whether support could be given for literacy as part of development assistance. The newly established BMZ considered how the resources of German specialist organizations
might be used to meet the goals of development assistance. Discussions were held with the DVV, which government departments regarded as suited to conducting international AE projects. The first courses for adult educators were then held in Cameroon from the early 1960s. In 1963, the first one-year course to train African colleagues was held at the Gôhrde Hunting Lodge residential VHS in 1963. At the same time, support began for the Central American Institute of Popular Education (ICECU) in Costa Rica. In 1964 the DVV became a founder member of the Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education (ASPBAE), and in 1965 the first course for Latin American adult educators was held at Rendsburg residential VHS, the director of which was then Kurt Meissner.

Cooperation during these early years with specialist organizations such as EAEA and UNESCO, or the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg, should not be overlooked.

It was not until 1969 that the DVV set up the Department for Adult Education in Developing Countries in order to organize cooperation with partners in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The guidelines for the Department were first committed to writing in 1973, and the first issue of our specialist journal appeared in the same year, initially planned as a bulletin in English, French and Spanish for former recipients of studentships. Professional contacts with industrialized countries were still handled at that time within the DVV main office.

5 The 1970s and '80s: Consolidation and Expansion

In retrospect, what strikes me as most important about this period is the systematizing of relations with the BMZ. This was doubtless due to the development of the Ministry’s own organizational structure, the definitive inclusion of certain headings in the Federal budget and the resultant ability to plan for the long term as Federal commitments for a number of years made it possible to do more solid work. The BMZ also produced grant guidelines for the conduct of projects; staff posted abroad were to be governed by the collective salary agreement covering political foundations. However, besides the criteria set from outside it should also be noted that the expansion in projects was accompanied by the development of the capacities and skills within the Department itself that were needed to plan and carry them out. The Director Jakob Horn played a leading part in this, as did Sigrid Elflein, the Administrator, who could look back on nearly 30 years of service with the DVV by the time she retired. Our Marita Kowalski was also involved in this early phase. In 1978, the Department was renamed the Department for International Cooperation of the DVV.

From a regional standpoint, Africa remained the continent where most projects took place. This corresponded with the priorities set for German development cooperation. There was rapid growth in programmes in a wide
variety of fields. Two should be mentioned briefly: in countries where partners wished and resources allowed, the Department opened a communications or project office with a staff member posted from Germany to develop work over the longer term with a wide range of partners in various fields. In other countries, projects were run with partners, who were then offered support from headquarters in Bonn. Cooperation focused particularly on:

- Initial and continuing training for adult educators
- Relevant teaching and learning materials and media
- Practice-oriented evaluation and research
- Institutional and material infrastructure
- Occupational and income-generating activities
- Recognition and protection through education policy

Environmental education, health education and democratization became important fields of work, in which the Department developed recognised expertise. Literacy and basic education were integral parts of almost every project.

In the early 1970s, the Department discussed with its partners how the initial and continuing training of professionals that had been offered to date through a residential VHS in Germany could be transferred in the short or medium term to the countries themselves. The Departments and Institutes of AE at African universities responded with vision: some ten universities still receive support in the form of studentships, advice and production of teaching materials so that they can train nearly 500 students a year. A simple calculation will demonstrate how many African colleagues have thus had access to initial and continuing training over the last two decades. Together with these universities, the Adult Education Department of the University of Botswana and the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg we have now started a project to produce for the first time a series of African textbooks entitled “African Perspectives on Adult Learning” for university AE courses. Within the next few years, these will become available throughout the continent, with modifications and in translation where necessary.

Africa continued to dominate the work of the Department for the time being, and the bulk of resources were employed there. However, there was a slow but steady growth in funding, so that it was possible to expand to other regions. Work in Asia also began in the 1970s. It started in India, in Kerala State and later in Rajasthan, with an emphasis on literacy and basic education in the context of basic needs – food and shelter – the environment and participation. ASPBAE, which had been in a sort of suspended animation since it was set up in the 1960s, came to life in the late 1970s, initially with regional conferences and publications, and later with country-specific activities, particularly in Indonesia and Thailand, where the first World Bank AE projects began. In China in 2003, ASPBAE and the IIZ/DVV will celebrate and reflect on 25 years of project partnership.
The impact of annual alternating study tours of Germany by young colleagues from Africa and Asia should not be overlooked. During their four weeks they learnt about the situation in Germany, they informed themselves about the situation in their home countries, and we had the opportunity to find out about how our partners' projects were faring.

Colombia was and is a particular focus of work in Latin America. Three project offices made it possible to work closely with partners in various provinces. The emphasis was often on occupational and income-generating activities. The Alfonso Lopez Centre was built up into a substantial institution with a wide range of provision and still operates successfully today, without IIZ/DVV support. A project office was also set up in Bolivia to strengthen decentralized cooperation with individual Education Ministry centres locally. In Chile it was not only national AE that was given support. The Latin American Council for Adult Education (CEAAL) was also based there. It was of great significance for AE throughout the entire continent and is still associated with the name of Paulo Freire. It functions as the regional arm of the ICAE, which has actively supported non-governmental AE organizations from its headquarters in Canada since 1973.

6 The 1990s: A Worldwide Orientation

With the end of the Cold War, new opportunities opened up for international cooperation. This could mean support for AE as a social institution, as part of development cooperation, with funding from the BMZ, and for AE as part of cultural policy abroad, with funding from the Foreign Office. The IIZ/DVV realised this early on and took advantage of the opportunities that presented themselves. The studies by Anja Weber and Gerhard Müller provide a very good overview and analysis of the nature and content of the cultural agreements between individual states and Germany, and of the practical undertakings agreed in the protocols of the Joint Cultural Committees. While Weber concentrates on the situation in the early 1990s, Müller documents and examines developments over the last ten years (1992-2001). The most important findings are that:

- AE features in 68% of all cultural agreements, i.e. 20% more than ten years ago. It has thus risen in priority.
- The model agreement drawn up and used by the Foreign Office, which covers all sectors of education, has led to a somewhat more equal distribution.
- The protocols, the projects actually to be carried out, have not (yet) kept pace fully with this rise in importance (still only 49%).
- The cultural agreements and protocols with industrialized countries refer to AE twice as often as those with developing countries.

These findings have been of great importance for the IIZ/DVV, since it can be deduced that AE has acquired greater recognition and priority – sometimes even as a result of our and our partners' initiatives. They also indirectly strengthen a
thesis often put forward, that the higher the level of economic, technological and other development in a society, the greater the need for ongoing continuing education. At the same time, they have made us realise that we have not been able to respond more fully to the demand for AE in the agreements and protocols with developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America which still account for the majority of IIZ/DVV cooperation. The regional distribution of the resources we devoted to partner countries at the end of the last decade is shown in Chart 4\textsuperscript{33}.

In the early 1990s, the fact that the VHS and the DVV had had professional contacts with states in the Eastern Bloc even during the Cold War paid dividends. There was specialist knowledge, there were contacts with potential partner organizations, and individual colleagues in the state sector, the universities and the civil society, which itself needed to be hugely expanded, were ready to take advantage of the new opportunities. The first developments took place in Hungary and Poland. Soon after the opening of the border, Jakob Horn had informed the BMZ of our specialist experience of working in these countries and of our interest in conducting larger projects there. We then opened new project offices at a rate of roughly one a year: Budapest in 1991, Warsaw in 1992, St. Petersburg in 1993 and Bucharest in 1994, and launched cooperation without our own project offices in the three Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and with the Slovak and Czech Republics\textsuperscript{34}.

I summed up the development of the Institute in the 1990s once in an article entitled “Local and National, Regional and Global. A Turbulent Decade in the Internationalization of Adult Education”\textsuperscript{35}. It was in fact the case that AE enjoyed new opportunities for cooperation in this mood of political upheaval after the collapse of socialism. The Institute made soundings in Ethiopia and Angola, in Vietnam and Kazakhstan, and in Cuba. Many new initiatives were launched and are still key parts of our worldwide cooperation with partners in all continents. Michael Samlowski has described these developments around the turn of the millennium in a book summarizing two annual reports, “Partnership and Solidarity in Action. International Cooperation Activities of IIZ/DVV”\textsuperscript{36}. It was also he who very early on in this phase of the Institute’s development posed the question: “Does the South end in the East?”\textsuperscript{37} He traced the similarities, commonalities and differences in project work in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America on the one hand, and the countries in transition in Central and Eastern Europe on the other.

This decade also saw the first close examination of educational issues in the context of Europe in the EU. A report on “Adult Education and Europe” looked at the various EU programmes and opened the way to future cooperation\textsuperscript{38}. At the same time, discussion began within the DVV as to how (and who was) to coordinate work on European policy. A paper from the Institute led to a Board of Management
decision: in response to the Maastricht Treaties of 1992 laying down the responsibility of Brussels for the latest education and development policy, all levels of the Association were to become “Europeanized”, and the Institute was to play a coordinating role. It should be added that we were still a Department until 1993, when our statutes were changed and we became the Institute for International Cooperation of the DVV.

Chart 4: Breakdown of project resources by regiona, 2000

In the early 1990s, Professor Günther Dohmen was Chair of the DVV. He was followed in the mid-1990s by Theo Jüchter, and Professor Hans Georg Lößl was, as Vice Chair, responsible for the IIIZ/DVV. At the end of 1989, Volker Otto had become Director of the Association, and his first major task was to oversee the reorganization of the VHS resulting from the reunion of East and West Germany, and to set up and develop Land Associations in the new Länder. A short time later, discussions began on structural reform, which focused largely on giving greater independence to the Institutes. Many proposals were circulated. Personally, I was still in favour of a large, strong DVV to represent the interests of the Land Associations and hence the VHS at Federal level, while its educational, media and international functions would be taken care of by the three Institutes, DIE, AGI and IIIZ, each headed by a director appointed under the terms of Clause 30 of the Civil Code, and therefore both bound into the DVV and capable of action in their various fields. But things turned out differently: the DIE became a separate registered association, the AGI became a commercial company, and only the IIIZ remained part of the DVV.

Two more things should be said about the early 1990s, both of which go back to proposals by Volker Otto. Firstly, he suggested concentrating the international activities of the DVV in what was to become the Department. This amounted to official recognition of what Jakob Horn had actually been doing on behalf of
DVV headquarters for many years, following the death of Helmuth Dolff in 1983: looking after professional contacts with industrialized countries. Secondly, a Foreign Committee was set up to provide information on and coordinate international initiatives and projects within the Association. The difficult situation in a DVV shaken by structural reform did not allow it to be as successful as might have been wished. However, it did lay one of the foundation stones for the IIZ/DVV Advisory Board subsequently set up in accordance with the statutes. Very hesitantly, this has eventually been opened up to members who do not represent Association functions and committees, the first being Professor Joachim Knoll. Whatever the 2003 Annual General Meeting of the DVV may decide, two matters stand out in our view from the preparatory discussions: that the Advisory Board should be opened further to representatives from outside the DVV (from politics, the media and international organizations), and that it should concern itself with the entire international activities of the VHS and the Land Associations as well as of the DVV and the Institute. This correlates with the proposal to make the Director of the Institute a member of the Board of Management of the DVV. This would be a realistic acknowledgement of the importance of European and global political developments for the VHS and the DVV.

We gave some new emphases in the 1990s to the information, public relations and lobbying work of the Institute:

- The series “International Perspectives in Adult Education” allows the Institute to make studies and documents arising out of its work available to a wider public, particularly in Europe. Another focus is country monographs. Many titles are published in translation. The series began in 1992, and 35 volumes have now appeared.
- The Institute website was set up in 1999. This covers all major projects and partners in English, French, German and Spanish, and is updated as often as possible. The Institute’s main partners can be contacted via links.
- Leaflets have been produced on many project areas such as the Africa and Asia regions, EU eastward expansion and the Stability Pact, global learning and the Institute as a whole.
- The former series on “Volkshochschulen and the Theme of Africa, Asia and Latin America” gave way after volume 47 to a new title, “Global Learning in the Volkshochschulen” (still in German).
- The journal “Adult Education and Development” continues to be directed principally at the middle level of adult educators in Africa, Asia and Latin America, without completely losing sight of global issues of development cooperation or Europe as a region. It was launched in three languages in 1973, and issue No. 60 is in preparation. Supplements appear at irregular intervals.

Many projects and partners have developed extensive publicity material in
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parallel: journals and series are published (e.g. in Russia, Poland and Bosnia-Herzegovina, South Africa and Ethiopia), webpages are maintained (e.g. ASPBAE and EBiS), and use is made of videos and CD-ROMs. The number of languages employed in all of this is certainly considerable, but it is the only way of reaching the local level.

It is clearly also relevant to look at how and in what proportions project funds are used, and Chart 5 provides information about this. The largest proportion is spent on educational activities (seminars and initial and continuing training), advice, evaluation and research, and on publications. If equipment and materials are added, these all together account for about half. The institutions providing coordination, our project offices and our partners, including staff costs, are also a major factor, these funds being used to provide professional and organizational support for the work. In the pie chart, the term “Administration” represents the percentage of project funds allocated to the Institute in Bonn.

Chart 5: Breakdown of project resources by use, 2000

Cooperation has expanded within the Social Improvement Network (AGS). It may be remembered that the BMZ approached specialist organizations in Germany in the 1960s in order to back up early state development assistance with other initiatives, and a separate budget heading was introduced. This now covers support for organizations such as Workers’ Welfare, Caritas, the Education Service of the German Trades Union Congress, the broadcasting service Deutsche Welle, the German Association of Cooperatives and Credit Unions, and the Kolping Society, because these have particular expertise in fields of social policy, trade union and cooperative activities, the media, etc. The IIZ/DVV receives funding for AE as an integral part of the social structure. These organizations presently meet quarterly, together with the BMZ official responsible for the budget heading,
and discuss prospects for future lobbying as well as current issues.

In 1999, the BMZ began a cross-sectoral analysis of support for social institutions as a tool of development policy. Since the IIZ/DVV receives the largest amount of funding under this budget heading among the participating organizations, it was subject to the most thorough evaluation. The first stage was to draw up a design for evaluation of ongoing IIZ/DVV projects\textsuperscript{41}). Country studies of Ethiopia and Uganda, Mexico and Russia were then prepared; in total some ten assessors were concerned with the IIZ/DVV alone. We recall extensive and very critical discussions with the assessors and the BMZ. Procedures relating to goals, planning, management and monitoring of impact will change for all AGS organizations, and the relevant guidelines are being drawn up. The process is not yet completed, but a draft synthesis report\textsuperscript{42)} assessing all eleven individual evaluations is now available for discussion. Without wishing to anticipate the final conclusions, it can already be said that support for social institutions has been assessed positively and will continue to be used as a tool, but is to be further developed.

A report by the IIZ/DVV Advisory Board on “The Decline in the Importance of Education in Development Cooperation in 2001” led to a debate within the Association, the Board of Management eventually adopting the report, and more particularly to active lobbying by way of public relations activities such as publications in various journals and webpages\textsuperscript{43)}. The background to the report was the realistic assessment that education would, given competition with economic aid, etc., decline as a result of a policy requirement of the BMZ under which focus countries would in future only be able to opt for three thematic areas of development cooperation, and partner countries only for one. These reservations were put to the BMZ at Permanent Secretary level by Doris Odendahl, Chair of the DVV, and myself as Director of the Institute: we argued that development was unthinkable unless education were a priority and that it did not meet the Ministry's own principles of development policy. It was most noticeable to the Education Department of the Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (the Technical Cooperation Association, GTZ) that fewer contracts were being agreed for education projects; this applied particularly in higher education, but also in basic education. The GTZ and the IIZ/DVV therefore agreed to launch an initiative bringing together the major state and private providers in a committee on Education in Development Cooperation for a regular exchange of information and opinions; this is now happening, with attendance by the BMZ.

As I draw to my conclusion, some colleagues present, and subsequent readers, will no doubt be wondering who actually plans and implements the activities to which I have referred. Chart 6 will help to answer this question\textsuperscript{44}). It shows a total of 114 people who have a contract with the IIZ/DVV in a wide variety of
functions, positions and places of work. This does not include the people working for partner institutions themselves on joint projects whose salaries are covered out of the project funds provided by the IIZ/DVV.

This total of IIZ/DVV staff is remarkable on two counts: in the first place, in comparison with the beginnings, when the international activities of the DVV were performed more or less on the side, even if very seriously and with great commitment, by the then Director of the Association and his assistant in charge of foreign affairs; and secondly, when compared with the DVV of today, after the structural reform of the 1990s, when the DIE and AGI split away. Even then, the IIZ/DVV had the largest budget and number of staff, but the balance has shifted even further within the DVV.

Chart 6: IIZ/DVV staff at headquarters in Bonn and in partner countries (as at 31.12.2002)

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Posted abroad</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Educ./ Acad.</th>
<th>Admin.</th>
<th>Tech. support</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Full-time</th>
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<td>114</td>
<td>IIZ/ DVV</td>
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7 Conclusion: What Next?

It would be simplistic to say that there will not be any less work. Everywhere there is talk of the increased pace of globalization in more and more areas of life, undeniably mixed with calls for a globalization that serves human needs, in the knowledge that the process cannot be reversed. While some people still hope that even the poorest of the poor will benefit from it, and consistently base their development policy on global structures, a growing number believe that the situation will change drastically and that worsening globalization will be not so much the solution as the cause of further problems. These are not questions solely for economists and world social summits, regardless of whether these are convened at the highest levels or dismissed with a smile as “alternative”.

AE faced up to these issues a long time ago. Journals publish issues on topics such as “The Political Task of Globalization and Regionalization”. Conferences are opened with papers such as “The Globalization of Adult Education and the One World Concept”. Festschrifts contain intriguing contributions such as “The Volkshochschule in the Context of Internationalism, Interculturalism and Globalism”. And anyone who cares to may delve into the “Atlas of World Developments. A Book of Charts on Poverty, Wealth and the
Future in One World\textsuperscript{49} or may enjoy “World...Views. The Variety of Global Learning” as a book or a CD-ROM\textsuperscript{50}.

The internationalization of life will without doubt lead to more international cooperation, which will become more varied in political and regional terms in its aims and content, institutions and resources. It looks easy to make distinctions between industrialized, threshold, transitional and developing countries, but in many places developing countries have highly developed industries and productive technologies, while industrialized countries are revealing growing new-found poverty. In all these fields, development-oriented adult education\textsuperscript{51} will continue to be of great significance in future.

In the context of policy on Europe, it may already be wondered when cooperation within the EU can cease to be regarded as international. EU education initiatives are becoming increasingly important for national education authorities and voluntary associations. The general adoption of Lifelong Learning as the idea governing educational thinking and action in Europe since the mid-1990s is extraordinary. The DVV will face ever more tasks in this field as a result of the calls made on the VHS and their Land Associations because of migration and resettlement, which are in turn dependent on overall social developments in Europe and indeed worldwide.

It will be a matter for continuing dialogue within the Association and with other institutions which of these tasks the IIZ/DVV will be able and will need to concentrate on. We shall have a clearer picture in ten years’ time of what is happening.

You are all familiar with the wonderful names that the EU gives to its education programmes. We have Leonardo and Socrates, Erasmus, Comenius and Grundtvig. I am looking forward to the time when a programme is given the name that I associate, as a manager and activist, with international AE and development cooperation: Sisyphus.

I will end with another personal consideration, that my career can be expected to end in ten years’ time. Perhaps then there will be an opportunity to reflect on international developments in AE over that period. If so, I hope we shall find a particularly appropriate name of a patron-saint for our work.

Notes
1) The presentation was not based on a written text. It was delivered using overhead projector slides which laid out the framework and were used as documents. The text was only written down a year later, and only some of the slides were incorporated in the text. Where it appeared sensible, the story was updated to the end of 2002. Some elements were expanded in response to the views expressed by participants during and after the presentation.
2) Lucien Lefebvre, 1933. In: Christian H. Stifter and Anton Szanya (eds.): Ohne Quellen


14) See Heribert Hinzen and Ewa Przybylska: Studiengänge zur Erwachsenenbildung an Hochschulen und Universitäten in Mittelost- und Südosteuropa. Exposé für eine Studie
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15) See inter alia the “Education Plan. European Master in Adult Education” developed by Professor Soitu. MS. Iasi: “Al. I. Cuza” University 2002

16) Prepared by Hanno Schindele, Bonn: IIZ/DVV 2000


18) See the articles of the DVV in Note (17) pp. 24-27


27) For the beginnings see Helmuth Dolff: Die deutschen Volkshochschulen. In: Ämter und Organisationen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag 1979


33) See Annual Report 2000. Bonn: IIZ/DVV 2001, p. 50. The IIZ/DVV has published an Annual Report since the early 1970s, a set of which is kept at the Institute. German and English editions are now distributed to the Institute's mailing list and are made available on the Internet at www.iiz-dvv.de

34) See the various volumes in the IPE series, e.g. 4: Erwachsenenbildung in Südosteuropa, 5: Past, present and future situation of adult education in Estonia, 6: Erwachsenenbildung in Rußland, 17: Erwachsenenbildung in Polen


37) In: Adult Education and Development, 40, 1993, pp. 287-307


40) See above Note (33), p. 50


44) See above Note (30), p. 50


46) See the special issue of Hessische Blätter für Volksbildung, 3/2002 edited by Peter Faulstich


