

A window of wonder: An insight into intergenerational learning in the Irish second-level education system

MARY SURLIS, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, GALWAY

Abstract

This paper introduces Living Scenes, and intergenerational programme of learning which has been in operation in selected schools in Ireland for the last thirteen years. An overview of the programme is followed by a description of the hidden curriculum and the transmission of arbitrary culture in an educational context. This is followed by an introduction to intergenerational learning as an antidote to the competitive and results driven Irish second-level education system exploring the potential of investing in social capital in schools.

Introduction

Living Scenes is a collaborative education initiative, involving schools, teenagers and older adults, working together within a community learning environment. It encourages, supports and accommodates active experiential learning among participants of the programme, thus eliciting specific learning outcomes from the curriculum based objectives of the programme.

Living Scenes: An intergenerational programme of learning

Living Scenes seeks to promote and cultivate the enriching relationship that has been established in the course of the programme's thirteen year history. The concept of intergenerational learning in a school-based setting with a devised and planned curriculum is relatively uncharted territory in this country and abroad. The changing socio-economic landscape that is now an integral part of Ireland's development as member of the European Union brings its own burdens on family and community life. The effects of this change have permeated every aspect of society. Increasingly, parents, professionals and educators find themselves experiencing the dilemmas associated with a populace that is struggling with identity and values. Through its value-led approach in traditional

and community-based education, Living Scenes seeks to highlight the need for re-establishing and preserving Irish heritage and cultural identity whilst embracing the ever-changing multicultural dimension of our society.

The programme takes into consideration and responds to the needs of younger and older adults in our society through a specifically designed curriculum that provides a platform for equal expression from both groups. Strong emphasis is placed on the holistic development of the participants. In an intergenerational context equality of opportunity, empowerment and personal development are promoted and encouraged. The objectives of the programme are: to discover common links between generations that are perceived as diverse; to foster and promote mutual respect; furthermore, to empower both groups through consultation to actively participate in the development of the curriculum, thus developing a sense of ownership of a non-hierarchical nature within the programme. Living Scenes is transferable in nature and is responsive to the needs of a fast-changing society.

Key features of Living Scenes

Aim

The aim of Living Scenes is to promote the sharing of culture, heritage, tradition and experiences between two diverse generations through a structured programme of work. The perceived barriers of age, social background, culture and inequality are addressed and engaged in the course of the programme. The curriculum process is consultative and participative in nature and aims to promote reciprocal learning and experience. The intergenerational focus of the programme seeks to create a climate in which the participants will develop interpersonal skills, self-realisation, character building skills and cross-generational awareness and respect, which are encouraged in practical terms through application and self-expression in the four identified modules of Living Scenes, Art, Music, Drama and Writing.

Teaching methodology and content

Adopting an open, inclusive and consultative approach is one of the key aspects of this programme. The primary focus is on a non-hierarchical and a non-judgmental approach to learning. The core emphasis of the programme is on a multiple intelligence approach to learning, the learning environment itself is designed to facilitate a highly consultative approach to course content and curriculum design, thus promoting high levels of engagement and participation, the “buy-in factor”.

The programme is school-based, and is timetabled on the Transition Year timetable for a two and a half hour weekly session over a thirty week period. The programme is facilitated by external facilitators who are not members of the school's teaching staff but who are trained by the University to deliver the modular content. The curriculum of Living Scenes promotes equality by attaching value to the participants and their views. Because of the intergenerational nature of the group, the level of experiential learning is valued and promoted as core to the programme's function. In the context of curricular design, the programme is nontraditional and responsive in its planning and implementation process. The context and conceptual focus of the curriculum from an intergenerational perspective is founded on the acceptance of change, societal change, educational change and demographic change. In an educational context, Living Scenes promotes a holistic approach to learning. The tenets of multiple intelligence, self-directed learning, integrated learning and life-long learning inform the implementation and design of the programme.

The hidden curriculum

The non-participatory nature of schools, driven by a prescriptive learning model was a key motivating factor in establishing the Living Scenes programme. Illich (1973, p.71) encapsulated the 'insidious' nature of schooling when he referred to 'the hidden curriculum'. Far from having the function of developing a democratic and participatory society, Illich (1973) argued that the main functions of the school were in reality four-fold: they provided custodial care for children; they effectively distributed pupils into occupational roles; they transmitted the dominant value system; and they taught pupils to acquire approved knowledge and skills. Illich (1973) contends that the relationship between school and society is essentially one of producing the economic requirements of society – and in particular, disciplined workers (at all levels), who are aware of and accepting of the political and economic hierarchies. His argument is set within a wide-ranging critique of contemporary society, in which he maintains that modern economic development has removed from previously self-sufficient individuals the skills they need, and made them instead dependent on professional experts. Continuing, he asserts, that 'schools encourage passive consumption of the existing societal structure in the unconscious manner in which their procedures inculcate disobedience and conformity' as he contends, 'schools teach children to know their place and to sit in it.' (Illich 1973, p. 72).

The theorists who followed Illich (1973) focused on the way in which control was imposed through the form of school organisation, rather than through for-

mal curricular content, stating that this notion is so deeply embedded and hidden that as McDonald (1997) contends, it passes completely unrecognised by both the pupils passing through school and the teacher who uses the control to determine the pupils' experiences in school.

The nature of the hidden curriculum was summarised succinctly by Valance (1974) when he described it as:

...the non-academic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level to the public rationale for education.

(Valance, 1974, p. 7)

Valance (1974, p.7) continues thus: 'No open rationalisation of the practice of schooling publicly acknowledges and defends the insidious infusion of values, the tacit political socialisation into a culture of docility and acceptance of the reproduction of structures.' One of the best known expositions of the nature and workings of the hidden curriculum in the context of political economy is put forward by Bowles & Gintis (1972; 1976; 1988). To them, education is simply a response to the capitalist systems, transmitting technical and social skills through the core curriculum and inculcating discipline and respect for authority through the hidden curriculum. The social relations of the means of production correspond to the social relations of schooling, and this, they argue, is no coincidence:

...the school is a bureaucratic order, with hierarchical authority, rule orientation, stratification by 'ability' as well as by age, role differentiation by sex (physical education) home economics etc. and a system of external incentives (marks, promises of promotion and threat of failure) much like pay and status in the sphere of work.

(Bowles and Gintis, 1972, p. 87)

It is not just that schools reproduce the personality types required by capitalist reproduction; this is the very purpose of the school. Alienation and anomie are necessary outcomes of this schooling, not merely incidental to the incompatibility of the cultures of primary and secondary socialisers (Gramsci, 1971; Berger and Luckman, 1966). Following this argument, it becomes apparent that

schools become mechanisms both for cultural distribution and for class reproduction: the two are indivisible.

In the same vein Bourdieu's (1971) theory of cultural capital includes both cultural production and reproduction in schools. The school inculcates partly through the formal but particularly through the informal curriculum, not so much with particular and particularised schemes of thought as with the general disposition which engenders particular schemes (Bourdieu, 1971). This "cultural capital" argues Bourdieu (1971), is used as a mechanism to filter pupils into particular positions within the hierarchy of capitalist society. Schools recreate the social and economic hierarchies of the society in which they are embedded by using processes of selection and teaching; but, by judging and comparing these activities against the habits of the middle class, they effectively discriminate against all those children who have not had access to a middle class upbringing.

...by taking all children as equal, while implicitly favouring those who have already acquired the linguistic and cultural competencies to handle a middle class culture, schools takes as natural what is essentially a social gift, i.e. cultural capital.

(Dale et al, 1976, p. 4)

As Bourdieu (1971) puts it,

...the cultural capital and the ethos, as they take shape, combine to determine behaviour and attitude to school which make up the differential principle of elimination operating for children of different social classes.

(Bourdieu, 1971, p. 36)

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that education has a particular or special function in the transmission of the cultural hierarchy arguing that education can reproduce realities in social classes and thus preserve cultural and other differences between classes. They assert that traditional analyses of education tend to separate cultural reproduction from its function of social reproduction and 'ignore the specifics of symbolic relations in the reproduction of power relations' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Challenging the notion of the 'nature v nurture' debate, functionalists contend that we are formally socialised by the system of education,

...we receive the cultural identity which has been handed to us from previous generations ... as we grow older, we modify the identity inherited. This identity is not intrinsic but the scope for changing it is hindered by the social expectations of the group with which we are associated. By our actions we informally reinforce our inherited group affiliation.

(Robbins, 1990, p. 174)

For the most part, schools are involved in the transmission of arbitrary culture and knowledge. Robbins (1990) contends on this issue that 'the equalisation of opportunity' provided by state education and by the recognition of 'innate' intelligence is a sham. The system simply provides a series of awards or qualifications which, 'as much as hairstyles, are reinforcements of our previous group identity' Robbins (1990 p. 34).

Young (1971) concurs with this approach, contending that power is unequally distributed in society: the system that allows this is created and maintained partly through the transmission of culture, described by Young (1971) as:

...access to power and the opportunity to legitimise certain dominant categories, and the processes by which the availability of such categories, to some groups, enables them to assert power and control over others.

(Young, 1971, p. 8)

In an exposé of the hidden curriculum in Irish post primary schools, Lynch (1989) asserts that the majority of people in working-class communities are keenly aware of the importance of education and value it for their children. Lynch (1989) claims that, while Bourdieu (1971) and his French associates are correct to say that class differences in habits take the form of differences in manners, tastes, style of dress, speech dispositions and attitudes, there is a type of symbolic violence being done to working-class culture in schools

...what alienates working class children from the system most of all is not only the middle class character of the formal and hidden curriculum but the absence of the financial resources to make the system work for themselves.

(Lynch 1989, p. 58)

Schools and universities do not simply act as a guide to 'official' culture, but behave in ways that reinforce the social groups which support their choice of approved culture. Schools and universities thus both conserve culture, and act to reproduce it; individuals are cultivated to have a specific set of values, tastes, thoughts – their habits. Thus, the organisation and validation of knowledge becomes more important than the content of knowledge, the curriculum. What is important is not what the knowledge is; it is how particular knowledge comes to be validated as important and how it is used to have power-forming and power-augmenting characteristics:

...thus culture both classifies knowledge but also, in its power-validating mode, classifies the classifiers: it discriminates between those who have the power of cultural legitimisation and those who do not.

(Ross, 2000, p. 90)

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990, p. 5) describe this process. All pedagogic action, they argue, is 'objectively symbolic violence, insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power' (p. 5). Such pedagogic action implies that it has pedagogic authority, so that pedagogic transmitters (schools and universities) are:

...from the outset designated as fit to transmit that which they transmit, and hence entitled to impose its reception and test its inculcation by means of socially approved or guaranteed sanctions

(Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p. 20)

The banking concept of education (Freire, 1972a) with its implicit belief in the superior knowledge and authority of the teacher and its passive view of the learner is still highly pervasive. Lynch (1999) contends that such hierarchical relations are antithetical to the development of an egalitarian perspective as they

...habituate both pupil/student and staff consciousness to a mode of educational and organisational relations in which dominance and subordination are naturalised.

(Lynch, 1999, p. 303)

Lynch (1989, p. 63) states that, if schools are not participatory democracies in their organisation, and ‘dialogical in their pedagogical practice’ then it is likely that equality goals pursued through the curricula will be self-defeating, as the hidden curriculum of schooling will contradict the message of the formal curriculum. Lynch (1989) contends that students are subjected more systematically and consistently to the equality message of the hidden curriculum rather than that of the formal.

Intergenerational learning: Levelling the playing field

The challenge of embedding an intergenerational programme of learning in an established mainstream academic system was at times daunting. Living Scenes was to embrace “the non academic but educationally significant consequence of schooling” (Valance, 1974). The programme is designed to acknowledge the powerful equalizing effect of reciprocal active learning, non-judgmental learning and a non-hierarchical approach in the classroom most of which is readily ignored in mainstream Irish secondary schools.

According to Bengston (1993), interactions between individuals from different generations play an important part in the growth of trust, the development of the ability to rely on each other and the strengthening of the links involved in such relationships between younger and older people. Such interaction is considered to fall within the scope of intergenerational learning.

Boström (2003) contends that intergenerational learning may be viewed as an integral part of lifelong learning and a means by which it is possible to introduce aspects of informal learning into the system of formal education (see diagram). According to Boström (2003), this model provides a framework for describing how intergenerational learning may be seen in relation to lifelong learning in a life wide perspective. In Boström’s study, the pupils undergoing formal education in schools meet male senior citizens (The Granddad Programme) as role models and friends where dialectic transmission of learning occurs between them. The senior citizens in the programme are providing care for the pupils but are not teaching them in any direct manner. In Living Scenes, the experiential learning aspect of the programme ensures that learning is occurring constantly, thus making the Boström model highly applicable to the programme’s objective.

Feedback from principals and co-ordinators on the last point indicate that, from a school’s perspective, the Living Scenes programme fosters inter-human

communication as it allows TYs to encounter older adults in a fixed way that would not otherwise have occurred in a school environment. Because of the level of interaction and the relaxed learning environment, the participants of the programme have discovered talents that are sometimes not visible in a standard classroom. In all of the schools, the adults are viewed as a potential resource, whose presence may permeate in a cross-curricular context to other aspects of school life. Kaplan (1998) observes that senior citizens generate community-based learning experiences not only for older people themselves, but also for the young.

Current trends dictate that an increased proportion of psychological investment in child-rearing derives from actors in new structures, such as a child day-centres and schools. Therefore, it is possible for adults other than parents to constitute a social benefit for the child. Coleman (1990) reflects that social capital resides in the capability of any transmission between an adult and a child. He contends that corporate actors have found opportunities to establish and strengthen their own relationship with children. Television programmes are made specifically for children; toys, clothes and entertainment have been devised to strengthen the relationship between children and other adult actors.

Since many parents are spending an increasing proportion of their day at work, many children remain at home or in care isolated from their parents. The teenagers in Living Scenes speak of a friendship, respect and trust that has developed between the older adults and themselves.

Kaplan (1998) observes:

Whereas initiatives have been designed to create shared friendship and learning experiences for the children, youth and senior adult participants, more attention is now being paid to the potential of intergenerational programmes to provide solutions to social problems. There are now intergenerational programme initiatives designed to investigate and improve community conditions.

(Kaplan, 1998, p. 19)

Social capital: Building community in schools

In Living Scenes the rudimentary tenets of social capital are expounded as the foundation of the whole programme. If the one common denominator in the

utilization of the concept of social capital entails trust, communication and network, then, in essence, it describes the core of Living Scenes in context.

Coleman (1988; 1990) in a further development of the concept of social capital defined it as follows:

Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, they facilitate certain aspects of social structures and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure

(Coleman, 1988, p. 98)

According to Coleman (1988) there are three forms of social capital:

- Social capital at the level of trust to be found in the social environment and the actual extent of recognised obligations
- Social capital as information channels
- Social capital constituting those norms and sanctions that encourage or constrain people to work for a common good, thereby relinquishing their own immediate self-interest.

Utilising Coleman's (1988) definition Fukuyama (2000) has chosen to concentrate on the importance of norms and structures in his particular conceptualisation of social capital. For Fukuyama (2000), social capital is to be regarded as a set of informal values or norms, shared by members of a group, which permits co-operation amongst them. According to this view, where trust is seen as a by-product of shared norms of ethical behaviour, it is the presence of social norms that provides the indicator for social capital.

Current trends dictate that an increased proportion of psychological investment in child-rearing derives from actors in new structures, such as child daycentres and schools. Therefore, it is possible for adults other than parents, such as teachers or older adults, to constitute a social benefit for the child. Coleman (1990) contends that a child is dependent on social and psychological support and on social constraints, which together constitute that social capital which is required of adults to invest in the young.

Coleman (1990) reflects that social capital resides in the capability of any transmission between an adult and a child. Coleman (1990) also observes that it was the transformation of the exchange economy to the money economy, that prompted males to leave their households in large numbers in order to exchange their labour for wages. However, during the early phase of the money economy one adult, namely the mother, continued to remain in the household. But this trend would change.

...It was the exodus to external workplace that saw the beginning of the process of fragmentation of the family household from the three-generational unit to the nuclear family, and, eventually, through further fragmentation as a result of increasing divorce rates, to the single-parent family.

(Boström, 2003, p.49)

While these processes resulted in alienating parents physically from their children, Coleman (1990) states that a variety of corporate actors discovered opportunities to show increased interest in children and their own relationship to them. Television programmes were made specifically for child audiences; toys, clothes and entertainment were devised to strengthen the relationships between children and these other adult actors. Coleman (1990) explains how corporate actors have found opportunities to establish and strengthen their own relationship with children. These opportunities arise as a consequence of children needing to feel that some form of adult authority is taking responsibility for them; but, since many parents are often absent from home, spending an increasing proportion of their day at work, many children remain at home or in care, isolated from their parents. Thus, the role of the parent in the child-rearing process has become increasingly diminished, and this has added further to the complexities of child-rearing.

Social capital in the school

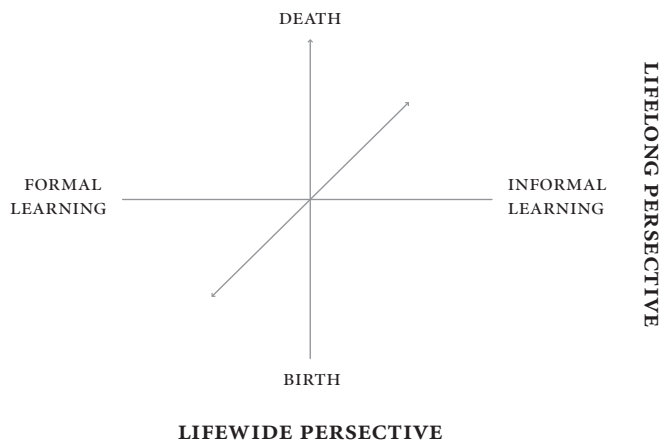
Observing the decline in the impact of parental involvement in the life of a child, it has become apparent that the role of the actors has a high impact effect on the life of a developing child.

In Sweden in 2003 a detailed study was carried out by Boström (2003) to examine the relationship between lifelong learning, intergenerational learning and social capital by reporting on an analysis of the concepts and an investigation of one instance of intergenerational interaction namely 'the Granddad Programme'.

The findings of research on Living Scenes clearly concur with Boström’s view that the benefits to be derived from this programme constitute a two-way flow. On the one hand, the pupils gain the opportunity to meet and learn from a member of the older generation, who have a different type of ‘time’ at their disposal, which they are able to spend with individual pupils, than is the case with the teacher. On the other hand, the retired or unemployed senior citizen gains the opportunity to engage in activities that give him a sense of having a significant role to play in society, rather than remaining at home, perhaps feeling isolated and with nothing useful to do. Therefore, although the granddad voluntarily chooses this work in order to help the pupils, he also earns increased self-esteem and gains an improved quality of life through the engagement and participation in a network derived from a lifelong– learning situation.

Boström (2003) contends that an appropriate model of lifelong and lifewide learning may be applied to the area of intergenerational learning which the Granddad programme represents (see diagram following). In this model, the vertical axis represents a complete life span which, when viewed from the bottom up, represents a theoretical description of an individual life cycle from birth to death. The horizontal axis represents experience of lifewide learning, where formal learning is located toward the left side, non-formal learning is located on the central section of the axis and informal learning is located on the right side. For the Granddad Programme, the pupil in formal education is located in the bottom left quadrant and the male senior citizen representing informal learning is located in the top right hand quadrant.

Lifelong learning and intergenerational learning



Adapted: Boström, 2003

Living Scenes ripple effect

The schools selected for the Living Scenes study were fundamentally very different schools. They have a very different dynamic in their catchment: rural, urban and large provincial town. This in turn influences the culture and ethos of the programme in each school. As indicated in the sample of interview data presented, all of the teachers who became co-ordinators expressed views of being concerned about initial discomfort at bridging the gap professionally from their traditional role to that of a more interactive, delegatory position. Co-ordinators spoke of the demands of the programme's extracurricular dimension, but not in a particularly negative way. There is an awareness amongst the co-ordinators of the extra-curricular demands of managing Living Scenes in the individual schools. Despite this, co-ordinators speak of the experience as being rewarding and beneficial to themselves, to the school and to their students. There is a realisation evident that this role reveals their professional identity in a new way both to students and to the older adults. They speak about their role changing to a more interactive one. They speak of commitment but again not in a negative sense. There is an obvious sense of belief and motivation evident in their responses. It would appear that this is driven by their commitment to the older adult grouping in particular. With regard to collaboration the co-ordinators speak of having high levels of co-operation from colleagues particularly when requested. In one of the larger schools it emerged that collaboration is more difficult due to the size of the staff. In this instance, as described by the co-ordinator, it feels like 'working in a vacuum'; however, the same co-ordinator has indicated that, when directly asked, staff are willing to get involved.

Principals and co-ordinators have described the high impact of inter-generational learning in their schools. They speak of unexpected responsiveness from the students, and in particular the way in which students respond to the older adults in an interactive manner. There has been widespread acknowledgement in the four schools of the reciprocity of learning in an intergenerational context. Co-ordinators in particular have commented on the 'no right or wrong' approach to learning. This has been associated with 'freedom', thus allowing the students and adults in particular to voice their opinions. Principals and co-ordinators have spoken of the transferable skills being promoted and adopted in the programme (mutual respect, co-operation, confidence-building, empowerment). On an interpersonal and intrapersonal level, there is genuine wonder at the ease in which the students communicate with the older adults: 'They light up when new students talk to them' (male, principal, urban school). There is also an awareness that this is a complete break from academic measurement

and climate of schooling. Participants, particularly students, speak of learning 'but not for exams'. Describing the effect of the programme as a levelling factor in his school, a principal observed that "many students, who otherwise would have slipped beneath the radar in the academic system, blossomed having had the opportunity of recognition in Living Scenes."

The one constant in the dissemination process has been the relationship developed between the younger and older generation in every school. All of the principals and co-ordinators have alluded to the commitment and loyalty of the adults to the programme and to their schools. As the co-ordinator in an urban school pointed out, even when difficulties were evident, the adults still appeared weekly. The principals and co-ordinators have also observed how the students have spoken of their relationship with the older adults developing as there is a noticeable decline in their relationships with their parents. The older adults have made a high impact on the students as is indicated by a selection of the students' responses, for example: 'They don't judge us'; 'They're good listeners'; 'Great craic'; 'Laid back like us'; 'Age is just a number'; 'Easier to communicate with than our parents or someone twenty or thirty years older than us'; 'They know what's important [and] what's not'.

The older adults on the other hand speak of 'friendship'; 'a new family'; 'a revelation'; 'shedding masks'; 'total breakdown of barriers'; 'confirming faith in the younger people'. They speak of being rejuvenated and respected. In terms of a wider impact on a locale, again in all the schools co-ordinators and principals speak of the impact of the programme beyond the classroom. Time and again in interview data, personal and community gain were referred to. The community developmental potential was referred to by the co-ordinator in a rural school as she indicated that the change of attitude evident in both groups is noticeable on the street.

Overall, the perception gleaned from the research carried out on the programme to date suggests that, as a result of involvement in Living Scenes, participating schools have been reintroduced in their locale as community learning centres promoting social capital. The teacher's role is defined as a facilitator of learning rather than as the traditional didactic role. A new type of learning is occurring in the participating schools and a new level of reciprocal interaction has been forged between these schools and their local communities.

References

- Apple, M.W. (1990) *Ideology and Curriculum* (2nd edn), London: Routledge.
- Aspin, D., & Chapman, J. (2001). Towards a philosophy of lifelong learning. In D. Aspin, J. Chapman, M. Hatton, and Y. Sawano (Eds), *International handbook of lifelong learning, Part I*. London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Bengston, V.L., & Murray, T.M. (1993). Justice across generations (and cohorts): Sociological perspectives on the life course and reciprocities over time. In L.M. Cohen (Ed.), *Justice across generations: What does it mean?* Washington, DC: American Association of Retired Persons.
- Boston, P., 'Systemic family therapy and the influence of post-modernism' *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment*, Vol. 6 (2000), pp. 450-457.
- Boström, A-K. (2003) *Lifelong Learning, Intergenerational Learning, and Social Capital* Akademitryck AB, Edsbruk 2003, Sweden
- Breen, R. et al. (1990) *Understanding Contemporary Ireland: State, Class and Development in the Republic of Ireland*.
- Bruner, Jerome S. (1966) *Toward a Theory of Instruction*. Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Coleman, J.S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, S95-S120.
- Coleman, J.S. (1990). *Foundations of social theory*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Coleman, J.S., 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital' *American Journal of Sociology Supplement* 94 (1988); S95-S120; Fukuyama, F., Trust: *The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (New York: Free Press, 1995); Putnam, R., *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002).
- Dewey, J. (1916) *Democracy and Education*, New York: Macmillan.
- Drudy, S. and Lynch, K. (1993) *Schools and Society in Ireland*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.
- Durkheim, E. (1897) (1970) *Suicide: A study in sociology*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eisner, E.W. (1992) *Teachers College Record* Volume 93 Number 4, 1992
- Fahey, T. (1998) 'Progress or decline? Demographic change in political context', in Crotty, W. and Schmitt, D.E. *Ireland and the Politics of Change*, London: Longman.
- Fahey, T. and Russell, H. (2001) *Family Formation in Ireland. Trends, Data Needs and Implications*, Policy Research Series, No. 43, Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute.
- Field, J. (2001) Lifelong education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. Vol. 20, 3-16

- Fitzpatrick, C. and Deehan, A. (1999) Competencies and Problems of Irish Children and Adolescents, *Irish Journal of Medical Science*, 156.
- Fukayama, F. (2000). *The great disruption, human nature and the reconstitution of social order*. New York: Touchstone.
- Grioux, H.A. (2004). "Neoliberalism and the Demise of Democracy: Resurrecting Hope in Dark Times." www.dissidentvoice.org.
- Grummell, B. (2007). The 'Second Chance' Myth: Equality of Opportunity in Irish Adult Education Policies, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 55(2), pp. 182-201.
- Hannan, D.F. and Boyle, M. (1987) *Schooling Decisions: The Origins and Consequences of Selection and Streaming in Irish Post-Primary Schools*, Dublin: Economic & Social Research Institute.
- James, D. and Lawlor, M. (2001) Psychological Problems of Early School Leavers *Irish Journal of Psych. Med*, 18(2), pp. 61-65.
- Jencks, C., Smith, M., Acland, H., Bane, M.J., Cohen, D., Gintis, H., Heyns, B., & Michelson, S. (1972). *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kaplan, M., Kusano, A., Ichiro, T., & Hisamichi, S. (1998). *Intergenerational programs: Support for children, youth and elders in Japan*. New York: State University of New York.
- Kennedy, F. (2001). *From Cottage to Creche: Family Change in Ireland*, Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.
- Kiely G., (1995) 'Family Research in Ireland', pp. 11-26, and Kiely, G. and Richardson, V., 'Family Policy in Ireland', pp.27-48 in M. McCarthy (ed) *Irish Family Studies: Selected Papers* (UCD: FSC Centre)
- Newman, S., Ward, C.R., Smith, T.B., Wilson, J.O., & McCre, J.M. (1997) *Intergenerational programs: Past, present and future*. Washington, DC: Taylor and Francis.
- OECD (1991), *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Ireland*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD (1996). *Lifelong learning for all: Meeting of the education committee at ministerial level, 16-17 January 1996*. Paris: Author.
- Okamoto, K. (2001). *Education of the rising sun 21: An introduction to education in Japan*. Tokyo: National Federation of Social Education.
- Putnam, R.D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. London: Simon & Schuster.
- Rafferty, A., and Hout, M. (1985) Does Irish education approach the meritocratic ideal? A logistic analysis. *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 115-40.
- Rawls, J. (1971), 'A National or a Nationalist Curriculum?', in Moon, B., Murphy, P. and Raynor, J. (eds) (1971) *Policies for the Curriculum*, London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Ross, A. (2000) *Curriculum construction and critique*, Master Classes in Education Series, Falmer Press: New York, London.

- Sawano, Y. (1999). Intergenerational exchange programme for lifelong learning: Japanese experiences. In Report from the 1st International Conference on Intergenerational Programmes. Maastricht: ICIP.
- Stenhouse, L. (1975) *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*, London: Heineman.
- Tyler, R.W. (1949) *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- UNESCO, International Commission on Education for the 21st Century (1996).
- Valance, E. (1974) 'Hiding the Hidden Curriculum: An Interpretation of the Language of Justification in Nineteenth-Century Educational Reform', *Curriculum Theory Network*, 4, 1, pp. 5-21.
- Walker, D.F. (1971) 'A naturalistic model for curriculum development', *School Review*, 80, 1, pp. 51-65.
- Williams, R. (1961) *The Long Revolution*, London: Chatto & Windus.