

Monika Govekar Okoliš

**ZGODOVINA
IZOBRAŽEVANJA ODRASLIH
NA SLOVENSKEM**

**50 LET ANDRAGOGIKE
NA FILOZOFSKI FAKULTETI
UNIVERZE V LJUBLJANI**

**HISTORY OF ADULT
EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA**

**50 YEARS OF ANDRAGOGY
AT THE FACULTY OF ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA**

Ljubljana 2024

ZGODOVINA IZOBRAŽEVANJA ODRASLIH NA SLOVENSKEM: 50 let andragogike na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani

HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA: 50 Years of Andragogy at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

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Kazalo/Contents

Uvod	7
Pojmovanje andragogike	11
Razvoj množičnega in institucionalnega izobraževanja odraslih na Slovenskem po obdobjih	19
Analiza po zgodovinskih obdobjih in ugotovitve.	89
Zaključek	95
Povzetek.	97
Introduction	101
Understanding andragogy	107
The development of mass and institutional adult education in Slovenia by period.	115
Analysis, divided by historical period and findings.	189
Conclusion	195
Abstract	197
Literatura in viri/References	199

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**50 LET ANDRAGOGIKE
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Uvod

Monografija *Zgodovina izobraževanja odraslih na Slovenskem*, s podnaslovom *50 let andragogike na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani*, je nastala ob 50-letnici andragogike na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Podlaga za nastanek monografije je prispevek *Razvoj izobraževanja odraslih in andragogike na Slovenskem*, ki je objavljen v reviji *Andragoška spoznanja/Studies in Adult Education and Learning* (št. 1, 2024). Glavni motiv za omenjeno monografijo je bil, da takšna strnjena zgodovinska analiza izobraževanja odraslih in razvoja andragogike kot znanstvene discipline v slovenskem prostoru še ni bila narejena. Monografija je zgodovinskoandragoška raziskava, ki sodi tudi v sklop etničnih raziskav. Raziskava temelji na kvalitativni raziskovalni paradigmi. Uporabljena je bila deskriptivna metoda raziskovanja. Gre za strnjen prikaz razvoja množičnega in institucionalnega izobraževanja odraslih od druge polovice 8. stoletja dalje po obdobjih do začetka 21. stoletja (do leta 2010), ko nastane zadnja večja sprememba v študiju andragogike na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani po bolonjski reformi visokošolskega izobraževanja.

Namen znanstvene monografije je prikazati, kako se je razvijalo množično in institucionalno izobraževanje odraslih po posameznih obdobjih, kakšen je bil vpliv družbe na izobraževanje odraslih ter na razvoj andragoških idej in andragogike. Predstavljeni so množično versko, kulturno in nacionalno izobraževanje odraslih, najpomembnejše institucije, njihov namen, nekateri posamezniki z

andragoški idejami in prizadevanji za razvoj andragogike kot znanstvene discipline na Slovenskem.

Besedilo monografije je razdeljeno na tri poglavja. V prvem se opredeljuje pojem andragogika in njegovo razumevanje nekaterih evropskih avtorjev skozi zgodovino. Ugotavljamo, da je opredelitev pojma andragogika zapletena, saj je pri avtorjih skozi čas spoznati, kako se je ta počasi razvijal in kako se je postopoma utrjeval in razumel v posameznih evropskih državah, vse do razvoja andragogike kot znanstvene discipline. To poglavje je temeljno za razumevanje razvoja andragoških idej in andragogike kot znanstvene discipline na Slovenskem.

V drugem poglavju je kronološko prikazan razvoj množičnega in institucionalnega izobraževanja odraslih na Slovenskem po obdobjih. Opis zajema pet obdobj, po katerih smo skušali prikazati, kako je razvoj družbenih potreb in gospodarstva ter razvoj institucij za izobraževanje odraslih ter prizadevanj posameznikov pripeljal do nastanka prvih andragoških idej na Slovenskem, vse do razvoja andragogike kot znanstvene discipline.

V prvem obdobju opisujemo *začetke množičnega verskega, kulturnega in nacionalnega izobraževanja odraslih od druge polovice 8. stoletja do druge polovice 18. stoletja*. Za tako dolgo obdobje smo se odločili, ker so bile razmeroma podobne razmere v razvoju družbe in njenega vpliva na množično izobraževanje odraslih. Pri tem skušamo odgovoriti, kakšni so bili začetki množičnega in institucionalnega izobraževanja odraslih, kdo so bili posamezniki in katere institucije so vplivale na množično izobraževanje odraslih.

V drugem obdobju je prikazano *izobraževanje odraslih od druge polovice 18. stoletja do leta 1914*. Najprej ugotavljamo, kakšen je bil položaj Slovencev in katere so bile posebnosti oblikovanja nacionalne identitete Slovencev, ki so živeli znotraj avstrijske monarhije. Pri tem skušamo odgovoriti, kakšen je bil pomen nacionalne identitete in kdo so bili posamezniki, ki so v takratnem času prispevali s svojimi deli k razvoju kulturne in politične nacionalne identitete Slovencev. Spoznamo, kaj sta omenjeni nacionalni identiteti pomenili za Slovence in razvoj slovenskega naroda. Analiziramo pomen različnih institucij za množično izobraževanje odraslih in dejavnikov, ki so bolj ali manj organizirano vplivali na odrasle Slovence. Med temi omenjamo nedeljske ponavljalne šole, posebne strokovne šole, kmetijske šole, gospodinjske šole, društva, čitalnice,

tabore kot neinstitucionalno množično izobraževanje odraslih in slovenski tisk kot pomemben dejavnik za nacionalno izobraževanje odraslih v takratnem času.

Tretje obdobje opisuje *izobraževanje odraslih med obema vojnama (1918–1941)*. Na kratko predstavljamo takratne družbene razmere in njihov vpliv na izobraževanje odraslih. Ugotavljamo, katere so bile institucije za izobraževanje odraslih. Analizirali smo nižje kmetijske šole, gospodinjske in kmetijske nadaljevalne šole, ljudske visoke šole, različna društva in prvo dopisno šolo za izobraževanje odraslih na Slovenskem. Prikazali smo pomembno vlogo posameznikov, ki so takrat že razvijali prva teoretična izhodišča izobraževanja odraslih.

V četrtem obdobju prikazujemo *izobraževanje odraslih po drugi svetovni vojni (1945–1991)*. Izpostavili smo bistvene družbene novosti po letu 1945, ki so vplivale na institucionalni razvoj izobraževanja odraslih v omenjenem času. Ugotavljamo, katere so bile pomembne institucije za množično izobraževanje odraslih. Za opis teh smo analizirali pomembno vlogo Ljudske prosvete Slovenije, pomen ljudskih univerz, delavskih univerz, dopisno izobraževanje odraslih, vlogo izobraževalnih centrov v podjetjih, Andragoško društvo Slovenije in Univerzo za tretje življenjsko obdobje. Zanimalo nas je, kako so tovrstne institucije vplivale na množično izobraževanje odraslih in kako se je iz potreb po izobraževanju odraslih razvijala najprej teorija izobraževanja odraslih. Še posebej pa nas je zanimal razvoj andragogike kot znanstvene discipline v Sloveniji. Ugotavljamo, da se je andragogika najprej razvila kot znanstvena disciplina in kot študij na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Zanimalo nas je, kdo so bili posamezniki, ki so pomembno prispevali s svojimi deli k nastanku in razvoju andragogike kot znanstvene discipline. Pri tem smo skušali odgovoriti, kakšni so bili začetki študija andragogike na Oddelku za pedagogiko na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Analizirali smo predavanja andragoških predmetov na omenjenem oddelku iz Seznama predavanj Univerze v Ljubljani v letih od 1973/74 do 1985/86.

Peto obdobje opisuje *izobraževanje odraslih v Republiki Sloveniji od 1991 do 2010*. Kot pri prejšnjih opisih obdobji smo najprej izpostavili bistvene spremembe in novosti v novi nacionalni državi po osamosvojitvi Slovenije leta 1991. Prizadevali smo si najti odgovor, katere institucije so po letu 1991 pomembno vplivale na razvoj množičnega izobraževanja odraslih. Analizirali smo izobraževalne centre v podjetjih in poklicno izobraževanje, ljudske univerze, univerze za tretje življenjsko obdobje, novoustanovljeni Andragoški center Slovenije (*Slovenian*

Institute for Adult Education) idr. Poleg tega smo skušali ugotoviti, kakšen je bil vpliv raziskav na razvoj izobraževanja odraslih in andragogike ter katere so bile novosti v študiju andragogike v omenjenem obdobju. Za opis tega smo analizirali pomembnejše andragoške raziskave in novosti v študiju andragogike tudi po bolonjski reformi visokega šolstva.

Tretje poglavje monografije zajema *analizo omenjenih petih zgodovinskih obdobj od druge polovice 8. do začetka 21. stoletja in ugotovitve*. Na podlagi opisa razvoja izobraževanja odraslih in andragogike na Slovenskem smo pri vsakem obdobju poudarili bistvene ugotovitve glede množičnega in institucionalnega izobraževanja odraslih (formalno oz. neformalno izobraževanje odraslih) ter glede razvoja andragoških idej in razvoja andragogike kot znanstvene discipline. Ugotovitve tovrstne analize po obdobjih so ključnega pomena za poznavanje razvoja slovenske zgodovine izobraževanja odraslih, andragoških idej in andragogike na Slovenskem.

Podlaga za nastanek monografije so primarni in sekundarni znanstveni viri, literatura, tako slovenska kot tuja, ter zakonodaja s področja izobraževanja odraslih (slovenska in tuja). Monografija je namenjena slovenski in tuji javnosti, saj je pisana v slovenskem in v angleškem jeziku, raziskovalcem zgodovine izobraževanja odraslih na Slovenskem, izobraževalcem odraslih različnih strok in andragogom. Lahko je za njihovo obogatitev za lastni profesionalni razvoj, vir kritičnega premisleka o zgodovini izobraževanja odraslih in razvoju andragogike kot znanstvene discipline in pripomoček za andragoško delo. Pomembna je pri študiju predmetov Zgodovina izobraževanja odraslih ter Andragogika za bodoče učitelje in druge strokovnjake, saj omogoča boljše, lažje in strnjeno poznavanje slovenske zgodovine izobraževanja odraslih ter spoznavanje nastanka andragoških idej, vse do andragogike kot znanstvene discipline.

Avtorica

Pojmovanje andragogike

Skozi zgodovino so andragogiko omenjali in pojmovali različni avtorji. Izraz andragogika leta 1833 prvič omenja nemški profesor Alexander Kapp v svojem delu *Platon's Erziehungslehre, als Pädagogik für die Einzelnen und als Staatspädagogik* (Platonovo učenje o vzgoji in izobraževanju kot pedagogika za posameznika ali državna pedagogika) – v tretjem poglavju z naslovom *Die Andragogik oder Bildung im männlichen Alter* (Andragogika ali izobraževanje v odrasli dobi). Zgledoval se je po Platonu, ki je namenjal pozornost vzgoji in izobraževanju odraslih, vseživljenjskemu učenju, intelektualni in osebni rasti človeka ter videl drugačen pristop pri učenju z odraslo osebo (Kapp, 1833). Izraz andragogika je Kapp uporabljal za vzgojo in izobraževanje odraslih, posebno v praksi, vendar ga ni pojasnil.

Izraz andragogika se nato skozi zgodovino 19. stoletja ni uveljavil. Ponovno se pojavi v dvajsetih letih 20. stoletja v Nemčiji, ko je izobraževanje odraslih postalo področje raziskovanja v skupini strokovnjakov različnih strok z imenom *Hohenrodter Bund* (Hohenrodterjeva zveza), ki so raziskovali novo smer (*Neue Richtung*) v izobraževanju odraslih. Opisali so svoje poglede na vprašanja, zakaj, kaj in kako poučevati odrasle. Izraz andragogika pa je leta 1921 ponovno uporabil nemški sociolog Eugen Rosenstock, ki je argumentiral in dokazoval, da so za izobraževanje odraslih potrebni posebni učitelji, posebne metode in filozofija (Knowles idr., 1998).

Dritter Theil.

Die Andragogik oder Bildung im männlichen Alter.

Nothwendigkeit der Weiterbildung im männlichen Alter.

§. 105.

Nicht nur für die Jünglinge muß man die wo möglich besten Lehrer auffuchen, sondern auch die Männer haben insgesammt dieselben noch nöthig, da sie in dem Zustande, in welchem sie sich, jetzt verhalten, nicht verbleiben dürfen. Sollte sie aber in diesem Streben Jemand auslachen, daß sie, alt schon, noch Lehrer besuchen wollen, so, dünkt uns, müssen sie sich mit dem Homeros schützen, welcher gesagt hat: „nicht gut ist Scham dem darbenenden Manne“ (*αἰδώς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ περὶ τὸν ἀνδρὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα*). ¹⁾ Denn immer soll als ausgemacht dastehen, daß die recht Erzeugenen gewöhnlich gut werden, und daß die Erziehung keineswegs gering geschätzt werden dürfe, in so fern sie unter den Vorzügen, welche die trefflichsten Menschen besitzen, der erste ist, und von der Art, daß, wenn er einmal sinkt, jeder Mensch sein ganzes Leben hindurch aus allen Kräften dahin streben muß, ihn wo möglich wieder zu heben. ²⁾

Slika 1: Kapp, Alexander (1833): Platon's Erziehungslehre, als Pädagogik für die Einzelnen und als Staatspädagogik. Minden und Leipzig (tretje poglavje v knjigi na str. 241)



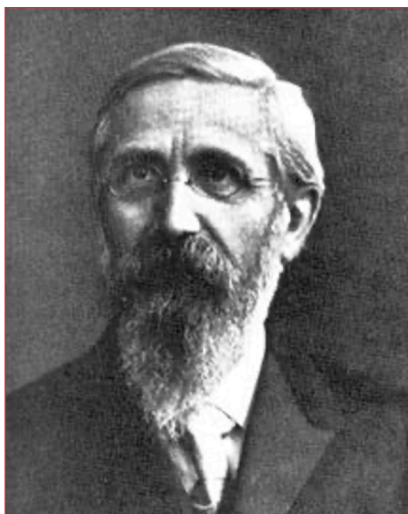
Slika 2: Aleksander Kapp (1799–1869)
(xwbos, 2023)

V tridesetih letih 20. stoletja je zlasti med pedagogi zaslediti mnenje, da je izobraževanje odraslih drugačno od izobraževanja otrok in mladine, vendar jim je izobraževanje odraslih pomenilo le drugačne metode dela z odraslimi. Večina jih je menila, da sodi izraz 'izobraževanje odraslih' v pedagogiko. Pojavila se je t. i. *adultna pedagogika*, katere zagovorniki so bili Kerschensteiner, Natorp, Schulenberg in drugi. Tako se je izobraževanje odraslih pojmovalo kot teorija v pedagogiki, torej kot posebna veja pedagogike. Kot rečeno so jo imenovali adultna pedagogika (*adulten* -a, iz lat. *adultus*, pomeni zrel, odrasel, *pedagogika* iz gr. παις (*pais*), 2. skl. παιδός, ὁ - ή (*paidos*), pomeni deček, otrok, in ἄγω (*ago*), pomeni vodim (Govekar-Okoliš in Ličen, 2008).

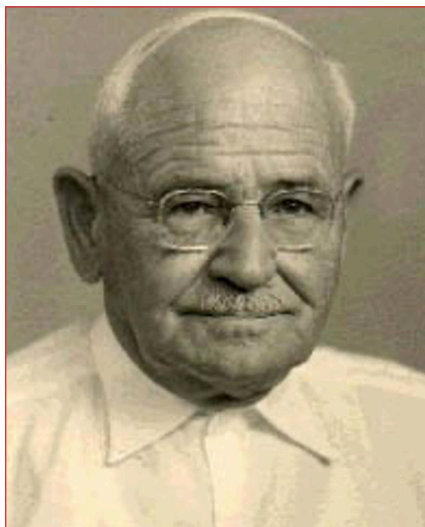
V petdesetih letih 20. stoletja andragogiko znova omeni Švicar Heinrich Hanselmann (1951) v delu *Andragogik: Wesen, Möglichkeiten, Grenzen der Erwachsenenbildung* (*Andragogika: Vedenje, možnosti, meje v izobraževanju odraslih*), ki jo med prvimi pojmuje kot *samostojno vedo* o vzgajanju in izobraževanju odraslih in ne več kot teorijo v sklopu pedagogike kot adultno pedagogiko. Andragogika pomeni voditi odrasle (iz gr. ἀνήρ (*aner*), 2. skl. ἀνδρός (*andros*), pomeni mož, človek in ἄγω (*ago*), pomeni vodim). Andragogika in pedagogika se torej razlikujeta že v terminu (Davenport, 1993). Hanselmann je menil, da je andragogika potrebna zaradi posebnosti dela z odraslimi in izobraževanja



*Slika 3: Georg Kerschensteiner
(1854–1932) (Köstler, b. l.)*



*Slika 4: Paul Natorp (1854–1924)
(Natorp, b. l.)*



*Slika 5: Heinrich Hanselmann (1885–1960)
(Hanselmann, b. l.)*

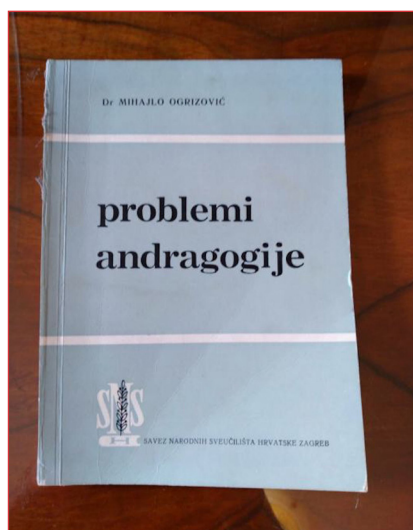
odraslih, potrebni pa so tudi učitelji, ki znajo podajati znanje odraslim drugače kot otrokom in mladini.

Tako pojmovana andragogika kot veda se je v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja začela širiti po Evropi. Izraz so uporabljali posamezni strokovnjaki na Nizozemskem (npr. Have; Nottingham Andragogy Group, 1983). Tudi v Nemčiji je Franz Pöggeler leta 1957 izdal knjigo *Einführung in die Andragogik: Grundfragen der Erwachsenenbildung* (*Uvod v andragogiko: Temeljna vprašanja izobraževanja odraslih*), v kateri obravnava osnove izobraževanja odraslih. Tako pojmovan izraz andragogika so prevzeli še drugi izobraževalci odraslih v Nemčiji, Avstriji, na Nizozemskem, v Franciji in Jugoslaviji (Knowles, 1989).



Slika 6: Franz Pöggeler (1926–2009)
(Pöggeler, b. l.)

V Jugoslaviji so se z vzgojo in izobraževanjem odraslih ukvarjali strokovnjaki iz različnih takratnih jugoslovanskih republik. Med prvimi je izraz uporabil Mihajlo Ogrizović (1959) iz Zagreba z delom *Problemi andragogije* (*Problemi andragogike*) iz leta 1959. Zagovarjal je samostojnost andragogike ter jo opredelil kot samostojno vedo o vzgajanju in izobraževanju odraslih. Poleg njega so bili zagovorniki andragogike in njeni raziskovalci tudi Vlado Andrilović, Nikola Pastuović, Silvije Pongrac in drugi.



*Slika 7: Mihajlo Ogrizović (1959):
Problemi andragogije. Zagreb,
Savez narodnih sveučilišta Hrvatske.*



*Slika 8: Vlado Andrilović (1937–2024)
(Andrilović, b. l.)*



*Slika 9: Dušan Savićević (1926–2015)
(Srbska akademija Beograda, b. l.)*

Tudi v Beogradu se je tedaj začelo preučevanje andragogike kot samostojne vede. Tam je bil najbolj znan Dušan Savićević (1961) z delom *Primjena metoda u obrazovanju odraslih (Praktična metoda v izobraževanju odraslih)*. Poleg njega pa so izobraževanje odraslih raziskovali tudi drugi, denimo Dragomir Filipović in Borivoj Samolovčev. Tako pojmovana andragogika se je po različnih evropskih državah in v različnih jezikih uporabljala in razvijala bolj prikrito, razkrojeno in nepovezano, a je bila dejansko od leta 1970 dalje povezana z obstoječimi znanstvenimi in profesionalnimi institucijami, publikacijami, programi, kar je predvsem v srednji in vzhodni Evropi sprožilo podoben razvoj izobraževanja odraslih v praksi in teoriji.

Kako pa so se razvijale andragoške ideje in andragogika na Slovenskem? V nadaljevanju bomo ta razvoj prikazali kronološko skozi zgodovinska obdobja na Slovenskem, od prvih začetkov množičnega verskega, kulturnega in nacionalnega izobraževanja odraslih od druge polovice 8. stoletja dalje, začetkov institucionalnega in množičnega izobraževanja odraslih v drugi polovici 18. do 21. stoletja (do leta 2010) v samostojni državi Republiki Sloveniji. Slovensko zgodovino izobraževanja odraslih, razvoj andragoških idej in andragogike bomo na kratko in strnjeno prikazali skozi bistvene značilnosti v petih obdobjih: 1. Začetki množičnega verskega, kulturnega in nacionalnega izobraževanja odraslih od druge polovice 8. stoletja do druge polovice 18. stoletja, 2. Izobraževanje odraslih od druge polovice 18. stoletja do leta 1914, 3. Izobraževanje odraslih med obema vojnama (1918–1941), 4. Izobraževanje odraslih po drugi svetovni vojni (1945–1991) in 5. Izobraževanje odraslih v Republiki Sloveniji (1991–2010). Namen monografije je analizirati in ugotoviti, kako se je razvijalo institucionalno in množično izobraževanje odraslih po posameznih obdobjih: kakšen je bil vpliv razvoja in potreb družbe, katere so bile najpomembnejše institucije za izobraževanje odraslih, kdo so bili posamezniki z andragoškimi idejami, kdaj se je oblikovala teorija izobraževanja odraslih in kdaj andragogika kot znanstvena disciplina. Z analizo po omenjenih obdobjih želimo ugotoviti, kje so bile razlike med obdobji glede na razvoj institucionalnega in množičnega izobraževanja odraslih (formalno in neformalno izobraževanje odraslih) ter glede na razvoj andragoških idej in andragogike kot znanstvene discipline. Take raziskave še ni bilo in je pomembna za razumevanje slovenske zgodovine izobraževanja odraslih ter razvoja andragoških idej in andragogike kot znanstvene discipline na Slovenskem.

Razvoj množičnega in institucionalnega izobraževanja odraslih na Slovenskem po obdobjih

Poglavje smo razdelili na pet obdobj, po katerih bomo skušali prikazati, kako je razvoj družbenih potreb in gospodarstva ter institucij za izobraževanje odraslih dejansko pripeljal do formiranja prvih andragoških idej na Slovenskem in do razvoja andragogike kot znanstvene discipline.

Prvo obdobje: Začetki množičnega verskega, kulturnega in nacionalnega izobraževanja odraslih od druge polovice 8. stoletja do druge polovice 18. stoletja

Množično versko izobraževanje odraslih je imelo v zgodovini velik pomen, saj je bilo, kot pišejo znani raziskovalci zgodovine izobraževanja odraslih: Grattan (1955), Pögeller (1957), Jug (1997) in drugi, ena najstarejših dejavnosti človeštva. Začetki izobraževanja odraslih so tudi pri Slovencih povezani z najstarejšimi zapisi. Ugotovimo, da je bila literarna produkcija zgodnjega srednjega veka na območju slovenske naselitve skromna. Podobno kot drugod po Evropi je bila po vsebini povsem verska, po obliki in jeziku pa latinska (Okoliš, 2009).

Spoznamo, da so začetki množičnega izobraževanja odraslih povezani s pokristjanjevanjem Slovencev, ki je imelo tri pomembna izhodišča.

Prvi misijonarji, ki so med Slovenci širili krščansko vero, so bili irski menihi, ki so v večjem številu prihajali od druge polovice 8. stoletja, ko so se Karantanija in sosednje slovanske pokrajine politično podredile frankovski državi. Izhodišče za njihovo misijonsko akcijo v Vzhodnih Alpah je bilo v Salzburgu in na Bavarskem, kjer so v ta namen ustanovili posebno samostansko šolo (Okoliš, 2009). Na Bavarskem je okoli leta 800 nastal priročnik za misijonarje, ki so prihajali med Slované in Obre. Cesar Karel Veliki je ukazal, da se mora vsak kristjan naučiti na pamet Vero in Očenaš v materinščini in latinščini. Zaradi nepismenosti prebivalstva so se učili vere samo s stalnim ponavljanjem. Salzburški misijonarji so na tak način vadili z odraslimi molitve tudi v slovenskem jeziku (Jug, 1997).

Drugo izhodišče za širjenje krščanstva med Slovenci je bilo na zahodu v Ogleju, kjer je od prvih začetkov pokristjanjevanja Slovencev delovala posebna samostanska šola za izobraževanje misijonarjev. Za prve misijonske akcije med Slovenci iz Ogleja je bilo značilno, da niso bile povezane z uvajanjem desetine in da od ljudi, ki so sprejemali krščanstvo, niso zahtevali učenja glavnih molitev na pamet v latinskem jeziku. Zadostovala je molitev v domačem jeziku. Kmalu pa je prišlo do razmejitve med oglejsko in salzburško cerkvijo. Ker meja med vplivnim območjem oglejske in salzburške cerkve na slovenskih tleh, ki so prišla pod frankovsko oblast, ni bila natančno določena, je med cerkvama kmalu prihajalo do sporov. Cesar Karel Veliki je leta 811 določil razmejitev jurisdikcije med salzburško in oglejsko cerkvijo po reki Dravi. S tem je postalo slovensko naseljitveno območje že v samem začetku cerkvenoupravno razdeljeno na polovico. Ta delitev, ki se je v grobih obrisih ohranila do razsvetljenstva v 18. stoletju, je imela močne posledice na politični, kulturni in izobraževalni razvoj Slovencev (Okoliš, 2009).

Tretje izhodišče za širjenje krščanstva med Slovenci je bilo na vzhodu, na Moravskem. Po prihodu sv. bratov Cirila in Metoda na Moravsko je v drugi polovici 9. stoletja v Spodnji Panoniji nastala samostojna slovanska škofija. Vendar je bil vpliv slovanskega bogoslužja na širjenje krščanstva med Slovenci kratkotrajen, zaradi propada politične podpore in nemškega odpora. V Panoniji je salzburška cerkev svoje pravice utemeljevala s posebnim spisom *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* iz leta 871. To je najpomembnejši zgodovinski vir o pokristjanjevanju Slovencev in o Karantaniji. Poroča o pokristjanjevanju Bavarcev in Karantancev. Zaradi madžarskih vpadov se je konec 9. in v prvi polovici 10.

stoletja naselitev srednje Evrope končala, medtem ko se je pokristjanjevanje nadaljevalo še v 10. in 11. stoletju zgolj na območju oglejske jurisdikcije. Iz takratnih misijonskih postaj se je izoblikovala mreža (pra)župnij. Na Bavarskem so se ohranili v središču Freising okoli leta 1000 najstarejši zapisi v slovenskem jeziku (Brižinski spomeniki), z versko vsebino. V pozni srednji vek se je ohranil tudi spis o ustoličevanju koroških vojvod v slovenskem jeziku (Okoliš, 2009). Kasneje sta še znana Rateški ali Celovski rokopis in Stiški ali Ljubljanski rokopis. Ti rokopisi predstavljajo začetek slovenske književnosti, hkrati pa imajo velik vzgojno-izobraževalni pomen. Gre za vzgojo in izobraževanje odraslih v krščanski veri in v slovenskem jeziku. Kažejo na razvojno stopnjo slovenskih prebivalcev, na njihov takratni socialni in kulturni razvoj.



Slika 10: Metropoliji Oglej in Salzburg v 9. stoletju (Volčjak, 2020, str. 491)

V srednjem veku so imeli pri širjenju krščanske vere na slovenskih tleh najpomembnejšo vlogo *moški in ženski samostani* (npr. moški samostan v Stični, kjer je bila tudi rokopisna delavnica, in ženski samostan v Adergasu). Ti so bili misijonska izobraževalna in kulturna središča. V samostanih so bile *samostanske šole*, kjer so izobraževali za redovni poklic in tudi za bolj posvetne potrebe. Pomembno vlogo pa so samostani imeli ne le v verskih stvareh, temveč tudi pri posrednem izobraževanju prebivalstva v gospodarstvu in poljedelstvu ter poučevanju jezika. V samostanih so nastala najstarejša slovenska besedila, verski in drugi literarni spisi in pomembne samostanske knjižnice. Knjižnice so imele zbrano večino takratne znanosti in so bile pomembne za nadaljnje izobraževanje. Poleg delovanja samostanov in samostanskih redov (moški redovi: benediktinci, dominikanci, cistercijani, kartuzijani, križarji, frančiškani, minoriti; ženski redovi: klarise, uršulinke, dominikanke, celestinke) so se na škofijskih sedežih razvile *stolne šole*, saj so bile velike potrebe po izobraževanju duhovnikov in drugih sodelavcev za delovanje škofijskih uradov v škofijskih središčih. O obstoju in delovanju teh vrst škofijskih šol na slovenskih tleh ni veliko podatkov (Okoliš, 2009).

V srednjem veku so imeli največ možnosti za izobraževanje tisti odrasli, ki so se izobraževali za duhovnike oz. so bili v samostanih. Za doseganje boljšega znanja so morali odrasli na univerze v širši evropski prostor. Slovenci so na študij odhajali predvsem v severnoitalijanske univerze. Ob ustanovitvi univerze na Dunaju leta 1365 (Univerza na Dunaju, b. l.) pa vedno več na Dunaj in pozneje v Gradec. Z univerzami se začena tudi izobraževanje laičnega stanu. Poleg nadaljnjega univerzitetnega izobraževanja zasledimo v času poznega srednjega veka svojevrstno viteško oz. dvorno izobraževanje, medtem ko je bilo za preproste ljudi bolj v ospredju neformalno in izkušensko izobraževanje. Meščani so imeli poleg stanovskih šol, ki so jih ustanavljali skupaj s cerkveno oblastjo, še poklicna združenja rokodelcev, obrtna združenja (cehe) in bratovščine (cerkvena združenja rokodelcev). Najmanj je bilo poskrbljeno za kmečki stan, saj so bili njegovi predstavniki vse življenje hlapci in nepismeni ter odvisni od vzgoje in izobraževanja v cerkvah. Učili so se iz domače tradicije, iz običajev in ljudske modrosti. Njihovo izobraževanje je bilo odvisno od duhovnika, ki je služboval v posameznem kraju (Govekar Okoliš in Ličen, 2008). Dejansko so bile možnosti za izobraževanje odraslih v srednjem veku omejene na ozek krog izbranih. Izobraževanje odraslih je bilo odvisno od potreb družbe, ki pa takrat

niso bile velike. Tudi pismenost slovenskega prebivalstva je bila zelo majhna, z množičnim izobraževanjem pa sta se utrjevala predvsem verska vzgoja in izobraževanje. Poznosrednjeveške razvojne težnje so imele daljnosežen vpliv, saj prehoda v novi vek ni mogoče ločiti z nekim pojavom ali posameznim dogodkom, kar velja tudi za področje izobraževanja odraslih.

Ideje izobraževanja odraslih v nadaljnjem toku zgodovine zasledimo v sklopu posameznih gibanj (renesansa, humanizem, reformacija). Ta so se razmahnila med 14. in 17. stoletjem. Proti koncu srednjega veka lahko izpostavimo humanistični cilj izobraževanja odraslih. Ta je povezan z znanjem, vrednotami, s spretnostmi, z navadami, z vsem, kar posamezniku omogoča osebnostno rast in razvoj. V ta razvoj prav gotovo sodita tudi verska vzgoja in izobraževanje posameznika. V 14. in 15. stoletju se pojavi na slovenskih tleh tudi vpliv italijanske renesanse in humanizma. Gre za idejno in kulturno gibanje, ki se je širilo v ožjem krogu prosvetljenih aristokratov in meščanov oz. takratnih intelektualcev. Ideale in vzore so imeli v antični grško-rimski kulturi. Največji vpliv na Slovenskem so imeli François Rabelais, Michel de Montaigne, Erazem Rotterdamski, Peter Pavel Vergerij. Prinašali so novosti na vzgojno-izobraževalnem področju odraslih, saj so ustanavljali na dvorih zasebne šole za odrasle. Izpostavljali so pomen znanja pisanja v ljudskem jeziku, upoštevali so individualnost odraslega učenca, pomen enciklopedičnega znanja in spremenjen odnos do religije in cerkve, saj naj bi bil vsestransko izobražen človek usmerjen v tostranstvo (Govekar-Okoliš in Ličen, 2008). Spoznamo, da so bili humanisti evropsko usmerjeni in nepolitični, saj so se prizadevali za svobodo mišljenja, govora in tiska. Vendar to gibanje je zajelo le krog takratne inteligence.

Drugo pomembno reformno gibanje, ki pa je zajelo vse sloje prebivalstva in je vplivalo na množično izobraževanje odraslih ter na njihov kulturni in nacionalni razvoj, je bil protestantizem. Ta je kot versko gibanje v 16. stoletju na prvo mesto postavil pomen avtoritarne vloge Svetega pisma v verskem življenju vsakega posameznika. Z branjem Svetega pisma naj bi se vsak posameznik pogovarjal z Bogom, živel po načelih vere in bil zveličan. Če želimo ovrednotiti prispevek protestantov na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja, ne moremo mimo dejstva, da so njihove reforme in vsa prizadevanja bila v prvi vrsti religioznega pomena, saj je dejansko šlo za versko vzgojo. Vsemu temu je sledilo izobraževanje, tudi s humanističnim načelom o razvoju posameznika. Da so protestanti lahko dosegli

tako vzgojo in izobraževanje vseh ljudi (ne glede na starost in stan) s pomočjo Svetega pisma, so izpostavili pomen ljudskega jezika in Sveto pismo prevedli v množico nacionalnih jezikov, tudi v slovenščino. Novosti v verskem in kulturnem življenju ter v množičnem izobraževanju odraslih na slovenskih tleh so povezane z opismenjevanjem odraslih na verski osnovi, ki so ga organizirali protestanti. Na razvoj protestantizma je vplivala iznajdba tiska v 15. stoletju, s čimer so postale knjige dostopnejše tudi preprostim ljudem. Protestanti so se dobro zavedali, da ljudje niso bili pismeni, niso znali brati, kaj šele pisati (Govekar-Okoliš, 2009).

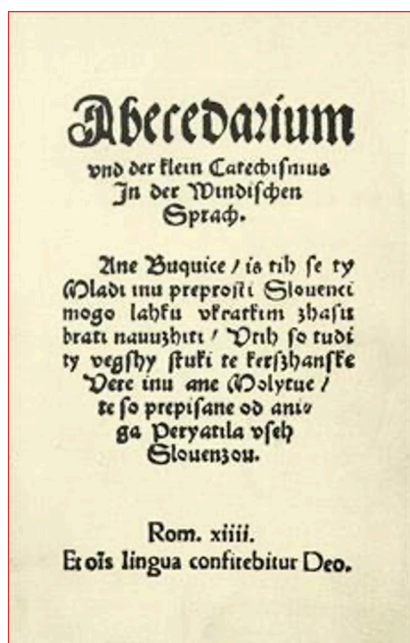
Protestantizem je imel pomembno vlogo pri izobraževanju odraslih. Njegov začetnik avguštinec Martin Luter v Nemčiji je zagovarjal mnenje, da se mora vsak človek ne glede na starost ali premoženje in pripadnost družbenemu sloju naučiti branja in pisanja v maternem jeziku. Pismenost in izobrazba sta bili zanj temeljna človeška pravica, hkrati pa tudi obveznost. Brati Sveto pismo v materinščini je bila dolžnost vsakega (odraslega) posameznika, ne samo privilegij pripadnikov višjih slojev. Te ideje so na Slovenskem širili protestanti, še posebej Primož Trubar. Bil je avtor prvih dveh slovenskih knjig iz leta 1550, Katekizma in Abecednika.



Slika 11: Primož Trubar (1508–1586)
(Trubar, b. l.)



*Slika 12: Naslovnica Katekizma v gotici
Catechismus (Trubar, 1550a)*



*Slika 13: Naslovnica Abecednika v gotici
Abecedarium (Trubar, 1550b)*

Primož Trubar je zagovarjal mnenje, da mora vsak človek brati Sveto pismo v svojem jeziku. To je pomenilo, da se morajo tudi odrasli ljudje učiti brati in pisati v slovenščini (Govekar-Okoliš 2009; Ličen, 2006). To je bilo še toliko pomembnejše, ker slovenski jezik ni bil na takratnih slovenskih tleh uradni jezik, temveč jezik večine preprostega slovenskega kmečkega (nepismenega) prebivalstva.

Že od takrat naprej je bila nemščina na slovenskih tleh uradni jezik in tudi jezik višje kulture, ki jo je predstavljal višji sloj. Nemščina se je uporabljala v pisarnah deželnih stanov in mestnih občinah, bila je jezik zemljiških gospodov, pisanih dokumentov, sodišč in uprave v deželah znotraj Avstrije. Slovenščina pa je bila predvsem jezik ustnega občevanja majhnega preprostega slovenskega ljudstva, čeprav se je uporabljala tudi za nekatere pisane dokumente (Govekar-Okoliš, 2017). Med te so se uvrščale »pogodbe (glihenge), dolžna pisma, pobotna pisma (kvitenge), ženitna, sporočilna ali čezdajanska, kupna, menilna, mitna pisma; vsi ukazi, sklepi ali urteljni, vsa dedninska sporočila (Einantwortungs - Urkunden)

in sploh vsi listi, ki se zavoljo uterjenja pravic kmetam v roke dajejo.« (Ambrož, 1848, str. 107.) Nemščina je bila tako državni jezik, slovenščina pa le jezik kmetov ali deželni jezik. V Gorici, Trstu in beneških krajih je bila namesto nemščine jezik mestnih občin in deželnih stanov italijanščina, medtem ko se je v upravi in šolstvu tudi na tem področju uvajala nemščina. V Prekmurju pa se je poleg nemščine uvajala še madžarščina (Zwitter, 1990).

V času protestantizma zasledimo na slovenskih tleh nove oblike vzgoje in izobraževanja odraslih, kot so knjižnice za šolanje protestantskih duhovnikov, pridigarjev in učiteljev za protestantske deželne šole na slovenskih tleh. Za to je skrbel Primož Trubar, ki je spodbudil nastanek *prve knjižnice kranjskih deželnih stanov in cerkve na Kranjskem leta 1563* (predhodnico današnje Narodne univerzitetne knjižnice v Ljubljani) ter drugih protestantskih knjižnic na današnjem slovenskem ozemlju. Knjižnice so bile ena izmed oblik nadaljnega neformalnega izobraževanja odraslih, predvsem takratne slovenske inteligence, in so imele pomembno izobraževalno vlogo ne samo za posameznike, temveč tudi za razvoj slovenskega naroda. Knjiga je bila pomembno sredstvo za izobraževanje. V tem času se je že pojavila potreba po knjigi ne le na verskem, temveč tudi na posvetnem nivoju. S tem, da so v drugi polovici 16. stoletja nastale prve zasebne in zlasti javne knjižnice na slovenskih tleh, se je šele dejansko odprla možnost za zbiranje in sprejemanje domače ter tuje literature. Pri tem lahko nedvomno pomembno vlogo pripišemo prav protestantom in njihovem delovanju za slovenstvo. Trubar je tudi spodbudil *nastanek prve tiskarne v Ljubljani leta 1557*, ki jo je ustanovil in upravljal Janž Mandelc. Tiskarna je prispevala k tisku slovenskih protestantskih del takratnih piscev (Jurija Dalmatina, Adama Bohoriča, Sebastijana Krelja, Krištofa Spindlerja idr.), raznih koledarjev, odlokov, publikacij, časnikov idr. V obdobju 1557–1580 je Mandelc natisnil 11 slovenskih knjig, skupaj 30 del. Leta 1581 je bila tiskarna zaradi tiska protestantskih del zaprta. Nato je Valvazor uredil v gradu Bogenšperk pri Litiji bakroreznico in bakrotiskarno (1678–1685). Ljubljana je ponovno dobila tiskarno šele leta 1678, ustanovil pa jo je J. K. Mayr (Šafar in Snoj, 1976; Govekar-Okoliš, 2009).

Protestanti so prvi utemeljili slovenščino kot knjižni jezik, izdali so prve slovenske knjige, največja zasluga pa gre Primožu Trubarju. Zgodovina protestantizma nam na slovenskih tleh razkriva pomen množične vzgoje in izobraževanja odraslih, takrat večinoma nepismenih preprostih ljudi. Čeprav zanje takrat ni bilo formalnega izobraževanja, so se ti vzgajali in izobraževali neformalno prek cerkve, duhovnikov, prvih knjig v slovenskem jeziku, s tem pa se je začela razvijati slovenska kulturna nacionalna identiteta, ki je začela Slovence povezovati v skupen, sicer počasen razvoj slovenskega naroda in njegove kulture na višji nivo, kar so Slovenci dosegli v drugi polovici 18. in predvsem v 19. stoletju.

Drugo obdobje: Izobraževanje odraslih od druge polovice 18. stoletja do leta 1914

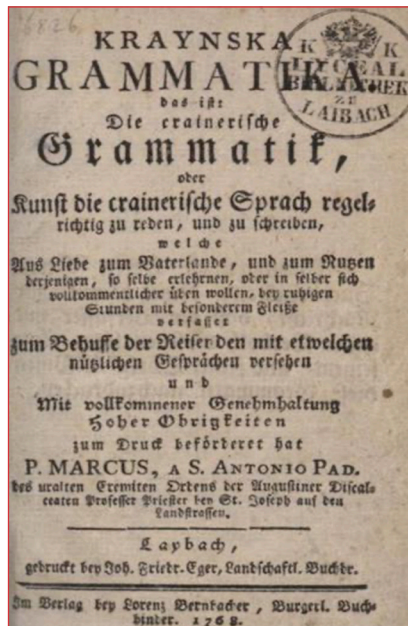
Prikazani položaj Slovencev nam razkriva, da so imeli začetki nacionalnega gibanja sprva lahko zelo skromne cilje. Slovensko nacionalno gibanje je bilo odvisno od takratnega družbenega razvoja v avstrijski monarhiji. Tudi tu se je postopoma začel prehod od fevdalne k novi, industrijsko-tehnični družbi. Z industrijsko revolucijo se je nadaljevala sprememba strukture stanovske in fevdalne družbe v meščansko. Z družbenimi in gospodarskimi spremembami v Avstriji pa so bili tako izpolnjeni objektivni pogoji za začetek slovenskega nacionalnega gibanja. Pravzaprav bi lahko govorili o dveh razdobjih v 19. stoletju, ko se je pri slovenskem narodu začela prebujati in razvijati nacionalna zavest in s tem tudi nacionalna identiteta. Prvo razdobje se začne okrog leta 1768 in konča z marčno revolucijo leta 1848. To obdobje je slovenski zgodovinar Zwitter imenoval obdobje nacionalnega gibanja, ki je imelo po svoji vsebini značaj kulturnega gibanja. Drugo razdobje pa se začne po marčni revoluciji leta 1848, ki je imelo po vsebini značaj političnega in nacionalnega gibanja (Zwitter, 1990). Tudi zgodovinar Granda poudarja, da je v predmarčni dobi imelo slovensko nacionalno gibanje še vedno bolj značaj kulturnega gibanja. Prehod na izrazito politično področje pa je bil težaven zaradi takratnega upravnega položaja Slovencev (Granda, 2011).

V prvem razdobju 1768–1848 – pred marčno revolucijo leta 1848 – je bilo oblikovanje nacionalne zavesti in nacionalne identitete Slovencev povezano z narodnim prebujenjem. To je bilo zelo kompleksno dogajanje skozi vso slovensko

zgodovino in ga lahko proučujemo z več stališč. V obravnavanem obdobju je bilo narodno prebujenje povezano s preporodnim gibanjem, ki so ga vodili slovenski kulturniki že v obdobju razsvetljenstva. V zvezi s tem je Prijatelj zapisal, da je bil prvi cilj slovenskih kulturnih delavcev te dobe delo ob prebujenju naroda, to se pravi: »želja, ljudstvu, oziroma ljudskim drobcom tedanjega slovenstva vdihniti zavest, da so ena narodna individualnost«. (Prijatelj, 1921, str. 146.) Slovenski kulturniki in izobraženci so na svojevrsten način prispevali k razsvetljevanju slovenskega kmečkega ljudstva. Njihov poglavitni cilj je bil, da neuko slovensko ljudstvo zbudijo iz narodnega mrtvila. Zato je pomenilo prebujenje slovenskih množic ne samo vprašanje narodnega preporoda, temveč na sploh njegovega obstoja (Bufon, 1971). Izražanje političnih misli je bilo le stvar posameznikov in majhnih krožkov. Cilj teh je bil dvig slovenščine na višjo kulturno raven in uporabo te v vsem literarnem ustvarjanju. Sicer pa je treba omeniti, da je bila takratna avstrijska država pripravljena dopustiti nacionalna gibanja le v smislu kulturnih gibanj, ne pa političnih, ker se je bala političnih nacionalnih nemirov, ki bi lahko vodili v razpad avstrijske monarhije. Bali so se francoskega pojmovanja politične suverenosti naroda in panslovanskih zamisli o povezovanju slovanskih narodov v samostojno državo (Grafenauer, 1974). Avstrijska država je po vsej monarhiji uveljavljala nemški jezik kot uradni jezik, kar je bil germanizatorski pritisk na nenemške narode. Na Slovenskem so se med vladajočo elito in delom (ne)slovenskega izobraženstva celo uveljavljale težnje, »naj se slovenski jezik zaradi majhne koristnosti čimprej pozabi in odpravi iz dežele, saj ga v javnem življenju uporablja samo nižje ljudstvo«. (Grafenauer, 1974, str. 126–127.) To je bil izziv za delo slovenskih narodnih buditeljev, ki so bili v svojem vsakdanjem delu v najbližjem stiku s preprostim slovenskim ljudstvom. Prvi so bili iz vrst duhovščine in izobraženstva. Med njimi je treba omeniti pisatelja *Antona Marka Pohlina*, ki je leta 1768 v Ljubljani izdal knjigo *Kranjska gramatika* v nemškem jeziku.



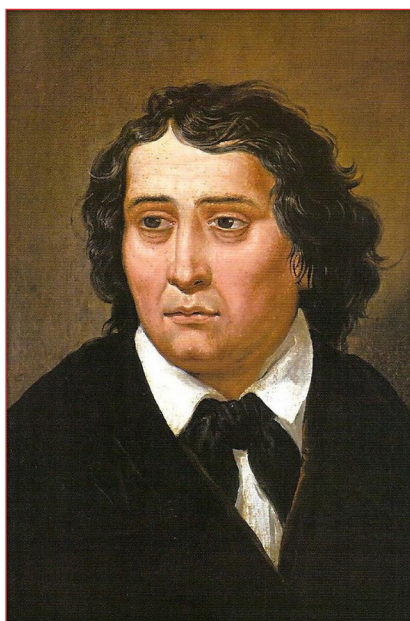
*Slika 14: Anton Marko Pohlin (1735–1801)
(Pohlin, b. l.)*



Slika 15: Anton Marko Pohlin – Kraynska Grammatika, das ist: Die craynerische Grammatik, oder Kunst die craynerische Sprach regelrichtig zu reden, und zu schreiben. Laibach: Im Verlag bey Lorenz Bernbacher Burgerl (1768) (Slovenski šolski muzej Ljubljana, knjižnica)

To delo, kot pravi Prunk (1992), v omenjenem obdobju simbolično označuje začetek slovenskega narodnega preporoda, ker so v njem izražene narodnobuditeljske samozavestne zamisli. Poudarjena je pomembnost znanja slovenskega jezika za posvetno kot tudi duhovno gosposko, da se Slovenci ne bi učili nemščine na željo nemških graščakov in gospodarjev, hkrati pa da bi se v latinskih šolah priznal na Kranjskem slovenski jezik kot enakovreden nemškemu (Prunk, 1992). Tudi Zwitter (1990) izdajo tega Pohlinovega dela leta 1768 opredeljuje kot začetek prvega obdobja nacionalnega gibanja Slovencev, ki je bilo kulturno gibanje.

Pomembno vlogo je v tem času imel tudi pesnik, dramatik in zgodovinar *Anton Tomaž Linhart*, saj je med prvimi slovenskimi buditelji imel jasno spoznanje o narodni enotnosti, kar je razvidno iz njegovega pomembnega dela *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und der übrigen Ländern der südlichen Slaven Österreichs* (Poskus zgodovine Kranjske in drugih dežel južnih Slovanov Avstrije). Spoznanje o slovenski narodni in jezikovni enotnosti sta v tem času v jezikoslovju uveljavljala tudi šolnik, jezikoslovec in razsvetljenec *Blaž Kumerdej* ter pesnik, jezikoslovec, prevajalec in duhovnik *Jurij Japelj*. Poleg teh so k narodnemu prebujanju svojevrstno prispevali tudi pesnik, prevajalec, jezikoslovec in duhovnik *Valentin Vodnik*, pisatelj, pesnik in profesor *Janez Nepomuk Primic* in jezikoslovec *Jernej Kopitar* (Prunk, 1992). Spomnimo se tudi največjega slovenskega pesnika *Franceta Prešerna*, ki je že v letu 1844 napovedal v prihodnosti boj slovenskega naroda, vendar je s tem mislil na pot do slovenske svobode in združitve Slovencev, kar je kasneje, v letu 1848, omenjal kot boj za »domačijo«, in sicer: »ker zdaj vas kakor nas, jo srčno branit kliče čas«. (Grafenauer, 1974, str. 324.) Prešeren je bil eden izmed pomembnih demokratičnih slovenskih kulturnih osebnosti, ki je iskal prihodnjo Slovenijo ne le v družbi slovanskih narodov, temveč tudi vseh osvobojenih narodov, tistih, ki so si že oblikovali samostojno državo ali pa so že dosegli samostojno avtonomijo v okviru neke države. To željo je izrazil v Zdravljici: »Žive naj vsi narodi, ki hrepene dočakat dan, da koder sonce hodi, prepir iz sveta bo pregan, da rojak prost bo vsak, ne vrag, le sosed bo mejak!« (Prešeren, 1974, str. 40.)



Slika 16: France Prešeren (1800–1849)
(Prešeren, b. l.)

Spoznamo, da je bil to čas, v katerem se je šele oblikovala narodova struktura in se je hkrati začela rojevati slovenska nacionalna zavest in identiteta. Čas med 1768. in 1848. letom bi lahko označili kot obdobje, ki je imelo po svoji vsebini značaj slovenskega kulturnega gibanja (Zwitter, 1990). V tem času se je razvijala nacionalna identiteta Slovencev, saj so Slovenci spoznali lastni položaj, enotnost ozemlja, zgodovine, kulture, pa tudi pomembnosti ohranitve slovenskega jezika, kar je bilo značilno, kot opisuje Alter (1991; Schulze, 2003), za oblikovanje kulturnega naroda oz. naroda kot kulturne skupnosti.

Začetki institucionalnega izobraževanja odraslih

V 18. stoletju je razsvetljenstvo celoviteje zajelo oblikovanje družbenega življenja in vsa področja kulture, s tem pa omogočilo kontinuiran razvoj izobraževanja odraslih tudi na slovenskih tleh. Habsburška monarhija se je prilagajala potrebam razvijajoče se industrije in centraliziranega državnega aparata, ki je imel monopol tudi nad izobraževanjem. Reforme Marije Terezije so imele za cilj gospodarsko krepitev, ob tem pa se je pokazala potreba po izobraževanju odraslih. Nastale so prve šole za formalno izobraževanje odraslih. Kot omenja Jug (1996), so bile

prve *mehanske šole pri jezuitih*, nato jezuitska strokovna *navtična šola v Trstu*, leta 1752 pa so se lahko v rudniku živega srebra v Idriji rudarji učili geodezije, zemljemerstva in risanja. Pomembna je bila *strokovna šola za metalurgijo in kemijo*, katere ustanovitev je odredila Marija Terezija leta 1763. Te šole so bile v nemščini, kar pa je bil takrat problem pri odraslih zaradi nezadostnega jezikovnega znanja, zato so šole kmalu prenehale delovati. Leta 1778 je bila ustanovljena *risarska šola*, ki je bila prva državna šola, dostopna vsem, dijakom in obrtnikom, torej je bila namenjena tudi izobraževanju odraslih (Serše, 1997).

Velik vpliv na izobraževanje odraslih je imela takratna avstrijska splošna šolska zakonodaja. S sprejetjem *splošne šolske naredbe leta 1774* je bilo uzakonjeno, da so morali vsi, ki zaradi oddaljenosti ali dela niso zaključili obveznega osnovnošolskega izobraževanja in so predčasno izstopili iz redne osnovne šole, ob nedeljah popoldne dve uri nameniti *nedeljski ponavljalni šoli*, v kateri so v slovenščini poučevali predvsem verouk, moralko, gospodarstvo in kmetijstvo. Te šole so se ustanovljale na podeželju in v mestih. Uzakonjali so jih tudi kasnejši avstrijski šolski zakoni, a so v praksi pogosto naleteli na ovire pri svojem delovanju (Hojan, 2000; Jug, 2000c).

Pomembno vlogo pri vseljidskem izobraževanju na Komendskem je imel duhovnik Peter Pavel Glavar. Ustanovil je knjižnico, in sicer kot osebno zbirko za samoizobraževanje in za izobraževanje duhovščine. Skrbel je za splošno izobraževanje preprostega prebivalstva, tako da je vpeljal nedeljsko šolo, leta 1781 je v Lanšprežu ustanovil čebelarsko šolo in vplival tudi na razvoj vaških čebelarskih zadrug (Zupan, 2004). Tudi zanj je značilno, da je spodbujal k samoizobraževanju, stalnemu učenju, branju slovenskih knjig in tako v ospredje postavil ideje vseživljenjskega izobraževanja.

Nedeljske ponavljalne šole so v času Ilirskih provinc (1809–1813) zamrle. Prizadevanja za slovenski jezik in knjige pa so se nadaljevala tudi v času Ilirskih provinc, kjer je imel pomembno vlogo Valentin Vodnik, ki je napisal učbenike v slovenskem jeziku za pouk v šolah. Pomembna novost tega obdobja je bila, da je slovenščina postala zakonsko priznan učni jezik v osnovnih in srednjih šolah. To je nasploh povečalo zavedanje o pomembnosti šolstva v materinščini tudi pri odraslih, kar je bilo povezano z dvigom slovenske narodne zavesti (Hojan, 2000; Okoliš, 2009). V tem času so bila pomembna nacionalna prizadevanja

slovenskih razsvetljencev za izobraževanje odraslih, ki so prerasla v slovensko kulturno gibanje in oblikovanje kulturne nacionalne identitete Slovencev.

Nacionalna identiteta Slovencev se je oblikovala, kot je mogoče razbrati iz zgodovine slovenskega naroda in njegovih prizadevanj, po mnenju Zwitterja (1990) na dveh različnih ravneh – na kulturni in politični, med katerima je bila marčna revolucija in zato prelomno leto 1848. V grobem lahko ločimo nacionalno identiteto Slovencev na kulturno nacionalno identiteto oziroma nacionalno identiteto v kulturnem pomenu in politično nacionalno identiteto oziroma nacionalno identiteto v političnem pomenu. ***Kulturna nacionalna identiteta Slovencev*** se je razvila na osnovi značilnosti kulturnega razvoja slovenskega naroda. Tovrstne značilnosti so se kazale v kulturnih težnjah po uveljavljanju enotnega slovenskega jezika (po enotni pisavi), po ohranjanju in razvijanju slovenskega jezika, širjenju slovenskih knjig in literature, po uveljavljanju pomena slovenske kulture, običajev in narodne zgodovine. Od kulturne pa se loči ***politična nacionalna identiteta Slovencev*** po političnih prizadevanjih in političnih ciljih slovenskega naroda. Politična nacionalna identiteta je imela na Slovenskem več vidikov:

- a) kazala se je v zahtevah po postavitvi slovenskih javnih institucij (kulturnih, gospodarskih in političnih), kjer bi bila slovenščina tudi uradni jezik (Zwitter, 1990). Vključno s tem se je zahtevalo, da bi kulturne značilnosti slovenskega naroda postale javne in institucionalizirane. S tem bi se lahko dvignila kultura slovenskega naroda na višjo, javno in institucionalno raven. Pri tem so se poudarjale zahteve po šolah, v katerih naj bi potekal pouk v slovenščini (prav tam). Tako bi Slovenci pridobili več inteligence, s čimer bi bila tudi odprta pot za razvoj kulture in znanosti;
- b) politična nacionalna identiteta pa se je med drugim kazala tudi v težnjah velikega dela slovenskega naroda po uveljavitvi enotne Zedinjene Slovenije kot ene slovenske regije ali upravne enote znotraj Avstrije (Prunk, 1992);
- c) poleg teh zahtev pa so se širile tudi zamisli panslavizma, ki so izražale težnje po tesnejših narodnih zvezah med južnimi slovanskimi narodi (Hrvati, Srbi). (Vodopivec, 2006.)

Nacionalna identiteta Slovencev je v narodnostnem principu pomenila širjenje enotnega prostora in razbijanje fevdalne družbene urejenosti. Razvoj zavesti o pripadnosti k slovenskemu narodu, zavesti, da vsi Slovenci sestavljajo

eno narodno skupnost, občutek enotnosti, je v obdobju pred letom 1848 sprva v ospredje postavljalo vprašanje slovenskega jezika. Ta je postal nova dimenzija identifikacije in skupnosti, kar je neposredno vplivalo tudi na oblikovanje nacionalne identitete Slovencev. Težnje po dvigu slovenščine na višjo kulturno raven, po izpopolnitvi njene terminologije in uveljavljanju slovenskega jezika kot enakovrednega z drugimi jeziki (nemškim, italijanskim, madžarskim) so bile plod prizadevanj posameznikov – predvsem slovenskih kulturnikov, intelektualcev in duhovnikov, kar smo že omenili. Tovrstna prizadevanja nam kažejo, da je bilo prvotno oblikovanje nacionalne identitete Slovencev najprej vezano zgolj na kulturno področje. Zato lahko govorimo o kulturni nacionalni identiteti Slovencev v obdobju pred marčno revolucijo leta 1848 (Zwitter, 1990; Schulze, 2003).

Razvoj nacionalne identitete Slovencev je bil tako celosten proces, neposredno povezan z družbenim razvojem, v okviru katerega sta se začela oblikovati slovensko meščanstvo in meščanska inteligenca. Obema pripisujemo, kot pravi Zwitter (1990), pomembno vlogo v kulturnem ustvarjanju, še posebno na področju slovstva, pri čemer se ne moremo omejevati le na vrhunsko kulturno ustvarjanje, temveč moramo upoštevati tudi poljudno književnost, poljudno glasbo, gledališče, časnikarstvo in časnikarski jezik, uradno in strokovno literaturo ter terminologijo, šolske učbenike in drugo. Nastajala je slovenska literatura in terminologija tudi v naravoslovnih strokah. Slovenski narodni preporod, kar je razvidno iz njegovih začetkov, je bil po zavesti in vsebini del posameznih voditeljev le kulturno gibanje, ki se kasneje preoblikuje v politično gibanje. To je pomenilo, da so si najprej posamezniki in nato tudi množice prizadevali za pridobitev omenjenih kulturnih in političnih nacionalnih ciljev v avstrijski monarhiji (Zwitter, 1990).

Po razpadu Ilirskih provinc leta 1813 se je na Slovenskem nadaljeval tak družbeni red, kot je bil postavljen v avstrijski monarhiji pred njimi. Nadaljeval se je fevdalizem na podeželju (Prunk, 1992). Hkrati pa je prišlo do večjega razvoja industrije, gradnje železnic, razvoja mest in meščanstva. Še v predmarčni dobi je, kot smo omenili, imelo vprašanje kulture odločilno vlogo pri pridobivanju meščanstva za slovensko narodno gibanje in nadaljnje oblikovanje nacionalne identitete, pri tem pa zlasti to, ali bodo Slovenci dobili tako razvit jezik, ki bo sposoben izražati najvišje znanstvene in umetniške stvaritve. To se je v tem

času tudi dokončno rešilo, k čemur so veliko pripomogli slovenski posamezniki, jezikoslovca *Jernej Kopitar* in *Matija Čop*, predvsem pa pesnik *France Prešeren*. Poleg njih moramo omeniti tudi blaženega škofa, pesnika, pisatelja, pedagoga *Antona Martina Slomška*, ki je začel utemeljevati slovenski narodni preporod in prihodnost slovenskega naroda (Prunk, 1992).

Tako je politični, gospodarski, socialni in kulturni razvoj pred letom 1848 slovenskemu narodu kot kulturnemu omogočil vstopati v položaj političnega naroda oz. naroda kot politične skupnosti (Schulze, 2003), čeprav je takratni Metternichov režim (1815–1848) v avstrijski monarhiji vsakemu nacionalnemu gibanju močno nasprotoval. Tovrstna in še druge politične misli slovenskih kulturnikov niso mogle nadomestiti slovenskega političnega in socialnega programa, kajti noben politični program, tudi pred marčno revolucijo, še ni zajel družbenih vprašanj slovenskega naroda – večine slovenskih kmetov, ki je bila še vedno nezadovoljna s fevdalnim družbenim redom (Grafenauer, 1974).

Po marčni revoluciji leta 1848 pa začne vstopati slovenski narod iz faze, ki jo označujemo kot boj za slovensko kulturo, v fazo boja za politično priznanje. S tem se je bistveno razširil program uveljavljanja njegove nacionalne identitete. Tudi v tej fazi razvoja nacionalne identitete so se še vedno ohranjala vsa prizadevanja za dosego kulturnih ciljev, kajti boj za kulturno nacionalno identiteto Slovencev pred letom 1848 še ni pomenil enotnosti vsega slovenskega naroda, saj so bila prizadevanja za dvig slovenske kulture na višjo raven bolj prizadevanja zavedne slovenske kulturne elite oziroma posameznih kulturnikov sploh ter dela inteligence in duhovništva, ne pa tudi preprostega slovenskega kmečkega ljudstva. Šlo je za uveljavljanje enotnega slovenskega jezika v pisavi, za razvoj in ohranjanje tega, pa tudi za širjenje slovenskega tiska in slovenske kulture nasploh. Vsa tovrstna prizadevanja so se po letu 1848 širila in dobila tudi širši, politični pomen. Politična nacionalna identiteta Slovencev se je kazala v zahtevah po uvedbi slovenskega jezika v vse družbene (državne) institucije, med drugim tudi v šole, pri čemer se je zahtevalo, da bi slovenski jezik postal uradni jezik (Prunk, 1992). Vsem tem prizadevanjem se je pridružilo tudi stremljenje k politični avtonomiji. V drugi polovici 19. stoletja lahko stremljenje Slovencev k politični avtonomiji označimo z dvema zahtevama:

- a) na prvem mestu jo predstavlja politični program za Zedinjeno Slovenijo, ki zahteva združitev vseh slovenskih dežel v eno enoto – Zedinjeno Slovenijo

(Prunk, 1992; Granda, 2004), to je slovensko politično enoto, kar pomeni boj za politično avtonomijo znotraj avstrijske monarhije. To se kaže v eni od nacionalnih zahtev, da »bode naša Slovenija obstojni del Austrijskiga ...« (Prunk, 1992, str. 59);

- b) nekoliko radikalneje pa se ideje o politični avtonomiji Slovenije pojavljajo tudi znotraj panslavističnih zamisli, ki terjajo združitev vseh slovanskih narodov v avstrijski monarhiji. Postavljale so se zahteve po politični povezanosti Zedinjene Slovenije s Hrvaško in Dalmacijo, kar je omenjal duhovnik *Matija Majar – Ziljski* v peticiji graške Slovenije leta 1848 (Granda, 2004). Prihajalo je tudi do panslavističnih zamisli po tesnejših narodnih zvezah med Čehi in Slovenci ter tudi z drugimi slovanskimi narodi (Hrvati, Srbi ...), ki so želeli oblikovati urejeno slovansko državo (Prunk, 1992; Vodopivec, 2006). Ustanavljala so se slovenska nacionalna društva, organizirali tabori, na katerih so bile vse glasnejše zahteve po politični avtonomiji Slovencev, postopno pa so nastajale tudi slovenske politične stranke.

Med prvimi slovenskimi političnimi, nacionalnimi in individualnimi prizadevanji po letu 1848 naj omenimo duhovnika *Matija Majarja – Ziljskega*, ki je pozival vse Slovence, naj se zavzemajo za koristi naroda, da se slovenska narodnost na Kranjskem, Primorskem, Štajerskem in Koroškem zaščiti, in da naj se pomnožijo osnovne šole, v katere se mora vpeljati slovenščina. Tudi za učitelje je zahteval, naj se primerno izobrazijo in plačajo. Na višjih učiliščih naj se ustanovijo stolice za slovenščino, pa tudi realka in kmetijske šole za poljedelce. Zahteval je poslovenjenje vseh zakonov, uradniki pa naj govorijo slovensko. Tudi zadeve podložništva, kmetov in njihovega zastopstva naj se uredijo vključno z znižanjem zemljiškega davka. Majar je sestavil svoj program *Kaj Slovenci terjamo*, v katerem je zapisal: »Slovenska narodnost in slovenski jezik! To je za nas conditio sine qua non! To se pravi: ali se mi ne oglasimo, kakor svoboden narod, ali ako svoj jezik ne ubranimo – smo muha, smo kakor riba brez vode, ptica brez perut ... za nas je djano.« (Majar, 1848, priloga.) Majar je v svojem programu zahteval, če povzamemo: da se Slovenci združimo v en narod, da ima slovenski jezik enako pravico kot nemški in italijanski, slovenski jezik se mora vpeljati v vse urade in šole, da se mora v vsaki gimnaziji na Slovenskem

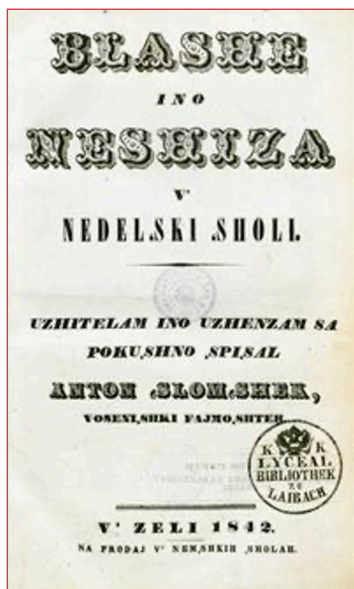
postaviti za slovenščino stolica in postaviti take učitelje, ki bodo znali tudi slovensko (Majar, 1848).

Institucije za množično izobraževanje odraslih

V 19. stoletju so na slovenskih tleh nastale različne institucije, namenjene množičnemu izobraževanju odraslih.

Nedeljske ponavljalne šole

Za mnogo ljudi so bile v tem obdobju ravno nedeljske ponavljalne šole edini stik s formalno izobrazbo, ki je v okviru javnega šolstva ne bi bili deležni. Namen nedeljskih ponavljalnih šol je bil poklicno izobraževanje vajencev, pomočnikov in mojstrov, ki je potekalo v obliki različnih tečajev ob nedeljah. Te šole so ponujale nujno potrebna tehnična znanja za posamezne obrti. Nosilci tega izobraževanja so bili osnovne šole, realke, obrtna združenja ali zasebniki. Najbolj so se te šole razvijale po tistih delih avstrijske monarhije, ki so bili gospodarsko manj razviti (Engelbrecht, 1986). Nedeljske ponavljalne šole so bile v slovenskih deželah še posebej pomembne, ker so širile slovensko narodno zavest in so dejansko opismenjevale v slovenskem jeziku, medtem ko je v rednem šolskem sistemu kot učni jezik prevladovala nemščina. Ker so se usmerile predvsem v izobraževanje mladih odraslih, ki so bodisi že zaključili osnovno šolo bodisi so iz nje predčasno izstopili, jih razumemo kot začetek izobraževanja odraslih pri nas, na ta način pa vstopajo tudi v andragoški diskurz. V nasprotju z rednimi nemškimi šolami so bile slovenske nedeljske ponavljalne šole bolj priljubljene, včasih celo bolj obiskane, ker so ustanovitelji upoštevali potrebe in želje prebivalstva ter spodbujali zavedanje o pomenu in predvsem koristih izobraževanja. Takrat je imel velik vpliv na izobraževanje Slovencev v nedeljskih šolah Anton Martin Slomšek, škof, pedagog, narodni buditelj, pisatelj, šolski nadzornik, ki je leta 1842 v slovenščini napisal knjigo *Blaže in Nežica v nedeljski šoli*.



Slika 17: Blaže in Nežica v nedeljski šoli (Anton Martin Slomšek, 1842)

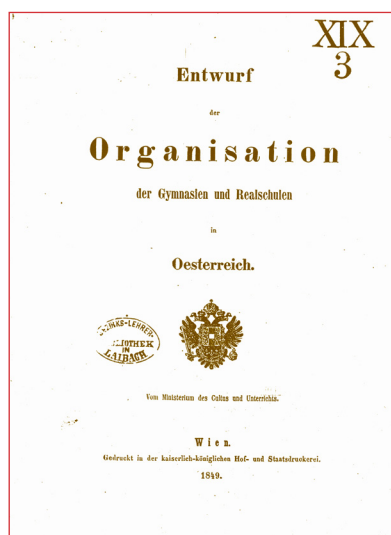
Knjiga je bila namenjena učiteljem kot zbirka učne snovi, ki so jo uporabljali pri poučevanju v razredu, hkrati pa je bila namenjena tudi učencem kot berilo, ki je marsikomu vzbudilo veselje do branja. Slomšek si je prizadeval za širjenje slovenskega jezika in literature med slovenskim prebivalstvom, tako je denimo spodbudil ustanovitev slovenske založbe *Družbe sv. Mohorja* (še danes delujoča Mohorjeva družba; Okoliš, 2009; Škafar, 2014). Poleg Slomška lahko omenimo duhovnika Matija Vertovca, ki si je zelo prizadeval za krščansko vzgojo in izobraževanje prebivalstva v Vipavski dolini. Bil je ljudski učitelj in vzgojitelj, ki je z raznimi članki in zapisi v knjigah širil med ljudi različno znanje umnega gospodarjenja, zlasti s področij kmetijstva, vinogradništva in kemije. Najbolj znana je njegova knjiga *Vinoreja za Slovence*, v kateri je izpostavil pomen samoizobraževanja in ideje vseživljenjskega izobraževanja:

Kar se človek le po sili v šoli navadi, hitro pozabi; kar se pa iz lastne marljivosti in z veseljem v časi učenstev, in posebno še kasneji nauči, to še le veliko zda; kadar tedaj šole ali učenstva dokončate, nastopi za vas še le pravi čas samolastniga izobraženja (Vertovec, 1845, str. 5).

V tem obdobju so bile pomembne andragoške ideje posameznih duhovnikov, ki so takrat še največ vzgajali in izobraževali ljudi, saj so jim dajali tudi osnovno znanje pisanja, računanja in branja ter načrtno skrbeli za izobraževanje vseh ne glede na starost, s poudarkom na izobraževanju posameznika skozi vse življenje.

Strokovne šole

Takrat so nastale tudi posebne *strokovne šole*, ki jih je šolski zakon *Osnutek temeljnih načel javnega pouka v Avstriji iz leta 1848* imenoval »ostale šole« (Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtwesens in Österreich, 1848).



*Slika 18: Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Österreich, 1849
(Slovenski šolski muzej Ljubljana, knjižnica)*

To so bile nove vrste srednjih šol, ki so omogočale sodobnejše, gospodarskim potrebam ustrezne vzgojno-izobraževalne vsebine. Na Slovenskem strokovne šole niso dosegale splošne avstrijske ravni strokovnih šol, ker je gospodarstvo na Slovenskem zaostajalo za razvojem gospodarstva v drugih delih avstrijske monarhije. Za nadaljnje izobraževanje odraslih so bile strokovne šole pomembne, saj so dajale strokovna znanja v različnih oblikah izobraževanja, ki so jih organizirali društva, zbornice in podobno. Posebnost strokovnih šol je bila, da so se razlikovale glede učnega jezika. Strokovne šole, ki so jih organizirali in zanj tudi skrbeli različna slovenska društva, združenja in zbornice, so imele

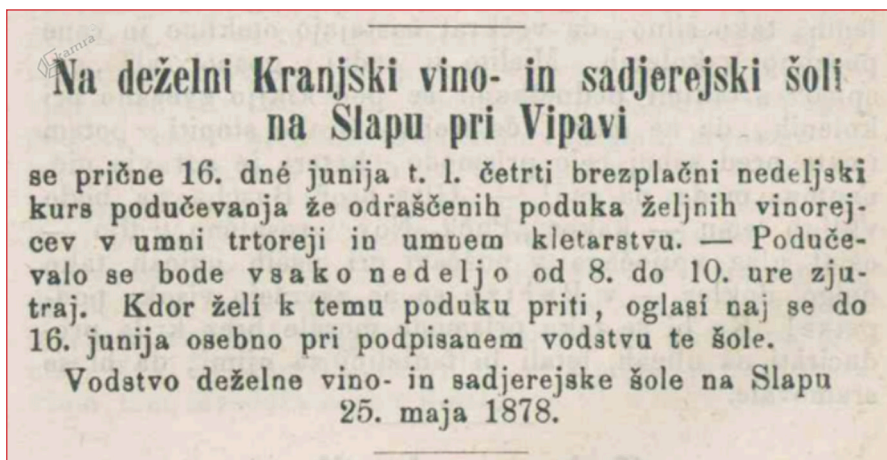
pouk v slovenskem jeziku (Bleiweis, 1848). Pouk v slovenščini pa je pripomogel k hitrejšemu usposabljanju obrtniškega in industrijskega naraščaja, kar je bil očitno tudi cilj avstrijske države. Ta je še posebno spodbujala razvoj kmetijstva, gospodinjstva in obrti na Slovenskem. Pomembno vlogo pri širjenju teh šol je imela Kranjska kmetijska družba pod vodstvom Janeza Bleiweisa, ki je veliko pripomogel k njihovemu ustanavljanju (Bleiweis, 1849; Gestrin in Melik, 1950).

Kmetijske šole

Kot posebno strokovno šolo omenimo kmetijsko šolo v Trstu leta 1848 in dveletne mlekarške šole (Krajnc, 1979). Kmetijske šole je ustanavljala deželna oblast, lahko pa tudi posamezniki v okviru društev. Pouk je potekal vedno v zimskem času, od novembra do marca, v večernih urah (Engelbrecht, 1986). Leta 1873 je bila na Slapu pri Vipavi ustanovljena Vinarska in sadjarska šola. To je bila prva slovenska kmetijska šola. Najprej jo je vodil vipavski rojak Richard Dolenc, strokovnjak za vinarstvo in sadjarstvo (Ličen, 1996). Zaradi bližine enake kmetijske šole v Gorici ter neugodnih prometnih razmer in oddaljenosti od večjih središč je bila nato leta 1886 po sklepu kranjskega deželnega zbora premeščena na Grm pri Novem mestu. Od leta 1886 je tako delovala Kmetijska šola Grm pri Novem mestu (Ob jubileju Grmske šole, 1956), od leta 1892 pa Deželna vinarsko-sadjarska šola v Mariboru, kjer so potekali različni sadjarski, vinarski in kletarski tečaji, tečaji za konzerviranje sadja in povrtnine, tečaj za travništvo idr. (Žmavc, 1924). Tečaji so bili organizirani po potrebah kraja. To je bil dodaten pouk o kmetijstvu za kmete z organiziranim svetovanjem.

Gospodinske šole

Poleg teh šol so nastale tudi *gospodinske šole*. Njihov namen je bil izobraziti dekleta in žene za dobre gospodinje, razumne in dobre matere, iz podatkov pa lahko spoznamo, da so bile različne tudi po svojem namenu. Gospodinska šola v Mestnem dekleškem zavodu »Vesna« v Mariboru (ustanovljena 1884) je šolala le dekleta srednjega in višjega sloja, medtem ko sta bili gospodinski šoli v Trbovljah (ustanovljena 1911) in Idriji (ustanovljena 1909) namenjeni hčeram rudarjev. Gospodinska šola »Mladika« v Ljubljani (ustanovljena 1906) pa je bila namenjena ne le rednim šolajočim se dekletom, temveč tudi izrednim starejšim



Slika 19: Na deželni Kranjski vino- in sadjerejski šoli na Slapu pri Vipavi (Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, 1878, str. 171)

dekletom in zaposlenim ženskam, ki so se želele naučiti kuhanja in vodenja gospodinjstva (Govekar-Okoliš, 2014). (Glej Tabelo 1).

Tabela 1: Analiza gospodinjstev šol po posameznih deželah na Slovenskem od 1867 do 1914

Dežele na Slovenskem	Gospodinjstva šola	Leto ustanovitve	Ustanovitelj	Internatski tip šole	Tečaji za zaposlene ženske
Štajerska	Mestni dekliški zavod »Vesna« v Mariboru	1884	Mestna občina Maribor in šolski svet	da	ne
	Gospodinjstva šola v Trbovljah	1911	Društvo za zaščito otrok in premogokopna družba v Trbovljah	ne	ne
	Gospodinjstva šola šolskih sester v Mariboru	1914	Šolske sestre v Mariboru	da	ne
Kranjska	Gospodinjstva šola »Mladika« v Ljubljani	1906	Društvo Mladika v Ljubljani	da	da
	Dr. Kreka višja gospodinjstva šola pri uršulinkah v Ljubljani	1913	Uršulinski samostan in dr. Janez Evangelist Krek	ne	da
Primorska	Gospodinjstva šola v Idriji	1909	Uprava Rudnika živega srebra Idrija	ne	ne

Iz Tabele 1 lahko spoznamo, da so se gospodinjske šole na slovenskih tleh najprej začele ustanavljati leta 1884, intenzivneje pa kasneje, vse do prve svetovne vojne leta 1914, saj je bilo skupaj ustanovljenih šest šol. Največ teh šol je nastalo na Štajerskem, sledi Kranjska in nazadnje Primorska. Ugotovimo, da so bili ustanovitelji gospodinjskih šol v času avstrijske monarhije različni. Ustanovitelji so bila društva (Društvo Mladika v Ljubljani, Društvo za zaščito otrok in premogokopna družba v Trbovljah), ki so se prizadevala za izobraževanje deklet in žensk, ter redovnice, ki so vodile gospodinjske šole (Uršulinski samostan v Ljubljani, šolske sestre v Mariboru) in imele pomembno vlogo v takratnem izobraževanju deklet in skrbi za socialno šibke. Gospodinjske šole so ustanovljale tudi občine (npr. mestna občina Maribor – Mestni dekliški zavod »Vesna«) in druge organizacije, npr. uprava Rudnika živega srebra v Idriji. Gospodinjska šola »Mladika« v Ljubljani pa je bila namenjena ne le rednim šolajočim dekletom, temveč tudi izrednim, starejšim dekletom ter zaposlenim ženskam, ki so se želele naučiti kuhanja in vodenja gospodinjstva.



*Slika 20: Prospekt Dekliškega zavoda »Vesna« v Mariboru
(Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (ZAL), LJU 285, Splošno žensko društvo, šk. 8., b. I.)*

Posebej pa lahko izpostavimo tudi gospodinjsko šolo, imenovano po Janezu Evangelistu Kreku – Dr. Kreka višjo gospodinjsko šolo pri uršulinkah v Ljubljani (ustanovljeno 1913), ki je izvajala tečaje za gospodinje za fino meščansko kuho, počitniške tečaje za učiteljice in posebne večerne tečaje za delavke. Posebnost so bili tudi izbirni predmeti: angleščina, francoščina, klavir in stenografija. Cilj ustanovitelj je bil oblikovati visoko kvalificirano gospodinjsko šolo v Ljubljani (Govekar-Okoliš, 2014).



*Slika 21: Višja gospodinjska šola Dr. Kreka v Šiški - Ljubljana
(Slovenski šolski muzej, fototeka – zbirka razglednica, b. l.)*

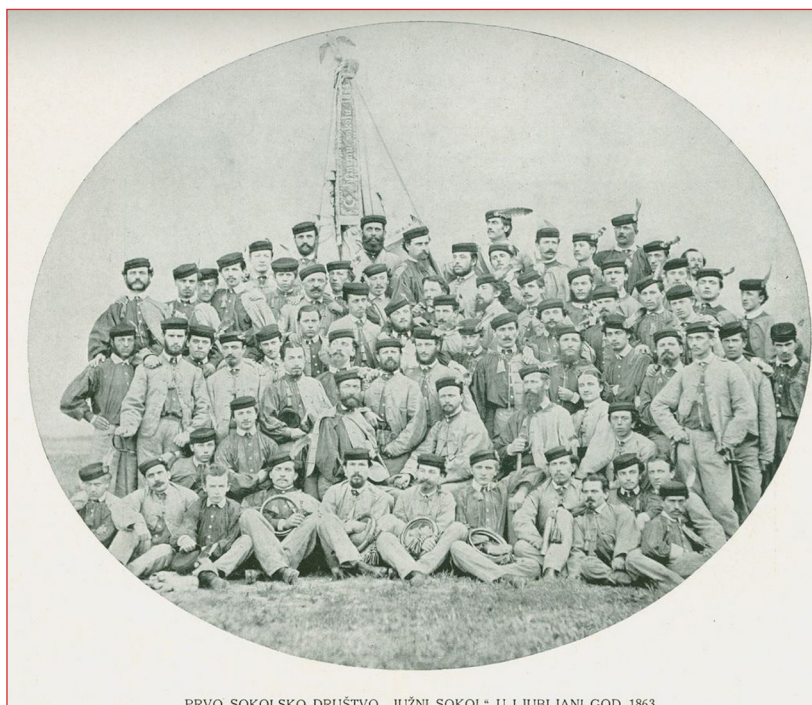


*Slika 22: Učenje kuhanja v Dr. Kreka gospodinjski šoli v Ljubljani,
Ilustrirani Slovenec, 1930, str. 318*

Društva

Novi ustavni zakoni, ki jih je prineslo leto 1848, so ponudili več možnosti tudi za ustanavljanje različnih *društev*, za njihovo delovanje pa je bila blagodejna tudi odprava cenzure. Takrat je bilo pomembnega leta 1848 ustanovljeno *društvo Slovenija*, katerega člani so si prizadevali za razvoj slovenskega političnega življenja in so bili zagovorniki ‚Zedinjene Slovenije‘ (skupne administrativne enote znotraj avstrijskega cesarstva, ki bi povezala kranjsko, štajersko, koroško in primorsko deželo). Program ‚Zedinjene Slovenije‘ je povezal takrat vse sloje slovenskega prebivalstva (Granda, 1999; Prunk, 1992).

Med društvi naj omenimo gimnastično društvo *Južni Sokol*, ustanovljeno leta 1863 (Tul, 2000). To je poleg telesne vzgoje spodbujalo slovenske kulturne prireditve z govori, plesi, tombolami, skrbeli so za svojo knjižnico, s čimer so krepili slovensko narodno zavest in pismenost.



*Slika 23: Prvo sokolsko društvo Južni Sokol v Ljubljani leta 1863
(150 let Sokola ..., 2013)*

Leta 1866 je nastalo *Dramatično društvo*, ki ga lahko štejemo za predhodnika Slovenskega narodnega gledališča (Gestrin in Melik, 1950). S slovenskimi igrami, še posebej z nacionalno vsebino, je oblikovalo nacionalno zavest in z njo tudi nacionalno identiteto.

V Avstro-Ogrski

V Avstro-Ogrski (1867–1918) je imel velik vpliv na izobraževanje odraslih takratni razvoj družbe, njenega gospodarstva, tehnologije in kulture. S tem so bile povezane potrebe po novih znanjih in izobraževanju odraslih. Poleg že obstoječih nedeljskih ponavljalnih šol in različnih strokovnih šol, ki so dajale formalna znanja odraslim, so se v Avstro-Ogrski razvila številna neformalna izobraževanja odraslih. Na to je vplivala nova zakonodaja. Leta 1867 je bil sprejet *avstrijski zakon o društvih* (Gesetz, 1867a, str. 377), čemur je sledil razmah ustanavljanja različnih društev v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 19. stoletja. Na Slovenskem so se v tem času pojavile različne in številnejše oblike množičnega izobraževanja odraslih. Šlo je večinoma za neformalno izobraževanje, ki je potekalo v različnih političnih in prosvetnih društvih, čitalnicah ter taborih. Glavni namen je bil izobraževanje ljudi, vse skupaj pa je bilo povezano z gibanjem za samostojno Slovenijo oz. zedinjeno Slovenijo, vzbujanjem slovenske nacionalne zavesti in identitete ter z uveljavitvijo slovenščine kot uradnega in učnega jezika (Govekar-Okoliš in Ličen, 2008).

Društva

V sedemdesetih letih 19. stoletja so nastala katoliška društva. Njihov namen je bil krepiti katoliško in nacionalno zavest, tako da so poudarjali pomen slovenskega jezika in kulture. Leta 1869 je bilo v Ljubljani ustanovljeno *Katoliško društvo za Kranjsko*, ki so mu sledila še druga. Leta 1890 je bilo ustanovljeno *Katoliško politično društvo*, ki je prav tako povezovalo katolike na Kranjskem. Naslednje leto pa se je ustanovilo tudi *Slovensko društvo*, ki so ga vodili liberalci (Jug, 2000a). Širjenje idej obeh društev je sredi devetdesetih let 19. stoletja privedlo do nastanka političnih strank. Te so bile: *Katoliška narodna stranka*, *Narodno napredna stranka* in *Jugoslovanska socialnodemokratska stranka*. Katoliška narodna stranka (leta 1905 se preimenuje v *Slovensko ljudsko stranko*) je postala najmočnejša politična sila in to ostala vse do konca avstro-ogrske monarhije leta 1914. Povezovala

je kmete, delavce in obrtnike, med drugimi jo je vodil Janez Evangelist Krek (Prunk, 2002). Konec 19. stoletja zaradi politične delitve in nasprotovanj med Slovenci tudi ideja o ‚Zedinjeni Sloveniji‘ ni bila več uresničljiva, poleg tega pa se je med nekaterimi Slovenci pojavljala težnja po združitvi vseh jugoslovanskih narodov, kar pa med množicami ni bilo sprejeto z odobravanjem.



Slika 24: Janez Evangelist Krek (1865–1917)
(Krek J. E., b. l.)

Prav tako so od 1867 dalje delovala *delavska izobraževalna društva*. Posebnost teh društev je bila, da so bili programi pretežno prosvetljevalni, delno pa tudi politične narave. Vendar je bilo izobraževanje odraslih premalo sistematično načrtovano, da bi se razvilo v poklicno izobraževanje, saj so bili programi preveč splošni in niso upoštevali potreb delavcev v konkretnih lokalnih razmerah (Jug, 1996). Kot primer omenimo *Delavsko izobraževalno društvo v Ljubljani*, ki je prirejalo razna poljudnoznanstvena predavanja,

na katere so vabili kot predavatelje znane ljubljanske kulturne, znanstvene in javne delavce. Januarja 1873 so začeli vpisovati v

posebno delavsko šolo. Žal ni podatkov, kdaj se je začel pouk, koliko je bilo vpisanih in kakšne predmete so poučevali. Društvo je ustanovilo tudi svojo knjižnico, v kateri so imeli delavci na razpolago v tem času približno sto knjig, od tega eno tretjino znanstvenih in dve tretjini leposlovnih, ter časopise (Fischer, 1973, str. 33).

Pomembna so bila tudi *učiteljska društva*, ki so nastajala v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 19. stoletja in v katerih so se zbirali številni narodno zavedni učitelji. Skrbela so za reševanje strokovnih in tudi nacionalnih vprašanj, saj so si prizadevala za šole, ki bi imele slovenski učni jezik na vsem slovenskem ozemlju. Delovala so v obdobju najmočnejše germanizacije slovenskega šolstva in družbe nasploh, skupno jih je bilo okrog 20, največ na Kranjskem. Med seboj so se povezovala v združenja, eno takih je bilo *Učiteljsko društvo na Kranjskem*, ki se je kasneje preimenovalo v *Slovensko učiteljsko društvo* in začelo delovati zunaj meja Kranjske (Govekar-Okoliš, 2017, 2019). Slovenske učiteljice so leta 1897 ustanovile tudi lastno organizacijo – *Društvo slovenskih učiteljic*. To je bilo namenjeno učiteljicam, vzgojiteljicam, otroškim vrtnaricam in učiteljicam ročnih del. Zavzemalo se je za načelo o enaki plači, za izobraževanje učiteljic in žensk nasploh, večjo socialno varnost in boljšo zdravstveno oskrbo za učiteljice (Hojan, 1969).

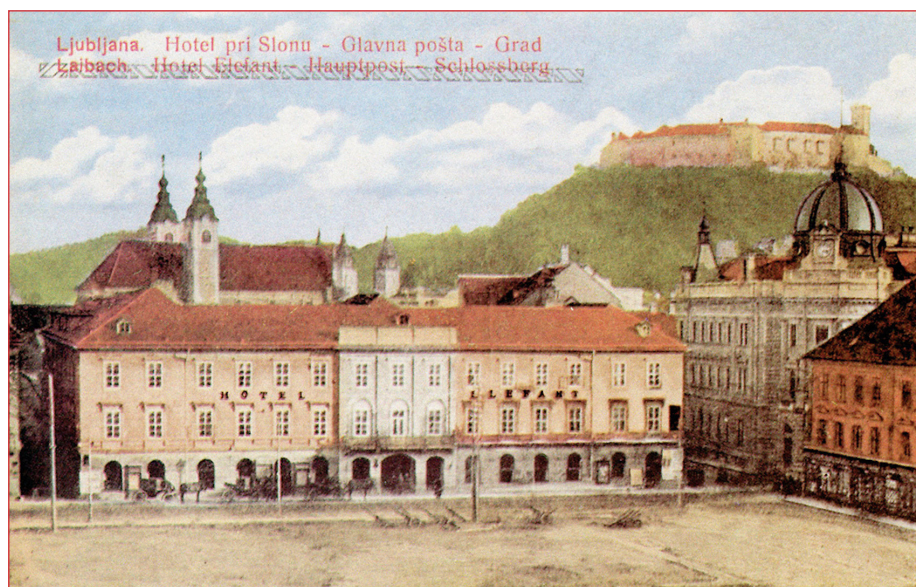
Čitalnice

Poleg društev so bile v tem obdobju pomembne *čitalnice*, ki so se v drugi polovici 19. stoletja hitro ustanavljale po mestih in trgih. Prva čitalnica z imenom Slovanska čitalnica je bila ustanovljena v Trstu leta 1861.

Istega leta so nastale še čitalnice v Ljubljani, Celju in Mariboru. Posebej so cvetele v šestdesetih letih 19. stoletja, v njih sta se združevala rastoče slovensko meščanstvo in narodnozavedna inteligenca (Prunk, 1992). V letu 1861 imajo čitalnice približno 250 članov, do leta 1869 pa število članov naraste na 4000. Do leta 1864 je bilo v različnih deželah na Slovenskem ustanovljenih 14 čitalnic, z uvedbo dualizma habsburške monarhije leta 1867 pa število čitalnic do leta 1870 naraste na 69. Od vseh 69 čitalnic jih je bilo 38 na Primorskem. Te so bile večinoma po vaseh in so se imenovalle tudi bralna društva, slovenske čitalnice, kmečke čitalnice ali kmečke in rokodelske čitalnice. Po letu 1900 se tako razširijo, da začnejo preraščati v samostojne kulturne ustanove, kot so dramska in telovadna društva,

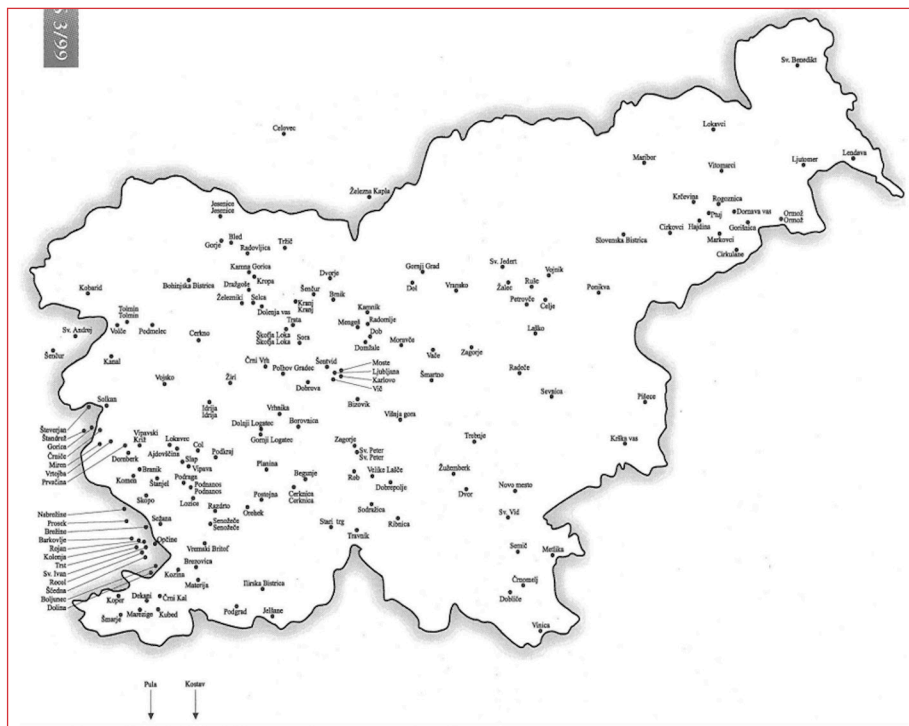


*Slika 25: Narodni dom v Trstu (čitalnica 1861)
(Narodni dom Trst, 2020)*



*Slika 26: Narodna čitalnica v Ljubljani v hotelu Slon 1861–1867
(Čitalnica v Hotelu Slon, b. l.)*

pevski zbori, glasbene šole, ljudske knjižnice, krajevni muzeji idr. (Uršič, 1999). Za čitalnice je bilo značilno, da je v njih potekalo slovensko kulturno in politično življenje, razne dejavnosti in srečanja, ki so bila pomembni dogodki, saj so med udeleženci utrjevali občutenje in vezi narodne pripadnosti (Vodopivec, 2006).



Slika 27: Razširjenost čitalnic in bralnih društev po Sloveniji (Uršič, 1999, str. 80)

V čitalnicah je potekalo neformalno izobraževanje in izkustveno učenje odraslih ter mladine. Širila in utrjevala se je nacionalna identiteta Slovencev, saj so brali slovensko literaturo in časopise, poslušali in izvajali slovensko narodno glasbo, prirejali slovenska predavanja in govore, igre, plese, petje idr. ter razpravljali tudi o političnih vprašanjih. Iz ljubljanske čitalnice je leta 1864 nastala *Slovenska matica*, ki je skrbela za izdajo slovenskih znanstvenih spisov, poljudnih in drugih del (Govekar-Okoliš, 2017).

Tabori (množično neinstitucionalno izobraževanje odraslih)

Za množično izobraževanje odraslih so bili prav tako pomembni *tabori*, ki so se prirejali v letih 1868–1871. K njihovem nastanku na Slovenskem je veliko pripomogel *zakon o pravici do združevanja* z dne 15. novembra 1867 (Gesetz, 1867b, str. 382). Prvi slovenski tabor je bil v Ljutomeru 9. avgusta 1868, sledili so mu še v Žalcu, Šempasu na Goriškem in drugod (Vodopivec, 2006). Tabori so bili zborovanja velikih množic na prostem, ki so se jih udeleževali Slovenci vseh slojev, od meščanov do kmečkega prebivalstva. Njihova nacionalna in politična aktivnost je preseгла vsa pričakovanja, ljudje so se srečanj udeleževali zelo množično, oblečeni v narodne noše in opremljeni s slovensko zastavo. Tabori so bili pomembni, ker so na njih z govori zavednih Slovencev intelektualcev izražali zahteve po ‚Zedinjeni Sloveniji‘ in uvedbi slovenščine v urade, šole idr. ter o ustanovitvi univerze v Ljubljani. Množici so govorili narodni buditelji: pisatelj in politik Valentin Zarnik, pisatelj, zdravnik in politik Josip Vošnjak, pravnik Karel Lavrič, jezikoslovec in politik Božidar Raič, publicist in politik Janez Bleiweis, pisatelj Fran Levstik idr. (Gestrin in Melik, 1950; Tul, 2000; Jug, 2000b). Kot zanimivost citiramo primer zahtev, ki so jih izražali na taborih. Že na prvem taboru v Ljutomeru so sprejeli sklep:

Tukaj zbrani slovenski narod soglasno izreka, da v paragrafu 19. državnih osnovnih postav ne najde poročstva za ohranitev in gojitve svoje narodnosti, dokler ne bode:

- 1) Slovenski jezik na Slovenskem izključivo uradni jezik in dokler se ne bo v ta namen uradnikom na Slovenskem neodlo-goma določil obrok, in sicer pol leta, do katerega morajo znati slovenščino v besedi in pismu.
- 2) Dokler ne bode cerkvena vlada na Slovenskem uradovala v slovenskem jeziku in se ne bodo v bogoslovnica-h pred-meti, kateri se do zdaj nemški predavajo, odslej slovensko razlagali.
- 3) Dokler ne bodo ljudske šole čisto slovenske in v srednjih učni jezik slovenski. (Nemški jezik ostane učni predmet).
- 4) Dokler se ne združijo Slovenci v zedinjeno Slovensko z na-rodno upravo.

- 5) Dokler se ne bode iz deželnega zaklada štajerskega v razmeri števila Slovencev in njihovih prineskov napravili, podpirali in vzdrževali slovenski zavodi na primer slov. realke, gospodarske šole.
- 6) Dokler ne bodo dodane temu paragrafu izvršilne postave in djansko vpeljane, in dokler se ne bode posameznim deželam dala večja samoupravna oblast (Prvi slovenski tabor, 1868, str. 1).

Slovensko ljudstvo se je tudi v naslednjem letu še številneje udeleževalo zborovanj na prostem. Eden največjih taborov na Slovenskem je bil 17. maja 1869 v Vižmarjih pri Ljubljani, kjer se je zbralo okrog 30.000 ljudi. Na vseh taborih je slovenski narod zahteval svoje pravice in terjal ustanovitev ‚Zedinjene Slovenije‘. Takšna srečanja so nemškemu liberalnemu meščanstvu in oblasti v Avstriji povzročala skrb. Strah jih je bilo »slovenske enodušnosti in časa, ko bo ves milijonski narod vezal svojo zvestobo (namreč do Avstrije) na pogoj, da se ustvari Slovenija«. (Gestrin in Melik, 1950, str. 96–97.)



*Slika 28: Prvi slovenski tabor v Ljutomeru 9. 8. 1868
(9. avgusta 1868 je v Ljutomeru potekal prvi slovenski tabor, 2018)*

Vendar do revolucije na Slovenskem ni prišlo, kajti slovensko meščanstvo ni šlo v revolucijo za ustanovitev ‚Zedinjene Slovenije‘. Pomen taborskega gibanja je bil za oblikovanje slovenske narodnosti največjega pomena. Na njih so sodelovali vsi slovenski sloji, meščanstvo, inteligenca, duhovščina in kmetje. Tabori so veljali resnično za pravi, množični narodni plebiscit, saj takšne narodno-politične enotnosti v slovenskem političnem razvoju ni bilo nikoli več v 19. stoletju (Prunk, 1992). Lahko trdimo, da se je prav na tovrstnih zborovanjih najbolj izrazito oblikovala slovenska nacionalna identiteta, ki je v času 19. stoletja dosegla najvišjo stopnjo. Ta je bila po svoji vsebini politična, pa tudi kulturna, saj so se Slovenci prvič v zgodovini skupno ne glede na pripadnost družbenemu sloju zavedali enotnosti, enakosti, pomembnosti svoje domovine, teritorija, zgodovine, kulture, jezika, pomembnosti razvoja v rabi institucij, ki bi bile slovenske, skratka, končno so bili vsi za isti narodnostni cilj – postaviti eno nacionalno upravno enoto. Slovensko ljudstvo se je tako zelo hitro v ustavni demokratični dobi šestdesetih let 19. stoletja naučilo politične demokracije, če upoštevamo, da je še do leta 1848 večino slovenskega prebivalstva predstavljala le kmečka množica, ki ni bila zajeta v politično življenje takratnega časa.

Tabori so bili pomembni tudi z vidika izobraževanja odraslih, saj so se na njih prvič učili in izobraževali vsi sloji takratne družbe, tudi najštevilčnejše kmečko prebivalstvo, ki je imelo z njimi dostop do poglobljenega političnega in kulturnega znanja. Pomemben del taborskega gibanja so bili slovenski narodnozavedni učitelji, ki so se aktivno zavzemali za razširjeno mrežo slovenskih izobraževalnih ustanov, v katerih bi uporabljali slovenščino kot učni jezik, za slovenske učbenike in drugo literaturo ter za izboljšanje svojega lastnega učiteljskega položaja. Takratne avstrijske oblasti so poskušale vsakršne učiteljske aktivnosti za širjenje slovenskega jezika, slovenske nacionalne zavesti in identitete v šolah čim hitreje zatreti, slovenskemu prebivalstvu pa je poleg nemške asimilacije vseskozi grozila tudi italijanska (Govekar-Okoliš, 2017, 2019). Tabori so se prirejali vse do leta 1871, ko jih je zaradi vse izrazitejše nacionalne tematike in nacionalnih zahtev velikega števila prebivalstva na Slovenskem avstrijska vlada prepovedala. Na vsem slovenskem ozemlju je bilo skupaj 18 taborov, šest na Primorskem, pet na Štajerskem, štirje na Kranjskem in trije na Koroškem (Prunk, 1992). Zato lahko rečemo, da je v šestdesetih letih 19. stoletja pri slovenskem narodu vladala velika politična in kulturna zrelost. Obdobje taborov, kot ga imenujejo

slovenski zgodovinarji, je eno najpomembnejših in najlepših dosežkov razvoja nacionalne identitete Slovencev v 19. stoletju.

Slovenski tisk

K razvoju izobraževanja odraslih, njihovega opismenjevanja idr. je pomembno prispeval tudi razvoj *tiska*. Ta sodi med pomembne družbene dejavnike, ki so v času druge polovice 19. stoletja imeli svojevrstno in vplivno vlogo pri širjenju nacionalnih zamisli, s tem pa tudi nacionalne zavesti in identitete Slovencev. Med tisk v takratnem času lahko uvrščamo številne časopise in knjige. Pred letom 1848 je bilo več poskusov za izdajanje slovenskih časopisov. Središčna vloga v narodnem vodstvu je takrat pripadala Ljubljani. Tu so že leta 1843 začele izhajati *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (*Novice*), za katere je skrbel Janez Bleiweis in kjer sta največji slovenski pesnik France Prešeren ter njegov krog izdajala almanah *Čbelico* in s tem usmerjala slovensko napredno, demokratično, kulturno in politično akcijo.



Slika 31: Prva številka *Novic*, 5. julij 1843
(*Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, 1843)

Že v letu 1848 smo Slovenci dobili več časopisov. V Ljubljani je začel izhajati prvi politični časopis *Slovenija* in tednik *Slovenski cerkveni časopis*, v Celju tednik *Celjske slovenske novice*, ki jih je vodil Konšek, v Trstu pa mesečnik *Slavjanski rodoljub* (Zgodovina Slovencev, 1979). Stroga avstrijska Bachova politika (1849–1859), ki je prepovedovala izhajanje časopisov in drugega tiska v slovenskem jeziku, je izzvala zavedno slovensko inteligenco in duhovščino. Začeli sta izdajati slovenske časopise, ki so morali biti po vsebini namenjeni za dom, kmetijstvo in praktične potrebe, pa tudi knjige, ki so imele v tem času zatiranja slovenske literature in tiska zgolj cerkveno vsebino. Duhovnik in politik Andrej Einspieler in slavist Anton Janežič sta si na pobudo škofa Antona Martina Slomška prizadevala znova ustanoviti društvo za izdajanje slovenskih knjig. Uspelo jima je leta 1851. Društvo je dobilo ime po oglejskem zavetniku sv. Mohorju, svoj sedež pa je imelo v Celovcu. Že leta 1852 so izšle prve knjige, pisane v slovenščini (Smolik, 1992). To društvo se je leta 1860 preimenovalo v Družbo sv. Mohorja, ki je izdajalo vrsto slovenskih knjig, povesti, nabožno literaturo, zelo veliko pa tudi poljudne in vzgojne literature (Vovko, 1994). Knjige in drugo literaturo Društva sv. Mohorja je dobivalo slovensko prebivalstvo vseh stanov in poklicev. Poleg škofov in duhovnikov tudi profesorji, obrtniki, kmetje, dijaki, kuharice in seveda tudi ustanove, kot so bile knjižnice, šole in podobno, iz vseh slovenskih dežel. V okviru tega društva so izšle pomembne slovenske knjige, denimo: Josip Jurčič – *Jurij Kozjak*, Josip Stare – *Občna zgodovina*, Josip Gruden – *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda* in številne druge (Smolik, 1992). Vsako leto je Družba sv. Mohorja načrtno izdajala knjige domačih avtorjev. Bila je vseslovenska, saj je pospeševala zavest družinske povezanosti, spodbujala narodno zavest, s knjigami je dvigala čut za vse lepo in dobro, pospeševala je umetnost v besedi, sliki in glasbi. Omogočala je znanstvenikom in umetnikom, da so pri njej objavljali spise, ki so sodili med vrhunske dosežke slovenske kulture (prav tam). Družba je tako s svojimi rednimi letnimi knjigami širila in utrjevala nacionalno zavest in identiteto Slovencev med vsem slovenskim ljudstvom, hkrati pa tudi dvigala kulturno raven slovenskega naroda.

Poleg pomembne vloge tega društva naj ponovno omenimo pomen izhajanja slovenskih znanstvenih knjig in literature, ki je spodbujala razvoj slovenske znanosti in kulture, namenjena pa je bila bolj izobraženemu sloju. Za to je skrbela Slovenska matica, ustanovljena leta 1864 (Zgodovina Slovencev, 1979).

Na Slovenskem so se v šestdesetih letih 19. stoletja oblikovali novi časopisi, ki so bili po vsebini že usmerjeni v nacionalna vprašanja slovenskega naroda. Tako je denimo leta 1863 začel graščak, pesnik in skladatelj Miroslav Vilhar izdajati časopis *Naprej*. Glavni urednik tega je bil pisatelj Fran Levstik. Ta časopis pa ni izhajal niti leto dni, ker ga je avstrijska vlada prepovedala zaradi njegove vsebine. Iz te je bilo razbrati zavzemanje za opustitev starih deželnih slovenskih mej in za združitev narodov enakega jezika, za ‚Zedinjeno Slovenijo‘. Poleg tega pa je v letu 1865 v Celovcu začel izhajati časopis *Slovenec*, za katerega je skrbel duhovnik Andrej Einspieler. Tudi ta časopis se je v svoji vsebini dotikal vprašanj politike, narodnosti in narodnega gospodarstva (Zgodovina Slovencev, 1979).

Učitelji so v takratnem času poskrbeli za svoje časopise, ki so se oblikovali znotraj posameznih učiteljskih društev na Slovenskem. Imeli so namreč svoje poglede na strokovna in nacionalna vprašanja. To se je kazalo tudi v vsebinah njihovih časopisov. Prvi učiteljski časopis je izšel leta 1861, in sicer *Učiteljski tovarš* (*Učiteljski tovariš*), ki ga je urejal Andrej Praprotnik.



Slika 32: *Učiteljski tovarš* (1861, str. 1)

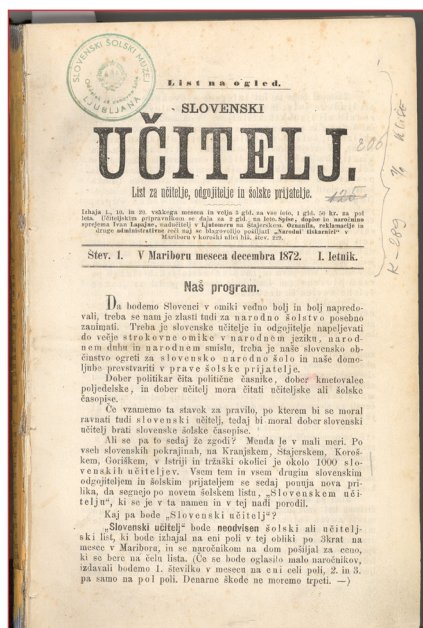
Praprotnikovo delo je kmalu zamenjal Franc Močnik, ki je vplival, kot meni Ostanek, na konservativno usmerjenost Učiteljskega tovariša, saj je poleg konservativnih pogledov zagovarjal tudi vpliv cerkve na šolo (Ostanek, 1971). Od leta 1890 naprej je postal *Učiteljski tovariš* glasilo Učiteljskega društva za Kranjsko. Preoblikovanje tega društva v Slovensko učiteljsko društvo je povzročilo nacionalno diferenciacijo med učiteljstvom na Kranjskem. »Nacionalno mlačni slovenski in kočevski učitelji so nasprotovali učiteljski organizaciji po nacionalnem principu in zagovarjali obstoj deželnih učiteljskih društev.« (Ostanek, 1971, str. 14.) Ta nesoglasja glede organiziranosti učiteljskih društev po nacionalnosti so privedla do tega, da je na seji upravnega odbora Zaveze slovenskih učiteljskih društev leta 1898 Šega predlagal, naj glasilo prevzame in preoblikuje Zaveza (prav tam). To se je tudi zgodilo. *Učiteljski tovariš* je z letom 1899 postal glasilo Zaveze slovenskih učiteljskih društev, ki je izhajal trikrat na mesec. Urejala sta ga Jakob Dimnik in Engelbert Gangl (prav tam).

Poleg *Učiteljskega tovariša* je izhajal tudi časopis *Slovenski učitelj* (1872–1877). Ta je začel izhajati po mnenju Ostanka kot protiutež konservativno usmerjenega *Učiteljskega tovariša*, ki ga je urejal Franc Močnik (Ostanek, 1971). »Napredno usmerjeni učitelji, ki so bili narodno zavedni, so se strinjali, da prične izhajati nov slovenski šolski list, ki bo zagovarjal novi šolski zakon« (prav tam, str. 15) iz leta 1869. *Slovenskega učitelja* je urejal učitelj, ravnatelj in publicist Ivan Lapajne v Mariboru. Postalo je tudi glasilo Učiteljskega društva za slovenski Štajer, saj so bili na Štajerskem, kot opisuje Ostanek, učitelji v večini somišljeniki liberalcev, ki so se zanimali za novi šolski zakon (1869) in nove smeri v pedagogiki (prav tam).

Omenimo, da je Zaveza slovenskih učiteljskih društev leta 1889 proglasila za svoje tudi glasilo *Popotnik*. Njegov urednik je bil Miha Nerat. Tudi to glasilo je objavljalo nacionalne vsebine, saj so celo, kot omenja Hojanova, načrtno zbirali dobre spise s šolsko-političnimi vsebinami (Hojan, 1989).

Slovenski tisk je prav gotovo imel pomembno vlogo pri izobraževanju odraslih, njihovem opismenjevanju ter oblikovanju nacionalne zavesti in identitete pri Slovencih zaradi cerkvenih, politično-nacionalnih in nacionalno-gospodarskih vsebin v različnih slovenskih časopisih, knjigah in tudi v strokovni literaturi. Pri tem se je vsebina prav tako nanašala na nacionalna vprašanja, iz česar je mogoče razbrati pomembnost slovenskega jezika, zgodovine in slovenskega naroda. Na splošno pa je bil tudi slovenski tisk v veliki meri odvisen od avstrijske politike, ki

je dovoljevala izhajanje le nekaterih, po letu 1848 bolj cerkvenih del v slovenščini, ki se v vsebinah niso dotikala nacionalne tematike, medtem ko je druga dela zavračala, še predvsem tista, ki so s svojimi vsebinami širila nacionalno zavest. Posebej je zavirala širjenje slovenskih politično-nacionalnih časopisov, zaradi česar so ti imeli nadvse kratko življenjsko dobo.



Slika 33: Slovenski učitelj (1872, str. 1)



Slika 34: Popotnik (1880, str. 1)

Tretje obdobje: Izobraževanje odraslih med obema vojnama (1918–1941)

Obdobje po prvi svetovni vojni in razpadu avstro-ogrske monarhije prinese novosti. Slovenci so bili razdeljeni med štiri države: Italijo, Avstrijo, Madžarsko in Jugoslavijo. To je čas od 1918 do 1941, ko so se Slovenci po prvi svetovni vojni oktobra 1918 priključili kratkotrajni Državi Slovenecv, Hrvatov in Srbov, ki se je decembra 1918 združila s Kraljevino Srbijo v Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, od leta 1929 imenovano Kraljevina Jugoslavija.

V novi državi je bilo gospodarstvo najbolj razvito na Slovenskem, prevladovala je kmetijska proizvodnja, ob tem pa je hiter razvoj industrije povzročil nastajanje industrijskega delavstva in njegovo ločevanje od obrtnikov. Pomembno spoznanje tega obdobja je, da so najširšim slojem prebivalstva potrebna dodatna znanja, saj so bili temelji vzgoje in izobraževanja tako narodni, gospodarski kot družbeni razvoj (Bezenšek, 1998; Jug, 1999). Pomembno je bilo izobraževanje odraslih za delo v industriji, ki je potekalo po potrebah. *Zakon o ljudskih šolah iz leta 1929* je urejal nekatera področja izobraževanja odraslih. Spodbudilo se je strokovno in nadaljnje izobraževanje, s tem pa je naraslo število *kmetijskih, obrtnih in trgovskih nadaljevalnih šol* (Jug, 1996). V Sloveniji so po letu 1919 ustanovili tri nove dvorazredne *trgovske šole* – v Mariboru, Celju in Novem mestu. Mariborska šola se je leta 1926 preimenovala v državno trgovsko akademijo. Tudi v Ljubljani so v šolskem letu 1920/21 ustanovili trgovsko akademijo. Zbornica za trgovino, obrt in industrijo v Ljubljani je leta 1920 organizirala trgovski tečaj in enoletne trgovske tečaje, s šolskim letom 1938/39 pa je odprla zasebno dvorazredno trgovsko šolo (Serše, 1999).

Nižje kmetijske šole

Pomembne so bile tudi *kmetijske šole*, ki jih je organizacijsko urejal *zakon iz leta 1922 za nižje kmetijske šole*. Delovale so Kmetijska šola Grm pri Novem mestu, Deželna vinarsko-sadjarška šola v Mariboru, Kmetijska šola v Šentjurju pri Celju, ob njih pa še Banovinska kmetijsko-gospodinjška šola Mala Loka na Dolenjskem in Gospodinjška šola v Ponikvah pri Dobropolju (Serše, 1999). Te so omogočale nadaljnje izobraževanje odraslih na različnih tečajih. Poleg teh je bila leta 1926 s kraljevim dekretom ustanovljena specializirana kmetijska šola za mlekarstvo – Mlekarska državna šola v Škofji Loki (Srednja mlekarska in kmetijska šola Kranj, 1997).

Leta 1935 je bil odprt prvi dvoletni tečaj. V Kapeli in Pekrah (1926) so v banovinskih trsnicah in drevesnicah do leta 1937 prirejali devetmesečne viničarske tečaje. Po letu 1938 so bili tečaji organizirani le še v Kapeli, ker so trsnico v Pekrah opustili. Tečaj je bil praktičen in teoretičen. Predavanja so bila predvsem iz vinarstva, kletarstva in sadjarstva, nekaj tudi o splošnem kmetijstvu in živinoreji, razen pouka na kmetijskih šolah, ki so bile namenjene kmetijskemu naraščanju, so po deželi organizirali kmetijske tečaje, ki so jih

vodili potujoči učitelji, in sicer kmetijski referenti, strokovnjaki s področja kmetijstva in profesorji s kmetijskih šol. Tečaji so bili organizirani s podporo kmetijskega ministrstva iz državnega kmetijskega sklada. Pri izobraževanju kmeta so imela veliko vlogo tudi radijska predavanja, ki so bila predvajana v zimskem času od začetka decembra do konca marca. Predavali so najboljši kmetijski strokovnjaki (Serše, 1999).



*Slika 35: Mlekarna mlekarske zadruga v Škofji Loki pred letom 1941
Foto: Hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka (Šifrer Bulovec, 2023)*

Gospodinjske in kmetijske nadaljevalne šole

Omenimo naj delovanje takratnih *gospodinjskih in kmetijskih nadaljevalnih šol*. Njihov namen je bil, da utrdijo znanje udeležencev, pridobljeno v osnovni šoli, in ga razširijo glede na življenjske potrebe kraja. Kjer ni bilo možno ustanavljati kmetijskih nadaljevalnih šol, naj bi za odraslo mladino ustanovili mladinske kmetijske klube (Hojan, 1999). Leta 1929 je bil sprejet *zakon o narodnih šolah*, ki je predvideval ustanovitev nižje gospodinjske šole za ženske in gospodinjske tečaje, za moške pa gospodarsko združne tečaje. Na te tečaje so sprejemali

osebe, stare od 15 do 30 let. Za ženske so tečaji trajali tri do šest mesecev, za moške pa dva do štiri. Leta 1933 je pri učiteljski organizaciji začel delovati Klub prijateljev vaške kulture. Naloga kluba je bila med drugim tudi pospeševanje kmetijskega in gospodinjkega nadaljevalnega šolstva (Hojan, 1999). V Ljubljani je delovala Dr. Kreka višja gospodinjstva šola pri uršulinkah v Ljubljani. Šolo so obiskovale dekleta in tudi že zaposlene ženske, ki so se želele izpopolniti na področju gospodinjstva ter splošnih znanj s področja glasbe in tujih jezikov (angleščina, francoščina (Degen, 1967).

Prva teoretična izhodišča izobraževanja odraslih so se začela razvijati v delih pedagogov Karla Ozvalda in Franja Žgeča v začetku 20. stoletja. Ozvald je napisal *Kulturno pedagogiko* (1927), Žgeč pa *Probleme vzgoje najširših plasti našega naroda* (1923). V njunih delih spoznamo prizadevanja za osebno rast in razvoj odraslih. Oba sta se zavzemala za vseživljenjsko izobraževanje odraslih, tudi po končanem rednem šolanju. Prizadevala sta si za razvoj »ljudskih visokih šol« po danskem zgledu Grundtwigovih »ljudskih visokih šol«. Menila sta, da vzgoja naroda postane vrednost sama po sebi. Razvoj naroda sta videla v izobraževanju preprostega prebivalstva. Govorila sta o vzgoji in izobraževanju odraslih, posebno kmečkega in delavskega prebivalstva, o vzgoji celotnega naroda. Poleg njiju lahko omenimo še pedagoga Stanka Gogalo in Vlada Schmidta, ki sta s svojimi deli prav tako vplivala na pogled na izobraževanje odraslih. Takratni slovenski pedagogi so se zavedali potrebe po izobraževanju ne le otrok in mladine, temveč tudi odraslih. Začeli so raziskovati izobraževanje odraslih, opazovati in opisovati pojave ter procese na področju izobraževanja odraslih. V tem času se je denimo začelo govoriti o formalnem in neformalnem izobraževanju ter o permanentnem izobraževanju odraslih, odvisno od okoliščin in potreb. S tem so se opisovali temeljni procesi in pojavi vzgoje in izobraževanja odraslih, kar je vplivalo na nadaljnji razvoj teorije in prakse izobraževanja odraslih, razvoj institucionalnega izobraževanja odraslih in andragoških idej na slovenskih tleh.



*Slika 36: Karel Ozvald
(1873–1946)
(Ozvald, b. l.)*



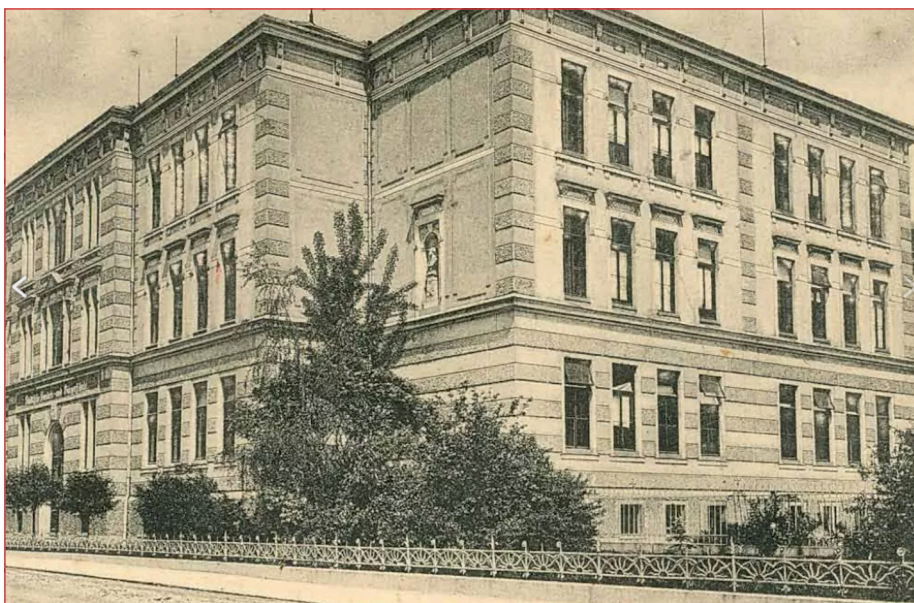
*Slika 37: Franjo Žgeč (1896–1961)
(Žgeč, b. l.)*

Ljudske visoke šole

Po letu 1918 so se na Slovenskem začele ustanavljati *ljudske visoke šole*, ki so nastale po danskem zgledu ljudskih visokih šol. Poimenovanje za to vrsto šole sprva ni bilo enotno. Poleg imena ljudska visoka šola zasledimo imeni »ljudsko vseučilišče« in »ljudska univerza«. Leta 1921 je začelo delovati ljudsko vseučilišče v Celju, leta 1922 ljudska univerza v Mariboru in ljudsko vseučilišče na Jesenicah, leta 1923 je bila ustanovljena ljudska visoka šola v Ljubljani, leta 1927 na Studencih pri Mariboru in leta 1937 na Ptuju ter v Kranju (Govekar-Okoliš, 2008, 2022).

Po *odloku ministrstva prosvete o ljudskih univerzah* iz leta 1932 se na Slovenskem uradno uporablja enotno ime »ljudska univerza« (Hojan, 1975).

Pojav teh institucij je pripisati različnim vplivom, predvsem novim družbenim razmeram, ki so zaradi gospodarskega in tehnološkega razvoja prinašale potrebe po nadaljnjem izobraževanju odraslih. Nekatere ljudske visoke šole so bile najprej organizirane kot društva za prosvetljevanje vseh slojev prebivalstva. Tovrstne ustanove so poleg predavanj prirejale različne izobraževalne in



Slika 38: Ljudsko vseučilišče v Celju 1921 (Ljudska univerza Celje ob stoletnici ..., 2021)

*Tabela 2: Ljudske univerze na Slovenskem v šolskem letu 1938/1939
(Govekar-Okoliš, 2008, str. 24)*

ŠT.	IME INSTITUCIJE	KRAJ	ŠTEVILO PREDAVA- TELJEV	ŠTEVILO PREDAVANJ	ŠTEVILO POSLUŠALCEV
1.	LJUDSKA UNIVERZA	CELJE	18	23	1940
2.	LJUDSKA UNIVERZA	MARIBOR	43	41	5562
3.	LJUDSKA UNIVERZA	JESENICE	ni podatka	ni podatka	ni podatka
4.	LJUDSKA UNIVERZA	LJUBLJANA	15	15	2454
5.	LJUDSKA UNIVERZA	STUDENCI PRI MARIBORU	21	21	3358
6.	LJUDSKA UNIVERZA	PTUJ	6	6	800
7.	LJUDSKA UNIVERZA	KRANJ	15	11	2000
Skupaj			118	117	16.114

prosvetljevalne dejavnosti, kulturne, športne in druge prireditve ter izlete. Izdajale so tudi tiskana gradiva in v svojih knjižnicah omogočale ljudem dostop do knjig. Naloga ljudskih visokih šol je bila izboljšati in spremeniti posameznika ter ga usmeriti h kulturnim dobrinam. Ljudske visoke šole oz. ljudske univerze so bile pomemben prostor za neformalno izobraževanje odraslih, za razvoj demokracije in gospodarstva. Ponudile so pomembno institucionalizirano obliko nadaljnega izobraževanja odraslih in prispevale k prosvetljevanju vseh plasti slovenskega prebivalstva, predvsem delavskega. Delovale so vse do druge svetovne vojne.

Društva

V obdobju od 1918 do 1941 so na slovenskih tleh delovala tudi *delavska izobraževalna društva*, za katera je bilo značilno neformalno izobraževanje delavstva z družbeno potrebnimi in izkustvenimi znanji. Delavstvo se je predvsem navajalo k branju, splošnemu in političnemu izobraževanju, zanimanju za kulturne prireditve idr. (Govekar-Okoliš, 1998; Jug, 1998). Posebno vlogo so v tem okviru imela *kulturno-prosvetna društva*, npr. Prosvetna zveza v Ljubljani, ki je ustanavljala ljudske knjižnice in imela potujoče knjižnice, prizadevala si je za ustanovitev ljudskega vseučilišča, razvoj krajevnih muzejev, dramsko umetnost idr. *Društvo Krekova mladina* so ustanovili krščanski socialisti, ki so izobraževali delavsko mladino v duhu krščanske socialne misli ter prirejali predavanja, tečaje in družabne prireditve. Ustanavljali so knjižnice, različne dramske in športne odseke ter izdajali nepolitične spise in glasila.

Pomembna so bila tudi *telovadna društva*. Ponovno zaživita Sokol in Orel, ki se ukvarjata s telovadbo in tekmovalnimi nastopi, kulturnimi dejavnostmi, organizirata predavanja idr. *Zveza kulturnih društev v Ljubljani* pa je združevala vsa liberalna nepolitična društva (povezala čitalnice, knjižnice, prosvetne odseke sokolskih društev, narodna, bralna, učiteljska, študentska, pevska, podporna, gasilska, športna in druga društva). Leta 1926 so začeli izdajati glasilo *Prosvetni glasnik* in pridobili radijski sprejemnik ter prenosni kinoprojektor (Jug, 1998).

Omenimo naj še *Zvezo kmečkih fantov in deklet v Ljubljani*, ki je prirejala letne tečaje posebej za dekleta in za fante za razna kmečka opravila. Imeli so tabore kmečke mladine (tekme koscev, žanjic, veselice), gojili smučanje, kolesarjenje in organizirali izlete. Naročali so različne publikacije in oblikovali knjižne zbirke (*Zveza kmečkih fantov in deklet*, 1936). V društvih se je razvijalo



*Slika 39: Društvo Orel Kamnik pred 1929
(Telovadno društvo Orel ..., b. l.)*

in spodbujalo prosvetno delo, širile so se splošna razgledanost (gospodarska znanja, pismenost), nacionalna identiteta in zavest ter krepila slovenska kultura. Njihova vloga je pomembna, ker so društva prenašala stališča in znanja, ki jih ljudje ne bi dobili nikjer drugje. Ljudje so se v društvih prostovoljno srečevali v skladu s svojimi interesi in tako medsebojno ustvarjali razmere za uspešno individualno, kakovostno in spontano izobraževanje. Na tak način so si pridobili sposobnosti za nadaljnje samoizobraževanje, ki je bilo pomembno v času, ko so društva izgubljala svojo vlogo. Ljudje so se torej v društvih izpopolnjevali v znanju ter prenašali informacije in izkustva.

Dopisna šola

V tem obdobju se prvič na Slovenskem začne organizirano samostojno učenje odraslih z *dopisnim izobraževanjem*. Leta 1932 je v Ljubljani nastala *prva dopisna trgovska šola*, ki je delovala do leta 1941. Ponujala je formalno dopisno izobraževanje za trgovce (Velej, 1997). Vodil jo je profesor zgodovine Anton Krošl. Dopisna šola je imela prostore v slovenski trgovski šoli v Ljubljani, ki je bila ustanovljena leta 1908. Izvestje dopisne trgovske šole omenja, da

je bila največja ovira ob začetku njenega delovanja seznaniti prebivalstvo z dopisnim izobraževanjem. Šola je imela tri smeri: komercialno, združeno in znanstveno, vsaka smer je imela svoj predmetnik. Ob vpisu so morali učenci plačati vpisnino in šolnino za posamezne predmete, ki so jih želeli obiskovati. Pouk na dopisni trgovski šoli je trajal 10 mesecev, od 15. septembra do 15. julija. Učenci so lahko v tem času uspešno opravili izpite za eno ali pa dve šolski leti (enoletni oz. dvoletni sistem). V prvih dveh letih delovanja je šola razposlala več kot 100.000 izvodov predavanj, 1836 knjig in slovarjev, več kot 3000 pisnih pojasnil in informacij (Dopisna trgovska šola, 1934). To je bil prvi primer izobraževanja po dopisni poti (na daljavo), ki je potekal na podlagi učnih pisem.

Veliko vlogo pri izobraževanju odraslih so imeli *knjižnice in amaterska gledališča* (Jug, 1998). Poleg teh so bili pomemben vir za izobraževanje odraslih različne *revije, časopisi, strokovna literatura* (*Slovenski gospodar, Sodobnost, Domoljub*, glasila društev idr.). Novost so bila tudi radijska predavanja, ki so bila organizirana v zimskem času za izobraževanje kmetov (Serše, 1999).

Četrto obdobje: Izobraževanje odraslih po drugi svetovni vojni (1945–1991)

Med drugo svetovno vojno je bil proces izobraževanja odraslih v glavnem prekinjen. Leta 1945 je na ozemlju predvojne Kraljevine Jugoslavije nastala Federativna ljudska republika Jugoslavija (FLRJ). Kasneje je s sprejetjem nove ustave 7. aprila 1963 svoje ime spremenila v Socialistično federativno republiko Jugoslavijo (SFRJ). (Kožar, 2012.) Po letu 1945 je prišlo do novih družbeno-političnih sprememb. Zaradi načrtnega spreminjanja družbe iz kmetijske v industrijsko so naraščale potrebe po izobraževanju odraslih po končani redni šoli, kar je pomenilo, da so morali odrasli sprejeti nova znanja in usposabljanja za izvajanje določenega potrebnega dela v industriji. Vedno več je bilo programov za izobraževanje odraslih in vedno večje so bile potrebe po izobraževanju strokovnjakov, ki izobražujejo odrasle. Iz takratne prakse se je začela razvijati nova znanost – andragogika (Krajnc, 2011).

Ljudska prosveta

Po letu 1945 so pomembno vlogo v izobraževanju prebivalstva prevzeli sindikati, saj je bilo »državljane potrebno nadrobneje seznaniti z organizacijo ljudske oblasti in pridobitvami revolucije, mnoge pa tudi prevzgojiti«. (Andoljšek, 1964, 198–199.) Za kulturno-prosvetno izobrazbo je skrbela *Ljudska prosveta Slovenije*, ki je imela svoja prosvetna društva po vseh večjih mestih. Ta je bila temelj institucionalizacije izobraževanja odraslih, ki je sledila v naslednjih letih. Ljudska prosveta Slovenije je skrbela za organizacijo tečajev opismenjevanja, gospodinjskih in splošnoizobraževalnih tečajev (Andoljšek, 1964). Leta 1946 so začele delovati *večerne delavske gimnazije* kot nova oblika izobraževanja odraslih. V letu 1948 so še vedno potekale enkrat tedensko v Mozirju, Gornjem Gradu in Solčavi. Veliko mest pa večerne delavske gimnazije ni imelo. Do začetka šolskega leta 1947/1948 je bilo ustanovljenih kar 23 večernih delavskih gimnazij, ki so jih obiskovali obrtniki, delavci in kmetje. V Ljubljani pa so ustanovili še drugo *večerno sindikalno gimnazijo*, v Šentvidu. Namenjena je bila delavcem tovarn Litostroj, Štore, Seta in Hribernik (Serše, 1998).

Ljudske univerze

Leta 1947 so poleg sindikalnih političnih šol začeli nastajati tudi druge šole in tečaji. Sindikalne organizacije so začele sodelovati z različnimi strokovnjaki, inženirji in tehniki ter organizirale predavanja, ki naj bi podajala znanje o tehniki, novem načinu dela, normah ipd. (Serše, 1998). Odrasli so se sprva množično izobraževali na *ljudskih univerzah* (LU). Prva ljudska univerza v tem obdobju je bila ustanovljena v Ljubljani leta 1947, kar sovpada s spremembo družbenopolitičnega sistema. Desetletje pozneje, leta 1957, pa je sledila še ustanovitev delavskih univerz. Vloga ljudskih in delavskih univerz se je nekaj časa delno prepletala z dejavnostjo izobraževalnih centrov, ki so jih, tudi že zaradi zakonske obveze iz leta 1957, za svoje zaposlene ustanavljale posamezne delovne organizacije (Mohorčič Špolar, 1998). *Omenimo, da so ljudske univerze* delovale najprej bolj amatersko in vse do leta 1955 v sklopu *Ljudske prosvete Slovenije*, takrat pa jih je pod svoje okrilje vzela *Zveza Svobod in prosvetnih društev*. Tega leta je bilo na slovenskih tleh aktivnih kar 176 ljudskih univerz, velika večina v okviru raznih kulturno-umetniških in kulturno-prosvetnih društev. Ljudske univerze so organizirale razna zanimiva predavanja, kulturne prireditve in programe, prilagojene

potrebam podeželskega prebivalstva (gospodinjski tečaji, traktorski tečaji idr.), (Mohorčič Špolar in Emeršič, 1998.) Njihov namen je bil »usposabljanje ljudi, ki bodo prevzeli odgovorne naloge na področju gospodarskega in družbenopolitičnega razvoja, ter omogočati formalno šolanje vsem, ki jim ga je preprečila vojna«. (Trdan, 2019, str. 15.) Ljudske univerze so bile odvisne od finančne in politične podpore takratnih vladajočih struktur (Zveze komunistov Slovenije in sindikatov). To je vplivalo na njihove programe, ki so odrasle usposabljali za uresničevanje socialistične doktrine (Trdan, 2019). Najpomembnejši prelom v delovanju ljudskih univerz se je zgodil z reorganizacijo po letu 1957. Razvoj industrializacije in delavskega razreda je prinašal nove potrebe po bolj strokovnih znanjih. Nastale so *delavske univerze* (DU), ki so delavcem ponujale poklicno izobraževanje, ekonomsko izobraževanje in izobraževanje za delo v industriji. Tudi prej delujoče ljudske univerze so se preimenoval v delavske univerze. Leta 1959 se je ustanovila *Zveza delavskih in ljudskih univerz Slovenije* (ZDLUS). Z njo se začnejo raznolike dejavnosti tudi v neformalnem izobraževanju (diskusijski sestanki, literarni večeri, gledališke in kinematografske predstave ter umetniške razstave). V ospredje je prišla tudi težnja po profesionalizaciji kadra, razvoju sistema izobraževanja odraslih in razvoju andragogike pri nas.

V šestdesetih letih so sledile nove družbene spremembe (liberalizacija političnega življenja, uvajanje gospodarskih reform), kar je vplivalo na programsko usmerjenost delavskih univerz. Število predavanj je upadlo, povečevati pa se je začelo število seminarjev in tečajev, nekateri izmed njih so postali tudi zakonsko obvezni (npr. varstvo pri delu). (Mohorčič Špolar in Emeršič, 1998.) Leta 1971 je bil sprejet *zakon o delavskih univerzah, izobraževalnih centrih in drugih organizacijah*. Zakon je delavske univerze izenačil s preostalimi javnimi zavodi in jim omogočil, da verifirajo svojo dejavnost, ter uredil njihovo financiranje. Izobrazba zaposlenih je bila prvič zakonsko določena. Po letu 1980 pa je delovanje delavskih univerz najbolj prizadel *zakon o usmerjenem izobraževanju*. S slednjim je namreč prenehal veljati *zakon o organizacijah za izobraževanje odraslih*, ki je dajal pravno podlago za verifrirano srednješolsko izobraževanje na delavskih univerzah. Z novim zakonom je bil izobraževalni proces na novo zasnovan, delavske univerze pa so izgubile možnost samostojnega izvajanja srednješolskih programov in izdaje splošno veljavnih spričeval. To je pomenilo, da se je srednješolsko izobraževanje preselilo v redne šole, usposabljanj za družbenopolitične organizacije je bilo vse

manj, število udeležencev teh izobraževanj in delavskih univerz pa začne upadati. Ta kriza je sprožila sprejetje stališč o nadaljnjem razvoju delavskih univerz v naslednjem letu, ki so obravnavala financiranje in spodbujala osnovnošolsko izobraževanje odraslih, programe za izpopolnjevanje izobrazbe in usposabljanje ob delu, družbenopolitično usposabljanje ter izobraževanje o samoupravljanju in obrambni vzgoji. Poleg poklicnega in strokovnega izobraževanja je bilo v vzponu splošno izobraževanje odraslih (za dokončanje rednih šol, tujih jezikov idr.). (Mohorčič Špolar in Emeršič, 1998.)

Dopisno izobraževanje

Dopisno izobraževanje odraslih je potekalo na ljubljanski ljudski univerzi, kjer so leta 1955 organizirali dopisni knjigovodski tečaj, ki se je izkazal za zelo uspešnega z 980 prijavljenimi zgolj na prvi tečaj. Leta 1957 je bila ustanovljena *Dopisna ekonomska šola*, njen naslednik je današnji Center za dopisno izobraževanje Univerzum. Kmalu so bile ustanovljene še *Dopisna osnovna šola*, *Dopisna administrativna šola* in *Dopisna tehniška šola*, ki so bile kasneje združene pod imenom *Dopisna delavska univerza* (Velej, 1997). Dopisne šole so bile namenjene odraslim, ki niso imeli na voljo šolanja v bližini doma in delovnega mesta. Formalno izobraževanje je potekalo prek pisem oz. na daljavo.

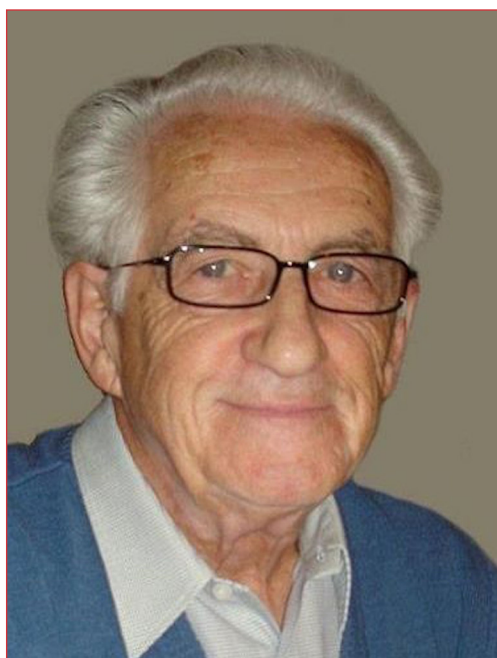
Izobraževalni centri v podjetjih

Zlasti v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja je k sistematičnemu izobraževanju odraslih v različnih organizacijah in podjetjih pripomogel Ivan Bertoncelj. Takratnemu še pomanjkljivemu sistemu izobraževanja odraslih je predlagal nove metode in prilagoditve za kakovostnejše izvajanje izobraževanja odraslih v podjetjih. Prizadeval si je za nastanek *izobraževalnih centrov v podjetjih*, s tem pa uvajal dodatno izobraževanje s področij planiranja, programiranja, profiliranja, organiziranja in evalviranja. Bertoncelj je spodbudil razvoj teorije o izobraževanju odraslih v izobraževalnih centrih in podjetjih. Napisal je več priročnikov in drugih del. S tem je vplival na razvoj izobraževalnih centrov po vsej takratni Jugoslaviji (Kejžar, 1997). Izobraževalni centri, ki so bili dobro organizirani, so sodelovali s strokovnimi šolami in drugimi izobraževalnimi institucijami, v izobraževanju pa so videli ekonomsko prednost. Po letu 1975 je bil razvoj izobraževanja pomanjkljivo družbeno usmerjen in slabše organiziran. To lahko sklepamo po

delu izobraževalnih centrov, ki so se usmerjali v samoorganizacijo, medsebojno pomoč in sodelovanje (Kopač, 1994, v Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). Po letu 1980 se je izobraževanje v podjetjih vključevalo v sistem usmerjenega izobraževanja, v praksi pa je to pomenilo, da so podjetja uvajala novo politiko in organizacijsko izobraževalne funkcije v organizacijski strukturi. Izobraževalne naloge se vsebinsko niso dopolnile ali povečale v obsegu, vzrok pa je bil v togosti organizacij in omejenih materialnih sredstvih za nematerialne dejavnosti. Omejeno je bilo tudi zaposlovanje kadrov v neproizvodnih sektorjih, kar vključuje tudi področje izobraževanja, zaradi česar so v mnogih podjetjih razpustili izobraževalne službe. Izobraževalne službe so bile tudi premalo dovzetne za aktualne potrebe po izobraževanju, premalo je bilo komunikacije znotraj in zunaj podjetja. Problematična za razvoj so bila tudi vodstva organizacij, ki izobraževanju v podjetju niso dajala dovolj velikega poudarka ali podpore (Kejžar, 1994a, v Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). Sistem izobraževanja odraslih so razvijali Andragoško društvo Slovenije, Zveza delavskih univerz in Združenje izobraževalnih centrov in služb Slovenije. Društvo in združenji so se kasneje združili v Skupnost izobraževalnih centrov Slovenije (Kopač, 1994, v Govekar-Okoliš, 2000).

Andragoško društvo Slovenije

K razvoju andragogike kot znanosti je pripomogla ustanovitev *Andragoškega društva Slovenije* leta 1968. Prvi predsednik društva Jože Valentinčič je poudaril, da je društvo nastalo kot posledica razvojnih in družbenih potreb, saj je bilo izobraževanje odraslih nujno. Temu se je nalagalo vedno več zahtevnejših nalog, saj izobraževanje odraslih omogoča nenehno dopolnjevanje in poglobljanje znanja ter nove znanstvene ugotovitve. Menil je, da je potrebna temeljita sprememba vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema, saj novosti ni bilo mogoče udejanjiti v »starem izobraževalnem sistemu«, ob tem ko je izobraževanje odraslih postajalo vse enakovrednejša komponenta vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema. Zato je obstajala velika potreba po izobraževanju odraslih. Potrebni je bilo več kot 100 andragogov. Namen društva je bil, da poveže vse, ki se ukvarjajo z izobraževanjem odraslih (Valentinčič, 1968, v Jelenc, 1998, str. 8).



Slika 40: Jože Valentinčič (1926–2013)
(Valentinčič, b. l.)

Cilji društva so bili usmerjeni v reševanje problematike izobraževanja odraslih in razvijanje permanentnega izobraževanja odraslih v skladu s potrebami in cilji družbe: normativno in organizacijsko urejanje izobraževanja odraslih ter pomoč članom pri strokovnem izpopolnjevanju ob upoštevanju različnih potreb in raznovrstnosti andragoških dejavnosti. Cilj je bil pospeševanje kakovostnega dela pri izobraževanju odraslih z navajanjem na uporabo sodobnih metod, programov in oblik dela. Pomembno je bilo sodelovanje z družbenopolitičnimi organizacijami ter sorodnimi strokovnimi društvi in ustanovami, ki so se zavzemali za napredek vzgoje in izobraževanja odraslih (Jelenc, 1998). K razvoju Andragoškega društva Slovenije in nasploh k razvoju izobraževanja odraslih ter andragogike so veliko prispevali Ana Krajnc, Jože Valentinčič, Tilka Blaha, Štefan Huzjan, Ivan Kejžar, Marjan Lah, Marija Vogrič, ki so skupaj z Ano Krajnc od avgusta 2007 prvi častni člani in članice omenjenega društva (Jelenc, 2007). Poleg njih pa so v tem času k razvoju andragogike pripomogli tudi Ivan Bertoncelj, Ilija Mrmak, Janko Muršak, Jurij Jug, Zoran Jelenc idr.

Razvoj andragogike kot znanstvene discipline na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani

Največjo vlogo pri nastanku in uveljavitvi andragogike kot znanstvene discipline je imela Ana Krajnc, ki je bila velika zagovornica izobraževanja odraslih. K razvoju andragogike so prispevale takratne raziskave s področja izobraževanja odraslih. Ana Krajnc se je leta 1967 kot raziskovalka z Inštituta za sociologijo in koordinatorica za Slovenijo pridružila prvi mednarodni komparativni empirični raziskavi *Izobraževanje odraslih, socialna mobilnost in družbena participacija (1967–1972)*. Raziskavo so koordinirali s *Hamilton University* iz Kanade, sodelovali pa so tudi strokovnjaki z drugih univerz iz ZDA, Poljske, Češkoslovaške in Nizozemske. Njene rezultate je Ana Krajnc zbrala za svoj doktorat in del tega je leta 1973 objavila na Ontarijskem inštitutu za raziskovanje izobraževanja (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education - OISE) z naslovom *Adult Education and Social Participation* ter v knjigi iz leta 1977 z naslovom *Izobraževanje – naša družbena vrednota*. Od leta 1976 do 1988 se je raziskovalno delo povezovalo z mednarodnim timom pri Unescovem projektu *The Systems of Adult Education in Europe (Sistemi izobraževanja odraslih v Evropi)*. Po posameznih državah so raziskovalci pripravili študijo sistema izobraževanja odraslih, kar je objavljeno v posebni Unescovi publikaciji (Krajnc, 2011). Na podlagi raziskav so nastali prvi učbeniki za študij andragogike, ki sta jih napisala Ana Krajnc (1976, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1982)¹ in Jože Valentinčič (1973, 1983).²

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- 1 Krajnc, A. (1976). Andragoški pogovori s predavatelji. Ljubljana: Zveza delavskih univerz Slovenije.
Krajnc, A. (1977). Izobraževanje naša družbena vrednota. Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost.
Krajnc, A. (1978a). Izobraževanje ob delu. Ljubljana: Univerzum.
Krajnc, A. (1978b). Metode izobraževanja odraslih. Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost.
Krajnc, A. (1982). Motivacija za izobraževanje. Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost.
 - 2 Valentinčič, J. (1973). Osnove andragogike. Ljubljana: Dopisna delavska univerza.
Valentinčič, J. (1983). Sodobno izobraževanje odraslih. Ljubljana: Dopisna delavska univerza.



*Slika 41: Ana Krajnc (1938)
(Krajnc, 2019)*

V Sloveniji je od sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja dalje v strokovni literaturi že zaslediti izraz *andragogika*. Opredelila pa ga je Ana Krajnc v knjigi *Izobraževanje ob delu*, v poglavju *Andragogika kot znanost*. Tam piše, da:

andragogiko štejemo za relativno mlado vedo, čeprav se je začela ločevati od pedagogike že pred dobrimi petdesetimi leti. Predmet pedagogike kot znanosti se je širil in sprejemal nova raziskovalna področja, med drugim tudi izobraževanje odraslih kot poseben pojav. [...] Andragogika se je tako postopoma osamosvojila od pedagogike, ki ji je še ostalo področje vzgoje in izobraževanja otrok in mladine. Posebnosti izobraževanja odraslih so se v fazi osamosvajanja andragogike še bolj poudarjale. Znanstveno so poskušali odkriti in dokazati predvsem tiste pojave vzgoje in izobraževanja odraslih, ki so se najpomembneje razlikovali od pedagoških pojavov. [...] Andragogika in pedagogika sta torej relativno samostojni znanosti, podrejeni sta splošni znanosti o vzgoji in izobraževanju, skupnim zakonitostim in principom, ki ju vežejo (Krajnc, 1979, str. 15).

Po analizi različnih praks izobraževanja odraslih pri nas in v drugih državah je bila tako Ana Krajnc prva, ki je pri nas vpeljala termin *andragogika* in opredelila njegov pomen. Proučila je prakso študija andragogike na različnih univerzah pod vodstvom različnih profesorjev, npr. v Bostonu (Malcolm Knowles), Sao Paulu (Paulo Freire), Pragi (Kamil Škoda), Zagrebu (Mihajlo Ogrizović), Beogradu (Dušan Savićević), Rimu (Filipo De Sanctis), Torontu (Robin Kidd), Tübingenu (Günter Dohmen), Firencah (Paolo Federighi) in drugod. V slovenskem prostoru je bila prva, ki si je v drugi polovici 20. stoletja prizadevala vpeljati andragogiko kot znanstveno disciplino na Oddelku za pedagogiko Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Glavni cilj andragogike je postalo usposobiti kakovostne strokovnjake za izobraževanje odraslih - andragoge (Krajnc, 2011). Pripravila je učna načrta za dva andragoška predmeta, Občo andragogiko in Andragoško didaktiko, v okviru študijskega programa Pedagogika. Predavanja, kot omenja, je »morala začeti v študijskem letu 1972/73«. (Krajnc, 2011, str. 22.) Tako je v letu 1973 začela predavanja andragoških predmetov na Oddelku za pedagogiko Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani.

Kako so potekala predavanja andragoških predmetov na Oddelku za pedagogiko, smo raziskali s pomočjo *seznamov predavanj na Univerzi v Ljubljani*. Seznam predavanj za študijsko leto 1972/1973 ni imel podatka o predavanjih Ane Krajnc na Oddelku za pedagogiko. Sklepamo, da se podatek ni vpisal. Z nadaljnjih *seznamov predavanj Univerze v Ljubljani*, torej za naslednja posamezna študijska leta od 1973/1974 do 1985/1986, pa so podatki za analizo predavanj andragoških predmetov na Oddelku za pedagogiko bili na voljo (glej Tabelo 3).

Tabela 3: Predavanja andragoških predmetov na Oddelku za pedagogiko iz Seznama predavanj Univerze v Ljubljani od 1973/1974 do 1985/1986 (Univerza v Ljubljani, 1973–1985)

Študijsko leto	Ime predmeta	Ure predavanj, seminarjev, vaj in letnik
1973/1974	Teorija izobraževanja odraslih – A. Krajnc	2 uri predavanj, 1 ura vaj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – A. Krajnc	1 ura predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik

Študijsko leto	Ime predmeta	Ure predavanj, seminarjev, vaj in letnik
1974/1975	Teorija izobraževanja odraslih – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj, 1 ura vaj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	1 ura predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
1975/1976	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za 2. in 3. letnik
	Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 4. letnik
1976/1977	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	1 ura predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko Uvod v pedagogiko in andragogiko – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Metodika družbeno-politične vzgoje in izobraževanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanja in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanja in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Ekonomika izobraževanja in planiranja – <i>D. Kidrič</i>	2 uri predavanj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
1977/1978	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko Uvod v pedagogiko in andragogiko – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanja in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Metodika družbeno-politične vzgoje in izobraževanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanja in 1 ura vaj za 3. letnik
	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Obča andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 1. letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik

Študijsko leto	Ime predmeta	Ure predavanj, seminarjev, vaj in letnik
	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanja in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Metodika družbeno-politične vzgoje in izobraževanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanja in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Vaje iz industrijske andragogike – <i>J. Muršak</i>	2 uri vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
1979/1980	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Obča andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 4. letnik
	Obči kurz pedagogike – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za študente drugih smeri
	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko Teorija in metodika družbenopolitične vzgoje in izobraževanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. letnik
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za študente andragoške smeri pedagogike 3. in 4. letnika
	Ekonomika izobraževanja – <i>D. Kidrič</i>	2 uri predavanj za 3. in 4. letnik
1980/1981	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Obča andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 4. letnik
	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko Teorija in metodika družbenopolitične vzgoje in izobraževanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. letnik
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj za 3. in 4. letnik andragoške smeri
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>J. Muršak</i>	1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik andragoške smeri
	Ekonomika izobraževanja – <i>D. Kidrič</i>	2 uri predavanj za 3. in 4. letnik

Študijsko leto	Ime predmeta	Ure predavanj, seminarjev, vaj in letnik
1981/1982	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 4. letnik
	Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. letnik
	Obča andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik
	Teorija in metodika družbenopolitične vzgoje in izobraževanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. letnik (za vse smeri)
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>J. Muršak</i>	1 ura seminar in 2 uri vaj za 3. in 4. letnik andragoške usmeritve
	Ekonomika izobraževanja – <i>D. Kidrič</i>	2 uri predavanj za 3. letnik andragoške in 4. letnik šolske smeri
1982/1983	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Obča andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik (šolska in andragoška smer)
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 4. letnik (andragoška smer)
	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko Teorija in metodika družbenopolitične vzgoje in izobraževanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura seminarja za 3. letnik vseh smeri
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik (andragoška smer)
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>J. Muršak</i>	1 ura vaj za 3. in 4. letnik, 1 ura seminarja za 3. in 4. letnik (skupaj z I. Mrmakom)
	Ekonomika izobraževanja – <i>D. Kidrič</i>	Predavanja bodo v naslednjem šolskem letu.
1983/1984	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Obča andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura seminar za 3. letnik (šolska in andragoška smer)

Študijsko leto	Ime predmeta	Ure predavanj, seminarjev, vaj in letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura seminar za 4. letnik (andragoška smer)
	Andragogika (v okviru občega kurza pedagogike) – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	20 ur predavanj za študente 2. letnika FF
	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura seminarja za 3. in 4. letnik andragoške smeri (skupaj z J. Muršakom)
	Teorija in metodika družbenopoli- tičnega izobraževanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura seminarja za 3. letnik vseh študijskih smeri
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>J. Muršak</i>	hospitacije 2 uri za 3. in 4. letnik (andragoška smer)
	Ekonomika izobraževanja – <i>D. Kidrič</i>	2 uri predavanj za 3. letnik andragoške in 4. letnik šolske smeri
1984/1985	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Obča andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za 1. in 2. letnik
	Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 3. letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura vaj za 4. letnik
	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura seminarja za 3. in 4. letnik andragoške smeri (skupaj z asistentom)
	Teorija in metodika družbeno- politične vzgoje in izobraže- vanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura seminarja za 3. letnik za vse smeri (skupaj z asistentom)
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>J. Muršak</i>	2 uri vaj za 3. in 4. letnik (skupaj s profesorjem)
	Metodika družbenopolitične vzgoje – <i>J. Muršak</i>	2 uri seminarja (skupaj s profesorjem)
	Katedra za komparativno andragogiko Obča in komparativna andra- gogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za 1. letnik
1985/1986	Obča andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 uri predavanj za 2. letnik

Študijsko leto	Ime predmeta	Ure predavanj, seminarjev, vaj in letnik
	Andragoška didaktika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	4 ure predavanj in 2 uri seminar za 3. letnik
	Komparativna andragogika – <i>A. Krajnc</i>	1 ura predavanj in 2 uri seminarja za 4. letnik
	Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko	
	Teorija in metodika družbeno- politične vzgoje in izobraže- vanja – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 2 uri seminarja za 3. letnik
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 uri predavanj in 1 ura seminarja za 3. in 4. letnik
	Industrijska andragogika – <i>J. Muršak</i>	1 ura seminarja in 3 ure vaj za 3. letnik in 3 ure vaj za 4. letnik

V študijskem letu 1973/1974 je Ana Krajnc na Oddelku za pedagogiko začela predavati *Teorijo izobraževanja odraslih* in *Komparativno andragogiko* (Univerza v Ljubljani [UL], 1973, str. 27). Glede na avtoričine navedbe o prvih predavanjih (Krajnc, 2024), lahko ugotovimo, da je v letnem poročilu UL (Univerza v Ljubljani [UL], 1973, str. 27) prišlo do napačne navedbe podatka, saj je namesto *Komparativne andragogike* začela predavati *Andragoško didaktiko*.

Sprememba nastane v študijskem letu 1975/1976, ko je predavala *Komparativno andragogiko*, namesto *Teorije izobraževanja odraslih* pa po novem *Andragoško didaktiko* (UL, 1975, str. 36).

V letu 1976/1977 sta se na oddelku ustanovili *Katedra za komparativno andragogiko* in *Katedra za občo industrijsko andragogiko* (UL, 1976, str. 11). Od leta 1978/1979 Ana Krajnc predava predmet *Obča andragogika* – poleg že omenjenih predmetov *Komparativna andragogika* in *Andragoška didaktika* (UL, 1979, str. 30–31). V letu 1983/1984 je začela predavanja iz *Andragogike na občem kurzu* za vse študente Filozofske fakultete UL, bodoče učitelje (UL, 1983, str. 28). Na *Katedri za občo industrijsko andragogiko* je leta 1976/1977 Ilija Mrmak začel predavati predmete: *Uvod v pedagogiko in andragogiko*, *Metodika družbeno-politične vzgoje*

in izobraževanja ter *Industrijska andragogika* (UL, 1976, str. 31). Leta 1978/1979 je Janko Muršak začel voditi *vaje iz Industrijske andragogike* (UL, 1979, str. 31).

Leta 1976 se je dvopredmetna pedagogika delila na tri smeri: andragoško, šolsko in domsko. Tako je bila andragogika vzpostavljena kot študijska smer v okviru študija pedagogike. Študenti so ob zaključku študija prejeli enotno diplomu, izbrana smer pa je bila navedena v oklepaju. V drugi polovici osemdesetih let se je študijska smer domske pedagogike začela izvajati na Pedagoški fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani kot samostojni študij socialne pedagogike, medtem ko sta se smer šolske pedagogike in andragoška smer dalje izvajali na Oddelku za pedagogiko Filozofske fakultete. Andragoško raziskovanje se je razcepilo na več samostojnih področij: »komparativna andragogika, andragoško didaktične raziskave, zgodovina izobraževanja odraslih, izobraževalno svetovanje, sociokulturna animacija, izobraževanje starejših in družinska andragogika«. (Krajnc, 2011, str. 16.) Poleg univerzitetnega študija se od leta 1981 andragogika izvaja kot eden od osnovnih predmetov v okviru Pedagoško-andragoškega izobraževanja (PAI) na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Gre za programe za izobraževanje in usposabljanje zaposlenih na področju izobraževanja za učitelje v osnovnih in srednjih šolah (Krajnc, 2018).

Univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje

Pomemben mejnik za nadaljnji razvoj andragogike je bila ustanovitev *Univerze za tretje življenjsko obdobje (UTŽO) v Ljubljani* leta 1986. Uradna ustanoviteljica sta bila Andragoško društvo Slovenije in Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani (Univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje, 2022). Ideje za nastanek te institucije je dobila leta 1976 Ana Krajnc, ko je prisostvovala predavanju Paula Lengrandu, v katerem je predstavil univerze za tretje življenjsko obdobje in koncept permanentnega izobraževanja (Krajnc idr., 2012). Kasneje je izobraževanje starejših obravnavala tudi v okviru rednih predavanj na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Začetke izobraževanja starejših v Sloveniji pa lahko pripišemo Dušani Findeisen. Interes so ji vzbujale inovativne in raznolike oblike izobraževanja na univerzah za tretje življenjsko obdobje v Franciji, kjer je dobila dragocene nasvete Pierra Vellasa (ustanovitelja prve univerze za tretje življenjsko obdobje v Toulousu leta 1972), ki so ji pomagali pri začetkih izobraževanja starejših odraslih pri nas. Zanimanje za tovrstno izobraževanje je preseglo pričakovanja in tako

je leta 1985 začela delovati prva (eksperimentalna) skupina. Leta 1986 je bila v Ljubljani ustanovljena Sekcija za izobraževanje starejših, z njo pa Univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje (UTŽO). Že od vsega začetka so si prizadevali, da bi bilo izobraževanje starejših dostopno vsem starejšim. Ideja o izobraževanju starejših se je (s pomočjo medijev) razširila po Sloveniji (najprej v Velenju, Mariboru, Slovenj Gradcu, Idriji), pa tudi v druge republike bivše Jugoslavije. Tako so pod vplivom slovenske UTŽO nastale univerze tudi v Zagrebu, Beogradu in Skopju. Slovenska UTŽO je bila kasneje imenovana za eno od treh nosilnih nacionalnih mrež izobraževanja odraslih v Sloveniji, deluje namreč kot sekcija Društva za izobraževanje za tretje življenjsko obdobje (Krajnc idr., 2012).

Peto obdobje: Izobraževanje odraslih v Republiki Sloveniji od 1991 do 2010

Po osamosvojitvi Slovenije leta 1991 je prišlo do številnih sprememb. Govorimo o obdobju tranzicije in globokih družbenih prelomih, ki jih je zaznamoval prehod iz socializma (komunizma) in enopartijskega sistema jugoslovanske države (SFRJ) v novo samostojno nacionalno državo Republiko Slovenijo s parlamentarno demokracijo. V začetku devetdesetih let je bilo uvedeno tržno gospodarstvo, s tem pa (neoliberalni) kapitalizem (Mikulec in Kump, 2018). To je vodilo v reforme in preoblikovanje izobraževalnega sistema ter hkrati s tem v celotno organizacijsko in programsko prestrukturiranje izobraževanja odraslih. Izobraževalni trg je začel rasti, njegova ponudba se je širila in diferencirala. Proces privatizacije je spodbudil nastanek zasebnih izobraževalnih organizacij tudi za odrasle (Perme, 2008). Država je v devetdesetih letih uvedla vrsto sistemskih ukrepov, ki so bili povezani s financiranjem, ustanovil se je sektor za izobraževanje odraslih na ministrstvu za šolstvo in šport, sprejeta sta bila nov zakon o izobraževanju odraslih in nacionalni program, vzpostavljen je bil strokovni svet Republike Slovenije za izobraževanje odraslih. Sprejet je bil tudi program za študij andragogike. Poleg tega so potekali različni razvojni in raziskovalni projekti, programi za izpopolnjevanje znanja izobraževalcev odraslih, sprejeta je bila strategija vseživljenjskosti učenja (Mikulec in Kump, 2018). A kljub temu, kot omenja Jelenc (2018, v Mikulec in Kump, 2018, str. 17), »strategija in načelo

vseživljenjskosti učenja žal nista zaživela v praksi«, s tem pa je izobraževanje odraslih ostalo zapostavljeno pri sistemskem urejanju na vseh področjih.

Izobraževalni centri v podjetjih in poklicno izobraževanje

Spremenila se je struktura gospodarstva, tehnično-tehnološki napredek je bil vse večji in hitrejši. Povečale so se izobrazbene zahteve, v podjetjih, tudi novonastalih manjših podjetjih, so potrebovali usposobljene zaposlene. Vse bolj so se uveljavljale fleksibilne oblike zaposlitve, ki so nadomeščale stalno zaposlitev (Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). V ospredju so bile zahteve po produktivnosti, učinkovitosti in ekonomičnosti pri delu, za kar sta bila prav tako potrebna znanje in večja usposobljenost. Pri tem je imel veliko vlogo izobraževalni sistem, ki se je prav tako moral vedno znova prilagajati razmeram. Tudi v podjetjih je sistem izobraževanja skrbel za izobrazbo tistih kadrov, ki so jih v preteklosti nekoliko zanemarjali ali spregledali. Naloga kadrov je informiranje podjetja o novostih, novih znanjih, izobraževanje pa je bilo do takrat premalo povezano s tehnologijo in razvojem (Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). V začetku devetdesetih let je bilo pri nas okoli 100 izobraževalnih centrov (Vrhovnik, 2003). *Izobraževalni centri* so težili k prevzemu skrbi za nadaljnji razvoj poklicnega izobraževanja. V podjetjih so večinoma potekali programi za strokovno izobraževanje, izpopolnjevanje in usposabljanje, manj je bilo programov za pridobivanje splošne izobrazbe, bili pa so programi za prekvalifikacijo. Torej so bili programi namenjeni reševanju zaposlitvene problematike podjetja, premalo pa je bilo razvoja poklicnega izobraževanja. Izobraževalni centri so se pozneje žal obdržali le v ekonomsko najstabilnejših podjetjih, v manjših podjetjih jih ne poznajo več, prav tako ni več Skupnosti izobraževalnih centrov Slovenije v prvotni obliki. Ta je svoje delo nadaljevala kot skupnost zavodov *Strokovno izobraževalni center Ivan Bertonec*, ki naj bi nadaljeval delo Ivana Bertonec (Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). V začetku 21. stoletja je bilo samostojnih izobraževalnih centrov za izobraževanje v podjetjih le še devet (Vrhovnik, 2003).

Ljudske univerze

Ljudske univerze so se razvile v pomembno institucijo za načrtno organizirano nadaljnje izobraževanje odraslih. Z vidika vrst izobraževanja odraslih lahko ugotovimo, da so dobile široko vlogo v izobraževanju odraslih, saj ponujajo tako formalno kot tudi neformalno izobraževanje, vseživljenjsko izobraževanje in učenje

ter medgeneracijsko izobraževanje in učenje. Ljudske univerze so spremenile svoje programe, organizacijo, vsebine izobraževanja in predavatelje. Njihovi programi so bili bolj prepuščeni potrebam trga ter interesom in financam udeležencev. Zveza delavskih in ljudskih univerz Slovenije se je preimenovala v *Zvezo ljudskih univerz Slovenije* (ZLUS), prav tako se je večina delavskih univerz preimenovala nazaj v ljudske univerze (Mohorčič Špolar in Emeršič, 1998). Potrebna je bila modernizacija celotnega sistema izobraževanja odraslih (vključevanje sodobne tehnologije in tujih jezikov v programe), vključno z boljšim odzivanjem na potrebe okolja in spodbujanjem vseživljenjskega izobraževanja in učenja odraslih. To je zahtevalo velike nenadne prilagoditve izobraževanja odraslih na ljudskih univerzah.

Univerze za tretje življenjsko obdobje

Univerze za tretje življenjsko obdobje (UTŽO) so se po letu 1991 začele vse bolj širiti. Leta 1998 se je ustanovilo samostojno Društvo za izobraževanje za tretje življenjsko obdobje. To lahko pripišemo povečanju števila upokojencev v Sloveniji v devetdesetih letih, saj so zaradi prestrukturiranja gospodarstva tehnološke presežke delavcev reševali z množičnimi zgodnjimi upokojitvami (Krajnc idr., 2012). UTŽO najdemo tudi v manjših krajih, kar starejšim omogoča, da se vključujejo v različne dejavnosti in študijske krožke ter nadaljujejo osebni razvoj in pridobivajo novo družbeno moč (Govekar-Okoliš in Kranjčec, 2012), obenem pa to pripomore tudi k bistvenemu zmanjševanju neenakosti v dostopu starejših do izobraževanja. Izobraževanja, ki jih ponujajo UTŽO, so namenjena vsem odraslim v njihovih poznejših letih in dolgotrajno brezposelnim starejšim ne glede na njihovo starost, stopnjo formalne izobrazbe, politično, narodnostno ali versko pripadnost. UTŽO organizirajo izobraževanja tako na področju posameznih ved kot tudi študijskih področij. Z izobraževanjem, prostovoljstvom in javnim delovanjem si prizadevajo za tesnejše povezovanje generacij ter višjo stopnjo sodelovanja starejših v družbi, prav tako pa je osnovno poslanstvo UTŽO integracija starejših v skupnost (Slovenska univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje, 2023b). UTŽO pa se ne ukvarjajo le z izobraževanjem starejših, temveč tudi z izobraževanjem o starejših, usposabljanjem za prostovoljstvo v kulturi, usposabljanjem mentorjev za delo s starejšimi in z založništvom specializiranih publikacij (Findeisen, 2016). Osnovna izobraževalna oblika, ki jo uporabljajo na UTŽO, so študijski krožki, katerih glavna cilja sta znanje in uporaba znanja (Krajnc, 2016).

Njihovo delovanje temelji na organizirani izmenjavi znanja, izkušenj in kulture članov krožkov pod strokovnim vodstvom mentorja (Slovenska univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje, 2023a). V družbi, ki se vedno bolj stara, je pomembno spremeniti odnos do staranja, starosti in starejših ljudi tudi z izobraževanjem. S pomočjo izobraževanja lahko pride do premika v razumevanju starosti, in sicer od starosti kot »preostanka« družbeno marginalnega in neaktivnega življenja do možnosti za razvoj potencialov (Kump in Jelenc Krašovec, 2005).

Andragoški center Slovenije

Prav tako je na nadaljnji razvoj izobraževanja odraslih in posredno tudi andragogike močno vplivala ustanovitev *Andragoškega centra Slovenije* (ACS) leta 1991. Ob nastanku samostojne Republike Slovenije je ustanovitev ACS pomenila korenit zasuk v vrednotenju izobraževanja odraslih v politiki, raziskovanju, razvoju in praksi izobraževanja odraslih. ACS je bil dokončno umeščen v sedanji sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja z *zakonom o organizaciji in financiranju vzgoje in izobraževanja* ter *zakonom o izobraževanju odraslih*, ki sta bila sprejeta v letu 1996 (Klemenčič idr., 2006). Ustanovitev ACS je izboljšala infrastrukturo izobraževanja odraslih v Sloveniji (Jelenc, 2000). Njegov namen je razvijanje področja izobraževanja odraslih. Z različnimi raziskavami, programi, projekti in prireditvami sodeluje pri uveljavljanju kulture vseživljenjskosti učenja ter znotraj te še posebej izobraževanja odraslih. Povezuje se tako z oblikovalci politik na nacionalni in mednarodni ravni ter drugimi nosilci andragoške in pedagoške stroke, pa tudi s koordinatorji in udeleženci različnih projektov, ustanovami za izobraževanje odraslih in učečimi se posamezniki v Sloveniji in tujini. Na vseh področjih delovanja dejavno sodeluje v mednarodnih organizacijah (ACS, 2023b). ACS (2023c) si želi, da bi tudi v prihodnje bil vodilna nacionalna ustanova za razvoj izobraževanja odraslih ter partner pri udejanjanju strategije vseživljenjskosti učenja. Pomembna za izobraževanje odraslih pa je tudi specializirana knjižnica s področja izobraževanja odraslih in vseživljenjskega učenja, ki deluje pri ACS (2023a). ACS je pomembna raziskovalno-razvojna organizacija v Sloveniji, ki skrbi za nadaljnji razvoj in evalvacijo izobraževanja odraslih ter razvijanje andragoške prakse. Z rezultati svojih strokovnih in aplikativnih raziskav ter strokovnim delovanjem vidno prispeva k širjenju spoznanj o izobraževanju odraslih. Ta s strokovnega in praktičnega vidika dopolnjujejo študij andragogike v Sloveniji.

Druge institucije za izobraževanje odraslih

V tem obdobju nastane *vrsta novih institucij za izobraževanje odraslih*: centri za samostojno izobraževanje (sprva imenovani središča za samostojno izobraževanje), centri za mlajše odrasle, ki so se preimenovali v projektno učenje mladih (PUM), borza znanja, delovati začnejo številne zasebne izobraževalne institucije (denimo za poučevanje tujih jezikov), različne organizirane oblike izobraževanja odraslih (usposabljanje za družinske vloge – šole za starše), razvije se izobraževanje odraslih za lokalni razvoj, izobraževanje odraslih za dokončanje rednih šol, teleučenje (TV) preraste v e-učenje in izobraževanje (IKT), razvijejo se različni tečaji (za računalniško opismenjevanje, tečaji retorike, za poslovno vodenje, zdravstveno vzgojo, odpravljanje alkoholizma idr.).

Vpliv raziskav na razvoj izobraževanja odraslih in andragogike

V letih od 1993 do 1996 je velik prispevek k razvoju andragogike prinesla tudi evropska raziskava EURO DELPHI *Prihodnost izobraževanja odraslih v Evropi*, katere koordinatorica je bila Univerza v Leuvnu v Belgiji, sodelovali pa so raziskovalci iz vseh takratnih 12 članic EU ter Estonija, Češka in Slovenija. S to raziskavo se je uvedla nova metodologija v raziskovanju izobraževanja odraslih, imenovana delfska metoda, ki je omogočila bolj poglobljeno raziskovanje o družbeni funkciji izobraževanja odraslih. Ugotovitve so pokazale, da so trendi v razvoju izobraževanja odraslih splošni in ne poznajo nacionalnih meja. Ugotovili so, da so se cilji izobraževanja odraslih bistveno spremenili, saj ni več poudarek na pridobivanju poklicnih znanj. Izpostavili so pomen izobraževanja odraslih na individualni in socialni ravni ter to, da je večji poudarek na znanju za obvladanje računalniških tehnologij, sodelovanje v kulturi, aktivno državljanstvo, osebno rast, iskanje smisla življenja, medosebne odnose idr., kar je že odsev vpliva sprememb v informacijski družbi. Pomembne so bile tudi druge mednarodne in domače raziskave za razvoj izobraževanja odraslih in andragogike, zlasti tudi starejših odraslih – *Učenje v poznejšem življenju (Learning in Later Life – LILL)*. (Krajnc, 2011.)

Andragoška spoznanja

K razvoju andragogike je veliko prispeval tudi *nastanek znanstveno-strokovne revije Andragoška spoznanja* leta 1995, katere ustanoviteljica je bila Ana Krajnc (Govekar-Okoliš in Ličen, 2008). To je mednarodna znanstvena revija za

izobraževanje in učenje odraslih s področja humanistike in družboslovja ter drugih znanstvenih disciplin. Obravnava različne vidike učenja in izobraževanja v odraslosti in starosti ter s tem povezane pojave. Objavlja različne raziskave o organiziranem izobraževanju in priložnostnem učenju. Njen namen je tudi spodbujati raznolikost teoretskih in metodoloških pristopov ter inovacij, širiti pretok andragoškega znanja med raziskovalci v različnih omrežjih ter spodbujati kritično refleksijo o znanstvenem in strokovnem področju izobraževanja odraslih (Andragoška spoznanja, b. l.).

Novosti v študiju andragogike

Po letu 1991 so sledile tudi *novosti v študiju andragogike na Oddelku za pedagogiko in andragogiko na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani*. Ana Krajnc je v okviru Tempusovega projekta *Obnova študija andragogike v Sloveniji* (1992–1994) pri Centru za razvoj univerze oblikovala program za *samostojni enopredmetni študij andragogike*, s katerim bi diplomant pridobil naziv diplomirani andragog. Program je bil leta 1993 potrjen na Ministrstvu RS za šolstvo in šport ter Univerzi v Ljubljani. To je omogočilo, da se je v študijskem letu 1993/1994 na samostojni enopredmetni študij andragogike lahko vpisala prva generacija študentov. V prvem študijskem letu so predavanja zaradi večje kakovosti študija izvajali gostujoči profesorji iz držav partneric v omenjenem projektu (Peter Jarvis z Univerze v Surreyju, Peter Hage z Univerze v Utrechtu, Jost Reischmann z Univerze v Bambergu idr.). Predavanj so se poleg rednih študentov udeleževali še drugi strokovnjaki iz andragoške prakse (Krajnc, 2011, 2018). To je neposredno vodilo v spremembe in dopolnitve študijskega programa enopredmetne andragogike. Diplomant je dobil naziv diplomirani andragog vse do leta 1998, ko je Filozofska fakulteta »iz nepojasnjenih razlogov odpravila naziv diplomirani andragog«. (Krajnc, 2011, str. 24.) Posledice tega so bile, da so se diplomantom delno skrčile možnosti za zaposlitev, kar pa je trajalo le krajši čas (Krajnc, 2011).

Novosti v študiju andragogike po bolonjski reformi visokega šolstva

Študijski program andragogike je bil nato znova prenovljen v času bolonjske reforme visokega šolstva na Oddelku za pedagogiko in andragogiko. Na Oddelku za pedagogiko in andragogiko na Filozofski fakulteti (FF) Univerze v Ljubljani (UL) je po bolonjski prenovi študijskih programov (od 2010 dalje)

možen vpis na prvo, drugo in tretjo bolonjsko stopnjo študija. Na prvi stopnji študija se lahko posameznik vpiše v enopredmetni triletni študijski program Pedagogika in andragogika (180 KT) ali dvopredmetni triletni študijski program Pedagogika in andragogika (90 KT obsega študijski program Pedagogika in andragogika, preostalih 90 KT pa druga študijska smer). Po uspešno zaključenem študiju študent/-ka pridobi *naziv profesor/-ica pedagogike in andragogike* (UN) in ima možnost nadaljevati študij na drugi bolonjski stopnji (FF UL, 2022č). Na drugi stopnji študija se lahko posamezniki vpišejo v samostojno eno- ali dvopredmetno študijsko smer Pedagogike ali Andragogike. Oba študijska programa se izvajata na Oddelku za pedagogiko in andragogiko FF UL, trajata dve leti in obsegata 120 KT (enopredmetni program) oz. 60 KT (dvopredmetni program). Drugostopenjski samostojni dvoletni študijski program Andragogike (enopredmetni ali dvopredmetni študij) se zaključi z zagovorom magistrskega dela, posamezniki pa pridobijo *naziv magister/-ica profesor/-ica andragogike* (FF UL, 2022a). Posamezniki lahko nadaljujejo študij andragogike na tretji stopnji in se vpišejo na doktorski študijski program Humanistika in družboslovje. Program traja štiri leta in obsega 240 KT. Večina študija obsega individualno raziskovalno delo, v okviru katerega študent/-ka pripravlja doktorsko disertacijo. Program se zaključi z zagovorom doktorske disertacije in daje *naziv doktor/-ica znanosti s področja andragogike* (FF UL, 2022b).

Študijski program andragogike je bil nato znova prenovljen pri drugih študijih na FF Univerze v Ljubljani. Na FF UL se andragogika predava, kot smo že omenili, na Oddelku za pedagogiko in andragogiko. Poleg tega se andragogika predava v okviru predmeta *Pedagogika in andragogika za psihologe* (FF UL, 2022d), kot predmet *SDPM Andragogika*, ki se predava za vse bodoče učitelje pedagoških študijskih smeri na FF UL kot obvezen predmet v 1. letniku na drugi stopnji, in kot izbirni predmet za bodoče učitelje *SDPM Opazovalna praksa pri andragogiki* (FF UL, 2020). *CPI Andragogika* se predava na Centru za pedagoško izobraževanje FF UL za strokovne delavce v osnovnih in srednjih šolah. Zanje se izvajata tudi *CPI Andragoška praksa* in *CPI Opazovalna (andragoška) praksa* (FF UL, 2022c).

Analiza po zgodovinskih obdobjih in ugotovitve

Na podlagi opisa razvoja izobraževanja odraslih in andragogike na Slovenskem skozi pet obdobj od druge polovice 8. do začetka 21. stoletja bomo analizirali in pri vsakem obdobju poudarili bistvene ugotovitve glede institucionalnega/množičnega izobraževanja odraslih (formalno oz. neformalno izobraževanje odraslih) ter glede razvoja andragoških idej in razvoja andragogike kot znanstvene discipline, kar je ključno za poznavanje razvoja slovenske zgodovine izobraževanja odraslih, andragoških idej in andragogike.

Prvo množično izobraževanje odraslih na današnjih slovenskih tleh je bilo že v drugi polovici 8. stoletja povezano s krščansko versko vzgojo in izobraževanjem. Še posebej svojevrstni pomen lahko izpostavimo kasneje v 16. stoletju, ko je protestantizem kot versko gibanje na Slovenskem, zlasti po neformalni poti, širil protestantsko versko vzgojo in izobraževanje odraslih oz. vseh ljudi ter spodbujal opismenjevanje Slovencev. S tem so bile ustvarjene tudi razmere za formalno izobraževanje, za ustanovitev slovenske ljudske šole in za samoizobraževanje odraslih. Od 16. stoletja do druge polovice 18. stoletja je potekal razvoj slovenskega jezika in kulture, pri čemer so imeli pomembno vlogo posamezniki, takratni slovenski intelektualci, ki so si prizadevali za razvoj slovenskega jezika in kulture tudi med odraslimi. Še posebej pomembno vlogo so imeli slovenski razsvetljenci.

Za čas od konca 18. stoletja, 19. stoletje in vse do začetka prve svetovne vojne leta 1914 ugotavljamo, da je bilo množično in institucionalno izobraževanje odraslih povezano s prizadevanji za razvoj slovenskega jezika, slovenske kulture, nacionalne zavesti in identitete. Zlasti ob koncu 18. in v začetku 19. stoletja se razvije slovenska kulturna nacionalna identiteta, v drugi polovici 19. stoletja pa ta preraste v politično nacionalno identiteto. Na Slovenskem so se konec 18. stoletja že oblikovale institucije – nedeljske ponavljalne šole – za formalno nadaljnje pridobivanje temeljnih znanj, branje, pisanje, računanje idr., kar je za odrasle zlasti v 19. stoletju pomenilo opismenjevanje v slovenskem jeziku in pridobivanje osnovnih splošnih znanj. V 19. stoletju so nastale tudi strokovne šole za odrasle, kjer so odrasli lahko pridobili ustrezna strokovna znanja z različnih področij. Veliko več pa je zaslediti neformalnega izobraževanja odraslih v različnih društvih, čitalnicah, na taborih, zaznati je celo ideje o vseživljenjskem učenju in izobraževanju pri posameznih učiteljih, duhovnikih, kulturnikih, strokovnjakih in sploh takratni slovenski inteligenci, ki so si prizadevali opismeniti slovensko prebivalstvo ter dvigniti slovenski jezik in kulturo na višjo raven (Peter Pavel Glavar, Matija Vertovec, Anton Martin Slomšek, Janez Bleiweis idr.). Tako so se v omenjenem obdobju pojavljale *pomembne andragoške ideje o slovenskem nacionalnem, kulturnem, političnem in vseživljenjskem učenju in izobraževanju odraslih*. Načrtno so se oblikovale različne institucije predvsem za neformalno izobraževanje odraslih na Slovenskem. Ne moremo pa še govoriti o razvoju teorije izobraževanja odraslih in o andragogiki na Slovenskem.

Drugače je bilo v tretjem analiziranem obdobju med obema vojnoma (1918–1941). Odkrili smo, da je bilo to obdobje zelo pomembno za nadaljnje izobraževanje odraslih po rednih šolah, ki se je razvijalo glede na potrebe takratnega razvoja gospodarstva in industrije. Nadalje se je razvijalo področje kmetijstva in industrije, s tem pa je nastajal razred delavcev in kmetov. Delovale so nadaljevalne kmetijske, obrtne in trgovske šole, ki so odraslim dajale nadaljnja potrebna formalna znanja v slovenskem jeziku. Veliko je bilo strokovnih in splošnih neformalnih izobraževanj odraslih, zlasti v številnih društvih, pa tudi v prvih institucijah za izobraževanje odraslih na Slovenskem po danskem zgledu – ljudskih visokih šolah (ljudskih vseučiliščih in ljudskih univerzah). Naj poudarimo, da so se odrasli veliko neformalno in formalno izobraževali, saj je izobraževanje odraslih v tem času potekalo tudi po dopisni poti prek pisem in

na daljavo – prek radia. V tem obdobju so se pojavili *zаметки teorije o izobraževanju odraslih, ki je poudarjala pomen vseživljenjskega izobraževanja odraslih, še posebej delavcev in kmetov*, ki sta jo zagovarjala in uresničevala takratna pedagoga Karl Ozvald in Franjo Žgeč. Sicer pa v tem času na Slovenskem še ni zaslediti andragogike kot znanstvene discipline.

Velike spremembe smo zaznali v četrtem obdobju – 1945–1991. To obdobje je zelo pomembno za razvoj izobraževanja odraslih in *razvoj andragogike kot znanstvene discipline*. Andragogika se kot znanstvena disciplina integrira v enoten sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja. Za leta takoj po koncu druge svetovne vojne je bilo značilno množično izobraževanje in ustanavljanje organizacij, na splošno je bilo veliko spodbujanja k učenju in izobraževanju. Ljudi je bilo treba seznaniti z organizacijo ljudske oblasti in mnoge med njimi politično prevzgojiti. Kot omenja Ana Krajnc (1998b), je bilo v andragoški zamisli v prvem povojnem obdobju, v letih 1945–1949, čutiti veliko optimizma in navdušenja. Vsaka izobraževalna dejavnost je bila namenjena vsem ljudem brez izjeme. Po letu 1952 pa je prišla doba sistematične graditve andragoške prakse in teorije. Izobraževanje odraslih se je od tega leta naprej razvijalo pod vplivom hitrega industrijskega napredka, težnje po modernizaciji kmetijstva ter razvoja socialistične demokracije z delavskim in družbenim samoupravljanjem. V tem času je nastalo veliko novih šol za odrasle, delavskih univerz in centrov za izobraževanje delavcev v gospodarskih organizacijah, dopisnih šol, šolskih centrov, prosvetnih društev idr. Izobraževanje odraslih je bilo znova zreducirano na idejo o povečevanju človeškega kapitala, šolski sistem pa je postal aparat države. Človek kot vrednota je začel izginjati, kar je pomenilo tudi težko obdobje za razvoj andragoške znanosti, saj se je šolski sistem podredil ciljem takratne države. Razpustila so se vsa kulturno-prosvetna društva. Zamenjale so jih formalne oblike izobraževanja odraslih, spremenili so se strokovni tisk in terminologija ter celoten koncept in praksa izobraževanja odraslih. Prednost so imeli industrija, gospodarstvo in ideologija. Izobraževanje odraslih se je zožilo le na politično vzgojo in funkcionalno usposabljanje za delo (Krajnc, 1998a). Ugotavljamo torej, da je bilo izobraževanje odraslih ozko usmerjeno, saj so ga razumeli le kot usposabljanje za delo in politično vzgojo ljudi. V drugi polovici sedemdesetih let in prvi polovici osemdesetih let 20. stoletja pa je dobilo permanentno (kasneje imenovano vseživljenjsko) izobraževanje pomembno mesto v slovenskem izobraževanju odraslih in celotni družbi nasploh.

Zaradi takratne gospodarske krize je v ospredje stopilo vprašanje človeških virov in njihova vloga v razvoju gospodarstva. Permanentno izobraževanje je vplivalo na to, da so izobraževalne poti za odrasle postale bolj odprte. Zaželeno je bilo, da se do enake ravni izobrazbe lahko pride po različnih poteh. S tem so pomembnejšo vlogo dobili delavske oz. ljudske univerze, množična komunikacijska sredstva, kulturne in podobne ustanove (Jereb, 1998). Proti koncu obdobja je bilo v upadu tudi družbenopolitično izobraževanje odraslih, povezano z zvezo komunistov in zvezo sindikatov. V tem času je bilo opravljenih več domačih in mednarodnih andragoških raziskav, nastajale so nove institucije, ki so povezale prakso in teorijo izobraževanja odraslih (izobraževalni centri v podjetjih, ljudske in delavske univerze, Andragoško društvo Slovenije idr.). Pojavila so se tudi izobraževanja za izobraževalce odraslih. Na Oddelku za pedagogiko na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani se leta 1973 prvič začne predavati andragogika.

V zadnjem analiziranem obdobju, to je po letu 1991, se zgodijo nove družbene in politične spremembe. Nastanek samostojne države Republike Slovenije s parlamentarno demokracijo in tržnim gospodarstvom ter privatizacijo prinese vrsto velikih novosti na področju izobraževanja odraslih. Svoje delo nadaljujejo ljudske univerze, ki so postale bolj tržno usmerjene, saj so njihovi izobraževalni programi oblikovani glede na potrebe ljudi in kraja. Imele so pomembno izobraževalno vlogo za odrasle, saj so ponujale formalno in neformalno izobraževanje, vseživljenjsko izobraževanje in učenje ter medgeneracijsko izobraževanje in učenje. Z različnimi vrstami in oblikami izobraževanja odraslih so omogočale kakovosten razvoj vsakemu posamezniku, spodbujale krepitev njegovega znanja in kompetenc ter aktivno sodelovanje in ustvarjanje v družbi. Ljudske univerze so postale pomemben kraj izobraževanja, razvoja demokracije in gospodarstva, saj ponujajo izobraževanje za boljše in kakovostnejše življenje. Pomembno vlogo imajo tudi izobraževalni centri v podjetjih, saj zaposlenim omogočajo nadaljnje izobraževanje, kar je bistveno za njihov osebni razvoj in za razvoj organizacije, v kateri so zaposleni, s tem pa se razvija tudi družba sama. Vse bolj se širijo UTŽO, ki so pomembne neformalne institucije za starejše, saj jim omogočajo nadaljnji osebni razvoj in vključitev v družbo. Močan dejavnik postane novonastali Andragoški center Slovenije, ki kot strokovna organizacija skrbi za razvoj vseživljenjskega izobraževanja odraslih, za domače in mednarodne strokovne raziskave idr. Pomembno novo vlogo so dobile zasebne institucije za formalno

in neformalno izobraževanje odraslih, javne institucije za neformalno izobraževanje odraslih, kot so centri za samostojno izobraževanje/središča za samostojno izobraževanje, borza znanja, centri za mlajše odrasle/projektno učenje mlajših odraslih in različni tečaji za odrasle. Mreža izobraževanja odraslih se je po letu 1991 kvantitativno in kvalitativno širila, s tem pa se nadaljuje razvoj andragoške prakse in teorije ter razvija znanstvena disciplina – andragogika – na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani in na drugih univerzah v Sloveniji.

Na Univerzi na Primorskem se na Pedagoški fakulteti na dodiplomski stopnji v okviru študija pedagogike izvajata predmeta *Osnove andragogike in vseživljenjskega učenja* in *Izobraževalna biografija v izobraževanju odraslih* (Pedagoška fakulteta Univerze na Primorskem, 2022b), v okviru študijskega programa Socialna pedagogika pa predmet *Specifike dela z odraslimi* (Pedagoška fakulteta Univerze na Primorskem, 2021). Na podiplomski magistrski stopnji se izvaja samostojni študijski program Andragogika, ki povezuje dve področji: izobraževanje odraslih in razvoj kariere. Diplomanti pridobijo naziv magister/-ica profesor/-ica andragogike (Pedagoška fakulteta Univerze na Primorskem, 2022a). Na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru (2022) lahko študenti v okviru študija pedagogike poslušajo predmet *Izobraževanje odraslih*. Andragogika pa se je najbolj razširila na druge univerze v okviru Pedagoško-andragoškega izobraževanja (PAI) za bodoče učitelje predmetnih področij osnovnih in srednjih šol. Andragogika je eden od temeljnih predmetov poleg pedagogike, didaktike in specialne didaktike. S tem pridobijo licenco učitelja (Krajnc, 2011).

Zaključek

Začetki množičnega izobraževanja odraslih segajo v drugo polovico 8. stoletja, to pa je bilo povezano z verskim izobraževanjem. V 16. stoletju je bilo poleg verskega izobraževanja odraslih pomembno opismenjevanje odraslih Slovencev. Vse do druge polovice 18. stoletja je bilo pomembno delovanje posameznikov, slovenske inteligence, ki je razvijala in spodbujala slovensko kulturno in nacionalno izobraževanje pri odraslih. Še posebej v obdobju od druge polovice 18. stoletja in leta 1848 so razvijali in spodbujali pri odraslih kulturno nacionalno identiteto, v drugi polovici 19. stoletja pa je poleg kulturne nacionalne identitete postala vse pomembnejša politična nacionalna identiteta. Slovenci so se vse bolj zavedali svojega položaja, slovenske narodnosti, kulture in jezika znotraj Avstrije.

Zametki andragoških idej o izobraževanju odraslih se na Slovenskem pojavijo hkrati z začetki institucionalnega in množičnega izobraževanja odraslih konec 18. in v 19. stoletju. V začetku 20. stoletja se nato pojavijo prve teorije o izobraževanju odraslih in začetki raziskovanja, v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja pa se začne načrtno razvijati samostojna znanstvena disciplina andragogika. Iz analize po zgodovinskih obdobjih ugotavljamo, da se je institucionalno in množično izobraževanje odraslih na Slovenskem spreminjalo, odvisno je bilo od družbenih potreb, gospodarstva, politike in zakonodaje. Zametke idej o izobraževanju odraslih (nacionalnem, kulturnem, političnem in drugem izobraževanju odraslih) smo konec 18. in v 19. stoletju prepoznali

pri posameznikih in institucijah. Potekalo je zlasti neformalno izobraževanje odraslih. Ob tem spoznavamo, da so zametki teorije izobraževanja odraslih povezani s prizadevanji slovenskih pedagogov in z nastankom prvih ljudskih visokih šol na Slovenskem v začetku 20. stoletja. Šele v obdobju po letu 1945 pa se začne na podlagi družbenih potreb po novih znanjih in strokovnjakih za izobraževanje odraslih razvijati andragogika kot znanstvena disciplina. Izraz andragogika se je vpeljal v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja, ko so se nadaljevala tudi raziskovanja s področja izobraževanja odraslih in andragogike. Nastale so pomembne institucije za izobraževanje odraslih (ljudske univerze, delavske univerze, izobraževalni centri v podjetjih, Andragoško društvo Slovenije, univerze za tretje življenjsko obdobje idr.). Po letu 1991 se izobraževanje odraslih širi kvantitativno in kvalitativno, kar sovpada s kakovostnim razvojem andragogike. Tako v letu 2023 obeležujemo 50 let, odkar se je na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani na takratnem Oddelku za pedagogiko začela predavati andragogika. Poklic andragoga, ki nastopa kot vodja, organizator in predavatelj izobraževanja odraslih, postaja danes, v sodobni družbi, družbi staranja prebivalstva in nenehnih sprememb ter potreb po novih znanjih odraslih v različnih življenjskih obdobjih, vse pomembnejši.

Povzetek

Monografija obravnava izobraževanje odraslih na Slovenskem od druge polovice 8. stoletja do začetka 21. stoletja. Raziskava je zgodovinska analiza. Namen kvalitativne raziskave je prikazati, kako se je razvijalo množično in institucionalno izobraževanje odraslih po posameznih obdobjih, kakšen je bil vpliv družbe na izobraževanje odraslih ter na razvoj andragoških idej in andragogike. Predstavljeni so najpomembnejše institucije, njihov namen, množično izobraževanje odraslih ter nekateri posamezniki z andragoškimi idejami in prizadevanji za razvoj andragogike. Ugotovili smo, da je bil razvoj izobraževanja odraslih po obdobjih različen, odvisen od razvoja družbe, gospodarstva in politike. Začetki množičnega, verskega, kulturnega in nacionalnega izobraževanja odraslih se začenjajo v drugi polovici 8. stoletja vse do druge polovice 18. stoletja. Andragoške ideje zasledimo konec 18. stoletja in v 19. stoletju. V začetku 20. stoletja nastanejo prvi zametki teorije izobraževanja odraslih. V drugi polovici 20. stoletja pa se iz družbenih potreb po novih znanjih, strokovnjakih in iz raziskovanja prakse izobraževanja odraslih razvije nova znanstvena disciplina – andragogika. Prvi študij andragogike je bil leta 1973 na Oddelku za pedagogiko na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani.

HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA

**50 YEARS OF ANDRAGOGY
AT THE FACULTY OF ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA**

Introduction

The present monograph titled *History of Adult Education in Slovenia*, subtitled 50 Years of Andragogy at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, was conceived for the occasion of the 50th anniversary of andragogy at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. The monograph is based on the paper »The Development of Adults and Andragogy in Slovenia« that was published in the journal *Studies in Adult Education and Learning / Andragoška spoznanja* (Vol.1, 2024). The main motive for this monograph was that a concise historical analysis of adult education and the development of andragogy as a scientific discipline had not been done in Slovenia before. The monograph is a historical andragogical research, which also belongs to the field of ethnic studies. The research is based on a qualitative research paradigm. A descriptive research method was used. It is a concise account of the development of mass and institutional adult education from the second half of the 18th century onwards up to the beginning of the 21st century (up to 2010), when the last major change in the study of andragogy at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana occurred after the Bologna Educational Reform.

The scientific monograph aims to show how mass and institutional adult education has developed in various periods, what the impact of society on adult education has been, and how andragogical ideas and andragogy have developed. The mass religious, cultural and national adult education, the most important institutions, their purpose, some individuals with andragogical ideas and their

efforts in the development of andragogy as a scientific discipline in Slovenia are presented.

The monograph is divided into three chapters. The first one defines the concept of andragogy and its understanding by some European authors throughout history. We find that the definition of andragogy is complex, as we learn from the authors over time how it has slowly evolved and how it has gradually been consolidated and understood in individual European countries, until the development of andragogy as a scientific discipline took place. This chapter is fundamental for understanding the development of andragogical ideas and andragogy as a scientific discipline in Slovenia.

The second chapter is a chronological overview of the development of mass and institutional adult education in Slovenia by period. The description covers five periods that aim to show how the development of social needs, the economy as well as the institutions of adult education and the efforts on the part of the individuals led to the formation of the first andragogical ideas in Slovenia and to the development of andragogy as a scientific discipline.

The first period describes *the beginnings of mass religious, cultural and national adult education from the second half of the 8th century to the second half of the 18th century*. Such a long period stretching over several centuries has been chosen, since the conditions of the development of society and its impact on mass adult education were relatively similar. Thus, we have aimed to establish the beginnings of mass and institutional adult education, the individuals and the institutions that had an impact on mass adult education.

The second period covers *adult education from the second half of the 18th century to 1914*. First, the situation of Slovenians and the peculiarities of the formation of a national identity of Slovenians living within the Austrian monarchy are examined. Thus, we aim to determine the meaning of national identity and the individuals who contributed to the development of the cultural and political national identity of Slovenians at the time. We find out what these national identities meant for Slovenians and for the development of the Slovenian nation as a whole. The importance of various institutions of mass adult education and the factors that had an impact on adult Slovenians in a more or less organized way are analyzed. Among these, the Sunday remedial schools, separate professional schools, agricultural schools, schools for home economics, societies, reading

clubs, rallies as mass non-institutional adult education are mentioned as well as the Slovenian press that was a relevant factor in the national education of adults of the time.

The third period covers *adult education between the two wars (1918-1941)*. Briefly, the social situation of the time and its impact on adult education are presented. The institutions intended for adult education are identified. Lower agricultural schools, schools for home economics and agricultural schools for continuing education are analyzed, as well as folk's high schools, various societies and the first correspondence school for adult education in Slovenia. We show the relevant role of individuals who at the time were already developing the first theoretical foundations of adult education.

The fourth period shows *adult education after World War II (1945-1991)*. The major social developments after 1945 that had an impact on the institutional development of adult education during this period are highlighted. The important institutions of mass adult education are identified. To describe these, we have analyzed the relevant role of the People's Education of Slovenia, the importance of the People's Universities, the Workers' Universities, the adult correspondence education, the role of educational centers in companies, the Andragogical Society of Slovenia and the University of the Third Age. We were interested in finding out how such institutions influenced mass adult education and how the theory of adult education developed first from the need for adult education. We were particularly interested in the development of andragogy as a scientific discipline in Slovenia. We argue that andragogy first developed as a scientific discipline and as a study course at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana. We wanted to find out who the individuals who made a significant contribution to the emergence and the development of andragogy as a scientific discipline were. Therefore, we aimed to establish the beginnings of the study course of andragogy at the Department of Pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. Thus, the courses in andragogy at the aforementioned department were analyzed based on the List of Lectures of the University of Ljubljana in the years from 1973/74 to 1985/86.

The fifth period describes *adult education in the Republic of Slovenia from 1991 to 2010*. As in previous descriptions of the periods, we first highlight the significant changes and innovations in the new nation state after Slovenia gained

independence in 1991. We have striven to find out which institutions had a significant impact on the development of mass adult education after 1991. We analyzed the educational centers in companies and vocational training, People's Universities, Universities of the Third Age, the newly established Slovenian Institute for Adult Education, etc. In addition, we sought to identify the impact of research on the development of adult education and andragogy and determine the innovations in the study of andragogy in this period. To describe this, we analyzed the most relevant andragogical research and the innovations in the study of andragogy also after the Bologna educational reform.

The third chapter of the monograph analyzes the five historical periods from the second half of the 18th to the beginning of the 21st centuries and draws conclusions. Based on the description of the development of adult education and andragogy in Slovenia, we have highlighted for each period the essential findings regarding institutional/mass adult education (formal and non-formal adult education) and the development of andragogical ideas and andragogy as a scientific discipline. This is crucial for understanding the development of the Slovenian history of adult education, andragogical ideas and andragogy in Slovenia.

The monograph is based on primary and secondary scientific sources, literature, both Slovenian and foreign, and legislation in the field of adult education (Slovenian and foreign). The monograph is intended for both Slovenian and foreign audiences, as it is written in Slovenian and English. It is intended for researchers on the history of adult education in Slovenia, adult educators of various disciplines and andragogists. It can serve as an enrichment for their own professional development, a source of critical reflection on the history of adult education and of the development of andragogy as a scientific discipline, and a tool for their work as andragogists. It is relevant for the study of the History of Adult Education course and the Andragogy course for future teachers and other professionals, for their better, easier and more concise knowledge of the history of adult education in Slovenia and, through its development, for their knowledge on the emergence of andragogical ideas, all the way to andragogy as a scientific discipline.

Author

Understanding andragogy

Throughout history, andragogy has been cited and conceptualized by various authors. The term andragogy was first mentioned in 1833 by the German professor Alexander Kapp in his *Platon's Erziehungslehre, als Pädagogik für die Einzelnen und als Staatspädagogik* (Platon's Theory of Education as Pedagogy for Individuals and as State Pedagogy) in the third chapter, titled »Die Andragogik oder Bildung im männlichen Alter« (Andragogy or Education in Adulthood). He was inspired by Plato, who was concerned with adult education, lifelong learning, and intellectual and personal growth and who saw a different approach to learning with adults (Kapp, 1833). Kapp used the term andragogy to refer to adult education, especially in practice, but did not explain it.

The term andragogy did not gain a foothold over the course of the 19th century. It reappeared in the 1920s in Germany, when adult education became a field of research for a group of experts from different disciplines called the *Hohenrodter Bund* (Hohenrodter Federation), which was exploring a new direction (*Neue Richtung*) in adult education. They described their views on why adults should be taught and what and how to teach them. The term andragogy was used again in 1921 by the German sociologist Eugen Rosenstock, who argued and proved that adult education required special teachers, special methods, and a particular philosophy (Knowles et al., 1998).

Dritter Theil.

Die Andragogik oder Bildung im männlichen Alter.

Nothwendigkeit der Weiterbildung im männlichen Alter.

§. 105.

Nicht nur für die Jünglinge muß man die wo möglich besten Lehrer auffuchen, sondern auch die Männer haben insgesammt dieselben noch nöthig, da sie in dem Zustande, in welchem sie sich jezt verhalten, nicht verbleiben dürfen. Sollte sie aber in diesem Streben Jemand auslachen, daß sie, alt schon, noch Lehrer besuchen wollen, so dünkt uns, müssen sie sich mit dem Homeros schützen, welcher gesagt hat: „nicht gut ist Scham dem darbenenden Manne“ (αἰδώς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κερουμένῳ ἀνδρὶ προῖκτῳ). ¹⁾ Denn immer soll als ausgemacht dastehen, daß die recht Erzeugenen gewöhnlich gut werden, und daß die Erziehung keineswegs gering geschätzt werden dürfe, in so fern sie unter den Vorzügen, welche die trefflichsten Menschen besitzen, der erste ist, und von der Art, daß, wenn er einmal sinkt, jeder Mensch sein ganzes Leben hindurch aus allen Kräften dahin streben muß, ihn wo möglich wieder zu heben. ²⁾

Picture 1: Kapp, Alexander (1833): Platon's Erziehungslehre, als Pädagogik für die Einzelnen und als Staatspädagogik. Minden und Leipzig (third chapter in the book on p. 241)

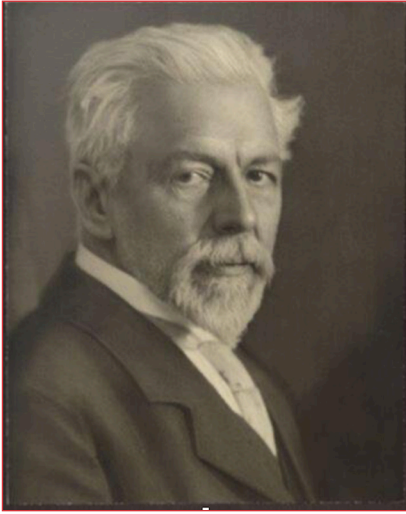


Picture 2: Aleksander Kapp (1799 - 1869)
(xwbos, 2023)

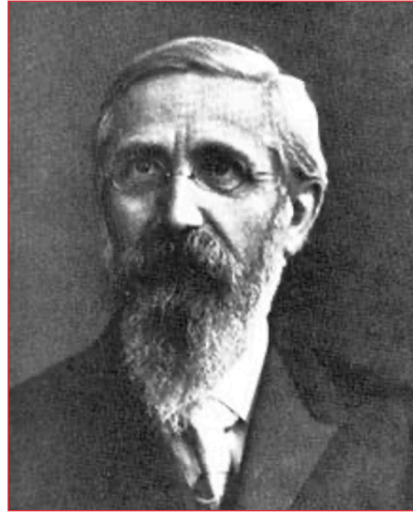
In the 1930s, there was a perception, especially among educators, that adult education was different from the education of children and young people, but adult education to them meant only different methods of working with adults. Most of them considered the term »adult education« to belong to pedagogy. A so-called adult pedagogy emerged, championed by Kerschensteiner, Natorp, Schulenberg, and others. Adult education was thus understood as a theory in pedagogy, i.e., as a special branch of pedagogy. As mentioned above, it was called adult pedagogy (*adulten* -a, from Lat. *adultus*, meaning »mature«, »adult«, *pedagogy* from Gk. *παῖς* (*pais*), 2nd decl. *παιδός*, ὁ - ἡ (*paidos*), meaning »boy«, »child«, and ἄγω (*ago*), meaning »I guide«) (Govekar-Okoliš and Ličen, 2008).

In the 1950s, andragogy was mentioned again by the Swiss Heinrich Hanselmann (1951) in his work *Andragogik: Wesen, Möglichkeiten, Grenzen der Erwachsenenbildung* (Andragogy: Behavior, Possibilities, Boundaries in Adult Education), one of the first to conceive of this as a distinct discipline of adult education and no longer as a theory within pedagogy as adult pedagogy. Andragogy means to guide adults (from Gk. *άνήρ* (*aner*), 2. decl. *άνδρός* (*andros*), meaning »man«, »person«, and ἄγω (*ago*), meaning »I guide«). Andragogy and pedagogy therefore already differ in the very term (Davenport, 1993). Hanselmann has argued that andragogy is needed because of the

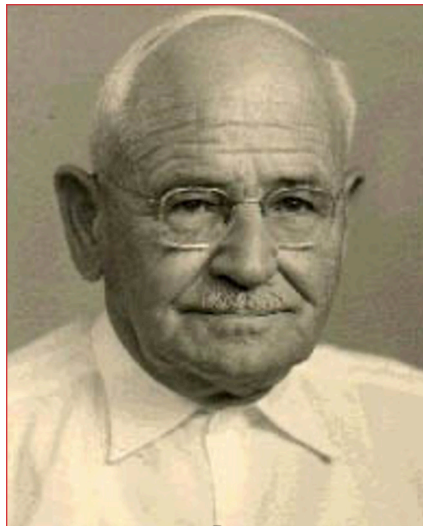
particularities of working with and educating adults, and there is also a need for teachers who know how to impart knowledge to adults in a different way than to children and young people.



*Picture 3: Georg Kerschensteiner
(1854 - 1932) (Köstler, b. l.)*



*Picture 4: Paul Natorp (1854 - 1924)
(Natorp, b. l.)*



*Picture 5: Heinrich Hanselmann (1885 - 1960)
(Hanselmann, b. l.)*

Understood in this way, andragogy as a discipline began to spread across Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. The term was used by certain experts in the Netherlands (e.g., Have; Nottingham Andragogy Group, 1983). And in Germany Franz Pöggeler published a book in 1957, *Einführung in die Andragogik: Grundfragen der Erwachsenenbildung* (Introduction to Andragogy: Fundamental Issues in Adult Education), in which he discusses the fundamentals of adult education. The term andragogy was adopted by other adult educators in Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, France, and Yugoslavia (Knowles, 1989).

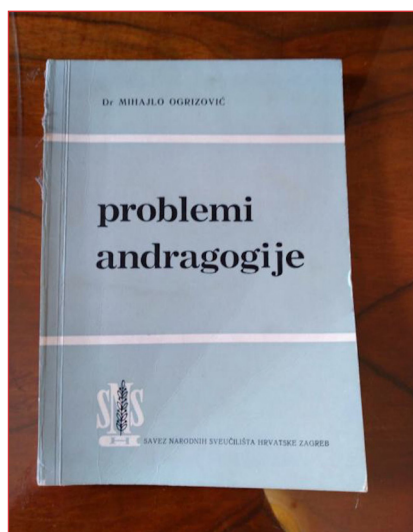


*Picture 6: Franz Pöggeler (1926 - 2009)
(Pöggeler, b. l.)*

In Yugoslavia experts from the various Yugoslav republics of the time dealt with adult education and training. Among the first to use the term was Mihajlo Ogrizović (1959) from Zagreb with his work *Problemi andragogije* (Problems of Andragogy) in 1959. He argued for the autonomy of andragogy and defined it as an independent science of adult education. In addition to him, Vlado Andrilović, Nikola Pastuović, Silvije Pongrac, and others were also advocates and researchers of andragogy.

In Belgrade, too, the study of andragogy as an independent science began at the same time. The best known was Dušan Savičević (1961), with his work *Primjena metoda u obrazovanju odraslih* (Practical Method in Adult Education).

Along with him, others, such as Dragomir Filipović and Borivoj Samolovčev, also researched adult education. Andragogy conceived in this form were used and developed in ways that were less visible, more diffuse, and more fragmented in various European countries and languages. Since 1970 it has in fact been linked to existing scientific and professional institutions, publications, and programs, which spurred similar development of adult education in practice and theory, especially in Central and Eastern Europe.



*Picture 7: Mihajlo Ogrizović (1959):
Problemi andragogije. Zagreb, Savez
narodnih sveučilišta Hrvatske.*



*Picture 8: Vlado Andrilović
(1937 – 2024)
(Andrilović, b. l.)*

How did andragogical ideas and andragogy develop in Slovenia? In the following, we will present this development chronologically through the historical periods of Slovenia, from the first beginnings of mass religious, cultural and national education of adults from the second half of the 8th century onwards, from the beginnings of institutional and mass adult education in the second half of the 18th century to the 21st century (up to the year 2010) in the independent state of the Republic of Slovenia. The Slovenian history of adult education, the development of andragogical ideas, and andragogy will be concisely presented through the key features of five periods: 1) the beginnings of mass religious,



*Picture 9: Dušan Savičević (1926 – 2015)
(Srbska akademija Beograda, b .l.)*

cultural and national education of adults from the second half of the 18th century to the second half of the 18th century, 2) adult education from the second half of the 18th century to 1914, 3) adult education during the two wars (1918–1941), 4) adult education after World War II (1945–1991), and 5) adult education in the Republic of Slovenia (1991–2010). The aim of the monograph is to analyze and identify how institutional and mass adult education developed in different periods: What was the influence of the development and needs of society, which were the most important institutions for adult education, who were the individuals promoting andragogical ideas, when was the theory of adult education formed, and when was andragogy treated as a scientific discipline? By analyzing these periods, we aim to locate the differences between the periods in terms of the development of institutional and mass adult education (formal and non-formal adult education), in terms of the development of andragogical ideas, and in terms of the development of andragogy as a scientific discipline. Such research has not yet been done and is important for understanding the Slovenian history of adult education and the development of andragogical ideas and andragogy as a scientific discipline in Slovenia.

The development of mass and institutional adult education in Slovenia by period

We have divided the chapter into five periods, according to which we aim to show how the development of social needs, the economy, and institutions for adult education led to the formation of the first andragogical ideas in Slovenia and to the development of andragogy as a scientific discipline.

The first period: Beginnings of mass religious, cultural and national education of adults from the second half of the 8th century to the second half of the 18th century

Historically, mass adult religious education has been of great importance as it was, according to well-known researchers in the history of adult education, such as Grattan (1955), Pögeller (1957), Jug (1997) and others, one of the oldest activities of mankind. The beginnings of adult education in Slovenia are associated with the earliest records. The literary production of the early Middle Ages in the area of Slovenian settlement was modest. Similarly to the rest of Europe, it was purely religious in content and Latin in form and language (Okoliš, 2009).

The beginnings of mass adult education are associated with the Christianisation of Slovenians which had three relevant starting points.

The first missionaries to spread the Christian faith among the Slovenians were Irish monks, who arrived in great numbers from the second half of the 8th century on, when Carantania and its neighboring Slavic regions became political subjects to the Frankish kingdom. The starting point of their missionary campaign in the Eastern Alps was Salzburg, Bavaria, where a special monastic school was established for this purpose (Okoliš, 2009). In Bavaria, around the year 800, a manual for the missionaries who came among the Slavs and the Pannonian Avars was written. Charlemagne, the emperor, ordered that every Christian should learn by heart the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in both his/her mother tongue and Latin. Due to the illiteracy of the population, people were taught religion only through constant repetition. Thus, the Salzburg missionaries practiced prayers also in Slovenian with adults (Jug, 1997).

The second starting point in the spread of Christianity among the Slovenians was in the West in Aquileia, where a special monastic school for the education of missionaries had been operating since the first beginnings of the Christianisation of the Slovenians. The first missionary campaigns among the Slovenians of Aquileia were not associated with the introduction of tithing, and the people who accepted Christianity were not required to learn the main prayers by heart in the Latin language. Praying in the vernacular was sufficient. Soon, however, there was a schism between the Churches of Aquileia and Salzburg. As the boundary between the spheres of influence of the Churches of Aquileia and Salzburg on the Slovenian ground that had come under Frankish rule was not precisely defined, soon disputes arose between the churches. In 811, Charlemagne established the jurisdictional boundaries between the Church of Salzburg and the Church of Aquileia that ran along the Drava river. Thus, at the very beginning, the area of the Slovenian settlement was ecclesiastically divided in two halves. This division, which roughly remained unchanged until the Enlightenment in the 18th century, had a strong impact on the political, cultural and educational development of the Slovenians (Okoliš, 2009).

The third starting point in the spread of Christianity among the Slovenians was in the East, in Moravia. After the arrival of brothers Cyril and Methodius in Moravia in the second half of the 9th century, an independent Slavic diocese was established in Lower Pannonia. However, the influence of Slavic worship on the spread of Christianity among the Slovenians was short-lived, due to the



Picture 10: The ecclesiastical provinces of Aquileia and Salzburg in the 9th century
(Voljak, 2020, p. 491)

collapse of political support and German resistance. In Pannonia, the Church of Salzburg justified its rights with a special document, the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* of 871. This is the most important historical source on the Christianisation of the Slovenians and on Carantania. It is a report on the Christianisation of the Bavarians and the Carantanians. Due to the Hungarian invasions, the settlement of Central Europe was accomplished at the end of the 9th century and in the first half of the 10th century, while the Christianisation continued in the 10th and 11th centuries only in the area of Aquileian jurisdiction. From the then mission stations there emerged a network of (proto-) parishes. In Bavaria, the oldest records in the Slovenian language (the Freising Manuscripts) with religious content were preserved in the center of Freising around the year 1000. A record of the enthronement of the Carinthian dukes in the Slovenian language survived into the late Middle Ages (Okoliš, 2009). Later on, the Rateče or Klagenfurt manuscript and the Stična or Ljubljana

manuscript were also known. These manuscripts represent the beginnings of Slovenian literature, but at the same time they are of great educational relevance. They discuss the education of adults in the Christian faith in the Slovenian language. They show the stage of development of the Slovenian population, their social and cultural position of the time.

We get to know that in the Middle Ages in the area of present-day Slovenia, *male and female monasteries* played the most important role in the spread of the Christian faith (e.g. the male monastery in Stična with a manuscript workshop, and the female monastery in Adergas). They were missionary educational and cultural centers. In the monasteries there were *monastic schools*, which provided education for the religious profession as well as for rather secular needs. The monasteries played an important role not only in religious matters, but also in providing indirect education of the population in economics, agriculture and language education. In monasteries, the oldest Slovenian texts, religious and other literary writings were produced while important monastic libraries were created. The libraries held works on the majority of science of the time and were relevant for further education. In addition to the monasteries and monastic orders (male orders: Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, Carthusians, Crusaders, Franciscans, Minorites, and female orders: Poor Clares, Ursulines, Dominicans, Celestines), the cathedral schools developed in the diocesan sees, as there was a great need for training priests and other staff for the functioning of the diocesan offices in the diocesan centers. There is not much information on the existence and functioning of these types of diocesan schools on Slovenian ground (Okoliš, 2009).

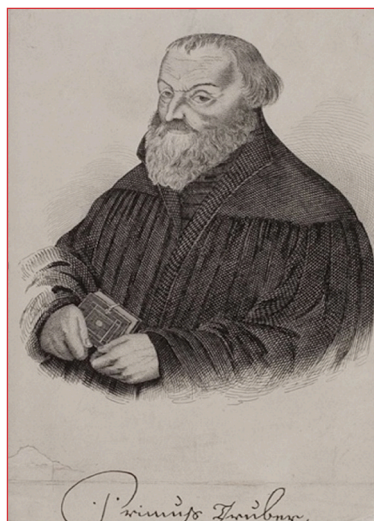
In the Middle Ages, the adults who had access to education were those who were trained as priests or lived in monasteries. To attain better education, the adults had to go to universities in the wider European area. The Slovenians went to study mainly to northern Italian universities. When the University of Vienna was founded in 1365 (University of Vienna, BI.), more and more went to Vienna and later to Graz. Universities were also the starting point for the education of the laity. In addition to further university education, a kind of knightly or courtly education in the late Middle Ages can be traced, while for the common people the non-formal and experiential education was intended. In addition to trade schools, which were set up jointly with the ecclesiastical authorities,

the bourgeois had professional associations of craftsmen, craft associations (guilds) and fraternities (church associations of craftsmen). The peasantry were the least catered for, as they were servants, therefore illiterate all their lives and depended on the Church for their upbringing and education. They learnt from local traditions, customs and folk wisdom. Their education depended on the priest who was a minister in each locality (Govekar Okoliš and Ličen, 2008). In fact, the opportunities for adult education in the Middle Ages were limited only to a select few. Adult education depended on the needs of society, which were not extensive at that time. The literacy rate of the Slovenian population was also very low, and mass education was used mainly to consolidate religious education. Late medieval tendencies in development had a far-reaching impact, as the transition to the New Age cannot be separated from a single phenomenon or event, and this is also true in the field of adult education.

The ideas on adult education can be traced back in history to particular movements (Renaissance, Humanism, Reformation), which flourished between the 14th and the 17th centuries. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, the humanist aim of adult education is put forward. It is associated with knowledge, values, skills, habits, with everything that enables an individual to grow and develop as a person. This development certainly involves religious education and personal formation. In addition to this, the influence of the Italian Renaissance and Humanism in the 14th and the 15th centuries also appears in the present-day Slovenia. This was an ideological and cultural movement that spread within a small circle of enlightened aristocrats and townspeople, or intellectuals of the time. They found their ideals and models in ancient Greco-Roman culture. The greatest influences in Slovenia were Francis Rabelais, Michel Montaigne, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Peter Paul Vergerio. They brought innovations in the field of adult education by establishing private schools at the courts intended for adults. They highlighted the importance of being able to write in the vernacular, the individuality of an adult learner, the importance of encyclopedic knowledge, and a changed attitude towards religion and the Church, since a well-educated person was supposed to be oriented towards the hereafter (Govekar-Okoliš and Ličen, 2008). The Humanists were Europe-oriented and non-political, as they strived for freedom of thought, speech and the press. However, this movement only involved the intelligentsia of the time.

Another important reform movement, which reached all levels of the population and had an impact on mass education of adults and on their cultural and national development, was the Protestant Reformation. As a religious movement in the 16th century, the Protestant Reformation placed the authoritative role of the Bible in the religious life of each individual at the forefront. By reading the Bible, a person was to talk to God, live according to the principles of faith and be saved. If we aim to evaluate the contribution of the Protestants in the field of education, the fact that their reforms and all their efforts were primarily religious simply cannot be ignored, since they were in fact about religious education. All this was followed by education, including the humanistic principle of individual development. In order to achieve such education of all people (regardless of their age and class) through the Bible, the Protestants highlighted the relevance of the vernacular and translated the Bible into a multitude of national languages, including the Slovenian. New developments in religious and cultural life and in mass adult education in the area of present-day Slovenia are associated with the religiously based adult literacy programs organized by the Protestants. The development of the Protestant Reformation was influenced by the invention of the printing press in the 15th century, which made books more accessible to common people. The Protestants were well aware that the people of the time were not literate and could neither read nor write (Govekar-Okoliš, 2009).

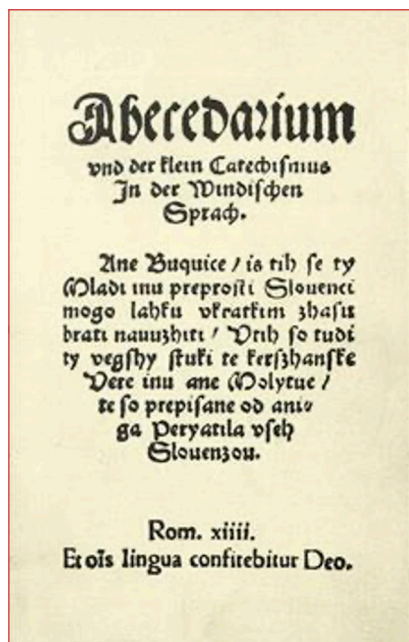
The Protestant Reform movement played an important role in adult education. Its founder, Martin Luther, the Augustinian monk from Germany, argued that every person, regardless of their age, wealth or assets, should learn to read and write in his or her mother tongue. For him, literacy and education were both a fundamental human right and an obligation. To read the Bible in one's mother tongue was the duty of every (adult) individual, not just the privilege of the upper classes. These ideas were spread in the present-day Slovenia by the Protestants, especially Primož Trubar. He was the author of the first two books in Slovenian dating from 1550, the *Catechismus* and the *Abecedarium*.



Picture 11: Primož Trubar (1508 – 1586)
(Trubar, b. l.)



Picture 12: Cover of the Catechismus
in Gothic script
Catechismus (Trubar, 1550a)



Picture 13: Cover of the Abecedarium
in Gothic script
Abecedarium (Trubar, 1550b)

Primož Trubar argued that every person should read the Bible in their own language. This meant that even adult people should learn to read and write in Slovenian (Govekar-Okoliš 2009; Ličen, 2006). This was all the more important because the Slovenian language was not the official language on Slovenian ground at that time, but rather the language of the majority of simple Slovenian farmer (illiterate) population.

Since then on, the German language in the Slovenian territory was the official language and also the language of the higher culture represented by the upper class. German language was used in the offices of the States and municipalities; it was the language of landowners, written documents, courts of law and administration within Austria. The Slovenian language was above all the language of oral communication of the small plain Slovenian people even though it was also used for written documents (ibid.). These included »contracts (*glihenge*), IOUs, offset letters (*kvitenge*), matrimonials, messages or transdation, buying, toll, exchange letters; – all command, conclusions and inheritance messages (*Einantwortungs – Urkunden*) and all those papers which were, because of consolidating, given in the hands of peasantry« (Ambrož, 1848, p. 107). German language was thus the official language, while Slovenian was only the language of farmers or the language of the country. In Gorizia, Trieste and in the Venetian countries, instead of the German language of the municipalities and the States, there was Italian while in both administration and in education in this area the German language was being installed. In Prekmurje, besides the German language the Hungarian one was also being introduced (Zwitter, 1990).

In the period of Protestant Reform, new forms of adult education and training can be traced in the present-day Slovenia, such as libraries that were intended for the training of Protestant ministers, preachers and teachers that would work in Protestant provincial schools. The person responsible for this was Primož Trubar as he encouraged the establishment of *the first library of the Carniola regional estates and the church in 1563* (the forerunner of the present-day National and University Library of Slovenia), as well as of other Protestant libraries on the current territory of Slovenia. The libraries were one of the forms of further non-formal education of adults, especially of the Slovenian intelligentsia, and at the time they played an important educational role not only for individuals but also for the development of the Slovenian nation. The

book was a significant means of education. By that time the need for a book had already emerged, not only on a religious level, but also on a secular one. With the establishment of the first private and further on public libraries in the second half of the 16th century, the possibility of collecting and receiving both national and foreign literature really emerged. The role of the Protestants and their work for Slovenian society is without a shred of doubt attributed to this. Trubar also encouraged the establishment of *the first printing house in Ljubljana* in 1557, founded and managed by Janž Mandelc. The printing house contributed to the publishing of Slovenian Protestant works by contemporary writers (Jurij Dalmatin, Adam Bohorič, Sebastijan Krelj, Krištof Spindler, etc.), various calendars, decrees, publications, newspapers, etc. In the years 1557 - 1580, Mandelc printed 11 Slovenian books, 30 works in total. In 1581, the printing house was closed as it also printed Protestant works. Subsequently, Valvazor set up a copper-engraving press and a copper-plate printing house in the Bogenšperk Castle near Litija (1678-1685). Ljubljana got its printing house again in 1678, founded by J. K. Mayr (Šafar and Snoj, 1976; Govekar-Okoliš, 2009).

The Protestants were the first to establish the Slovenian language as a literary language, and they published the first Slovenian books; the greatest credit goes to Primož Trubar. The history of Protestant Reform movement in the area of present-day Slovenia reveals the importance of adult education, since the people of the time were mostly illiterate. Although there was no formal education available for them at that time, they were educated non-formally through the church, the priests, and the first books in the Slovene language. Thus began to develop the Slovenian cultural and national identity, which began to connect the Slovenians in the common, albeit slow, development that put the formation of the Slovenian nation and its culture to a higher level that was later on achieved in the second half of the 18th century, and more particularly in the 19th century.

The second period: Adult education from the second half of the 18th century to 1914

The situation facing Slovenians as described shows that the beginnings of the Slovenian national movement initially had quite modest goals. The Slovenian national movement was influenced by the then social development in the

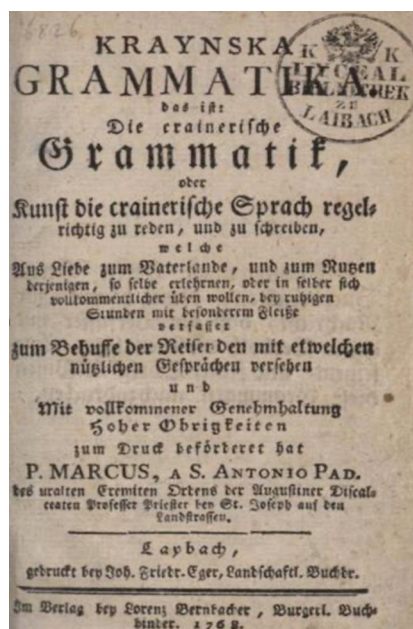
Austrian monarchy. The transition from a feudal to an industrial-technical society gradually began there as well. With the Industrial Revolution, the structural changes from States and feudal society into the bourgeois one continued. Moreover, the social and economic changes in Austria signified the objective conditions for the start of the Slovenian national movement were fulfilled. However, we can speak of two periods in the 19th century when national awareness and, along with that, the national identity started to waken and develop in the Slovenian nation. The first period started around 1768 and ended with the March Revolution in 1848. This was named by the Slovenian historian Zwitter as a period of the national movement which, in its substance, had the characteristic of a cultural movement. The second period began after the March Revolution and had, in its substance, the characteristic of a political-national movement (Zwitter, 1990). Granda, another historian, also stresses that the pre-March Revolution period of the Slovenian national movement had more or less the character of a cultural movement. The transition into a decidedly political area was difficult due to the then administrative situation facing the Slovenians (Granda, 2011).

In the first period 1768-1848 – prior to the March Revolution of 1848 – the formation of Slovenian national awareness and national identity was connected to the national awakening. This was a very complex occurrence throughout the whole of Slovenian history and can be researched from various angles. In the discussed period, the national awakening was linked to a period of revival which was led by Slovenian people in cultural terms already in the period of the Enlightenment. In connection to this, Prijatelj wrote that the leading goal of Slovenian cultural workers of the period were the efforts to awaken the nation, meaning: »the wish to instil in peoples or the fragments of the then Slovenians the awareness that they are a one national individuality.« (Prijatelj, 1921, p. 146). Slovenian cultural workers and intelligentsia, in their own way, contributed to the enlightenment of the Slovenian peasant population. Their main aim was to awaken the unlettered Slovenian people from the national stupor. Therefore, the awakening of the Slovenian masses signified not only the question of revival of the nation but also its existence as such (Bufon, 1971). Voicing political ideas was only a matter of individuals and small circles. Their aim was to raise the Slovenian language

to a higher cultural level and ensure its use in literary creation. It should be said that the then Austrian state was prepared to allow national movements in the sense of cultural movements but not political ones, as it was afraid of political national unrest which could have led to the Austrian monarchy disintegrating. They were afraid of the French notions of political sovereignty of the nation and the pan-Slavic ideas of linking the nation to independent states (Grafenauer, 1974). The Austrian state enforced German as the official language, which acted by way of germanising pressure on the non-German nations. Among the ruling elite in Slovenia and part of the (non)Slovenian intelligentsia, there were even tendencies »to forget and dismiss the Slovenian language from the country because of its little usefulness as it is used in public life only by lower peoples.« (Grafenauer, 1974, pp. 126-127). This proved to be challenging work for the Slovenian national revivalists who were in closest contact with the simple Slovenian population in their day-to-day life. The first to act came from the ranks of the clergy and intelligentsia. Of these, it is necessary to mention the writer *Anton Marko Pohlin* who in 1768 published the book *Kranjska gramatika* (Carniolan grammar) in the German language.



Picture 14: Anton Marko Pohlin (1735 – 1801)
(Pohlin, b. l.)

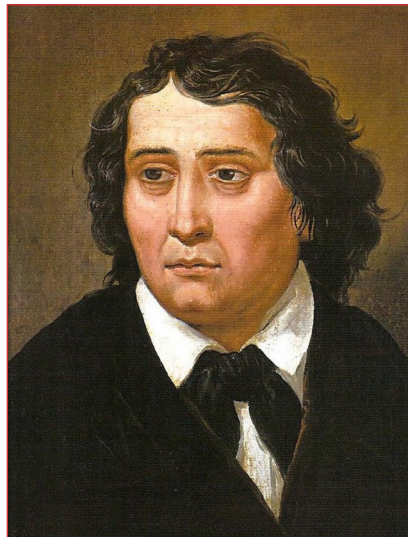


Picture 15: Anton Marko Pohlin – *Kraynska Grammatika, das ist: Die crainerische Grammatik, oder Kunst die crainerische Sprach regelrichtig zu reden, und zu schreiben*. Laibach: Im Verlag bey Lorenz Bernbacher Burgerl (1768)
(Slovenian School Museum Ljubljana, library)

Prunk (1992) states that during the mentioned period Pohlin's work symbolised the start of the Slovenian national revival movement because it expressed national awakening and self-assertion ideas. It stressed the importance of knowing the Slovenian language for both the lay and the church nobility given that Slovenians would not have to learn the German language due to the wish of the lords of the castle and masters and that, at the same time, in Latin schools in Carniola the Slovenian language would be recognised as being equal to the German one (Prunk, 1992). Zwitter (1990), as much as we can discern, defines the publication of Pohlin's mentioned work in 1768 as the beginning of the first period of the Slovenian national movement, which was also a cultural movement.

Anton Tomaž Linhart, a poet, dramatist and historian, also played an important role in this period as he had, as one of the first Slovenian revivalists, a clear vision of national unity, as apparent from his important work *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und den übrigen Ländern der südlichen Slaven Österreichs* (An Attempt on the History of Carniola and other lands of the South Slavs

of Austria). Comprehension of the Slovenian national and linguistic unity at that time also won over the schoolteacher, linguist and enlightened man *Blaž Kumerdej*, as well as the poet, translator and clergyman *Jurij Japelj*. Besides these men, others contributed to the national awakening, such as: *Valentin Vodnik*, a poet, translator, linguist and clergyman, *Janez Nepomuk Primic*, a writer, poet and teacher, and *Jernej Kopitar*, a linguist (Prunk, 1992). We should not forget our greatest poet *France Prešeren* who already in 1844 anticipated the future struggle for the Slovenian nation but saw in this the path to Slovenian freedom and unification of the Slovenians, which later in 1848 he mentioned as a struggle for »home«, namely: »with us indeed, you're called to heed, its summons in this hour of need.« (Grafenauer, 1974, p. 324). Prešeren was one of those important Slovenian cultural figures who sought the future of Slovenia not only in the company of the Slavonic nations but also in the company of all freed nations, those which had already succeeded to form their own independent state or had achieved independent autonomy within some state. He expressed this wish in »A Toast«: »God's blessing on all nations, who long and work for that bright day, when o'er earth's habitations no war, no strife shall hold its sway; who long to see that all men free no more shall foes, but neighbours be.« (Prešeren, 1974, p. 40).



*Picture 16: France Prešeren (1800 – 1849)
(Prešeren, b. l.)*

It is evident that this was the time the Slovenian national structure as well as Slovenian national awareness and identity began to emerge. Between 1768 and 1848 could be indicated as a period which in substance had the character of the Slovenian cultural movement (Zwitter, 1990). At this time, the national identity of the Slovenians was developing as they came to realise their own position, the unity of the territory, the history, the culture and the importance of preserving the Slovenian language, which was characteristic, as Alter describes (1991; Schulze, 2003), for the formation of a cultural nation or a nation as a cultural community.

The beginnings of institutional adult education

In the 18th century, the Enlightenment began to considerably shape social life and all areas of culture, and it thus influenced the ongoing development of adult education on Slovenian territory. The Habsburg monarchy was adapting to the needs of developing industry and the centralized state apparatus, which also had a monopoly on education. Maria Theresa's reforms were aimed at economic growth, but at the same time the need for adult education became apparent. The first schools for formal adult education were created. As Jug (1996) notes, the first *mechanical schools* were run by the Jesuits, followed by a *Jesuit nautical school in Trieste*, and in 1752 miners were able to learn geological surveying, land surveying, and drawing in the mercury mine in Idrija. *The technical school of metallurgy and chemistry*, which was founded by Maria Theresa in 1763, was also important. These schools were conducted in German, which was a problem for adults at the time due to insufficient language skills, and the schools soon ceased to operate. In 1778 a *drawing school* was founded, which was the first state school open to all, students and craftsmen alike, and it was thus also intended for adult education (Serše, 1997).

Adult education was strongly influenced by the general Austrian school legislation of the time. With the adoption of the *General School Regulation of 1774*, it was decreed that all those who had not completed their compulsory primary education due to distance or work and who had dropped out of regular primary school early had to spend two hours on Sunday afternoons in the *Sunday remedial schools*, which mainly taught religion, ethics, economics, and agriculture in Slovenian. These schools were set up in rural and urban areas.

They were also legally recognized by later Austrian school laws, but in practice they often encountered obstacles in their operation (Hojan, 2000; Jug, 2000c).

The priest Peter Pavel Glavar played an important role in the education of the general population in Komenda. He founded a library as a personal collection for self-education and for the education of the clergy. He attended to the general education of the lay population by introducing Sunday school, establishing a beekeeping school in Lanšprež in 1781, and influencing the development of village beekeeping cooperatives (Zupan, 2004). He was also known for encouraging self-education, continuous learning, and reading Slovenian books, and he thus placed a great emphasis on lifelong education.

Sunday remedial schools died out during the Illyrian Provinces (1809–1813). Efforts to promote the Slovenian language and books continued during the Illyrian Provinces, where Valentin Vodnik played an important role, writing textbooks in Slovenian for use in schools. An important development of this period was that Slovenian became a legally recognized language of instruction in primary and secondary schools. This generally increased awareness of the importance of education in one's native language among adults as well, and this was associated with the rise of a Slovenian national consciousness (Hojan, 2000; Okoliš, 2009). The national efforts of the Slovenian Enlightenment to educate adults were important during the aforementioned period, and this developed into the Slovenian cultural movement and the formation of a Slovenian cultural national identity.

As one can read from the history of the Slovenian nation and its endeavours as described by Zwitter (1990), the Slovenian national identity was established at two different levels – cultural and political – between them lay the March Revolution and thus the ground-breaking year of 1848. We can roughly distinguish the Slovenian national identity as a cultural national identity or national identity in a cultural sense, and a political national identity or a national identity in a political sense. *Slovenians' cultural national identity* developed according to the characteristics of the Slovenian nation's cultural development. These were manifested in cultural aspirations to enforce a uniform Slovenian language (standardised writing), in preserving and developing the Slovenian language, propagating Slovenian books and literature, in enforcing the significance of Slovenian culture, customs and national history. *The political*

national identity differs from the cultural one by the political aspirations and political goals of the Slovenian nation. The Slovenian political national identity entailed several aspects:

- a) It manifested itself in the demands to establish Slovenian public institutions (cultural, economic and political) where Slovenian would also be the official language (Zwitter, 1990), including the demand for Slovenian cultural characteristics to become public and institutionalised. By this, the culture of the Slovenian nation could be raised to a higher, public and institutional level. There were repeated requests for schools where Slovenian would be the language of instruction (*ibid.*). In this way, Slovenians would expand its intelligentsia through which the path to the development of culture and science would be open.
- b) The political national identity also showed itself in the tendencies of a large part of the Slovenian nation to bring about a uniform Unified Slovenia as one of the regions or as an administrative unit within Austria (Prunk, 1992).
- c) Besides these demands, the ideas of Pan Slavism spread, expressing aspirations for closer national bonds among the South Slavonic nations (Croats, Serbs) (Vodopivec, 2006).

The national identity of the Slovenians, in principle, meant the spread of the uniform territory and the breaking up of the feudal social order. The development of awareness of belonging to the Slovenian nation, the awareness that all Slovenians make up a single national community, the feeling of unity, put forward the question of the Slovenian language in the period before 1848. This question of language became a new dimension of identification and community that also directly influenced the forming of the Slovenians' national identity. Aspirations to elevate the Slovenian language to a higher cultural level, to improve its terminology and enforce the Slovenian language as being equal to other languages (German, Italian and Hungarian) were the fruit of the work of individuals – especially Slovenian cultural workers, the intelligentsia and clergy, as previously mentioned. These aspirations show that the forming of the Slovenian national identity was largely connected solely to the cultural field. Therefore, we can speak about the cultural national identity of Slovenians in the period prior to the March Revolution in 1848 (Zwitter, 1990; Schulze, 2003).

The development of the Slovenian national identity was therefore a holistic process, linked directly to social development within whose framework the Slovenian bourgeoisie and middle-class intelligentsia were taking shape. As Zwitter (1990) states, they were both ascribed an important role in cultural creation, especially in the field of literature where we cannot limit ourselves just to the top-most cultural creation but also have to take into account popular literature, popular music, theatre, journalism and journalist language, official and professional literature and terminology, school books and so on. Slovenian literature and terminology also came into being in the natural sciences. The Slovenian national revival, as seen from its beginnings, was given the awareness and contents of the works of its individual leaders, only a cultural movement, which only later was transformed into a political one. This reveals that, at first, individuals and subsequently also the masses tried to achieve the said cultural and political national goals in the Austrian monarchy (Zwitter, 1990).

After the downfall of the Illyrian Provinces in 1813, the social order that could be found before them was re-established in Austria. Feudalism continued in the countryside (Prunk, 1992). At the same time, there was the notable development of industry, railway construction, and the development of both cities and the middle class. Prior to the pre-March period, the focal point of gaining middle class support for the Slovenian national movement and further developing the national identity was, as mentioned, the question of culture, especially the question of Slovenians acquiring a sufficiently developed language able to express the highest scientific and cultural levels. This was finally resolved in that period. *Jernej Kopitar and Matija Čop and especially the poet France Prešeren*, were those most deserving of credit. Apart from them, the bishop, poet, writer and pedagogue blessed *Anton Martin Slomšek* has to be mentioned. He began to substantiate the Slovenian national revival and the future of the Slovenian nation (Prunk, 1992).

Political, economic, social and cultural development before 1848 thus enabled the Slovenian nation as a cultural nation to adopt the position of a political nation or a nation as a political community (Schulze, 2003), although the then Metternich regime (1815–1848) was strongly opposed to any national movement within the Austrian monarchy. These and other political thoughts of the Slovenian men of culture could not substitute for the Slovenian political and social program because no political program, even before the March

Revolution, had encompassed the social questions of the Slovenian nation – in the majority being Slovenian farmers who were still dissatisfied with the existing feudal social order (Grafenauer, 1974).

After the March Revolution of 1848, the Slovenian nation started to exit the phase named the struggle for Slovenian culture and entered the phase of the struggle for the political recognition of its nation. The program to enforce its national identity was thereby significantly enlarged. In this second phase of developing the national identity, all the endeavours to achieve the cultural goals remained in place. The struggle for Slovenians' cultural national identity before 1848 did not signify the unity of the whole Slovenian nation as the efforts to bring Slovenian culture up to a higher level were more the endeavours of the conscious Slovenian cultural elite or individuals and a particular section of the intelligentsia and clergy than the simple Slovenian peasants. It was a matter of enforcing the uniform Slovenian language in writing, of retaining and developing it, and of propagating the Slovenian press and Slovenian culture. All of these efforts acquired broader political significance after 1848. The political national identity of the Slovenians was shown in the demands to introduce the Slovenian language in all social (state) institutions, among others in schools. It was also demanded that the Slovenian language become the official language (Prunk, 1992). This was accompanied by aspirations for political autonomy. In the latter half of the 19th century, one can identify Slovenian aspirations for political autonomy in two demands:

- a) First, there is the mentioned United Slovenia program which calls for the unification of Slovenian lands into a single unit – United Slovenia (Prunk, 1992; Granda, 2004), i.e. a Slovenian political unit that signifies the struggle for political autonomy within the Austrian monarchy. This is also revealed in one of the political demands that »our Slovenia will be a subsistent part of Austria ...« (Prunk, 1992, p. 59).
- b) Somewhat more radical were the ideas for the political autonomy of Slovenia that emerged within Pan-Slavic thinking. They demanded the unification of all Slavic nations within the Austrian monarchy. Demands were made for United Slovenia to be politically connected with Croatia and Dalmatia. This was mentioned by the clergyman *Matija Majar – Ziljski* in a petition of Graz Slovenia in 1848 (Granda, 2004). There were also Pan-Slavistics ideas of tighter national bonds among Czechs and Slovenians and also

connections with other nations (Croats, Serbs ...) who wanted to form an organised Slavic state (Prunk, 1992; Vodopivec, 2006). Slovenian national societies were established, while mass meetings were organised where the demands for Slovenia's political autonomy became ever more pronounced. Gradually, Slovenian political parties were also established.

As one of the first Slovenian political, national and individual protagonists after 1848, the priest *Matija Majar – Ziljski* should be mentioned. He called on all Slovenians to strive for the benefit of the nation so that the Slovenian nationality in Carniola, Gorizia, Styria and Carinthia would be protected, elementary schools would multiply and the Slovenian language would be enforced in schools. He also demanded that teachers be adequately educated and paid. He called for chairs in the Slovenian language to be established in higher education institutions, together with non-classical secondary schools and agricultural schools for farmers. He wanted all laws to be translated into the Slovenian language and for civil servants to speak Slovenian. Matters of serfdom, farmers and their representation should be settled, including by lowering the land taxes. Majar devised his program *What the Slovenians claim* where he wrote: »Slovenian nationality and Slovenian language! This is for us a 'condition sine qua non!' This means if we do not have a voice as a free nation, if do not defend our language – we are a fly, we are fish without water, a bird without a wing it is over for us.« (Majar, 1848, enclosure). In his program, in summary form Majar demanded that: Slovenians unite in one nation, the Slovenian language has the same rights as German or Italian, the Slovenian language must be introduced in all offices and schools, in every grammar school in Slovenia there is a chair for the Slovenian language and that teachers are employed who also speak Slovenian (Majar, 1848).

Institutions for mass adult education

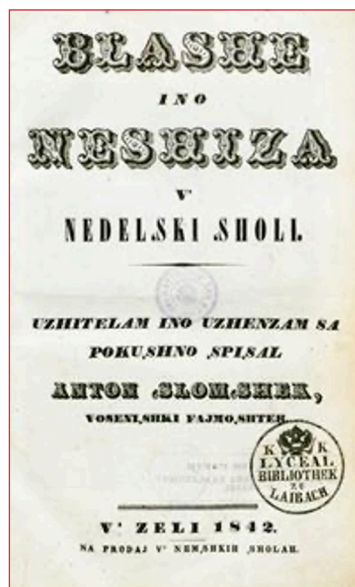
In the 19th century, various institutions for the mass education of adults were established on Slovenian territory.

Sunday remedial schools

For many people during this period, the Sunday remedial schools in fact provided their only contact with the formal education that they would not have had in

the public school system. The purpose of the Sunday remedial school was to provide vocational training for apprentices, assistants, and masters, which took place during various courses on Sundays. These schools offered the necessary technical skills for specific trades. The providers of these trainings were primary schools, secondary schools, craft associations, or private individuals. These schools developed most in the parts of the Austrian monarchy that were less economically developed (Engelbrecht, 1986). Sunday remedial schools were particularly important in the Slovenian lands because they spread Slovenian national consciousness and taught literacy in the Slovenian language, while German was the predominant language of instruction in the regular school system. Since they focused primarily on the education of young adults who had either already completed primary school or had dropped out, they are seen as the beginning of adult education in Slovenia, and because of this they have also entered andragogical discourse. In contrast to the regular German schools, the Slovenian Sunday remedial schools were more popular, sometimes even better attended, because the founders considered the needs and wishes of the population and promoted awareness of the importance and benefits of education. At that time, Anton Martin Slomšek, a bishop, pedagogue, promoter of the national awakening, writer, and school supervisor, had a great influence on the education of Slovenians in Sunday schools, and in 1842 he wrote a book in Slovenian, *Blaže in Nežica v nedeljski šoli* (Blaže and Nežica at the Sunday School).

The book was intended for teachers as a collection of instructional material to be used in the classroom, but it was also intended for pupils as a reader, a text that inspired the joy of reading in many. Slomšek worked to spread the Slovenian language and literature among the Slovenian population, for example by encouraging the establishment of the Slovenian publishing house of the *Družba sv. Mohorja* (Hermagoras Society), which is still active today (Okoliš, 2009; Škafar, 2014). In addition to Slomšek, another important figure was the priest Matija Vertovec, who worked tirelessly for the Christian education of the population in the Vipava Valley. He was a popular teacher and educator who, through various articles and writings in books, disseminated knowledge of skillful domestic economy among the population, especially in the fields of agriculture, viticulture, and chemistry. His best-known book is *Vinoreja za*



Picture 17: Blaže in Nežica v nedeljski šoli (Anton Martin Slomšek, 1842)

Slovenec (Viticulture for Slovenians), in which he stressed the importance of self-education and the idea of lifelong learning:

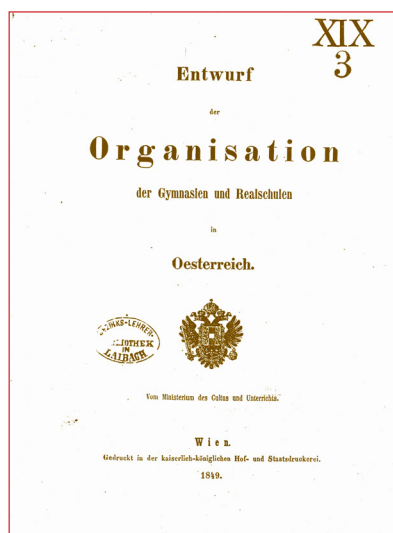
What a man learns only by force in school he soon forgets; but what he learns by his own diligence and joy in the time of apprenticeship, and especially later, is much more effective; and once you have finished your schooling or apprenticeship, only then will the time of your own education begin (Vertovec, 1845, p. 5).

The andragogical ideas of certain priests were important in this period, as they were most active in educating the population. They gave people basic knowledge of writing, arithmetic, and reading and systematically attended to the education of all, regardless of age, with an emphasis on the individual's education at all stages of life.

Professional schools

Separate *professional schools* were also established at that time, which were called »other schools« by the 1848 school law entitled *Draft of the Basic Principles of*

Public Education in Austria (Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtwesens in Österreich, 1848).



*Picture 18: Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Österreich, 1849
(Slovenian School Museum Ljubljana, library)*

These were new types of secondary schools, which provided more a modern educational curriculum that was suited to existing economic needs. In Slovenia professional schools did not reach the general Austrian level of professional schooling, because the economy in Slovenia lagged behind the development of the economy in other parts of the Austrian monarchy. Professional schools were important for the continued education of adults, as they provided professional skills in various forms of instruction organized by associations, chambers, and the like. The professional schools were remarkable in that they differed in the language of instruction. The professional schools, which were organized and maintained by various Slovenian associations, societies, and chambers, were taught in Slovene (Bleiweis, 1848). Instruction in Slovenian contributed to the faster training of craftsmen and industrial growth, which was indeed also the aim of the Austrian state. The Austrian state particularly encouraged the development of agriculture, home economics, and crafts in Slovenia. The *Kranjska kmetijska družba* (Carniolan Agricultural Society), under the leadership of Janez Bleiweis, played an important role in

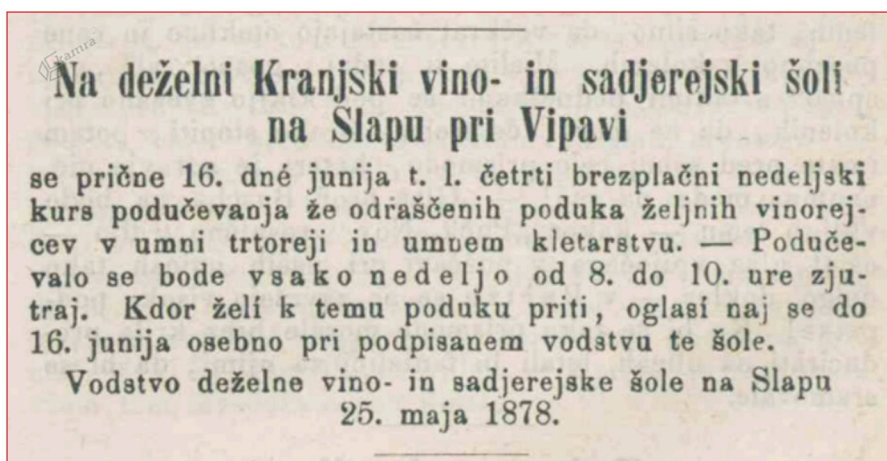
the expansion of these schools and was instrumental in their establishment (Bleiweis, 1849; Gestrin & Melik, 1950).

Agricultural schools

Key examples of specialized schools include the agricultural school in Trieste in 1848 and the two-year dairy schools (Krajnc, 1979). Agricultural schools were established by the land (provincial) authorities or by individuals in the framework of associations. Classes were always held in the winter, from November to March, in the evenings (Engelbrecht, 1986). In 1873 the *Vinarska in sadjarska šola* (Viticultural and Pomological School) was founded in Slap near Vipava. It was the first Slovenian agricultural school. It was first run by Richard Dolenc, a native of Vipava and an expert in growing wine and fruit (Ličen, 1996). Due to the proximity of the same agricultural school in Gorica/Gorizia and the unfavorable traffic conditions and distance from major centers, it was then moved to Grm near Novo Mesto in 1886, according to a decision of the Carniolan legislative assembly. Starting in 1886, the *Kmetijska šola Grm pri Novem mestu* (School of Agriculture in Grm near Novo Mesto; Ob jubileju Grmske šole, 1956) was in operation, and then starting in 1892 the *Deželna vinarsko-sadjarska šola v Mariboru* (Provincial Viticultural and Pomological School in Maribor), where various courses on pomology, viticulture, wine production, preserving fruits and vegetables, herbalism, etc. were held (Žmavc, 1924). The courses were organized according to the needs of the area. This served as additional education on agriculture for farmers, with structured advice.

Schools for home economics

In addition to these schools, *schools for home economics* were also created. Their aim was to educate girls and women to be good housewives and prudent and good mothers, but we can see from the records that they also varied in their purpose. The school for home economics at the *Mestni dekliški zavod »Vesna«* (Municipal Girls' Institute »Vesna«) in Maribor (founded 1884) educated only girls of the middle and upper classes, while the household schools in Trbovlje (founded 1911) and Idrija (founded 1909) were intended for the daughters of miners. The *Gospodinjska šola »Mladika«* (»Mladika« School for Home Economics)



*Picture 19: In the Provincial Viticultural and Pomological School in Slap near Vipava
(Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, 1878, p. 171)*

in Ljubljana (founded in 1906) was aimed not only at ordinary schoolgirls but also at exceptional older girls and working women who wanted to learn to cook and run the household (See Table 1).

The Table 1 shows that the establishment of Schools for Home Economics on Slovenian ground first began in 1884, and more intensely later, until the First World War in 1914, when a total of six schools were established. Most of these schools were founded in Styria, followed by Carniola and finally Primorska. We can see that the founders of Schools for home economics at the time in the Austrian Monarchy were different. The schools were founded by societies (Mladika Society in Ljubljana, Association for the Protection of Children and the Trbovlje Coal Mining Company) who aimed to provide education for girls and women. The Schools for Home Economics were managed by nuns (Ursuline Monastery in Ljubljana, School Sisters in Maribor) who had an important role in the education of girls and provided care for the disadvantaged. The Schools for Home Economics were also founded by municipalities (e.g. Municipality of Maribor – Municipal Girls' Institute »Vesna«) and other organizations, e.g. the Management of the mercury mine in Idrija. The »Mladika« school for home economics in Ljubljana was intended not only to girls pursuing regular

education, but also to older girls and working women who wanted to learn how to cook and run the household.

Table 1: The analysis of Schools for Home Economics by Slovenian lands from 1867 to 1914

Slovenian Lands (Provinces)	School for Home Economics	Year of establishment	Founder	Boarding type of school	Courses for working women
Styria	Municipal Girls' Institute »Vesna« in Maribor	1884	Municipality of Maribor and school council	yes	no
	School for Home Economics in Trbovlje	1911	Association for the Protection of Children and the Trbovlje Coal Mining Company	no	no
	School for Home Economica of School Sisters in Maribor	1914	School Sisters in Maribor	yes	no
Carniola	»Mladika« School for Home Economics in Ljubljana	1906	Mladika Society in Ljubljana	yes	yes
	Dr. Krek's Upper School for Home Economics of the Ursuline Order in Ljubljana	1913	Ursuline Monastery and dr. Janez Evangelist Krek	no	yes
Littoral (Primorska)	School for Home Economics in Idrija	1909	Management of the mercury mine in Idrija	no	no



*Picture 20: The leaflet of the Girls' Institute »Vesna« in Maribor
(Historical Archives Ljubljana, LJU 285, General Women's Society, šk. 8., b. l.)*



*Picture 21: Dr. Krek's Upper School for Home Economics in Šiška, Ljubljana
(Slovenian School Museum, photo library – postcards, b. l.)*



Picture 22: Learning how to cook in Dr. Krek's School for Home Economics in Ljubljana, Ilustrirani Slovenec, 1930, str. 318

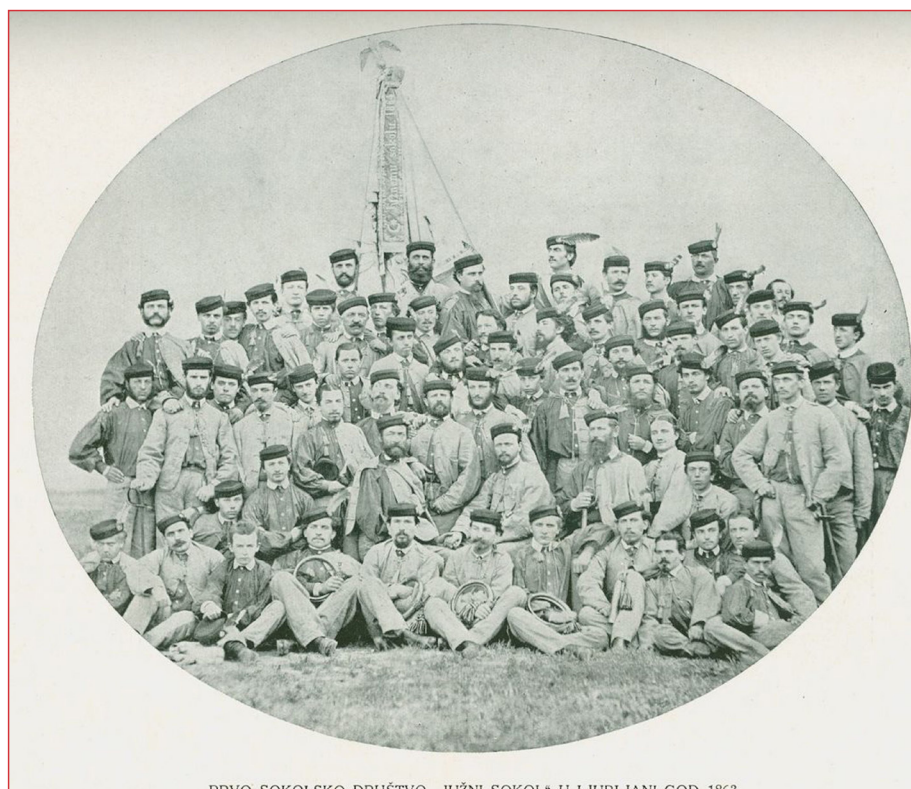
Special mention can also be made of the school for home economics named after John Evangelist Krek, *Dr. Krekova višja gospodinjska šola pri uršulinkah v Ljubljani* (Dr. Krek's Upper School for Home Economics of the Ursuline Order in Ljubljana, founded in 1913), which offered courses for housewives in fine urban cooking, summer courses for teachers, and special evening courses for working women. Of note were also the following elective subjects: English, French, piano, and stenography. The founders' goal was to create a highly professional school for home economics in Ljubljana (Govekar-Okoliš, 2014).

Societies

The new constitutional laws of 1848 also provided more opportunities for the establishment of various *associations*, and the abolition of censorship was also advantageous for their activities. During this significant year, the *društvo Slovenija* (Slovenia Society) was founded, whose members were committed to the development of Slovenian political life and were advocates of a united Slovenia (a common administrative unit within the Austrian Empire that would unite the Carpathian, Styrian, Carinthian, and Littoral regions - Primorska). The program of a united Slovenia brought together all parts of the Slovenian population at the time (Granda, 1999; Prunk, 1992).

One association established during this period was the gymnastic club *Južni Sokol* (Southern Falcon), founded in 1863 (Tul, 2000). In addition to supporting

physical education, this organization promoted Slovenian cultural events with speeches, dances, and raffles and maintained its own library, thus strengthening Slovenian national consciousness and literacy.



*Picture 23: The first gymnastic club Southern Falcon in Ljubljana in 1863
(150 let Sokola..., 2013)*

In 1866 the *Dramatično društvo* (Dramatic Society) was founded, which is considered the forerunner of the Slovenian National Theater (Gestrin & Melik, 1950). Through Slovenian plays, especially those featuring national themes, it shaped national consciousness and, with it, national identity.

In the Austro-Hungarian Empire

In the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867–1918), the development of society and its economy, technology, and culture had a major impact on adult education.

The need for new skills and adult education was linked to this. In addition to the existing Sunday remedial school and the various professional schools that provided formal skills for adults, a number of non-formal forms of adult education developed in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This was influenced by new legislation. In 1867 the *Austrian Law on Societies* (Gesetz, 1867a, 377) was adopted, followed by a boom in the establishment of various societies in the 1860s and 1870s. In Slovenia various and more numerous forms of mass adult education emerged during this period. This was mainly non-formal education, which took place in different political and educational associations, reading clubs, and *tabori* (national political rallies). The main purpose was to educate people, and this was all connected to the movement for an independent Slovenia or a united Slovenia, the awakening of Slovenian national consciousness and identity, and the establishment of Slovenian as the official language and the language of instruction (Govekar-Okoliš & Ličen, 2008).

Societies

In the 1870s, various Catholic societies were founded. Their aim was to strengthen Catholic and national consciousness by emphasizing the importance of the Slovenian language and culture. In 1869 the *Katoliško društvo za Kranjsko* (Catholic Society of Carniola) was founded in Ljubljana, followed by others. In 1890 the *Katoliško politično društvo* (Catholic Political Society) was founded, which also brought together Catholics in Carniola. The following year, the Slovenian Society, led by liberals, was also founded (Jug, 2000a). The spread of the ideas by these societies led to the emergence of political parties in the mid-1890s. These were the *Katoliška narodna stranka* (Catholic National Party), the *Narodno napredna stranka* (National Progressive Party), and the *Jugoslovanska socialnodemokratska stranka* (Yugoslav Social Democratic Party). The Catholic National Party (renamed the *Slovenska ljudska stranka*, or Slovenian People's Party, in 1905) became the strongest political force and remained so until the end of the Austrian monarchy in 1914. It united peasants, workers, and craftsmen and was led by, among others, Janez Evangelist Krek (Prunk, 2002). At the end of the 19th century, the idea of a united Slovenia was no longer attainable due to political divisions and opposition among Slovenians, and there was a

tendency among some Slovenians to unite all the Yugoslav nations, which was not accepted among the general population.



Picture 24: Janez Evangelist Krek (1865 – 1917)
(Krek J. E., b. l.)

There were also *workers' educational societies* from 1867 onward. These societies had programs that were mainly educational but also partly political. However, adult education was not systematically planned to develop into vocational education, as the programs were too general and did not account for the needs of workers in the context of specific local circumstances (Jug, 1996). As an example, the *Delavsko izobraževalno društvo v Ljubljani* (Workers' Educational Society in Ljubljana) organized various popular science lectures,

to which well-known cultural, scientific, and public figures from Ljubljana were invited as lecturers. In January 1873, enrollments in a special workers' school began. Unfortunately, there is no information on when the classes started, how many were enrolled, and what subjects were taught. The Society also set up its own library, which at that time had about 100 books available to workers, one third of which were scientific and two thirds fiction, as well as newspapers (Fischer, 1973, p. 33).

The *teachers' associations* that emerged in the 1860s and 1870s were also of great importance; here many nationally conscious teachers gathered. They were concerned with solving professional and national issues, as they were striving to have schools with Slovenian-language instruction throughout the Slovenian territory. They were active during the period of the strongest Germanization of Slovenian education and society in general, with around 20 schools in total, most of them in Carniola. They formed associations, one of which was the *Učiteljsko društvo na Kranjskem* (Teachers' Association of Carniola), which later changed its name to the *Slovensko učiteljsko društvo* (Slovenian Teachers' Association) and began to operate outside the borders of Carniola (Govekar-Okoliš, 2017, 2019). In 1897 Slovenian women teachers also founded their own organization: the *Društvo slovenskih učiteljic* (Slovenian Women Teachers' Association). As an organization, it was dedicated to female teachers, nursery school teachers, kindergarten teachers, and teachers of handicrafts. It advocated for equal pay, education for teachers and women in general, greater social security, and better healthcare for female teachers (Hojan, 1969).

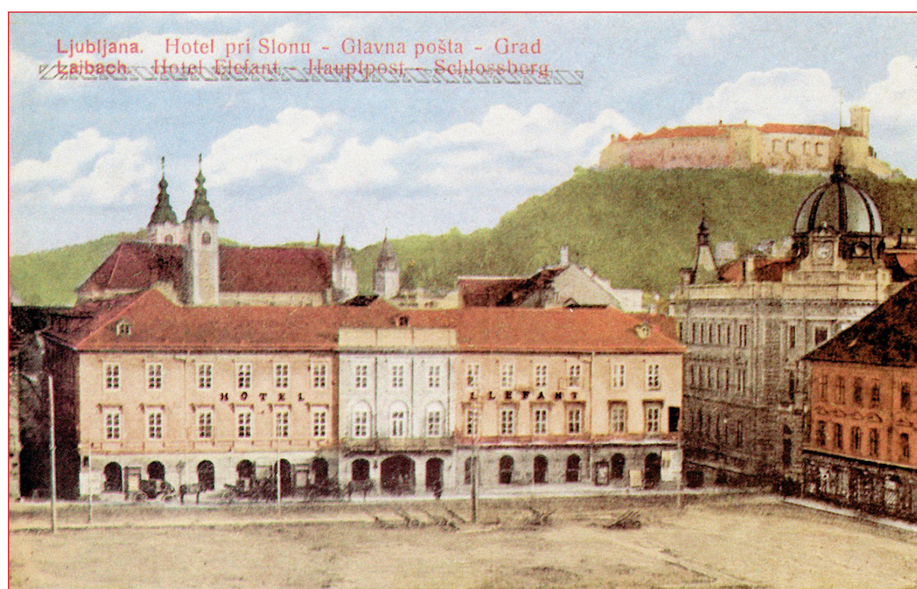
Reading clubs

In addition to these societies, *reading clubs* (*čitalnice*) were also important in this period and were rapidly being established in towns and squares in the second half of the 19th century. The first reading club, called the Slavic Reading Club, was founded in Trieste in 1861.

In the same year, reading clubs were established in Ljubljana, Celje, and Maribor. They flourished particularly in the 1860s, bringing together the growing Slovenian bourgeoisie and the nationally conscious intelligentsia (Prunk, 1992). In 1861, the reading clubs had around 250 members, whereas the figure had already grown quickly to 4,000 by 1869. By 1864 there were 14 reading clubs in different Slovenian territories. Following the start of the Dual Hapsburg monarchy in 1867, their number reached 69 in 1870. Among these 69 clubs, 38 of them were found in Primorska. They were mainly located in villages and were also known as reading societies, Slovenian reading clubs, agrarian reading clubs, and agrarian and trade reading clubs. After 1900, they became so widespread that they started to transform into independent cultural institutions, such as drama and gymnastic societies, choirs, music schools, people's libraries, local museums etc. (Uršič, 1999).

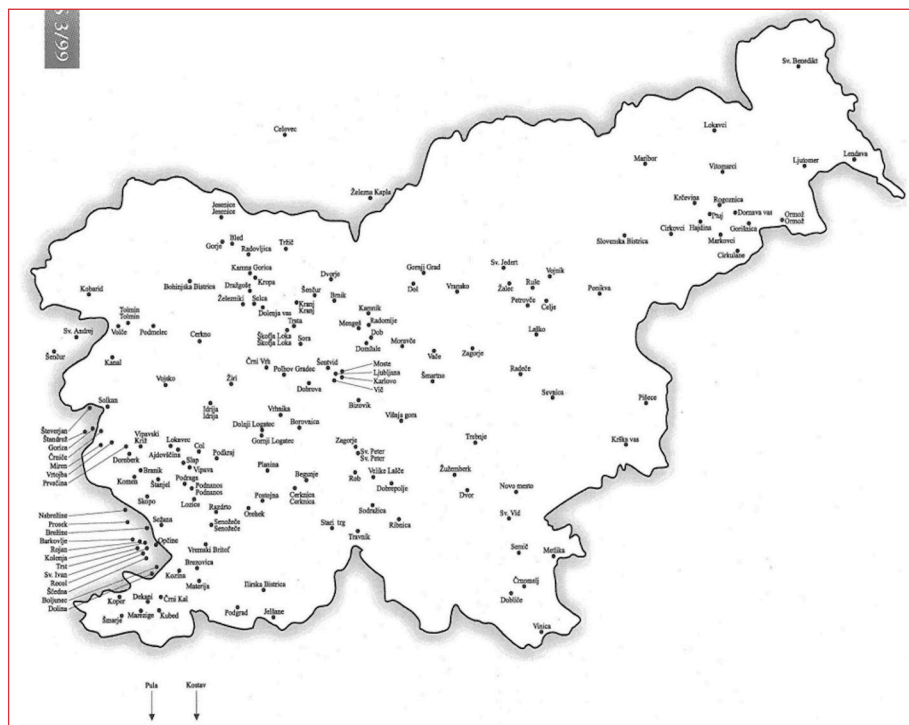


*Picture 25: National Hall in Trieste (reading club 1861)
(Narodni dom Trst, 2020)*



*Picture 26: National reading club in the Slon Hotel, 1861 - 1867
(Čitalnica v Hotelu Slon, b. l.)*

Reading clubs were characterised by their cultural and political life, together with various activities and meetings that represented important events by strengthening the feeling and bonds of national belonging among their members (Vodopivec, 2006).



Picture 27: Spread of reading clubs and reading societies across Slovenia (Uršič, 1999, p. 80)

The reading clubs provided non-formal education and experiential learning for adults and young people. The national identity of Slovenians was expanded and strengthened, as here they read Slovene literature and newspapers; disseminated Slovenian folk music; organized Slovenian lectures and speeches, games, dances, and singing; and discussed political issues. In 1864 the reading club in Ljubljana gave rise to *Slovenska matica* ('The Slovenian Society'), which was responsible for publishing Slovenian scientific writings along with popular and other works (Govekar-Okoliš, 2017).

Rallies (mass non-institutional adult education)

The *rallies* (*tabori*) held from 1868 to 1871 were also important for mass adult education. The law of November 15, 1867, on the right of association (Gesetz, 1867b, p. 382) contributed significantly to their establishment in Slovenia. The first of the Slovenian rallies was held in Ljutomer on August 9, 1868, followed by others in Žalec, Šempas in Goriška, and elsewhere (Vodopivec, 2006). The rallies were open-air gatherings of large crowds, attended by Slovenians from all walks of life, from the bourgeoisie to the farmers. Their national and political engagement exceeded all expectations, with people attending the meetings in large numbers, dressed in national costume and carrying the Slovenian flag. The rallies were important because they were attended by nationally conscious Slovenians, intellectuals, who articulated their demands for a united Slovenia and the introduction of the Slovenian language into spaces such as offices and schools, as well as for the establishment of a university in Ljubljana. The masses were addressed by orators, above all the champion of the nation and politician Valentin Zarnik, the writer, medical doctor and politician Josip Vošnjak, the lawyer Dr Karel Lavrič, the linguist and politician Božidar Raič, the publicist and politician Dr Janez Bleiweis, the writer Fran Levstik, and others (Gestrin and Melik, 1950; Tul, 2000; Jug, 2000b). As a point of interest, we give an example of the demands that were being articulated at such rallies. Already at the first mass meeting in Ljutomer, they adopted the conclusion:

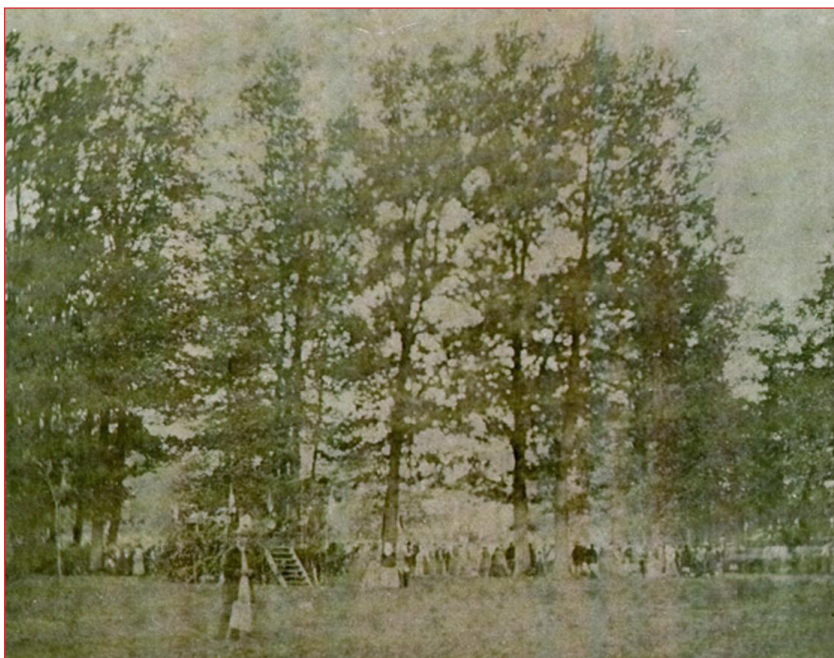
The Slovenian nation gathered here unanimously declare that in para 19 of the state's in basic law one does not find any guarantees for the preservation and cultivation of its own nationality before the following happens:

- 1) Slovenian will exclusively be the official language on Slovenian soil and, to this end, civil servants in Slovenia will be given a deadline, namely half a year, in which they will have to know how to speak and write Slovenian.
- 2) Until the Church government in Slovenia officiates in the Slovenian language and until the subjects in seminaries who are now being taught in German are given an explanation in Slovenian.

- 3) People's schools are totally Slovenian and in upper secondary schools the language of instruction is Slovenian. (German remains a subject.)
- 4) Slovenians are brought together in a united Slovenia with its own national administration.
- 5) From the Styria land treasury, in relation to the number of Slovenians and their contributions that Slovenian institutions are established, supported and maintained, e.g. Slovenian Realke, business schools.
- 6) To this paragraph, executive regulations are added and actually carried out and until the separate territories are given their greater self-management authority (Prvi slovenski tabor (*The first Slovenian rally*), 1868, p. 1).

In the next year, Slovenian people attended such mass meetings in even greater numbers. One of the biggest mass meetings in Slovenia was held on 17 May 1869 in Vižmarje near Ljubljana that saw 30,000 people come together. The Slovenian nation demanded its rights in these rallies and called for the establishment of United Slovenia. These meetings were a cause for concern for the German liberal middle class and Austrian authorities. They were afraid of »the Slovenian unanimity and time when the whole million nation will tie its fidelity (to Austria) on the condition of establishing Slovenia.« (Gestrin and Melik, 1950, pp. 96–97).

Nevertheless, this did not lead to a revolution in Slovenia because the Slovenian middle class did not join in the founding of United Slovenia. The biggest significance of the mass meetings lay in forming the Slovenian nationality. They were attended by all levels of Slovenian society: the middle class, the intelligentsia, the clergy and peasants. The rallies were really the only true mass national plebiscite as such a level of national/political unity on Slovenia's political development was not repeated in the 19th century (Prunk, 1992). We can say that at such meetings the Slovenian national identity was most distinctly formed, achieving its highest level in the 19th century. In its contents it was political, yet also cultural since Slovenians for the first time in their history were together aware, irrespective of the class, of their unity, equality and importance of their



*Picture 28: The First Slovenian Rally in Ljutomer, 9th August 1868
(9. avgusta 1868 je v Ljutomeru potekal prvi slovenski tabor, 2018)*

native country, the territory, history, culture, language, and the need to develop institutions that would be Slovenian. In short, they were all for the same national goal: to establish a single national administrative unit. The Slovenian people in the constitutional democratic period of the 1860s rapidly learned about political democracy, if we consider that up to 1848 most of the Slovenian population was represented by the peasantry, who were excluded from political life.

Rallies were also important in terms of adult education, because they were used to teach and educate all strata of contemporary society for the first time, including the largest rural population, which had access to in-depth political and cultural knowledge through these rallies. Slovenian teachers of national consciousness played an important role in the rally's movement, and they actively campaigned for an expanded network of Slovenian educational institutions using Slovenian as the language of instruction, for Slovenian textbooks and other literature, and for the improvement of their own status



*Picture 29: Invitation to a rally in Vižmarje, 17th May 1869
(Na taborih so glasovali za združitev Slovencev, b. l.)*

as teachers. The Austrian authorities at the time attempted to suppress any teaching activities aiming to spread the Slovenian language, Slovenian national consciousness, and Slovenian identity in schools as quickly as possible, and the Slovenian population was continually threatened by Italian assimilation in addition to German assimilation (Govekar-Okoliš, 2017, 2019). The rallies continued until 1871, when the Austrian government banned them due to the increasingly pronounced national subject matter and national demands of the large population in Slovenia. There was a total of 18 rallies in the entire Slovenian territory: six in the Slovenian Littoral (Primorska), five in Styria, four in Carniola, and three in Carinthia (Prunk, 1992). It is therefore evident that the Slovenian nation had reached a great political and cultural maturity in the 1860s. The period of the rallies, as Slovenian historians call it, is one of the most important and beautiful achievements in the development of Slovenian national identity in the 19th century.



Picture 30: Ernest Pogorelec, the Ljubljana-based photographer produces a photograph of the rally with all the speakers (Na taborih so glasovali za združitev Slovencev, b. l.)

The Slovenian press

The development of the press also contributed significantly to the development of adult education, their literacy, etc. The press is regarded as an important factor in the second half of the 19th century since it had a special role in spreading the national ideas and thus also the Slovenian national awareness and identity. In this field, we can list many newspapers and books. There were many attempts to publish Slovenian papers prior to 1848. At that time, the central national leadership role was held by Ljubljana. Already in 1843, the *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (*Agrarian and Craft News* (*Novice* (News))) started to be published. They were in the care of Janez Bleiweis. Slovenia's greatest poet France Prešeren and his circle published the almanac *Čbelica* (*The Bee*) in the *Agrarian and Craft News*. This allowed them to direct Slovenian progressive, democratic, cultural and political activity.

By 1848 the Slovenians had acquired several newspapers. The first Slovenian political newspaper *Slovenija* and the weekly *Slovenski cerkveni časopis* (Slovenian church newspaper) were published in Ljubljana, *Celjske slovenske novice* (Celeia Slovenian News) led by Konšek in Celje, and in Trieste the monthly *Slavljanski*



Picture 31: The First issue of Novice, 5th July 1843
(Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, 1843)

rodoljub (Slavic Patriot) (*Zgodovina Slovencev* (History of the Slovenians), 1979). The strict Austrian policy of Bach's (1849–1859) had prohibited the publishing of news in the Slovenian language and other press were challenging the nationally conscious intelligentsia and clergy. They started publishing Slovenian newspapers which at the time had to have contents fit for the home, agriculture, practical needs, along with books which during the period of oppression only had church contents. The priest and politician Andrej Einspieler and the Slavist Anton Janežič had, on Bishop Anton Martin Slomšek's initiative, tried to re-establish the society for publishing Slovenian books. They succeeded in this in 1851. The society was named after the Aquileian patron St Mohor and had its seat in Celovec (Klagenfurt). The first books in the Slovenian language were published already in 1852 (Smolik, 1992). In 1860, the society was renamed the Society of St Mohor and started to issue a range of Slovenian books, stories, religious literature as well as a lot of popular and educational literature (Vovko, 1994). The books and other literature of St Mohor were delivered to Slovenian

people of all classes and professions. Besides bishops and priests, these included professors, tradesmen, farmers, pupils, cooks and of course institutions like libraries, schools and so on in all Slovenian land areas. The Society's activity included publishing important Slovenian books, like: Josip Jurčič – *Jurij Kozjak* (George of Kozjak), Josip Stare – *Obča zgodovina* (General History), Josip Gruden – *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda* (The History of the Slovenian Nation) and many others (Smolik, 1992). The Society methodically published books by Slovenian authors every year. It was all-Slovenian as it propagated the value of family ties, stimulated national awareness, imbued a sense of the beautiful and the good, and stimulated art in literature, pictures and music. It enabled scientists and artists to publish their compositions and writings which are today considered the top achievements of Slovenian culture (ibid.). With its annual 'production', the Society thus managed to spread and strengthen the Slovenian national awareness and identity among all Slovenian people and brought the culture of the Slovenian nation to a higher level.

Apart from the Society's valuable, we should again stress the significance of issuing Slovenian scientific books and literature as this encouraged the development of Slovenian science and culture, albeit it was intended for the more educated. This was a responsibility of the Slovenian Literary Society established in 1864 (*Zgodovina Slovencev* (History of the Slovenians), 1979). During the 1860s new newspapers emerged whose contents were aimed at national questions facing the Slovenian nation. In 1863, for instance, the count, poet and composer Miroslav Vilhar published the newspaper *Naprej* (Forward). Its editor-in-chief was the writer Fran Levstik. The newspaper hardly lasted a year before it was forbidden by the Austrian authorities due to its contents. It became obvious that the newspaper advocated abandoning the old boundaries of the Slovenian territories and for nations of the same language to be united. Besides, in 1865 the newspaper *Slovenec* (The Slovenian) was published in Celovec (Klagenfurt), under the wings of the priest Andrej Einspieler. Its contents also touched on questions of politics, nationality and the national economy (*Zgodovina Slovencev* (History of the Slovenians), 1979).

The teachers published their own newspapers which were given shape within particular teachers' societies in Slovenia. They had their own views on professional and national questions. This is also shown in the contents of their

newspapers. The first teachers' newspaper was published in 1861 and was called *Učiteljski tovarš* ('The Teacher's Companion'). The editor-in-chief was Andrej Praprotnik.

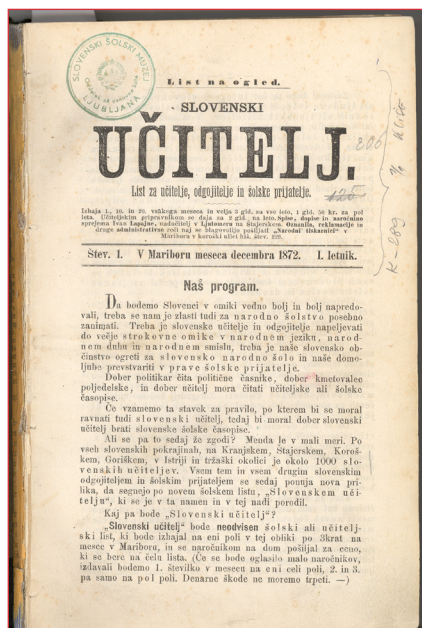


Picture 32: *Učiteljski tovarš* (1861, p. 1)

Praprotnik was replaced by Franc Močnik who influenced, as Ostanek believes, the conservative orientation of *Učiteljski tovarš* because, in addition to its conservative outlook, it advocated for the Church to have an influence on schools (Ostanek, 1971). After 1890, *Učiteljski tovarš* became the paper of the Teacher Society for Carniola. The transformation of this society into the Slovenian teachers' society triggered splits along national lines among teachers in Carniola. »The nationally tepid Slovenian teachers and German teachers of Kočevje opposed the teachers' organisation on the national principle and called for the existence of teachers' societies of the territories« (Ostanek, 1971, p. 14). These disagreements over this way of organising by nationality led to decisions which placed Šega in the Steering Committee of the Union of Slovenian Teachers' Societies in 1898 so that the Union could take the newspaper over and reshape

it (ibid.). This is what occurred. *Učiteljski tovariš* (The Teacher's Companion) became the official paper of the Union of Slovenian Teachers' Societies in 1899 and was published three times a month. It was edited by Jakob Dimnik and Engelbert Gangl (ibid.).

In addition to *Učiteljski tovariš*, the paper *Slovenski učitelj* (Slovenian teacher) was issued between 1872 and 1877. Ostanek believes it was published in response to the conservatively oriented *Učiteljski tovariš* edited by Franc Močnik (Ostanek, 1971). »More progressive teachers who were nationally minded agreed that a new Slovenian school paper be published that would advocate the new school law« (ibid., p. 15) of 1869. *Slovenski učitelj* was edited by the teacher, headmaster and publicist Ivan Lapajne in Maribor. It also became the paper of Styria because the majority of teachers in Styria were, as Ostanek describes, followers of the liberals and interested in the new school law (1869) and fresh directions in pedagogy (ibid.).



Picture 33: *Slovenski učitelj* (1872, p. 1)



Picture 34: *Popotnik* (1880, p. 1)

The Union of Slovenian Teachers' Societies, for instance, proclaimed the paper *Popotnik* (The Traveller) as its own in 1889. It was edited by Miha Nerat. This paper also published national contents like, as Hojan mentions, methodically collected good compositions with school/political content (Hojan, 1989).

The Slovenian press clearly had a vital role in adult education, their literacy and establishing the Slovenian national awareness and identity. On top of the Church, political/national, national/economic contents that featured in various Slovenian newspapers, books and technical literature. Among the latter, the contents also concerned national questions. This all points to the importance of the Slovenian language, history and the Slovenian nation. The Slovenian press was generally dependent on Austrian politics, which after 1848 only allowed certain mainly Church works in the Slovenian language and rejected others, mainly those whose contents sought to spread national awareness. It especially hindered the growth of Slovenian political/national newspapers. As a result, they had a short lifespan.

Third period: Adult education between the two wars (1918 - 1941)

The period after World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy brought new developments. The Slovenians were divided between four countries: Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. This is the period from 1918 to 1941, when in October 1918, after World War I, the Slovenians joined the short-lived state of Slovenians, Croats, and Serbs, which in December 1918 merged with the Kingdom of Serbia to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians, called the Kingdom of Yugoslavia starting in 1929.

The most developed economy in this new state was in Slovenia, dominated by agricultural production, while the rapid development of industry led to the emergence of an industrial workforce and its separation from the artisans. An important insight of this period is that the broadest swathes of the population needed additional skills, as the foundations of education were in national, economic, and social development (Bezenšek, 1998; Jug, 1999). Training adults to work in industry was essential, and it was tailored according to existing needs. *The 1929 legislation on primary schools* regulated some areas of adult education. Professional and continued education was encouraged, and the number of

agricultural, craft, and commercial schools for continuing education increased (Jug, 1996). In Slovenia three new two-year schools of commerce were established after 1919 in Maribor, Celje, and Novo Mesto. The Maribor school was renamed the State Academy of Commerce in 1926. In 1920/21 an academy of commerce was also established in Ljubljana. The Chamber of Commerce, Crafts, and Industry in Ljubljana organized merchant training and one-year sales courses in 1920 and opened a private two-year school of commerce during the 1938/39 school year (Serše, 1999).

Lower agricultural schools

Agricultural schools were also important, organized under the 1922 law on lower agricultural schools. These included the School of Agriculture in Grm near Novo Mesto, the Provincial Viticultural and Pomological School in Maribor, the *Kmetijska šola v Šentjurju pri Celju* (Agricultural School in Šentjur near Celje), the *Banovinska kmetijska-gospodinjska šola Mala Loka na Dolenjskem* (Provincial School of Agriculture and Home Economics in Mala Loka in Lower Carniola), and the *Gospodinjska šola v Ponikvah pri Dobropolju* (School of Home Economics in Ponikve near Dobropolje) (Serše, 1999), which provided further education for adults in various courses. In addition to these institutions, a specialized agricultural school for dairy farming – the *Mlekarska državna šola v Škofji Loki* (State School for Dairy Farming in Škofja Loka) – was established by royal decree in 1926 (*Srednja mlekarska in kmetijska šola Kranj*, 1997).

In 1935 the first two-year course was opened. In Kapela and Pekre (1926), nine-month viticultural courses were organized in the vineyards and nurseries of the municipality until 1937. After 1938 the courses were organized only in Kapela because the grapevine nursery in Pekre was abandoned. The course was both practical and theoretical. The lectures were mainly on growing wine and winemaking and growing fruit, with some on general agriculture and animal husbandry. In addition to the classes at the agricultural schools, which were intended for the rural population, agricultural courses were organized throughout the country by itinerant teachers, namely agricultural administrators, agricultural experts, and professors from the agricultural schools. The courses were organized with the support of the Ministry of Agriculture



*Picture 35: The Dairy of the Dairy Cooperative in Škofja Loka before 1941
Photo: preserved by the Loški Museum, Škofja Loka (Šifrer Bulovec, 2023)*

using the state agricultural fund. Radio lectures, broadcast in winter from the beginning of December to the end of March, also played a major role in educating farmers. The lectures were given by the most prominent agricultural experts (Serše, 1999).

Schools for home economics and agricultural schools for continuing education

It is important to mention how the *schools for home economics and agricultural schools for continuing education* functioned during this period. Their purpose was to reinforce the knowledge acquired in primary school and to extend it according to local circumstances. Where it was not possible to establish agricultural schools for continuing education, youth agricultural clubs were to be established for young adults (Hojan, 1999). In 1929 the *Law on National Schools* was passed, which provided for the establishment of lower schools for home economics for women completing courses in home economics, and for trade-cooperative courses for men. These courses were open to individuals

between ages 15 and 30. The duration of the courses was three to six months for women and two to four months for men. In 1933 the *Klub prijateljev vaše kulture* (Friends of Village Culture Club) was set up by the teachers' organization. The mission of the club was, among other things, to promote continued education in agriculture and domestic work (Hojan, 1999). In Ljubljana, Dr. Krek's Upper School for Home Economics of the Ursuline Order was in operation. The school was attended by girls and women who were already employed and wished to improve their housekeeping and general skills in music and foreign languages (English, French) (Degen, 1967).

The first theoretical foundations of adult education began to develop in the works of the educators Karel Ozvald and Franjo Žgeč at the beginning of the 20th century. Ozvald wrote *Kulturna pedagogika* (Cultural Pedagogy, 1927), and Žgeč wrote *Problemi vzgoje najširših plasti našega naroda* (Problems of the Education of the Broadest Segments of Our Nation, 1923). In their works, we learn about their efforts in addressing the personal growth and development of adults. Both advocated lifelong education for adults after the completion of their regular schooling. They worked for the development of *ljudske visoke šole* (folk's high school), following the Danish example of Grundtwig's »folk's high school.« They considered the education of the nation to be a value in itself. They saw the development of the nation in the education of the common people. They spoke of the education of adults, especially the rural and working-class population, as the education of the nation as a whole. Other important pedagogues were Stanko Gogala and Vlado Schmidt, whose works also influenced views on adult education. The Slovenian pedagogues of the time were aware of the need to educate not only children and young people but also adults. They began to research adult education, observing and describing concepts and processes in that field. For example, at this time, people began to talk about formal, non-formal, and permanent adult education, depending on the circumstances and needs. This was used to describe the basic processes and types of adult education, which had a significant impact on the further development of the theory and practice of adult education, the development of institutional adult education, and andragogical ideas on Slovenian territory.



*Picture 36: Karel Ozvald (1873 – 1946)
(Ozvald, b. l.)*

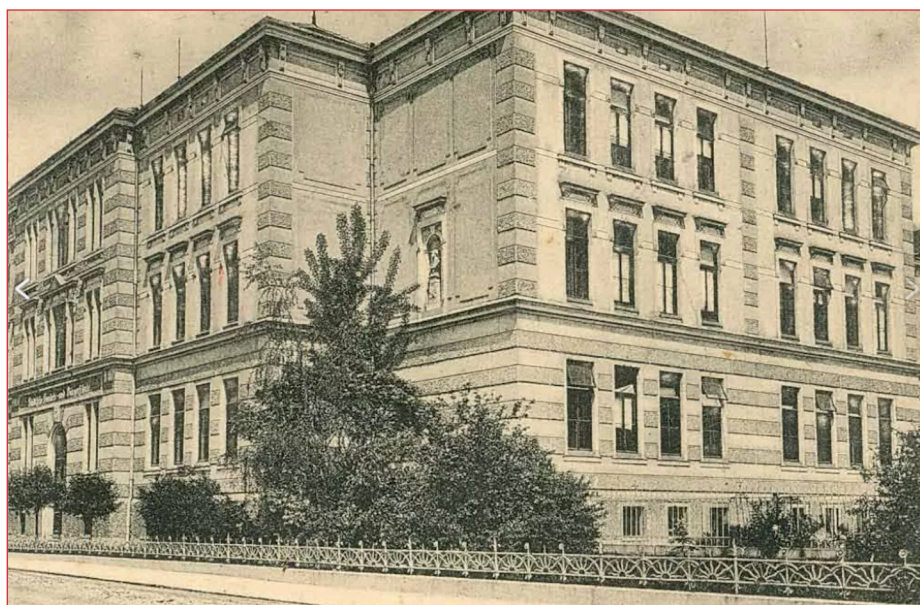


*Picture 37: Franjo Žgeč (1896 – 1961)
(Žgeč, b. l.)*

Folk's high schools

After 1918 institutions called folk's high schools were founded in Slovenia, following the Danish model of folk's high school. At first, there was no uniform name for this type of school. In addition to the name *ljudska visoka šola* (folk's high school), the names *ljudsko vseučilišče* and *ljudska univerza* (both meaning »people's university«) can also be found. In 1921 a people's university began operating in Celje, followed by a people's university in Maribor and one in Jesenice in 1922, a folk's high school in Ljubljana in 1923, a folk's high school in Studenci near Maribor in 1927, and a folk's high school in Ptuj and Kranj in 1937 (Govekar-Okoliš, 2008, 2022).

According to the 1932 resolution from the Ministry of Education on people's universities, the term *ljudska univerza* (people's university) is officially used in Slovenia (Hojan, 1975).



*Picture 38: People's University in Celje 1921
(Ljudska univerza Celje ob stoletnici..., 2021)*

*Table 2: People's Universities in Slovenia in the school years 1938/1939
(Govekar-Okoliš, 2008, p. 24)*

No.	NAME OF INSTITUTION	PLACE	NUMBER OF INSTRUCTORS	NUMBER OF LECTURES	NUMBER OF LEARNERS
1.	PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY	CELJE	18	23	1940
2.	PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY	MARIBOR	43	41	5562
3.	PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY	JESENICE	no data available	no data available	no data available
4.	PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY	LJUBLJANA	15	15	2454
5.	PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY	STUDENCI PRI MARIBORU	21	21	3358
6.	PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY	PTUJ	6	6	800
7.	PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY	KRANJ	15	11	2000
Total			118	117	16.114

The emergence of these institutions can be attributed to various factors, especially the new social conditions, which, due to economic and technological development, brought the need for further adult education. Some of the folk's high schools were first organized as associations for educating all segments of the population. In addition to offering lectures, these institutions organized various educational and enlightening activities, cultural and sporting events, and other events and excursions. They also published printed materials and made books available to the public in their libraries. The task of the folk's high schools was to improve and transform the individual and to turn him or her toward cultural goods. Folk's high schools or people's universities were an important place for non-formal adult education and for the development of democracy and the economy. They offered an important institutionalized form of continued adult education and contributed to the enlightening of all segments of the Slovenian population, especially the working class. They continued to operate until World War II.

Societies

In the period between 1918 and 1941, there were also *workers' educational associations* in Slovenia, which were characterized by the non-formal education of the working population with socially indispensable and experiential knowledge. The working class was steered toward reading, general and political education, interest in cultural events, etc. (Govekar-Okoliš, 1998; Jug, 1998). Cultural and educational societies played an important role in this context, e.g., the *Prosvetna zveza v Ljubljani* (Educational Society of Ljubljana), which established people's libraries and also had traveling libraries, was devoted to the establishment of people's universities and the development of local museums, drama, etc. The *Društvo Krekova mladina* (Krek's Youth Society) was founded by Christian socialists, who educated working-class youth in the spirit of Christian social thought and organized lectures, courses, and social events. They set up libraries, organized various drama and sports clubs, and published non-political texts and newsletters.

Gymnastic societies were also important. The *Sokol* (Falcon) and *Orel* (Eagle) athletic clubs were revived, with gymnastics and competitive performances, cultural activities, and lectures, and the *Zveza kulturnih društev v Ljubljani*

(Union of Cultural Societies in Ljubljana) united all liberal, non-political societies (it brought together reading clubs; libraries; educational sections of the *Sokol* branches; various societies such as folk, reading, teachers', student, singers', aid, firemen's, and sports societies). In 1926 they began publishing a newsletter, *Prosvetni glasnik* (The Educational Herald), and acquired a radio receiver and a portable cinema projector (Jug, 1998).



*Picture 39: The Eagle (Orel) gymnastic society, Kamnik, before 1929
(Telovadno društvo Orel..., b. l.)*

Of note is also the *Zveza kmečkih fantov in deklet v Ljubljani* (Association of Rural Boys and Girls in Ljubljana), which organized annual courses for girls and boys in various rural activities. They held camps for rural youth (scythe races, reaping competitions, festivals), promoted skiing and cycling, and organized excursions. They commissioned various publications and created book collections (*Zveza kmečkih fantov in deklet*, 1936). The associations developed and promoted educational work and broadened general knowledge (economic skills, literacy), national identity, and consciousness while strengthening Slovenian culture. Their role is important because the societies conveyed views and knowledge to which people did not have access

elsewhere. People came together voluntarily in these societies according to their own interests, thus creating the conditions for successful individual, quality, and spontaneous education. In this way, they acquired the skills needed for further self-education, which was important at a time when associations were losing their role. People were thus able to expand their knowledge and transmit information and experiences within the associations.

Correspondence school

This was the first time in Slovenia when adult independent learning through *correspondence education* was organized. In 1932 the *first correspondence school of commerce* was established in Ljubljana, and it continued to operate until 1941. It offered formal correspondence education for salespeople (Velej, 1997) and was headed by history professor Anton Krošl. The correspondence school had its premises in the Slovenian School of Commerce in Ljubljana, which was founded in 1908. The annual report of the correspondence school of commerce mentions that the biggest obstacle at the beginning of its operation was the task of introducing the population to correspondence education. The school had three branches: commercial, cooperative, and scientific, each with its own curriculum. Upon enrollment, pupils had to pay a registration fee and tuition fees for the individual subjects they wished to take. The correspondence school of commerce lasted 10 months, from September 15 to July 15. During this time, students could complete exams for one or two school years (one-year or two-year system). In its first two years of operation, the school sent out more than 100,000 copies of lectures, 1,836 books and dictionaries, and more than 3,000 written explanatory notes and information (Dopisna trgovska šola, 1934). This was the first example of correspondence (distance) education, conducted using letters of instruction.

Libraries and amateur theaters played a major role in adult education (Jug, 1998). In addition to these, various magazines, newspapers, and professional literature (*Slovenski gospodar* [Slovenian Household Management], *Sodobnost* [Contemporary Time], *Domoljub* [The Patriot], newsletters of associations, etc.) were important sources of adult education. Radio lectures organized in the winter for educating farmers were another new development (Serše, 1999).

Fourth period: Adult education after World War II (1945–1991)

During the World War II, the process of adult education was largely interrupted. In 1945 the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) was established on the territory of the pre-war Kingdom of Yugoslavia, later changing its name to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) (Kožar, 2012) with the adoption of a new constitution on April 7, 1963. After 1945 new sociopolitical changes took place. The planned transformation of society from an agricultural to an industrial one led to a growing need for adult education after the completion of regular schooling, which meant that adults had to adopt new skills and training to perform specific work in industry. There were more and more adult education programs and a growing need for professionals to train and educate adults. A new science – andragogy – began to develop from the practices of this period (Krajnc, 2011).

People's Education of Slovenia

After 1945 the trade unions took on an important role in educating the population, as »it was necessary to acquaint citizens more thoroughly with the organization of the people's power and the gains of the revolution, and to re-educate many of them.« (Andoljšek, 1964, pp. 198–199). The *Ljudska prosveta Slovenije* (People's Education of Slovenia), which had its own educational associations in all the major towns and cities, was responsible for the cultural and educational development of the population. This was the basis for the institutionalization of adult education that followed in subsequent years. The People's Education of Slovenia was responsible for organizing literacy, home economics, and general education courses (Andoljšek, 1964). In 1946 *evening workers' gymnasias* began to operate as a new form of adult education. In 1948 they were still held once a week in Mozirje, Gornji Grad, and Solčava. However, many towns did not have an evening workers' gymnasium. By the beginning of the 1947/48 school year, some 23 evening workers' gymnasiums had been established, attended by craftsmen, workers, and farmers. A second evening trade union gymnasium was established in Ljubljana, in Šentvid. It was intended for the workers of the Litostroј, Štore, Seta, and Hribernik factories (Serše, 1998).

People's universities

In 1947 other schools and courses began to appear in addition to the political trade union schools. Trade union organizations began to cooperate with various experts, engineers, and technicians and to organize lectures to impart knowledge on topics such as technology, new ways of working, and norms (Serše, 1998). Adults were initially educated on a mass scale at the people's universities (*ljudske univerze*). The first people's university in this period was founded in Ljubljana in 1947, coinciding with the change in the sociopolitical system. A decade later, in 1957, workers' universities (*delavske univerze*) were established. For some time, the role of the people's and workers' universities was partly intertwined with that of the educational centers, which, also due to legal regulations in 1957, were established by individual labor organizations for their employees (Mohorčič Špolar, 1998). People's universities initially operated on a more amateur basis and until 1955 as part of the People's Education of Slovenia, at which point they were brought under the aegis of *Zveza Svoboda in prosvetnih društev* (Association of Freedoms and Educational Societies). In that year, there were 176 active people's universities in Slovenia, the vast majority within the framework of various cultural-artistic and cultural-educational associations. The people's universities held various stimulating lectures, cultural events, and programs tailored to the needs of the rural population (lessons in domestic sciences, tractors, etc.) (Mohorčič Špolar and Emeršič, 1998). Their aim was »to train people who would take on responsibilities in the sphere of economic and sociopolitical development, and to provide formal education to all those who had been prevented from doing so by the war.« (Trdan, 2019, p. 15). The people's universities were dependent on financial and political support from governing system at the time (the League of Communists of Slovenia and other political bodies such as trade unions). This affected their programs, which trained adults to implement socialist doctrine (Trdan, 2019). The most important break in the functioning of the people's universities occurred with the reorganization after 1957. The development of industrialization and the working class brought new demands for more specialized skills. Workers' universities (*delavske univerze*) were created, offering workers vocational training, economic education, and training for industrial labor. The previously functioning people's

universities were also renamed workers' universities. In 1959 the *Zveza delavskih in ljudskih univerz Slovenije* (ZDLUS, Association of Workers' and People's Universities of Slovenia) was founded, which also launched a wide range of events for non-formal education (discussion meetings, literary evenings, theater performances, film screenings, and art exhibitions). A tendency to professionalize the workforce, to foster the adult education system, and to develop andragogy in Slovenia became central.

In the 1960s, new social changes (liberalization of political life, introduction of economic reforms) affected the curricular orientation of workers' universities. The number of lectures declined, but the number of seminars and courses increased, some of which became legally mandatory (e.g., occupational safety) (Mohorčič Špolar and Emeršič, 1998). In 1971 the *Law on Workers' Universities, Educational Centers, and Other Organizations* was adopted. This law put workers' universities on an equal footing with other public institutions, allowing their activities to be certified and their financing to be regulated. The educational qualifications of employees were being codified in law for the first time. After 1980, however, the Law on Directed Education had the most significant impact on how workers' universities operated. This law ended the validity of the *Law on Adult Education Organizations*, which had provided the legal basis for certified secondary education in the universities. The new law redesigned the educational process, and workers' universities lost the ability to run their own secondary education programs and issue generally recognized certificates. This meant that secondary education moved into regular schools, training for social and political organizations became increasingly scarce, and the number of participants in these courses and in the workers' universities began to decline. In the following year, this crisis triggered the adoption of stances on furthering the development of workers' universities, which addressed the funding and promotion of primary education for adults, advanced education, on-the-job training programs, sociopolitical education, and training in self-management and defense. In addition to vocational and professional education, general adult education (for completing regular schooling, foreign languages, etc.) was on the rise (Mohorčič Špolar and Emeršič, 1998).

Adult correspondence education

Adult correspondence education took place at the people's university in Ljubljana, where a correspondence course in bookkeeping was organized in 1955; this proved to be a great success, with 980 registrations for the first course alone. In 1957 the *Dopisna ekonomska šola* (Correspondence School of Economics) was founded, and its successor is today's *Center za dopisno izobraževanje Univerzum* (Center for Correspondence Education Univerzum). Not long afterward, the *Dopisna osnovna šola* (Primary Correspondence School), the *Dopisna administrativna šola* (Administrative Correspondence School) and the *Dopisna tehniška šola* (Technical Correspondence School) were founded, which were later merged under the name *Dopisna delavska univerza* (Correspondence Workers' University) (Velej, 1997). The correspondence schools were aimed at adults who did not have access to education near their homes and workplaces. Formal education was provided through letters as a form of distance learning.

Educational centers in companies

Ivan Bertoncelj in particular contributed to the systematic education of adults in various organizations and companies in the 1960s. He proposed new methods and adaptations to the then still deficient adult education system to improve the quality of adult education in companies. He worked toward the creation of *educational centers in companies*, introducing additional training in the fields of planning, programming, profiling, organization, and evaluation. Bertoncelj promoted the development of the theory of adult education in educational centers. He wrote several manuals and other works. In doing so, he influenced the development of educational centers throughout Yugoslavia (Kejžar, 1997). Educational centers that were well organized cooperated with professional schools and other educational institutions and saw an economic advantage in education. After 1975 the development of education lacked social orientation and was more poorly organized. This can be inferred from the work of education centers, which focused on self-organization, mutual assistance, and cooperation (Kopač, 1994, in Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). After 1980 education in companies was integrated into the system of directed education. In practice, this meant that enterprises were introducing new policies and organizational-educational functions into the organizational structure. Educational aims

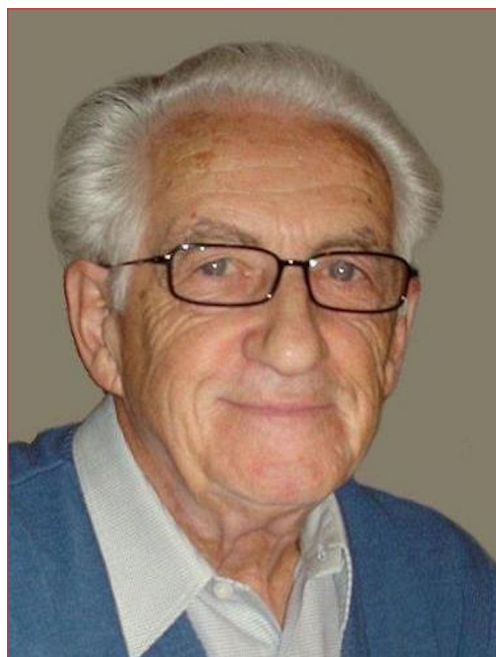
were not supplemented in content or increased in scope due to the rigidity of organizations and limited material resources for intangible activities. Recruitment in non-manufacturing sectors, including education, was also cut, leading to the dissolution of education departments in many companies. Education departments were also not sufficiently responsive to current training needs, and there was a lack of communication within and outside the company. The management of organizations was also problematic for development, as they did not give enough significance or support to education within the company (Kejžar, 1994a, in Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). The adult education system was developed by the *Andragoško društvo Slovenije* (Andragogical Society of Slovenia), the *Zveza delavskih univerz* (Association of Workers' Universities), and the *Združenje izobraževalnih centrov in služb Slovenije* (Association of Educational Centers and Services of Slovenia), which later merged into the *Skupnost izobraževalnih centrov Slovenije* (Union of Educational Centers of Slovenia) (Kopač, 1994, in Govekar-Okoliš, 2000).

Andragogical Society of Slovenia

The establishment of the *Andragogical Society of Slovenia* in 1968 contributed to the development of andragogy as a science. The first president of the Society, Jože Valentinčič, pointed out that the Society was created in response to developmental and social needs, as adult education was a necessity. It was given increasingly demanding tasks, since adult education allowed for the continual revision and deepening of knowledge with new scientific findings. He held that a fundamental change in the education system was needed, as innovations could not be implemented in »the old education system« while adult education was becoming a progressively equal component of the education system. There was therefore a great need for adult education. More than a hundred andragogues were needed. The purpose of the Andragogical Society was to bring together everyone involved in adult education (Valentinčič, 1968, in Jelenc, 1998, p. 8).

The objectives of the Society were to solve the problems of adult education and develop permanent adult education in accordance with the needs and objectives of society: regulatory and organizational direction of adult education and assistance to members in professional development, taking into account the different needs and characteristics of andragogical activities. The aim was

to promote quality work in adult education by acquainting members with modern methods, programs, and forms of work. Cooperation with social and political organizations and related professional associations and institutions committed to the advancement of adult education was important (Jelenc, 1998). Ana Krajnc, Jože Valentinčič, Tilka Blaha, Štefan Huzjan, Ivan Kejžar, Marjan Lah, and Marija Vogrič, together with Ana Krajnc, became the first honorary members of the Andragogical Society of Slovenia in August 2007 and all made a significant contribution to the development of adult education and andragogy in general (Jelenc, 2007). Ivan Bertoncelj, Ilija Mrmak, Janko Muršak, Jurij Jug, Zoran Jelenc, and others also contributed to the development of andragogy in this period.



*Picture 40: Jože Valentinčič (1926–2013)
(Valentinčič, b. l.)*

Development of andragogy as a scientific discipline at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

The most important figure in the *emergence and establishment of andragogy as a scientific discipline* was Ana Krajnc, who was a prominent advocate of adult education. Research in the field of adult education at that time contributed to the development of andragogy. In 1967 Ana Krajnc joined the first international comparative empirical study *Adult Education, Social Mobility, and Social Participation (1967–1972)* as a researcher at the Institute of Sociology and coordinator for Slovenia. The research was coordinated with Hamilton University in Canada, with experts participating from other universities in the United States, Poland, the Czechoslovakia, and the Netherlands. Ana Krajnc compiled the results of the study in her doctoral thesis, part of which was published in 1973 by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) under the title *Adult Education and Social Participation* and in a 1977 book entitled *Izobraževanje naša družbena vrednota* (Education, Our Social Good). From 1976 to 1988, the results of this research were integrated by an international team in the UNESCO project *The Systems of Adult Education in Europe*. The researchers produced a country-by-country study of adult education systems, which was then published in a special UNESCO publication (Krajnc, 2011). This research served as the basis for the first textbooks on andragogy, which were written by Ana Krajnc (1976, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1982)³ and Jože Valentinčič (1973, 1983).⁴

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- 3 Krajnc, A. (1976). *Andragoški pogovori s predavatelji* [Andragogical Discussions with Lecturers]. Ljubljana: Zveza delavskih univerz Slovenije.
Krajnc, A. (1977). *Izobraževanje naša družbena vrednota* [Education, Our Social Good]. Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost.
Krajnc, A. (1978a). *Izobraževanje ob delu* [Education at Work]. Ljubljana: Univerzum.
Krajnc, A. (1978b). *Metode izobraževanja odraslih* [Methods of Adult Education]. Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost.
Krajnc, A. (1982). *Motivacija za izobraževanje* [Motivation for Education]. Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost.
- 4 Valentinčič, J. (1973). *Osnove andragogike* [The Fundamental of Andragogy]. Ljubljana: Dopolisna delavska univerza.
Valentinčič, J. (1983). *Sodobno izobraževanje odraslih* [Contemporary Adult Education]. Ljubljana: Dopolisna delavska univerza.



*Picture 41: Ana Krajnc (1938)
(Krajnc, 2019)*

In Slovenia the *term andragogy* has been used in the professional literature since the 1970s. It was defined by Ana Krajnc in her book *Izobraževanje ob delu* (Education at Work) in the chapter »Andragogika kot znanost« (Andragogy as a Science). She writes that

andragogy is a relatively young discipline, although it began to separate from pedagogy some 50 years ago. The subject of pedagogy as a science has expanded and embraced new areas of research, including adult education as a distinct phenomenon. [...] Andragogy thus gradually became independent from pedagogy, which was still included the field of education of children and young people. The specific features of adult education were further emphasized during the phase in which andragogy became an independent discipline. Scientific attempts were made to discover and prove, in particular, those phenomena of adult education that differed most significantly from pedagogical phenomena. [...] Andragogy and pedagogy are therefore relatively independent fields, subject to the general science of education and to the common laws and principles that bind them (Krajnc, 1979, p. 15).

After analyzing different practices of adult education in Slovenia and other countries, Ana Krajnc was the first to introduce the term *andragogy* and define its meaning. She examined the practice of studying andragogy at different universities under the guidance of different professors, e.g., in Boston (Malcolm Knowles), São Paulo (Paulo Freire), Prague (Kamil Škoda), Zagreb (Mihajlo Ogrizović), Belgrade (Dušan Savićević), Rome (Filipo De Sanctis), Toronto (Robin Kidd), Tübingen (Günter Dohmen), Florence (Paolo Federighi), and elsewhere. In Slovenia Ana Krajnc was the first person to introduce andragogy as a scientific discipline at the Department of Pedagogy of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana in the second half of the 20th century. The main goal of andragogy was to train skilled professionals of adult education, or andragogists (Krajnc, 2011). She developed curricula for two andragogical subjects, general andragogy and andragogical didactics, within the pedagogy course of study. She writes that she »had to begin lecturing in the academic year 1972/73.« (Krajnc, 2011, p. 22). She thus began lecturing in year 1973 on andragogical subjects at the Department of Pedagogy of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Ljubljana.

We investigated how the lectures for andragogy courses at the Department of Pedagogy were conducted by using the *lists of lectures at the University of Ljubljana*. The list of lectures for the academic year 1972/1973 did not contain any information about Ana Krajnc's lectures at the Department of Pedagogy. We have concluded that the information was not entered. However, from the subsequent lists of lectures at the University of Ljubljana, i.e., for the following academic years from 1973/1974 to 1985/1986, data for analyzing lectures in andragogy courses at the Department of Pedagogy were available (See Table 3).

Table 3: Lectures in Andragogy at the Department of Pedagogy from List of Lectures at the University of Ljubljana 1973/1974 to 1985/1986 (University of Ljubljana, 1973 – 1985)

Academic year	Course name	Hours of lectures, seminars, tutorials and year
1973/1974	Theory of Adult Education - A. Krajnc	2 hours of lectures, 1 hour of tutorials for the 1st and 2nd year
	Comparative Andragogy - A. Krajnc	1 hour of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year

Academic year	Course name	Hours of lectures, seminars, tutorials and year
1974/1975	Theory of Adult Education - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures, 1 hour of tutorials for the 1st and 2nd year
	Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	1 hour of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
1975/1976	Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 2nd and 3rd year
	Andragogical Didactics - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 4th year
1976/1977	Chair of Comparative Andragogy Andragogical Didactics - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	1 hour of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy Introduction to Pedagogy and Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 1st and 2nd year
	Methodology of Sociopolitical Education - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Economics of Education and Planning - <i>D. Kidrič</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 3rd and 4th year
	Chair of Comparative Andragogy Andragogical Didactics - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
1977/1978	Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy Introduction to Pedagogy and Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 1st and 2nd year
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Methodology of Sociopolitical Education - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd year
	Chair of Comparative Andragogy General Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 1st year
1978/1979	Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year

Academic year	Course name	Hours of lectures, seminars, tutorials and year
	Andragogical Didactics - A. Krajnc	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy Industrial Andragogy - I. Mrmak	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Methodology of Sociopolitical Education - I. Mrmak	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Tutorials in Industrial Andragogy - J. Muršak	2 hours of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
1979/1980	Chair of Comparative Andragogy General Andragogy - A. Krajnc	2 hours of lectures for the 1st and 2nd year
	Andragogical Didactics - A. Krajnc	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Comparative Andragogy - A. Krajnc	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 4th year
	General Course in Pedagogy - A. Krajnc	2 hours of lectures for the students of other courses
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy Theory and Methodology of Sociopolitical Education - I. Mrmak	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd year
	Industrial Andragogy - I. Mrmak	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the students in andragogy course of pedagogy
	Economics of Education - D. Kidrič	2 hours of lectures for the 3rd and 4th year
1980/1981	Chair of Comparative Andragogy General Andragogy - A. Krajnc	2 hours of lectures for the 1st and 2nd year
	Andragogical Didactics - A. Krajnc	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd year
	Comparative Andragogy - A. Krajnc	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 4th year
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy Theory and Methodology of Socio-Political Education - I. Mrmak	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd year

Academic year	Course name	Hours of lectures, seminars, tutorials and year
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 3rd and 4th year of andragogy course
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>J. Muršak</i>	1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year of andragogy course
	Economics of Education - <i>D. Kidrič</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 3rd and 4th year
1981/1982	Chair of Comparative Andragogy Comparative andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 4th year
	Andragogical Didactics - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd year
	General Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 1st and 2nd year
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy Industrial Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year
	Theory and Methodology of Socio-Political Education - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd year (for all courses)
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>J. Muršak</i>	1 hour of seminar and 2 hours of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year of andragogy course
	Economics of Education - <i>D. Kidrič</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 3rd year of andragogy course and the 4th year of school pedagogy
	Chair of Comparative Andragogy General Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 1st and 2nd year
1982/1983	Andragogical Didactics - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year (school pedagogy or andragogy course)
	Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 4th year (andragogy course)
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy Theory and Methodology of socio-political Education - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of seminar for the 3rd year of all courses
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year (andragogy course)
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>J. Muršak</i>	1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year, 1 hour of seminar for the 3rd and 4th year (with I. Mrmak)

Academic year	Course name	Hours of lectures, seminars, tutorials and year
1983/1984	Economics of Education - <i>D. Kidrič</i>	Lectures will be held in the following academic year.
	Chair of Comparative Andragogy General Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 1st and 2nd year
	Andragogical Didactics - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of seminar for the 3rd year (school pedagogy or andragogy course)
	Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of seminar for the 4th year (andragogy course)
	Andragogy (within the General course in Pedagogy) - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	20 hours of lectures for the second year students of the Faculty of Arts
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy Industrial Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of seminar for the 3rd and 4th year of andragogy course (with J. Muršak)
	Theory and Methodology of sociopolitical Education - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of seminar for the 3rd year of all study courses
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>J. Muršak</i>	2 hours of observational practice for the 3rd and 4th year (andragogy course)
	Economics of Education - <i>D. Kidrič</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 3rd year of andragogy course and the 4th year of school pedagogy course
1984/1985	Chair of Comparative Andragogy General Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 1st and 2nd year
	Andragogical Didactics - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 3rd year
	Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorials for the 4th year
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy Industrial Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of seminar for the 3rd and 4th year of andragogy course (with assistant)
	Theory and Methodology of sociopolitical Education - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of seminar for the 3rd year of all courses (with assistant)
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>J. Muršak</i>	2 hours of tutorials for the 3rd and 4th year (with professor)

Academic year	Course name	Hours of lectures, seminars, tutorials and year
1985/1986	Methodology of Sociopolitical Education - <i>J. Muršak</i>	2 hours of seminar (with professor)
	Chair of Comparative Andragogy	
	General and Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 1st year
	General Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	2 hours of lectures for the 2nd year
	Andragogical Didactics - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	4 hours of lectures and 2 hours of seminar for the 3rd year
	Comparative Andragogy - <i>A. Krajnc</i>	1 hour of lectures and 2 hours of seminar for the 4th year
	Chair of General Industrial Andragogy	
	Theory and Methodology of Sociopolitical Education - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 2 hours of seminar for the 3rd year
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>I. Mrmak</i>	2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of seminar for the 3rd and 4th year
	Industrial Andragogy - <i>J. Muršak</i>	1 hour of seminar and 3 hours of tutorials for the 3rd year and 3 hours of tutorials for the 4th year

In the academic year 1973/1974, Ana Krajnc began offering the courses *The Theory of Adult Education* and *Comparative Andragogy* (Univerza v Ljubljani [UL], 1973, p. 27). According to the author's references on the first lectures (Krajnc, 2024), we may see that the Annual Report of the UL (University of Ljubljana [UL], 1973, p. 27) states wrong information, as she began to give lectures on *Didactics of Andragogy* and not on *Comparative Andragogy* (Krajnc, 2024).

A change took place in the academic year 1975/1976, when she taught *Comparative Andragogy* instead of *The Theory of Adult Education* and also began *Andragogical Didactics* (UL, 1975, p. 36). In 1976/1977 the department first established the Chair in Comparative Andragogy and the Chair in General Industrial Andragogy (UL, 1979, pp. 30–31). In 1983/1984 she began teaching the general course in andragogy for all students of the Faculty of Arts, future teachers (UL, 1983, p. 28). At the Chair of General Industrial Andragogy in 1976/1977, Ilija Mrmak began lecturing for the following courses: *Introduction to Pedagogy and Andragogy*, *Methodology of Sociopolitical Education*, and *Industrial*

Andragogy (UL, 1976, p. 31). In 1978/1979 Janko Muršak began leading tutorials in industrial andragogy (UL, 1979, p. 31).

In 1976 pedagogy, which had comprised two subjects, was divided into three tracks: andragogy, school pedagogy, and residential care pedagogy. Thus, andragogy was established as a field of study within the study of pedagogy. At the end of their studies, students were awarded a single diploma, with their chosen track indicated in brackets. In the second half of the 1980s, the course of study in residential care pedagogy was introduced at the Faculty of Pedagogy of the University of Ljubljana as an independent study of social pedagogy, while the track in school pedagogy and the track in andragogy continued to be implemented in the Department of Pedagogy of the Faculty of Arts. Andragogical research was split into several independent fields: »comparative andragogy, andragogical didactic research, history of adult education, educational counseling, sociocultural stimulation, education of the elderly, and family andragogy« (Krajnc, 2011, 16). In addition to being a course of study at the university, andragogy has been taught since 1981 as one of the core subjects within the *Pedagoško-andragoško izobraževanje* (PAI, Pedagogical and Andragogical Education) at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. These are programs for educating and training staff in the field of teacher education for primary and secondary schools (Krajnc, 2018).

University of the Third Age

One important event for the further development of andragogy was the establishment of the *Univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje* (UTŽO, University of the Third Age) in Ljubljana in 1986. The institutional founders were the Andragogical Society of Slovenia and the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana (Univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje, 2022). The idea for this institution was conceived in 1976 by Ana Krajnc, who attended a lecture by Paul Lengrand in which he presented universities of the third age and the concept of continuing education (Krajnc et al., 2012). Later, Krajnc also discussed the education of the elderly during her regular lecture courses at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana. The beginnings of education for older individuals in Slovenia can be attributed to Dušana Findeisen. She was interested in the innovative and varied forms of education at the universities of the third age in

France, where she received valuable advice from Pierre Vellas (founder of the first university of the third age in Toulouse in 1972); this helped her in the early stages of promoting education for older adults in Slovenia. The interest in this type of education exceeded expectations, and the first (experimental) group was initiated in 1985. In 1986 the *Sekcija za izobraževanje starejših* (Division for the Education of the Elderly) was founded in Ljubljana, and with it the University of the Third Age (UTŽO). From the very beginning, the aim had been to make education accessible to all elderly people. The idea of education for the elderly spread (with the help of the media) throughout Slovenia (initially in Velenje, Maribor, Slovenj Gradec, and Idrija), but also to other republics of the former Yugoslavia. Thus, under the influence of the Slovenian UTŽO, such universities were also established in Zagreb, Belgrade, and Skopje. The UTŽO was later designated as one of the three national adult education networks in Slovenia, operating as a division of the *Društvo za izobraževanje za tretje življenjsko obdobje* (Society for Education of the Third Age) (Krajnc et al., 2012).

The fifth period: Adult education in the Republic of Slovenia from 1991 to 2010

Following Slovenia's attainment of independence in 1991, a number of changes took place. This was a period of transition and profound social upheaval, marked by the move from socialism (communism) and the one-party system of the Yugoslav state (SFRY) to the new independent nation-state, the Republic of Slovenia, with its parliamentary democracy. In the early 1990s, the market economy was introduced, and with it (neoliberal) capitalism (Mikulec & Kump, 2018). This led to the reform and transformation of the education system and concurrently to a complete organizational and programmatic restructuring of adult education. The education market began to grow, expanding and differentiating what it offered. The process of privatization encouraged the emergence of private adult education organizations (Perme, 2008). In the 1990s, the state introduced a series of systemic measures related to funding, established an adult education division in the Ministry of Education and Sport, adopted a new law on adult education and a national program, and created a council of experts on adult education for the Republic of Slovenia. A program for the

study of andragogy was also adopted. In addition, various development and research projects, programs to continue enriching adult educators' knowledge, and a strategy for lifelong learning were adopted (Mikulec & Kump, 2018). Yet, as Jelenc (2018, in Mikulec & Kump, 2018, p. 17) writes, »the strategy and the principle of lifelong learning have unfortunately not been put into practice,« and adult education has thus remained neglected in all areas of systemic regulation.

Educational centers in companies and vocational education

The structure of the economy changed, and so technical and technological progress grew and accelerated. Educational requirements increased, and companies, including small businesses, needed skilled employees. Flexible forms of employment were increasingly being used to replace permanent employment (Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). The demands for productivity, efficiency, and economy at work were central, which also required knowledge and increased skills. The education system played a major role in this and had to adapt to the situation continually. The education system in companies also took care to educate any staff members who had been somewhat neglected or overlooked in the past. The task of human resources is to inform the company about new developments and new capabilities, and education was not yet sufficiently linked to technology and development (Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). At the beginning of the 1990s, there were around 100 education centers (Vrhovnik, 2003). The *education centers* tended to take over responsibility for the further development of vocational education. Most of the programs in companies were vocational education, continued education, and training programs; there were fewer general education programs, but there were programs for retraining. Thus, the programs were designed to address the employment problems of the company, but vocational training development was not sufficiently integrated. Unfortunately, the education centers were later retained only in the most economically stable companies. They are no longer found in smaller companies, and there is no longer a Union of Educational Centers of Slovenia in its original form. This continued its work as a community of institutions, the *Ivan Bertoneclj Professional Education Center*, which sought to continue the work of Ivan Bertoneclj (Govekar-Okoliš, 2000). At the beginning of the 21st century, there were only nine independent education centers in companies (Vrhovnik, 2003).

People's universities

People's universities have developed into important institutions for the systematic continued education of adults. In terms of types of adult education, they have acquired a broad role in adult education, offering both formal and non-formal education, lifelong education and learning, and intergenerational education and learning. People's universities have changed their programs, organization, curriculum, and lecturers. Their programs have been more responsive to the needs of the market and the interests and finances of their participants. The Association of Workers' and People's Universities of Slovenia was renamed the *Zveza ljudskih univerz Slovenije* (ZLUS, Association of People's Universities of Slovenia), and most of the workers' universities were renamed back to people's universities (Mohorčič Špolar & Emeršič, 1998). Modernization of the whole system of adult education (integration of modern technology and foreign languages into program) was needed, including better responses to the needs of the environment and the promotion of lifelong adult education and learning. This required sudden major adjustments to adult education in the people's universities.

Universities of the Third Age

Universities of the Third Age (U3As) have been growing since 1991. In 1998 the independent Society for Education of the Third Age was established. This can be attributed to the increase in the number of pensioners in Slovenia in the 1990s, as the restructuring of the economy led to technological redundancies being addressed through mass early retirements (Krajnc et al. 2012). U3As can also be found in smaller towns, which allows older people to engage in a variety of activities and study groups and, as a consequence, to continue their personal development and gain new social power (Govekar-Okoliš & Kranjčec, 2012). This also contributes to a significant reduction in inequalities of access to education for older people. The training offered by U3As is aimed at all adults in their later years, as well as older people in long-term unemployment, regardless of their age, level of formal education, political, and ethnic or religious affiliation. U3As organize training in both specific disciplines and in areas of academic study. Through education, volunteering, and public service, they aim to bring generations closer together and to increase older people's level of participation in

society, and the integration of older people into the community is a core mission of U3As (Slovenska univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje, 2023b). U3As are not only involved in educating older people but also in educating about older people, training for volunteering in cultural activities, training mentors to work with older people, and producing specialized publications (Findeisen, 2016). The main educational format used at a U3A is the study group, whose main objectives are knowledge and the application of knowledge (Krajnc, 2016). Their activities are based on an organized exchange of knowledge, experience, and culture among the members of the groups under the expert guidance of a mentor (Slovenska univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje, 2023a). In aging society, it is important to change attitudes toward aging, old age, and older people, including through education. Education can help to shift the perception of old age from old age as a »leftover« of a socially marginal and inactive life to an opportunity to develop potential (Kump & Jelenc Krašovec, 2005).

Slovenian Institute for Adult Education

The establishment of the *Andragoški center Slovenije* (ACS, Slovenian Institute for Adult Education) in 1991 also had a significant impact on the further development of adult education and, indirectly, andragogy. With the establishment of the independent Republic of Slovenia, the founding of the ACS marked a radical shift in the evaluation of adult education in adult education policy, research, development, and practice. The ACS was finally incorporated into the current system of education and training by the *Act on the Organization and Financing of Education* and the *Act on Adult Education*, which were adopted in 1996 (Klemenčič et al., 2006). The establishment of the ACS improved the infrastructure of adult education in Slovenia (Jelenc, 2000). Its purpose is to develop the field of adult education. It contributes to the promotion of a culture of lifelong learning and adult education in particular through various research, programs, projects, and events. It cooperates with policymakers at the national and international level and other stakeholders in the field of education and training, as well as with coordinators and participants in various projects, adult education institutions, and individual learners in Slovenia and abroad (ACS, 2023b). The ACS (2023c) wishes to continue to be a leading national institution for the development of adult education and a partner in the implementation of

a lifelong learning strategy. The specialized library found at the ACS (2023a) is also important in the field of adult education and lifelong learning. The ACS is an important research and development organization in Slovenia, and it is responsible for the further development and evaluation of adult education and the development of andragogical practices. It contributes significantly to the dissemination of knowledge about adult education through the results of its specialized and applied research and professional activities. These complement the study of andragogy in Slovenia from a professional and practical point of view.

Other Institutions for adult education

During this period, *a number of new adult education institutions were created*: centers for independent learning (*centri za samostojno izobraževanje*, initially called *središča za samostojno izobraževanje*); centers for young adults, later called project-based learning for young adults (*projektno učenje mladih*, PUM); knowledge exchanges; a number of private educational institutions (for example for teaching foreign languages); various organized forms of adult education (training for family roles, e.g., schools for parents); adult education for local development; adult education for the completion of mainstream schooling; tele-learning (TV) that then became e-learning and education (ICT); various types of courses (such as computer literacy, rhetoric, business management, health education, alcoholism prevention).

The impact of research on the development of adult education and andragogy

From 1993 to 1996, the EURO DELPHI project *The Future of Adult Education in Europe* made a major contribution to the development of andragogy, coordinated by the University of Louvain in Belgium and involving researchers from all 12 EU Member States at the time, as well as Estonia, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia. This research introduced a new methodology in adult education research, the Delphi method, which allowed for a more in-depth exploration of the social function of adult education. The findings showed that trends in the development of adult learning are general and do not recognize national boundaries. They found that the objectives of adult education have changed significantly, as the emphasis is no longer on the acquisition of vocational skills.

They highlighted the importance of adult learning at the individual and social levels and that there is a greater emphasis on skills for mastering computer technologies, cultural participation, active citizenship, personal growth, the search for meaning in life, interpersonal relations, and the like, which already reflects the impact of changes in our information society. Other international and domestic research has also been important for the development of adult education and andragogy, especially for older adults in *Learning in Later Life* (LILL) (Krajnc, 2011).

Studies in Adult Education and Learning

The establishment of the *scientific and professional journal Andragoška spoznanja* (Studies in Adult Education and Learning) in 1995, founded by Ana Krajnc (Govekar-Okoliš & Ličen, 2008), has also contributed significantly to the development of andragogy. It is an international scientific journal in the field of adult education and learning, covering the humanities and social sciences as well as other scholarly disciplines. It addresses different aspects of learning and education in adulthood and old age and related phenomena. It publishes a variety of research on organized education and non-formal learning. It also aims to promote a diversity of theoretical and methodological approaches and innovations in order to increase the flow of andragogical knowledge between researchers in different networks and to encourage critical reflection on the scientific and professional field of adult education (Andragoška spoznanja, n.d.).

New developments in the study of andragogy

After 1991 there were also *new developments in the study of andragogy at the Department of Educational Sciences at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana*. Ana Krajnc, as part of the Tempus project *Obnova študija andragogike v Sloveniji* (1992–1994, Renewal of the Study of Andragogy in Slovenia) at the *Center za razvoj univerze* (Center for University Development), designed a program for a single-subject independent study in andragogy, which would allow the student to earn a bachelor's in andragogy. The program was approved by the Ministry of Education and Sport and the University of Ljubljana in 1993. This enabled the first generation of students to enroll in a single-subject independent study of andragogy in the academic year 1993/1994. During the first academic year,

courses were given by visiting professors from the partner countries of the project (Peter Jarvis from the University of Surrey, Peter Hage from the University of Utrecht, Jost Reischmann from the University of Bamberg, and others) in order to improve the quality of the coursework. This then led directly to changes and additions to the single-subject andragogy curriculum. Graduates were awarded the title of graduate andragogist until 1998, when the Faculty of Arts »for unexplained reasons eliminated the title of graduate andragogist.« (Krajnc, 2011, p. 24). As a consequence, graduates' employment opportunities were partially reduced, but this only lasted for a short period of time (Krajnc, 2011).

Innovations in the study of andragogy after the Bologna reform of higher education

The andragogy study program was then renewed again during the Bologna reform of higher education at the Department of Educational Sciences. The Department of Educational Sciences at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana (*Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani*, hereafter FF UL) offers enrollment at the first, second, and third levels of study following the Bologna reform of study program (from 2010 onward). At the first level of study, an individual may enroll in the single-subject three-year study program Pedagogy and Andragogy (180 credit hours, hereafter CH) or the double-subject three-year study program Pedagogy and Andragogy (90 CH comprise the study program Pedagogy and Andragogy, and the remaining 90 CH comprise the other field of study). Upon successful completion of the study program, the student will be awarded the title of *profesor/ica pedagogike in andragogike* (Professor of Pedagogy and Andragogy, UN) and will have the possibility to continue his/her studies at the second Bologna level (FF UL, 2022č). At the second level of study, individuals may enroll in an independent one- or two-subject study program in pedagogy or andragogy. Both study programs are offered at the Department of Educational Sciences, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, and last two years and comprise 120 CH (single-subject program) or 60 CH (double-subject program). The second-level independent two-year study program in andragogy (single-subject or double-subject program) is completed with the defense of a master's thesis, and individuals are awarded the title of *magister/magistrica profesor/ica andragogike* (Master of Arts/Master Professor of Andragogy; FF

UL, 2022a) The degree is awarded in the form of a master's degree. Individuals may continue their studies in andragogy at the third level and enroll in the PhD program in Humanities and Social Sciences. The program is four years long and comprises 240 CH. The majority of the study consists of individual research, during which the student prepares his/her doctoral dissertation. The program culminates in the defense of the doctoral dissertation and confers the degree of Doctor of Science in the field of andragogy (FF UL, 2022b).

The study program of andragogy was then renewed again in other courses of study at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana. At the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana, andragogy is taught, as mentioned above, at the Department of Educational Sciences. In addition, andragogy is taught in the course *Pedagogy and Andragogy for Psychologists* (FF UL, 2022d), as the course *SDPM Andragogy* (SPDM refers to *Skupni del pedagoškega modula*, or Common Section of the Pedagogical Module), which is taught to all future teachers on the pedagogical track at the Faculty of Arts as a compulsory course in the first year at the second level, and as an elective course for future teachers, as *SDPM Observational Practice in Andragogy* (FF UL, 2020). *CPI Andragogy* is taught at the Center for Pedagogical Education (*Center za pedagoško izobraževanje*, or CPI) of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana for professionals in primary and secondary schools. *CPI Andragogical Practice* and *CPI Observational (Andragogical) Practice* (FF UL, 2022c) are also offered for them.

Analysis, divided by historical period and findings

Using the discussion above on the development of adult education and andragogy in Slovenia through five periods from the second half 8th to the beginning 21st century, we will analyze and highlight the essential findings for each period regarding institutional/mass adult education (formal and non-formal adult education) and the development of andragogical ideas and andragogy as a scientific discipline. This is crucial for understanding the development of the Slovenian history of adult education, andragogical ideas, and andragogy.

The first mass adult education in present-day Slovenia was associated with Christian religious education as early as in the second half of the 8th century. It was particularly relevant later on, in the 16th century when the Protestant Reform as a religious movement, especially non-formally, spread the Protestant religious education and adult education or rather the education of all people and encouraged the literacy among the Slovenians. This also created the fertile ground for the introduction of formal education, for the establishment of the Folk's School and for adult self-education. From the 16th century until the second half of the 18th century, the development of the Slovenian language and culture took place, and individuals, the Slovenian intelligentsia of the time, played an important role in this development, striving for the development of

the Slovenian language and culture also among adults. The Slovenian Enlightenment played a particularly important role.

From the end of the 18th century through the 19th century and up to WWI in 1914, we find that mass and institutional adult education was linked to efforts to develop the Slovenian language, culture, national consciousness, and identity. In particular, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, a Slovenian cultural national identity developed, and in the second half of the 19th century, this developed into a political national identity. At the end of the 18th century, institutions were already being created in Slovenia – Sunday remedial schools – for the formal continued acquisition of basic knowledge such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, which for adults, especially in the 19th century, meant literacy in the Slovenian language and the acquisition of fundamental general knowledge. The 19th century also saw the creation of adult professional schools, where adults could acquire relevant expertise in various fields. However, there was much more in the way of non-formal adult education through various associations, reading clubs, rallies, and even the ideas of lifelong learning and education among individual teachers, priests, cultural workers, experts, and the Slovenian intelligentsia of the time, who were striving to bring literacy to the Slovenian population and to raise Slovenian language and culture to a higher level (Peter Pavel Glavar, Matija Vertovec, Anton Martin Slomšek, Janez Bleiweis, and others). Thus, it is clear that during this period *important andragogical ideas about Slovenian national, cultural, political, and lifelong learning and adult education* emerged. Various institutions were being set up, especially for non-formal adult education in Slovenia. However, this era did not yet see the development of the theory of adult education and andragogy in Slovenia.

The situation was different in the third period analyzed, between the two wars (1918–1941). As we have seen, this period was very important for the continued education of adults after regular schooling, and this education evolved according to the needs of the then developing economy and industry. The agricultural and industrial sectors were developing further, creating a class of workers and farmers. Further agricultural, craft, and commercial schools were set up to provide adults with the requisite formal knowledge needed in the Slovenian language. There was a great deal of professional and general non-formal adult education,

especially in the numerous associations and in the first institutions for adult education in Slovenia, following the Danish model – the folk's high schools (people's universities). It should be stressed that adults received a great deal of non-formal and formal education, as adult education at this time also took place by correspondence, through letters, and at a distance via the radio. The *beginnings of a theory of adult education, which stressed the importance of lifelong education for adults, especially workers and farmers*, emerged in this period and was advocated and implemented by the educators Karl Ozvald and Franjo Žgeč. At that time, however, andragogy as a scientific discipline had not yet been established in Slovenia.

Major changes took place in the fourth period, from 1945 to 1991. This period was very important for the development of adult education and the development of *andragogy as a scientific discipline*. As a scientific discipline, andragogy could become integrated into a unified system of education. The years immediately after the end of the World War II were characterized by mass education and the creation of organizations, and in general there was a great deal of encouragement to learn and to educate. People had to become familiar with the organization of the people's authority, and many of them had to be politically re-educated. As Krajnc (1998b) writes, there was a great deal of optimism and enthusiasm for the andragogical idea in the first post-war period, 1945–1949. Every educational activity was aimed at all people, without exception. After 1952, however, an era of building of andragogical practice and theory systematically began. From that year onward, adult education developed under the influence of rapid industrial progress, the drive to modernize agriculture, and the development of socialist democracy with workers' and societal self-management. During this period, many new adult schools, workers' universities, and centers for the education of workers in the workplace, correspondence schools, and educational societies were set up. Adult education was again reduced to the idea of increasing human capital, and the education system became an apparatus of the state. As Krajnc (1998b) states, the human being as a value began to disappear, which also entailed a difficult period for the development of andragogical science, as the school system was then subordinated to the goals of the state. All cultural and educational associations were dissolved. They were replaced by formal forms of adult education. The professional

literature and terminology changed, as did the whole concept and practice of adult education. Industry, economy, and ideology were given priority. Adult education was narrowed down to political education and functional training for work (Krajnc, 1998a). One can therefore conclude that adult education was narrowly focused, as it was understood only as training for work and the political education of people. In the second half of the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, however, permanent (later called lifelong) education gained an important place in Slovenian adult education and in society in general. The economic crisis of the time brought to the fore the issue of human resources and their role in the development of the economy. Permanent or continued education has had the effect of making adult education more open. It was desirable that the same level of education could be reached through different routes. This gave a more important role to workers or people's universities, mass means of communication, and cultural institutions and the like (Jereb, 1998). Toward the end of the period, sociopolitical adult education, linked to the League of Communists and the Confederation of Trade Unions, was also in decline. During this period, several national and international andragogical studies were carried out and new institutions were created to connect the practice and theory of adult education (educational centers in enterprises, people's and workers' universities, the Andragogical Society of Slovenia, etc.). Training courses for adult educators also emerged. In the year 1973, andragogy was taught for the first time in the Department of Pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana.

In the last period analyzed, the years after 1991, new social and political changes were taking place. The emergence of the new independent state of the Republic of Slovenia, with its parliamentary democracy, market economy, and privatization, brought a number of major innovations in the field of adult education. People's universities have continued their work and have become more market-oriented, as their educational programs are tailored to the needs of the people and the location. They have played an important educational role for adults, offering both formal and non-formal education, lifelong education and learning, and intergenerational education and learning. Through different types and forms of adult education, they have enabled the meaningful development of each individual, fostered the enhancement of his/her knowledge and

competencies, and encouraged active participation and creativity in society. People's universities have become an important place for education, the development of democracy, and the economy, offering education for a better and higher quality of life. They also play an important role as educational centers in companies, providing employees with further education, which is essential for their personal development as well as for the development of the organization in which they work. As a result, society itself develops. The University of the Third Age is on the rise, which is an important non-formal institution for older individuals, enabling them to continue their personal development and to integrate into society. The newly established Slovenian Institute for Adult Education, which as a professional organization is responsible for the development of lifelong adult education, domestic and international specialized research, etc., has played a key role. Private institutions for formal and non-formal adult education; public institutions for non-formal adult education, such as centers for independent learning, knowledge exchanges, centers for young adults, project-based learning for young adults; and various adult courses have gained an important new role. Notably, the network of adult education has expanded both quantitatively and qualitatively since 1991, and thus the development of andragogical practice and theory continues as well as the development of the scientific discipline of andragogy at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana and at other universities in Slovenia.

At the University of Primorska, the Faculty of Pedagogy offers the courses *Fundamentals of Andragogy and Lifelong Learning* and *Educational Biography in Adult Education* at the undergraduate level (Pedagoška fakulteta Univerze na Primorskem, 2022b), and the social pedagogy program offers the course *Particularities of Working with Adults* (Pedagoška fakulteta Univerze na Primorskem, 2021). At the postgraduate master's level, there is an independent study program in andragogy, which combines two fields: adult education and career development. Graduates are awarded a master's degree in andragogy (Pedagoška fakulteta Univerze na Primorskem, 2022a). At the Faculty of Arts of the University of Maribor (2022), students can attend *Adult Education* as part of their pedagogy studies. Andragogy has, however, spread most widely to other universities in the framework of Pedagogical-Andragogical Education (*Pedagoško-andragoško izobraževanje* or PAI) for future teachers in the subject

areas of primary and secondary schools. Andragogy is one of the core subjects alongside pedagogy, didactics, and special didactics. This allows one to attain a teacher's license (Krajnc, 2011).

Conclusion

Mass adult education dates back to the second half of the 18th century and was associated with religious education. In the 19th century, in addition to religious adult education, adult literacy was important for Slovenians. Until the second half of the 19th century, it was the activity of individuals, the Slovenian intelligentsia, that was important in developing and encouraging the Slovenian cultural and national education of adults. A cultural national identity was developed and encouraged in adults in the period from the second half of the 18th century until 1848, while in the second half of the 19th century, a political national identity became increasingly important alongside a cultural national identity. Within Austria, the Slovenians became increasingly aware of their position, nationality, culture and language.

The origins of andragogical ideas about adult education in Slovenia coincide with the origins of institutional and mass adult education in the late 18th and 19th centuries. The first theories of adult education and the beginnings of research then emerged in the early 20th century, and in the 1960s and 1970s the independent scientific discipline of andragogy began to develop in earnest. An analysis by historical period reveals that institutional and mass adult education in Slovenia has been changing depending on existing social needs, the economy, politics, and legislation. The origins of ideas about adult education (national, cultural, or political adult education) were identified in the late 18th and 19th

centuries in individuals and institutions. In particular, non-formal adult education took place. The early stages of the theory of adult education were linked to the efforts of Slovenian pedagogues and the establishment of the first folk's high schools (people's universities) in Slovenia at the beginning of the 20th century. However, it is only in the post-1945 period that andragogy as a scientific discipline began to develop due to society's need for new competencies and experts in adult education. The term andragogy was introduced in the 1970s, when research in the field of adult education and andragogy also continued. Important institutions for adult education were created (people's universities, workers' universities, educational centers in companies, the Andragogical Society of Slovenia, U3As, etc.). Since 1991 adult education has been expanding both quantitatively and qualitatively, which coincides with development of andragogy in terms of its quality. Thus, the year 2023 marks 50 years since andragogy was first taught at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana in the then Department of Pedagogy. The profession of andragogist, someone who acts as a leader, organizer, and teacher in adult education, is becoming increasingly important in today's modern society, a society of an aging population, constant change, and the need for new skills for adults at different stages of life.

Abstract

The monograph deals with adult education in Slovenia by individual periods from the second half 8th to the 21st century. The research is a historical analysis. The purpose of qualitative research is to show how mass and institutional education of adults developed in individual periods, what was the influence of society on adult education and on the development of andragogic ideas and andragogy. The most important institutions, their purpose, mass education of adults, some individuals with andragogic ideas and efforts to develop andragogy are presented. We found that the development of adult education was different over time, depending on the development of society, economy, and politics. The beginnings of mass adult religious, cultural and national education date back to the second half of the 8th century until the second half of the 18th century. Andragogic ideas can be seen at the end of the 18th century and in the 19th century. The origin of the theory of adult education was in the beginning of the 20th century. In the second half of the 20th century, a new scientific discipline - andragogy - developed from social needs, for new knowledge, experts and from research into the practice of adult education. The first study of andragogy was in 1973 at the Department of Pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana.

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Imensko kazalo/Index of authors

A

Alter, P. 31, 126
Ambrož, M. 26, 120
Andoljšek, I. 67, 164
Andrilović, V. 15–16, 109–110

B

Bezenšek, J. 59, 155
Bizovičar, M.
Bleiweis, J. 40, 50, 54, 90, 134–135,
146, 150, 188
Bufon, Z. 28, 122

Č

Černoša, S.

D

Davenport, J. 13, 107
Degen, F. 61, 158

E

Engelbrecht, H. 37, 40, 132, 135
Emeršič, B. 68–69, 83, 165–166, 181

F

Findeisen, D. 80, 83, 178, 182
Fischer, J. 47, 142

G

Gestrin, F. 40, 45, 50–51, 135, 140,
146–147

Govekar-Okoliš, M. 13, 22–26, 41, 43,
45, 47, 49, 53, 62–64, 70, 82–83, 85,
107, 117–118, 120–121, 139, 141, 143,
145, 149, 159–161, 167–168, 180–181,
184

Grafenauer, B. 28, 30, 35, 123, 125, 130
Granda, S. 27, 36, 44, 122, 130, 139
Grattan, C. H. 19, 113

H

Hanselmann, H. 13–14, 107–108
Hojan, T. 32, 47, 57, 60–62, 127, 143,
155, 157–159
Holton, E. F.

I

Ivančič, A.

J

Jelenc, Z. 70–71, 81, 84, 168–169, 180,
182
Jelenc Krašovec, S. 84, 182
Jereb, J. 92, 190
Jug, J. 19–20, 31–32, 45–46, 50, 59, 64,
66, 71, 113–114, 126–127, 141–142,
146, 155–156, 161–163, 169

K

Kapp, A. 11–12, 105–107
Kejžar, I. 69–71, 167–169
Klemenčič, S. 84, 182

Knowles, M. S. 11, 15, 74, 105, 109, 172
Kožar, J. 66, 164
Krajnc, A. 40, 66, 71–81, 83, 85–86,
91, 93, 135, 164, 169–179, 181–182,
184–185, 189–190, 192
Kranjčec, R. 83, 181
Krek, J. E. 41, 43, 45–46, 137, 139,
141–142
Kump, S. 81, 84, 179–180, 182

L

Ličen, N. 13, 22–23, 25, 40, 45, 85, 107,
117, 120, 135, 141, 184

M

Majar, M. 36–37, 130–131
Meedias, M. M.
Melik, V. 40, 45, 50–51, 135, 140,
146–147
Mikulec, B. 81, 179–180
Mohorčič Špolar, V. A. 67–69, 83,
165–166, 181
Možina, E.
Možina, T.

N

Natorp, P. 13–14, 107–108

O

Ogrizović, M. 15–16, 74, 109–110, 172
Okoliš, S. 19–22, 32, 38, 113–116, 127,
132
Ostaneč, F. 57, 153–154
Ozvald, K. 61–62, 91, 158–159, 189

P

Perme, E. 81, 179
Pohlin, A. M. 28–30, 123–124
Pöggeler, F. 15, 19, 109, 113
Prešeren, F. 30–31, 35, 54, 125, 129, 150
Prijatelj, I. 28, 122
Prunk, J. 30, 33–36, 44–45, 46–47, 53,
124–125, 128–131, 139, 141, 143, 147, 149

R

Rapoša Tajnšek, P.

S

Savičević, D. 16–17, 74, 109, 111, 172
Serše, A. 32, 59–60, 66–67, 126,
156–157, 163–165
Schulze, H. 31, 34–35, 126, 128–129
Slomšek, A. M. 37–38, 132–133
Smolik, M. 55, 151–152
Snoj, J. 26, 121
Swanson, R. A.

Š

Šafar, F. 26, 121
Šifrer Bulovec, M. 60, 157
Škafar, V. 38, 132

T

Trdan, R. 68, 165
Trubar, P. 24–27, 119–121
Tul, V. 44, 50, 139, 146

U

Uršič, S. 49, 143, 145

V

Valentinčič, J. 70–72, 168–170

Velej, M. 65, 69, 163, 167

Vertovec, M. 38, 90, 132–133, 188

Vilič Klenovšek, T.

Vodopivec, P. 33, 36, 49–50, 128, 131,
145–146

Volčjak, J. 21, 115

Vovko, A. 55, 151

Vrhovnik, M. 82, 180

Z

Zupan, J. 32, 127

Zwitter, F. 26–27, 30–31, 33–34, 120,
122, 124, 126–129

Ž

Žgeč, F. 61–62, 91, 158–159, 189

Žmavc, A. 40, 135

