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THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES IN THE USSR:
A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF A LARGE-SCALE
NONFORMAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

A Dissertation Presented

by

DAVID CURRIE LEE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1985

Education

David Currie Lee



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The research for this dissertation was carried out while the author was a participant on the US-USSR Graduate Student and Young Faculty Exchange administered by the International Research and Exchanges Board.

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To Nancy and Day:

With love and gratitude for all they have given

PREFACE

Forty years ago today, on August 2, 1945, the Potsdam Conference closed, and with the signing of its final document the post-war era of Soviet-American relations was launched. That relationship has been marked by mutual suspicion, hostility, and often egregious misunderstanding. A second event in that week also shaped the future of world politics: the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The mistrust and fear precipitated by these two events characterizes the way Soviets and Americans look at one another, and these emotions have led us into a vicious circle of increasingly burdensome expenditures on our defense from one another while at the same time viewing the other's build-up as ever more threatening.

No quick and easy ways out of this vicious circle exist. Progress in getting beyond the Potsdam Conference and our reliance on nuclear arsenals can be made through the slow and difficult task of developing mutual understanding and trust. For our part, initial steps in this direction mean maintaining the valued openness of American society and making good-faith efforts to understand the "why's and wherefore's" of Soviet society. This latter responsibility particularly weighs upon those who study the Soviet Union professionally, and it was in such a vein that this research and dissertation were undertaken. It is hoped that the results will make a contribution, however small, toward a genuine Soviet-American dialogue.

Successful research carried out by Americans in the USSR automatically indicates that a certain amount of Soviet-American cooperation at all levels has already taken place. Just for the chance to conduct this research special thanks must go to the staff of the International Research and Exchanges Board and their Soviet counterparts in the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education who have carried on despite the lapse of a formal exchange agreement since 1979. At Leningrad State University, Professor Irina Nikolaevna Olegina and Liubov Mikhailovna Kamyshanova both made sincere contributions to my efforts in collecting data. A number of officials at the Znanie Society generously gave of their time to talk with me, but I am especially indebted to Aleksandr Pavlovich Vladislavlev for all that he did to enrich the quality of this research. And for the hours and nights of explaining and showing an unofficial side of Soviet society to me, I must thank Kolya and Liuba, Nina, and Sasha.

Back on this side of the Atlantic, I gained immeasurably from the students, faculty, and staff of the Center for International Education. They are all due collective thanks, but Margaret Maxwell deserves particular mention for serving as my guide and mentor, and Anna Donovan gets the heart and soul award for humanity and saneness. Whatever coherence and clarity there is in this dissertation is due in large part to the advice of David Kinsey who helped the whole project along from the germ of an idea, to its crystallization, to its final accomplishment.

Finally, the only way I can only thank Peggy and Rebecca for all their support during these two years is by returning their wonderful love.

A Note on the Transliteration

The Library of Congress system for transliterating from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet is used throughout this dissertation, including the marks ' and " to indicate soft and hard signs. The only exception to this usage is with the endings of familiar names where other forms are commonly accepted, such as Krupskaya instead of Krupskaia and Gorky instead of Gorkii.

August 2, 1985
Ashburnham, MA

ABSTRACT

The People's Universities in the USSR:
A Description and Analysis of a Large-Scale
Nonformal Educational Program
(September, 1985)

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The system of people's universities in the USSR is a large-scale, nonformal educational program for adults with important linkages to a range of institutions in Soviet society. This study investigates and analyzes the experience of people's universities, concentrating on the importance of its ties to other Soviet institutions in promoting the continuity and long-term development of the system.

Initially the study provides an overview of the developing theories of Soviet continuing education and places people's universities in the larger context of Soviet adult education. The issues surrounding the creation of large-scale nonformal educational programs and the establishment of linkages between nonformal education and formal educational institutions are also discussed. Subsequent chapters, based almost entirely upon research conducted in the Soviet Union in 1983-1984, focus on the origins and development of

people's universities from the turn of the century (Chapter II), the goals and content of people's universities (Chapter III), important organizational issues for the system of people's universities (Chapter IV), and a six-month case study of a people's university of culture (Chapter V). The two concluding chapters analyze the complex arrangements between people's universities and the institutions with which they cooperate and assess both the benefits and costs of these arrangements for people's universities as a whole. The future role of people's universities in Soviet adult education and the theoretical implications of the people's universities' experience for large-scale nonformal education are also considered.

This is the first in-depth study of people's universities by any Western researcher, hence it will be of value to students of Soviet society who wish to understand the complex workings of adult education in the USSR. Furthermore, those seeking to comprehend the difficulties of large-scale nonformal education programs, and to find some responses to those difficulties, will find much of interest in this study.

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Statement of the problem. A World Bank report on Soviet educational reform acknowledges that, "in providing supplementary educational services, the Soviet system appears to be preeminent in the world."¹ These supplementary services include programs for youth, primarily the Octoberists, Pioneers and Komsomols, and for adults, among them the Institutes for Raising Qualifications, schools for adults, the Party's system of political education, the Znanie Society lectures, and people's universities. With approximately seventeen million students in 1982, the system of people's universities is one of the largest of the supplementary programs for adults. It is among the most recently developed of these services and reflects contemporary trends in pedagogical practices for adults, as well as the current interests of many Soviet adult educators. Furthermore, there are indications that it is on the leading edge of reforms in adult education, the first phase of which was initiated in January of 1984. Yet, to date there has been no complete investigation of the Soviet people's universities by any Western researcher or journalist.

Any information on people's universities which can be found in

the West has come from Soviet authors, either through such Western periodicals as Soviet Education or Convergence, through the UNESCO quarterly, Prospects, or through the Soviet educational journals circulated in the West, Sovetskaia Pedagogika (Soviet Pedagogy), Vestnik Vechernei Shkolei (Journal of Evening Schools), or Narodnoe Obrazovanie (Public Education). Moreover, the Soviet journal which provides the most comprehensive coverage of people's universities, Slovo lektora (The Lecturer's Word), is not widely available in the West. Articles on the topic tend to come in two forms: vague but glowing reports of the system, or short, extremely limited descriptions of individual programs. Neither is conducive to gaining a clear understanding of the system of people's universities as a whole, and they are less than reliable sources of information.

A thorough examination of the system of people's universities as proposed here is long overdue. Having become a major component of the Soviet system of adult education over the course of the past twenty years, any mention of people's universities was naturally omitted by the two comprehensive studies of adult education in the USSR by DeWitt² and Rosen.³ Since the publication of that research in the 1960's, only a handful of studies by Western researchers has covered selected aspects of adult education in the USSR, largely neglecting any serious consideration of either the Znanie Society's lectures or of the people's universities. A recent monograph on Soviet education by Mervyn Matthews, for example, includes only a single page on people's universities and flatly claims that "they could clearly play

no serious part in the nation's educational processes."⁴ In short, a description of this system will fill a large gap in Western understanding of the processes of Soviet adult education.

A simple description of the people's universities might have been accomplished more easily through a series of translations of Soviet studies than through the lengthy research process demanded by a doctoral dissertation. Such a series, however, would lack an analysis of those aspects of the system of people's universities which make it unusual within the Soviet context. The people's universities operate as a relatively autonomous, decentralized network of adult education activities rather than within the highly centralized Soviet educational bureaucracy. In addition, almost all of the administrative and teaching staff work in people's universities without remuneration; in a limited sense they contribute their time voluntarily. Both of these traits derive from the fact that most of the financial and logistical support for the people's universities is supplied through a complex set of linkages with other institutions in Soviet society rather than from the system's own institutional base. These organizational elements of the system have been discussed in the Soviet literature on people's universities, but nowhere are they analyzed with a view to evaluating their impact on the system. Without such an evaluation, however, it is impossible to appreciate the significance of people's universities within the context of Soviet adult education.

Purpose and significance of the study. The purpose of this study, then, is to describe the system of people's universities and to analyze its operation as a large-scale, out-of-school adult education program. The descriptive aspect of the study will investigate the origins and development of the system, its current goals and content, and important elements in its administrative operations. This latter component of the study will focus on five specific questions:

- 1.) To what extent does control of individual people's universities rest in the local governing councils composed of students, teachers and administrators or in the hands of formal educational institutions ?
- 2.) How much financial and logistical support do formal educational institutions provide to people's universities ?
- 3.) How much curricular and educational materials support is given to individual people's universities by formal educational institutions ?
- 4.) What kind of teacher and administrator training specifically for people's universities is supplied by formal educational institutions ?
- 5.) To what extent is research for and evaluation of people's universities undertaken by formal educational institutions ?

The selection of these questions for study was based upon the assumption that these facets of the system involve the most important operational elements of people's universities, and that answers to them will provide the most comprehensive picture of the system.

The analysis of people's universities will look at both the internal workings of the system and the external implications of the people's universities for Soviet adult education as a whole. The internal analysis will revolve around an evaluation of the five

elements noted above as they relate to the goals and objectives of the system, both stated and implied. Within this evaluative analysis, however, special attention will be paid to an assessment of the different types of linkages between people's universities and other institutions in Soviet society and the relative costs and benefits of these linkages for the system. The external analysis will include a look at the prospects for people's universities in the future of Soviet adult education.

A secondary purpose for the study approaches people's universities from the theoretical perspective of nonformal educational programs. As a large-scale nonformal educational system with more than twenty-five years of experience behind it, people's universities may shed some light on dilemmas which are of current concern to nonformal educators.

Emerging from the 1960's and 1970's as a volatile mixture of two distinct theoretical influences, nonformal education took on specific characteristics which distinguish it from other types of adult education programs. Perhaps most characteristically, nonformal education meets short-term learning needs of individuals. Thus, it emphasizes the learning of specific knowledge and skills which result in immediately functional capacities for the learner. In addition, nonformal education is usually based in such locales as the workplace, home, or community center, and programs are related to community needs. The design of a particular project is often small in scale and varies depending upon the environment in which the program is to take

place. Finally, the learner-centered and participatory methodologies associated with nonformal education are often the result of a great deal of self-governance and autonomy in a given program.⁵ All of these characteristics can be applied to people's universities.

While these characteristics contribute both to cost-effectiveness and flexibility, they also foster a lack of continuity and long-term development of educational programs. As Coombs points out, nonformal educational programs,

spring up spontaneously, come and go, at times succeed brilliantly but just as often die unnoticed and unmourned. Nobody in particular is in charge of monitoring them, of keeping their evolving pattern in overall perspective, of identifying gaps that need filling and projecting future requirements, or of suggesting priorities and better ways of harmonizing them and boosting their efficiency and effectiveness.⁶

This lack of continuity constitutes one of the most serious deficiencies of nonformal education because it severely limits the impact programs can have on a larger scale and over longer period of time. Although nonformal education may respond to precise, short-term learning needs, it often fails to build upon basic skills into an integrated program for educational development. Furthermore, since nonformal educational programs grow out of local and community needs, they are infrequently coordinated with national plans and priorities. This lack of continuity has contributed to the perception of nonformal education as inferior to the formal school system. Hence, in some countries it is regarded as a second-class mode of education designed

to appease the demand for education by poorer classes, but offering no real avenue for social and economic mobility.

Efforts to overcome this deficiency have taken two different tacks in recent years. One direction has been to increase the scale of educational activities so that they will reach more people and develop a more broadly based and integrated curriculum. A second trend has been to create institutional ties between nonformal programs and formal educational institutions. Both tendencies, however, pose a serious dilemma for the integrity of nonformal programs: while these efforts may begin to endow nonformal education with a longer-term, larger-scale capacity, such efforts may also compromise those qualities which make nonformal education so attractive in the first place. For example, if a larger scale means institutionalization, then it also means higher overhead and recurrent program costs and an undercutting of nonformal education's advantage of cost-effectiveness. Secondly, if closer links with formal educational institutions increases central authority over and lessens local control and governance of nonformal programs, then the flexibility which nonformal education traditionally has had will be lost. The central problem facing nonformal educators, then, is how to achieve a balance between maintaining a formal institutional base and insuring cost-effectiveness and programmatic flexibility.

From this theoretical background, then, a secondary purpose of this dissertation emerges: to understand, through the people's universities, if and how a large-scale nonformal adult education

program can strike this balance between a large institutional base and the combined goals of cost-effectiveness and responsiveness to local conditions and needs. A second, related issue is, What role do the linkages between nonformal educational programs and other societal institutions play in allowing programs to strike this balance ?

Clarification of terminology. The term "nonformal education" has the potential for causing considerable confusion. In its broadest sense nonformal education has traditionally been defined as "any organized educational activity outside the established formal school system--whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity--that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives."⁷ It could equally be called out-of-school education for adults, and that is precisely the connotation the term "nonformal education" has for this study. Confusion has arisen, however, from the sociological nuances implied by juxtaposing formal and nonformal institutions. In a Weberian sense, nonformal education refers to programs which have no structure, curricula, or defined pedagogies. Educationists do not use the term in that sense. The nonformal educational programs they refer to are organized and structured in such a way as to achieve specific goals and objectives by means of well thought out curricula and methodologies.

While the term "nonformal education" is not frequently used in Russian, two arguments can be made in favor of its adoption in English to describe people's universities. Most importantly, the definition of

nonformal education provided above accurately describes the system as it has been presented in reports from the Soviet Union. Indeed, within the past year the term has been used by two prominent Soviet educationists to characterize the programs of people's universities.⁸ Secondly, one of the major audiences for this study, educators of adults in out-of-school contexts in both Western and Third World countries, is familiar with the terminology and will be better able to make use of the study from this perspective.

Two other terms, "linkages" and the Znanie Society, need to be more specifically delineated for this study. The term "linkages" in this study will mean the delegation to or sharing with other societal institutions, which are either directly or indirectly involved in educational activities, certain functions necessary for fulfilling the educational objectives of people's universities. Because the Znanie Society is so intimately connected to people's universities, a brief explanation here will save the reader some confusion further on. Begun in 1947 to "propagate scientific and political information" (until 1963 it was called the Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge), the Znanie Society is non-governmental voluntary organization whose primary function is to organize lectures and lecture series throughout the country on a mass scale. By 1980 Soviet figures, the Society was able to reach out to about 1.3 billion participants each year, making it far and away the most massive educational activity in the country.⁹

A glossary of Russian terms and of English words which have a different connotation in Russian has been supplied at the end of this dissertation. Initial references to words or phrases included in this glossary are noted in the study. A case in point is the way the term "university" is used in people's universities: these are not higher educational institutions, but nonformal educational programs for adults. The term "university" is a hold-over from the original people's universities at the turn of the century when there was some effort to provide a higher level of education.

Limitations of the study This study is both descriptive and analytical in nature, yet there are factors which both limit its ability to describe accurately the people's universities and undermine the analysis of its important components. The restrictions placed on researchers, Western and Soviet alike, who study Soviet social institutions are well known. As one sovietologist wrote not long ago,

The Kremlin...can variously publish no information about the USSR, incomplete information, contradictory information, wrong information, silly information, or, mischievously, correct information.¹⁰

In the end, what is correct information about the people's universities and what is not will be left to the judgment of the researcher and to the consistency of that information with what is known about Soviet adult education. In this study the researcher has been helped by the opportunity to observe some of the programs in operation, although that observation is in itself not a guarantee of validity. This description and analysis of the system of people's

universities may be flawed in some ways due to laundered reports of programs, to reticence of participants in people's universities to speak to a Western researcher, and to limitations on access to statistical and research data and to the people's universities themselves, and to a host of other factors.

Aside from the problems of carrying out research in the Soviet Union in the present political climate, the sheer size of the system of people's universities places limitations on the ability of one researcher to fully cover the entire system. Even if it were politically possible, it would take more than the allotted nine months to conduct a statistically reliable survey of the more than 57,000 programs which made up the system in 1983-1984. Consequently, this research has necessarily been limited by the documents and programs available to it, neither of which automatically provide the total picture of people's universities. This is a preliminary study, then, which leaves to future researchers the tasks of verifying and clarifying the information here and adding further depth and substance.

Research Methods

Because of the lack of detailed information on the people's universities in the West, it was not possible to develop well-founded hypotheses about the nature of the system prior to conducting the research. Consequently, this study has relied largely upon an inductive approach to come to its conclusions. In other words,

inferences concerning the system of people's universities were drawn a posteriori from the documents, observations, interviews, and conversations which formed the basis of this research. The framework of the five questions posed above served to focus the collection of data and the analysis of the information collected.

Data collection From the beginning of this investigation it was clear that only research conducted in the Soviet Union would yield sufficiently rich information for a thorough understanding of people's universities. An eight month period of research in the USSR was made possible by the International Research and Exchanges Board, an affiliate of the Social Science Research Council and the Academy of Learned Societies, and virtually all of the data was collected during this stay. Leningrad State University served as the base of operations during the field work, but it was possible to arrange research trips to Moscow for five weeks and to Tashkent for two weeks.

There were three distinct components to the data collection process: the accumulation of documentary information on the history and educational context of people's universities, the development of a national perspective on the system of people's universities through documents and interviews, and the conduct of a case study of an individual program through observations, interviews, and conversations. Each component demanded a different approach in order to maximize the quantity and quality of information collected.

The historical overview of people's universities which comprises Chapter II is based largely on primary and secondary documentary sources found in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. Primary sources included conference reports, financial reports, first-hand descriptions of programs, and contemporary journal accounts of the organization and development of the first people's universities. Secondary sources included dissertations and monographs on the history of the various aspects of Soviet adult education which touched upon these programs. Some historical research on Soviet education conducted by Westerners also shed much light on the development of people's universities.

Providing a nationwide perspective on the current people's universities was a far larger task than outlining their history, thus the process of collecting information had to be multifaceted. Much descriptive and statistical information was available in the libraries of Leningrad, and the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, popularly known as the Publichka, in particular contained a mass of literature on the people's universities. The collection of data was greatly facilitated by the microfilming of documents in the Publichka, even in the restricted conditions under which it was allowed. Eventually some 6,000 pages of program reports, reports of the plenary meetings of the Central Council of People's Universities, Soviet sociological research, curriculum plans, statistical data, and so on, were filmed with the assistance of the staff at the Publichka.

A crucial source of information was the dozen or so candidate's (See glossary) and doctoral theses on issues related to the people's universities which have been completed in the last fifteen years. Access to these dissertations was most easily gained through the thesis department of the V.I. Lenin State Library in Moscow, although several helpful dissertations were located and studied elsewhere. The value of these documents lay in the fact that the authors frequently had access to and provided information from current archives which were closed to foreign researchers. By carefully studying these research reports, this author was able to gain indirect access to parts of important archives. Secondly, the comments on and criticisms of people's universities were often more frank and specific than those found in other types of documents. Discussions of organizational and programmatic difficulties were rarely found in literature intended for the general public.

The documentary sources on the system of people's universities were supplemented by a series of interviews and consultations with individuals in a number of institutions. Most helpful were the talks with A.P. Vladislavlev, B.I. Pishchik, and V.K. Arsyonkin of the Central Council of People's Universities and the Znanie Society in Moscow. Their openness and willingness to speak to almost any topic clarified many of the points left obscure by the literature. In addition, two staff members of the Uzbek Republic Council of People's Universities, D.N. Sharapov and A.A. Ivchenko, were generous of their time in discussing the work of people's universities at the republic

and oblast level. Finally, consultations with the director, V.G. Onushkin, and research associates of the Scientific-Research Institute for General Adult Education in Leningrad, in particular L.N. Borisova and T.N. Levashova, helped to point out trends in Soviet research related to the people's universities.

The third component of the research involved visits to several cultural-enlightenment institutions, as the Soviets call Palaces of Culture, clubs, and other cultural organizations, and a six month case study of one people's university of culture in Leningrad. Access to individual people's universities was not easy to obtain. While permission to observe two people's universities was denied outright, access to others was officially approved but never carried out due to bureaucratic delays and protocol issues. Observation of the people's university of culture used in this case study was made possible primarily through private contacts.

The methods used during this case study consisted of class observations in four of the eight faculties (see glossary), interviews with the organizer and two lecturers in the university, conversations with students from a number of the faculties, and a review of some of the curricular materials of the university. Since there seemed to be little effort to control access to the faculties or to students, the insights collected from the case study provided a valid reference point against which the broader literature could be checked.

The information gained from these three components of the research was largely descriptive in nature and had to be carefully reviewed and analyzed before being included in this study. This process, conducted back in the United States, involved reading the microfilms, documents, and notes brought back from the USSR and organizing the small percentage of usable material into a coherent report. The framework of questions which guided the data collection was invaluable in organizing the analysis of the material, as well.

Organization of the study Six chapters follow this introduction, and form the body of this thesis. Chapter II begins by examining the origins of people's universities at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The various transformations undergone by these programs as they made their way through forty years of Soviet history until the late 1950's and early 1960's are also traced.

Chapters III and IV provide a detailed examination of the current system of people's universities. Chapter III focuses on the goals and content of the many faculties which make up these programs and includes a review of curricula in the most important of these faculties. Chapter IV studies the organizational issues of the system which are raised by the main questions of this study. In addition, Soviet sociological research on these programs offers some insight into some of the factors underlying the participation of both teachers and students in this system.

A case study of the People's University of Culture at the A.M. Gorky Palace of Culture in Leningrad forms the heart of Chapter V. Through a review of the observations, interviews, and conversations conducted over a period of six months, this program is compared with the general picture of people's universities provided by the literature and serves as an informal check on the validity of the information from that literature.

Chapters VI and VII analyze the collected data from the standpoint of large-scale nonformal educational programs. Chapter VI evaluates the five descriptive questions posed in this study in light of the evidence from the preceding chapters and analyzes the linkages between people's universities and other Soviet institutions. Finally, Chapter VII investigates both the advantages and disadvantages of linkages with formal educational institutions, assesses the future of Soviet people's universities, and attempts to draw some theoretical implications from the experience of people's universities for nonformal education.

Theoretical Background

The people's universities exist within the context of Soviet adult education, and a proper understanding of their aims and operations must take that context into consideration. An overview of the current system of adult education in the USSR, its purposes, programs, and policies, will be provided here to help in understanding the relationship between people's universities and Soviet society.

The problems raised by developing large-scale nonformal educational programs and by creating linkages between formal and nonformal education have captured the research attention of educationists in recent years. Since this study attempts to explain how the issues of scale and linkages are handled in the specific context of the Soviet people's universities, a review of this literature will provide some background of theory and practice against which the people's universities can be viewed. In an effort to be concise, however, this part of the review will limit itself to discussing the research which specifically focuses on nonformal education.

Soviet adult education Historically the Soviet regime has placed a high priority on the provision of adult education to its citizens. For ideological, political, and economic reasons the Bolshevik government instituted a mass literacy campaign soon after the 1917 revolution, and it was this campaign which set the pattern for much of Soviet adult education in the years to come. The education of adults in the Soviet Union is currently moving towards a unified system of what is called continuing education (nepreryvnoe obrazovanie). The Soviet conception of continuing education, however, is radically different from its Western counterpart, which often views this type of learning as a means of individual self-fulfillment and enjoyment.

In the developing Soviet view continuing education is a much broader concept, encompassing "a lifelong process of the purposeful and systematic formation of man, dedicated to the tasks of forming

specific qualities of the personality, its knowledge, skills, values and norms of behavior."¹¹ The leading writers envisage a system which would be unified "from the birth of individuals to their deepest old age,"¹² although at present the general view conceives of continuing education solely as supplementary or out-of-school programs for adults. For the time being these adult programs attempt to pick up the threads of education where the school left off, thus they are organized along three basic lines: "1.) raising professional qualifications, 2.) [providing] opportunities for retraining, acquiring a new trade and studying new aspects of the sciences or related fields of science, 3.) raising the ideo-political level of workers, their culture and general education."¹³

In contrast to Western ideas, Soviet continuing education is much more functionally oriented to the needs of the economy and society, even if the stated goals of programs include "the all-rounded development of the individual." Functionality, however, is defined as serving to reinforce the political and ideological underpinnings of society, as well as promoting the development of human resources through the raising of qualifications and retraining. In this context programs which offer opportunities for general educational or cultural advancement are viewed as only a third priority. Thus, educational activities which in the Western conception are at the center of continuing education, for example, music, language and arts classes, or secondary school equivalency programs, find themselves on the periphery in the official view, if not in public popularity.

A further distinction is made in the Soviet version of continuing education between school-oriented activities and supplementary, out-of-school forms of education. When they refer to adult audiences, the latter are grouped under the collective title of "self-education" (samoobrazovanie). Self-education is defined as a person's "voluntary, systematic, independent activities which are directed to the development of cognitive potentialities and abilities, and the acquisition through them of new knowledge, skills and habits."¹⁴ It is important to note that Soviet style self-education is a long way from the Western view of independent study since it almost always occurs in structured programs with established curricula and predetermined objectives. It is self-education in the Soviet view when, for the purposes of retraining, self-enrichment or whatever, an individual takes the initiative to enroll in one of the many non-compulsory adult education programs which are available to Soviet citizens. One writer views the process as follows:

In conjunction with his life plans, needs and interests, an adult defines the goals of self-education and programs it, setting the direction, content, forms, sources, methods, rate and time of his studies.¹⁵

In the theory of self-education, the system of continuing education becomes the conduit through which an individual achieves his or her self-established educational objectives. In the economic sphere it is the advanced training institutes (for teachers, doctors, etc), the institutes and faculties for raising professional qualifications, factory and trade union courses and, increasingly, people's universities and the Znanie Society which perform this role. In the

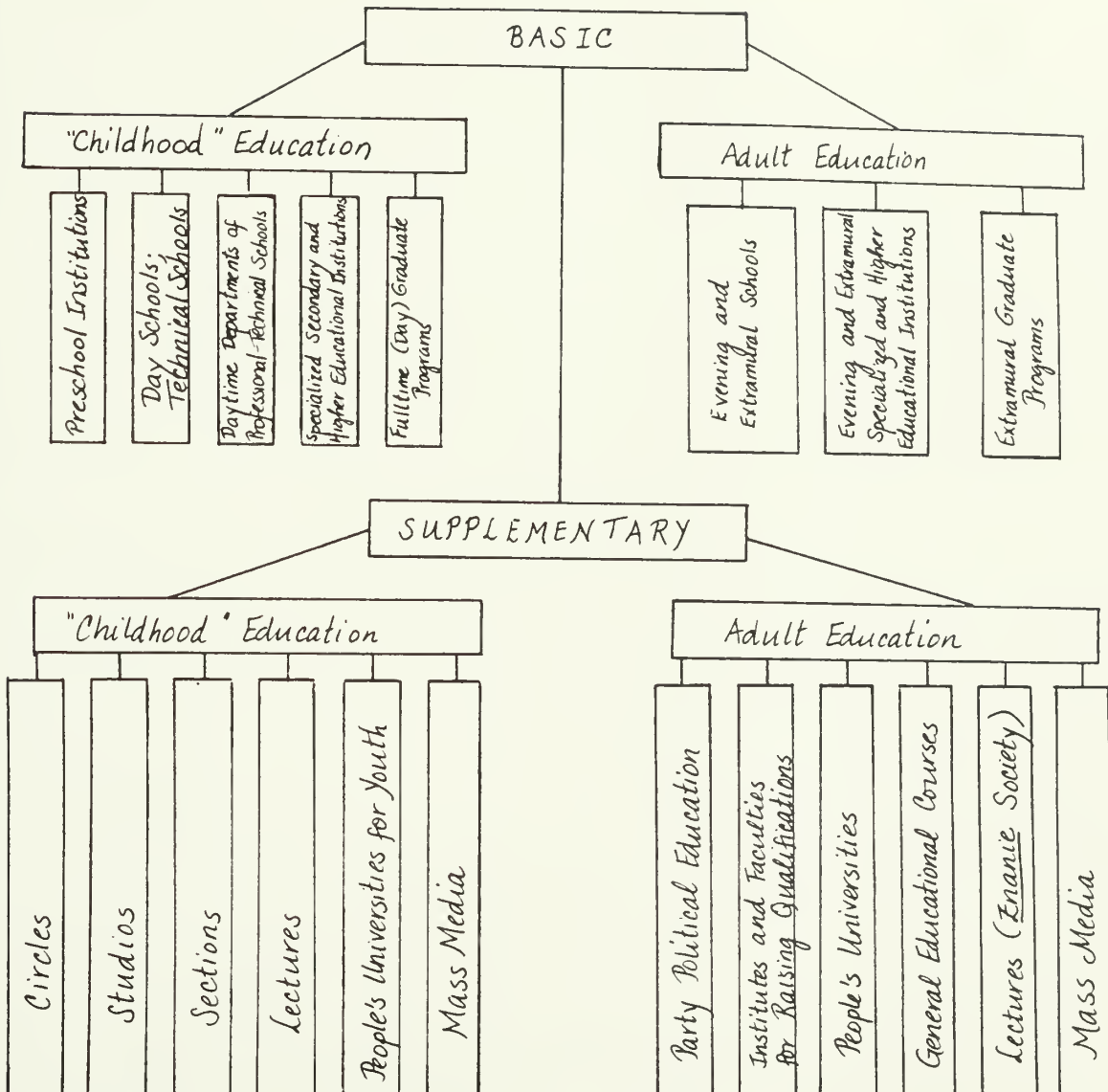
political-ideological realm the Party's system of political education is dominant, although particularly for non-party members, people's universities are becoming more highly involved in the ideological upbringing of Soviet citizens. Up until the 1970's, the evening and extra-mural schools handled the task of raising the general educational and cultural level of the population. Over the course of the past decade, however, this role has been increasingly played by the lectures of the Znanie Society and by people's universities. A schematic diagram of the overall system of continuing education is provided in Figure 1, and a brief review of some of these activities follows.

The Soviets approach the continued vocational training of workers through a complex matrix of educational activities. While a comprehensive review of these effort was carried out by DeWitt in the early 1960's, more up-to-date studies carried out by Blumenthal and Benson in a World Bank study and Andrew Smith in a recent dissertation¹⁶ have outlined the philosophical and policy shifts of the post-Khrushchev years.

Blumenthal and Benson state that "the place of work remains by far the most important training ground for skilled labor in the Soviet Union."¹⁷ Such training occurs in part through a complex and diversified system of out-of-school vocational activities, both degree and nondegree oriented. Since almost all entrants to the workforce now have finished at least eight years, and for most of the urban population ten years of general schooling, there is a strong demand

Figure 1

The Soviet System of Continuing Education



Source: Adapted from O.S. Abbasova and A.P. Vladislavlev, Sistemy nepreryvno obrazovaniia vroslykh: real'nost' i perspektivy, (Tashkent: "Ukituvchi", 1983), p. 109.

for places in tertiary educational institutions. Much of the demand for degree-oriented training has been met through shift (e.g., part time) and correspondence programs which are carried out in enterprises, institutes and organizations. Roughly half of those who receive the equivalents of bachelor's and graduate degrees in any given year have studied in programs which do not take them away from their employment.

A slightly different system for raising the professional qualifications of higher level workers exists in the Institutes and Faculties for Raising Qualifications. These programs are run cooperatively between higher educational institutions or scientific-research institutes and most of the industrial ministries, taking specialists, engineers, and others away from their work for a period of from three to five months once every five years. The curricula for these programs are centrally devised by a ministry, then implemented in regional higher educational institutions. Frequently, however, there is sufficient flexibility in these curricula to allow students to carry out specialized individual study.

Less degree-oriented programs exist for raising labor qualifications, both on a mass and an individual basis. One example of a mass program designed to raise labor productivity was the nationwide campaign launched in the mid-1970's to raise workers' level of understanding of modern principles of management and Marxist economics. The "schools of communist labor" were the result of this campaign, but in the long run these have turned into an organizational

structure for providing inservice training to workers using in-house personnel as instructors. Similar programs are under way in other contexts. State farms and collectives have training systems for improving agricultural techniques, and professional organizations of doctors, teachers and others have developed institutes of advanced training for their members, all of which are organized in a similar fashion. The common denominator for most of this vocational training of adults is that it is taken out of school settings and placed within the context of the workplace under the responsibility of managers and administrators, not professional educators. According to Soviet statistics the total number of people trained or raising their qualifications in such programs in 1981 was slightly over 34 million.¹⁸

A second thrust to Soviet adult education, and interwoven through all facets of it, is political or ideological education. The power of the socialization process in the USSR lies in the fact that the system of political education is all-encompassing. From schools to work places to dwelling places to places of public entertainment official Soviet ideology and policy is communicated.

Adult political education in the USSR has two fundamental goals: to recruit citizens and Party members to specialized roles in the political system and to continue the process of indoctrination which began at the lowest levels of schooling. What this means in practice is that there is a spectrum of political educational programs which run from the highly sophisticated training schools for the Party

leadership down to the basic introduction to the theories of Marxism-Leninism provided by the politshkoli or political schools.¹⁹ Corresponding to this continuum of relative political sophistication is a scale related to the degree of formality and central control of the program. The higher levels programs are carefully controlled and structured since their primary role is to train Party members for specific assignments within the Party. At lower levels a greater degree of flexibility and a looser framework for supervision are the rule. In an attempt to reach a wider group of citizens and to respond to their needs, the Party has resorted with some success to these flexible methods. According to statistics collected by Matthews, in 1975, almost twenty million people were involved in the Party's system of political education.²⁰

In the past the main burden of upgrading the general educational level of the population has fallen to the part time "schools for adults", which are evening and correspondence programs. These evening and correspondence (extra-mural) courses are flexibly structured, degree-granting programs which follow the curricula of formal schools fairly closely. They differ in two respects from the traditional secondary schools and higher educational institutions. For one, evening and correspondence programs are organized to fit with the work schedules of the student body, and classes are located to encourage the participation of the working population. Secondly, textbooks, curricula, and methods of instruction are designed to meet the psychological and intellectual needs of the adults who comprise the

student body. The purposes of the schools for adults are to ensure that as large a percentage of the Soviet population as possible completes the eight year secondary curriculum and to provide opportunities for ambitious individuals to continue their studies without taking them out of the production process.

With universal eight-year schooling almost complete, the All-Union Knowledge Society, known as the Znanie Society, has increasingly taken up the role played by the schools for adults, specifically directing its efforts at disseminating and explaining scientific and technical concepts. It should be hastily added, however, that it has a significant political education component, as well. Composed of professionals and scholars, the membership of this society arranges lectures, conferences, scientific meetings, question and answer evenings, and even scientific experiments for a wide audience. The Society was formed in 1947, in part to meet an ever-increasing demand for greater educational opportunities--a demand which has arisen in part from reductions in working hours and a more stable balance between work and leisure activities. Thus, for the majority of the Society's audience, its main purpose is to provide a productive and educational means of spending free time.

In this vein brief mention should also be made of the Houses and Palaces of Culture. These establishments, run largely by the Ministry of Culture and various trade unions, offer a wide range of educational services which cluster around the fine and performing arts. Not only are performances and presentations given on a regular basis, but

interested amateurs can also receive instruction in a whole gamut of artistic skills. More recently, what could be considered self-improvement courses of various types have become an integral part of the activities of the Houses and Palaces of Culture. With little concern for standardized curricula or specific educational outcomes, the programs of these institutions are frequently quite flexible and innovative.

Literature on the people's universities Aside from sporadic, brief articles appearing in journals such as Convergence and Soviet Education, no general description of the system of people's universities has been previously available outside of the Soviet Union. The need for a detailed and balanced assessment of these programs by a third party becomes even clearer when it is realized that no Western journalist or researcher has investigated the people's universities up to now. For that matter the last Soviet attempt at such an overview was made in 1963 by Liudmila Viktorovna Dubrovina,²¹ who was one of the initial figures in organizing people's universities in the 1960's. Given the many changes in the system over the past twenty years, an updated assessment and description is clearly needed. While this study can in no way attempt to provide the same depth of insight or range of information that would be available to a person who has had lengthy experience working in the system of people's universities, it can and does collect a large amount of the information available on the people's universities in the USSR and

analyzes it in such a way as to come to a fairly detailed understanding of the system.

The objectivity of information available on the people's universities is problematic, however. Most of the sources of data on the programs come directly from the Znanie Society which has a close connection to people's universities and a stake in assuring that the data are presented in a positive light. For example, the Znanie Press publishes a series of booklets entitled "People's Universities in Our Country" which provides an in-depth examination and analysis of individual programs in a broad range of profiles. While this series offers valuable insights into the workings of local universities, it selects as its subjects only those programs of outstanding quality which could serve as examples or models for other universities. The experience of the programs analyzed is clearly not representative of people's universities as a whole, and the series avoids describing problems facing the typical program. Other useful sources of information from the Znanie Society include reports of the plenary meetings of the Central Council of People's Universities, articles from the Znanie Society journal, Slovo lektora, model curriculum plans published by the society, and research reports discussing theoretical and practical issues related to people's universities. The information from all of these sources is probably accurate, but it tends to show only the most positive sides of people's universities.²²

Fortunately, several sources of information outside of the Znanie Society are able to provide a counterweight to the unbalanced picture

provided in the publications of that organization. The most detailed and informative of these sources is the dozen or so dissertations which have researched different aspects of the system of people's universities. Despite the fact that these dissertations adhere strictly to ideological canons, almost all supply data which can be found nowhere else, and a few offer insightful and challenging analyses of the way people's universities are presently run. The most useful dissertations rely on archival material or on personal experience to back up their assertions, thus providing access to materials that would otherwise be closed to a Western researcher. Perhaps most importantly, the writers of these dissertations have no stake in presenting people's universities in a totally positive light, thus they offer reasoned criticisms of the system.

In recent years Western methods of sociological research have begun to take hold in the Soviet Union, albeit within highly restricted parameters. Much of the research has focused on the effectiveness of ideological propaganda as a persuasive device, and as such touches on many issues which are of direct relevance to people's universities. Several sociological studies within the past eight years have investigated both people's universities and the Znanie Society, shedding light on such questions as the motivations for student or teacher participation in the programs, attitudes toward various teaching methods, and evaluations of program effectiveness. These studies, too, offer a perspective which deviates from the official view of the Znanie Society.

The portrait of people's universities which emerges from these various sources is multifaceted, complex and often contradictory. Given the size and scope of the system, it has not always been possible to verify the accuracy of the information through observations or interviews, or to resolve the obvious contradictions in the data through reliance on second or third sources. The system itself, because of its avowed goal of responsiveness to local needs and conditions and its decentralized organizational structure, resists easy categorization. Nevertheless, the information available does provide a sense of the system as a whole and at the very least allows a glimpse at the shortcomings of people's universities and the problems that they face.

Large-scale nonformal education programs The limited scope of nonformal educational programs has been of concern to adult educators for some time. One response has been to increase the scale of activities in order to reach a larger clientele and to broaden the range of educational service available to students. The programs which resulted have taken a variety of forms.

A recent dissertation by Munger²³ outlines three types of large-scale nonformal educational programs and describes some of their characteristics. The most frequently encountered type of large-scale project is the "government service project". In programs in this category the service need is defined by a central governmental authority, and the policies and organizational structures emanate from the central authority outward. According to Munger, such programs

often develop complex organizational structures which block innovation and responsiveness to community or individual needs. The recent nonformal education project carried out by the Indonesian Directorate of Community Education²⁴, the animation rurale projects of francophone West Africa²⁵, and many community development schemes which incorporate nonformal education²⁶ are examples of such government service programs.

A second approach to large-scale nonformal education is through the use of nationwide campaigns. Beginning with the Soviet literacy campaigns of the 1920's and 1930's, and as recently as 1981 in Nicaragua²⁷, governmental authorities have mobilized large groups of educated citizens to conduct broad literacy or health education programs in rural areas of their countries. These campaigns have several features in common, including strong national political support, a limited scope for the content of curricula and educational materials, mass mobilization of teachers and learners alike, and a communications strategy that relies heavily on mass media followed by small group discussion.²⁸ These campaigns often produce surprising short-term results, particularly in mobilizing support for the political regime. However, the long-term results of such programs appear to be modest unless followed up by strategies for literacy development.

The third type of large-scale program uses the technology of mass communication to provide educational services to large, disparate audiences. Through such media as radio forums, two-way radio and

television health care projects, open broadcasts on educational radio or television, and multimedia campaigns, these programs seek to connect group educational activities with existing community development schemes. In other words national or regional broadcasts serve as both content and curricula for local educators to use in their work with adults. Projects of this sort have been conducted in Mexico, Colombia and Tanzania, and are currently underway in Liberia and elsewhere. The biggest dilemma for such projects, however, is gaining a large enough audience to make the costs of broadcast production and field staffing worthwhile. Munger cites one project in Colombia in which enrollments represented only 1.9 percent of the potential population for its services.²⁹

In all three types of large-scale programs a contradiction arises between the theoretical strength of nonformal education--responsiveness to participant needs--and the theoretical strength of large-scale projects--the institutional capacity to reach large audiences in cost-effective ways. Munger maintains that the institutional values and procedures common to complex organizations, and large-scale projects are inevitably complex organizations, place highest priority on efficiency, defined as a ratio between effort and effect. Efficiency comes to mean economies of scale which in turn usually means standardization of materials, methodologies, and organizational processes. Such standardization leads to the exclusion of communities and participants from making decisions regarding their

education. This point is underscored by the final report of the PENMAS project in Indonesia:

PENMAS is part of a larger government bureaucracy which, because of its size, inevitably created its own internal bureaucracy. Like all bureaucracies it tended to give more attention to directives from upper levels and to resist change suggested by localized, less powerful organizational units.³⁰

In spite of this contradiction, trends toward the institutionalization of nonformal education are increasing. Bock sees this trend as a response to conflicting pressures on educational authorities in the Third World.³¹ These pressures take the form of increased political demand for access to education and an awareness that the outcomes of formal schooling create political tensions in themselves by heightening the desire for social and economic mobility in the face of scarce jobs and other "status resources". Governments perceive that large-scale nonformal education can significantly and cheaply increase access to education while at the same time "limiting legitimate demands on the economic and political system without creating political unrest and instability."³² In such cases large-scale nonformal serves socio-political ends, thus programmatic control rests in the hands of central political authorities and not with participants or local communities.

One means of maintaining a large-scale of activities, yet still providing local programs with some leeway in devising policies and curricula is to consciously establish some form of decentralized organizational structure. Bray notes that decentralization of educational activities can improve the relevance and accuracy of

planning and provide greater sensitivity to local variations, but it can also be more costly than centralized organizations.³³ If decentralization demands more staff to fill administrative roles at regional levels, then, indeed, costs will be high. If, however, the decision-making processes can be delegated to already existing local and regional agencies, then both goals can be obtained.

On a theoretical level, then, the research indicates that large-scale nonformal educational projects can be both responsive to local needs and cost-effective if a decentralized administrative structure can be put into place without creating an overlarge bureaucracy. In Munger's typology of "government service projects", of which people's universities could be considered a variation, the tendencies are in the opposite direction. This study, therefore, will investigate the capacity of people's universities as a large-scale system to devolve decision-making authority without setting up large numbers of local and regional bureaux.

Linkages between formal and nonformal education One way for nonformal educational programs to avoid creating a large number of local and regional agents is to establish ties with already existing bodies. A few researchers have attempted to study what happens when links are formed between nonformal education and formal institutions. The research literature on this topic divides these linkages into two groups: linkages between nonformal programs and formal schools at all levels, and linkages between nonformal programs and governmental bureaucracies. Both groups are of relevance for this study.

The vast majority of linkages occur between nonformal education and formal schools, particularly higher educational institutions. Cash recently developed a typology of what she called integrative linkages between nonformal and higher education.³⁴ This typology divides such ties into four distinct strategies for creating effective relationships between these two vastly different types of organizations: unidirectional, participative, complementary and systemic. In Cash's study these strategies were viewed as different approaches to getting universities to train fieldworkers and other personnel for nonformal programs.

Unidirectional linkages are those created when central governmental authorities send personnel to work in nonformal educational projects once they have been trained in formal educational institutions. An example of such linkages are former national service programs in Ethiopia and Tanzania in which students were sent out to work in rural projects as part of or prior to their university training. The main function of this approach was to sensitize students to development needs and problems and had little to do with contributing positively to community or educational development.

Much more rarely, participatory linkages are established when a system of contacts with a university is planned and implemented at a local or community level. In such instances,

Fieldworkers are members of the community who are selected for their leadership qualities or are self-selected to participate in a training process. The institution of higher education serves as the institutional support for the program, and often the inspiration for the program comes

from one or more college teachers committed to ideas of community participation and education.³⁵

In one example in Nova Scotia local community organizations, including credit unions, producer and consumer cooperatives, and farmers' groups, selected members to participate in a leadership training program instituted by St. Francis Xavier University. Cash notes, however, that a weakness of this approach is its tendency to remain small and localized within one community, rarely establishing any connections with the "national opportunity structure".

Complementary linkages constitute a collaboration between a nonformal educational program and higher educational institutions. Cash stresses that such a collaboration must be between two roughly co-equal organizations as, for example, efforts between various American universities and labor unions to establish labor education departments with the universities and to develop labor education skills within the unions. With such ties there is a need for administrative reciprocity between the organizations, as well as a certain amount of flexibility in meeting the objectives of both participants. Cash suggests that one way to accomplish this is to create functionally complementary roles for specific personnel in both organizations, thereby encouraging administrative communication at a number of organizational levels.

By the term 'systemic linkages' Cash means "the intersection or networking of national, regional, district, and local organizations."³⁶ In other words a complex system of relationships is

worked out between a higher educational institution (or institutions) and various governmental agencies in order to accomplish certain educational goals at local levels. The U.S. model of agricultural extension programs is the basis for Cash's description of this category of linkages. Based in land-grant colleges, a system of county extension agents was instituted to promote modern agricultural techniques and improved methods of home economics. Cash claims that "the county extension agent is placed in many farm communities as the major adult education coordinator for out-of-school educational activities."³⁷ Within this type of linkage the higher educational institution plays the unaccustomed role of lesser partner in the provision of educational services. Although it contributes much in the way of information, research, and training, it has less of a capacity to define educational objectives. Indeed, both it and the local community must respond to the objectives established by legislative or governmental policy.

Of these strategies clearly the most relevant to large-scale nonformal education programs in general, and to the people's universities in particular, are the systemic linkages. Once again, however, a trade-off arises between programmatic efficiency and local participation in decision making. Cash provides no model of linkages with higher educational institutions alone that could satisfy both objectives.

Nonformal education is connected not only to higher educational institutions, but in other contexts to secondary and primary schools,

as well. In Southeast Asia the effort to universalize basic education has brought about the development of alternative educational structures in which nonformal programs are seen as complementary to formal schools. According to one UNESCO report, such alternative nonformal structures

are being managed through the optimum utilization of under-utilized infrastructure existing in the formal system. The teachers, buildings, equipment, instructional materials, etc. available in the formal structures are utilized for the nonformal alternatives as far as possible.³⁸

Gaining access to this infrastructure can be the key for nonformal programs in establishing a nationwide institutional base and in maintaining ties with local communities. The report does not mention, however, that in spite of these efforts such access is extremely difficult to retain over a long period of time. Unless there is some tangible benefit for the cooperating schools, no directives from the top can assure continued collaboration.

Linkages between nonformal educational programs and governmental agencies can take many forms, the most obvious of which are the administrative ties created when the government directly manages such programs. In most instances such ties can hardly be called linkages since the programs become an integral part of the governmental bureaucracy itself. However, in cases where authority is decentralized the linkages between the local programs and the central bureaucracy become a crucial factor in the success or failure of the educational activities. In the animation rurale projects of francophone West Africa ties between community-based programs with a high degree of

local participation and the national educational bureaucracies of Senegal and Niger were considered to be an important factor in building rural institutions for social and economic development.

Although animation rurale was initiated at a national, central level, it quickly progressed to a decentralized system of rural training and community development efforts. The central government set up training centers in various localities throughout the country for animateurs, or rural development agents, who had been selected to participate by their communities. These animateurs were trained in a set of pedagogical principles and methods designed specifically for this program and were informed of the range of services which the government could provide for community development. The animateurs were then to return to their villages to coordinate development projects according to the government model. The training centers thereafter continued to provide materials and supplies to support the work of the animateurs. In the long run, however, the local development projects never gained any autonomy and the program of animation rurale developed into a top-down, large-scale program like the ones Mungler describes as government service projects.

In a dissertation on the educational components of the animation rurale programs, Moulton cites several reasons why linkages between these rural nonformal programs and the national bureaucracy could not work from a bottom-up perspective:³⁹ 1) The need to mold a national political identity conflicted with the creation or strengthening of local, usually tribal, organizations, 2) Economic demands for

increased flows of foreign currency mandated increased reliance on cash crops, a reliance which conflicted with the tendency of most rural communities toward subsistence farming. 3) Opposition to the creation of grass-root organizations arose from national and local elites, a new merchant class, and foreign participants in the economy. 4) A conflict between the necessity for predictability in a planned economy and the unavoidable spontaneity inherent in a loose collection of community development programs was created. 5) A traditionally centralized administration on the French model could not easily be pushed aside in favor of community development organizations.

Many of these issues have direct relevance for the people's universities in the Soviet context and raise questions about the viability of local educational decision-making bodies in a highly centralized and planned administrative structure. The key question here is whether the local organizations can accrue enough power and influence to legitimately demand resources and support from national or regional bureaucracies. The answer to this question may well depend upon the level of national commitment to the program and on the ability of the program to compete with other entities for these bureaucratic resources. In the Soviet context there are numerous adult education programs with which the people's universities must compete for the support of the Central Committee and the government.

The main thrust of this theoretical background has been to show that approaches to large-scale nonformal education have taken many forms in the past, yet many of the most problematic issues remain.

The Soviet people's universities which will be described in the following chapters offer yet another example of a large-scale nonformal educational program with linkages to other institutions in society. While the people's universities may not be able to resolve these dilemmas, many of the same issues are relevant both to their development and current operation.

Footnotes

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C H A P T E R I I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES, 1896-1968

The system of people's universities as they are presently constituted did not begin primarily through the initiative of conscious educational policy on the part of the Soviet government. Rather, they emerged in a number of cities to meet certain educational needs of individual groups and of Soviet society in the late 1950's. Their structure and organization were determined by the nature of these unmet educational demands and, in particular, by traditional patterns of Russian and Soviet adult education. In the case of the people's universities the weight of tradition was quite heavy and ultimately counted for a great deal in the make-up of their administrative and curricular patterns. This chapter examines the origins of people's universities and their further development with a view to understanding the unique educational context which set the stage for their current existence.

A word of caution is necessary before plunging into a history of people's universities. Although it is possible, as several Soviet authors claim, to follow an unbroken line of adult educational activities similar to people's universities from before the turn of the century to the present day, it would be incorrect to view the history of these programs as one long chronological progression from beginning to end. There were highs of busy, innovative activity and

lows of de facto nonexistence. Furthermore, at different points in time the organization, curricula, and even the goals and objectives of these programs varied radically. The people's universities which came into being after the revolution of 1905, for example, differed significantly from the workers' and peasants' universities which were the brainchildren of the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros, See glossary) in the 1920's. Since their history is episodic and uneven, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions about historical and contextual influences on the present configuration of people's universities. Nevertheless, as will be seen from this chapter, certain influences of the earlier programs have been felt.

The Origins of People's Universities

A number of Soviet scholars, among them Dubrovina, Bakuradze, and others, point to the founding of the first "Sunday school" by N.I. Pirogov in Kiev in 1859, as the true beginning of the people's university movement, thereby giving these programs more than 100 years of history. These Sunday schools, which were secular, general educational programs open to all adults, can be seen as the beginning of popular adult education on Russian soil, but the concept and actual name, people's university, does not appear in Russia until the end of the nineteenth century. What distinguished the Sunday schools from people's universities was their focus on a basic, as opposed to a university level education: literacy, numeracy, and the rudiments of an elementary education. They are also famous for the political

education and propagandizing carried out by N.K. Krupskaya and other social-democrats in the pre-revolutionary years. Secondly, the instruction in Sunday schools was irregular, not based on one fixed curriculum or upon a continually progressing program of study. Facing continued surveillance and frequent suppression by Tsarist authorities during the years of reaction, the Sunday schools were unable to establish a stable pattern of growth and development.

By the end of the nineteenth century a number of other efforts at out-of-school education had begun to appear. In addition to numerous literacy societies and programs designed to promote reading among the general public, some efforts focused on broadening the continuing education of adults. These included adult schools offering the basics of secondary education and educational societies hoping to extend the scientific horizons of adults. The latter generally took the form of lecture series at a university level and included a series of lectures organized by the Odessa "New Russia" Society of Naturalists in 1871, the Prechistenskie workers' courses opened in Moscow in 1897, and the "courses of general educational subjects" (which were christened People's Universities by the local newspapers) of the St. Petersburg Educational Mutual Aid Society in 1898. According to a contemporary account, attempts at establishing systematic popular courses for adults were also undertaken in Kharkhov, Kazan, Nizhni-Novgorod, Saratov, Nikolaev, and other cities in the 1890's.¹

These tentative initial efforts laid the groundwork for the people's university movement which began to emerge during the 1905

Revolution. Most importantly, as a result of these efforts liberal intellectuals recognized that educational and cultural activities could and should be undertaken by "organizations of private initiative" with funding provided by fees and private donations, rather than by the Tsarist government or the Orthodox Church. This concept was most strongly expressed by one of the founders of the St. Petersburg Educational Mutual Aid Society, K.I. Arabazhin:

The people's universities should not be an affair of public institutions, which is after all what universities are, but should be an activity of private, social initiative. The St. Petersburg Educational Mutual Aid Society, comprising 600 members, including not only university professors, but also teachers in the higher and secondary educational institutions of St. Petersburg, has at its disposal all of the essential qualities and the moral right to carry out the high ideal of broadening education for the masses.²

The experience of the earlier systematic public lectures also led to a greater sophistication in curricula, teaching methods, and organizational matters when it came time to establish the programs of people's universities. From this experience the organizers of public lectures learned that the "thirsting of the masses for knowledge" would fill an auditorium initially, but once the novelty of the program had worn off, it was no guarantee of a stable student body. Such programs had to be tailored to the needs and interests of prospective audiences if they were to succeed. This meant providing greater organization and continuity in the classes; making lectures accessible to prospective students in terms of their educational content and level, their location, their class times and duration; and innovative teaching methods and materials so as to maintain student interest. The most common problem mentioned in contemporary reports of

public lectures was that of university professors talking over the heads of their audiences. Lecturers complained about the lack of preparation in the student body, and students complained about the vocabulary of foreign words and the dryness of lecturers' presentations. People's universities later attempted to address many of these problems with varying degrees of success.

In the political arena the public lectures, just as the people's universities after them, were subject to the changing tides of reform and reaction which characterized the last years of Tsarist autocracy. Under the liberal Minister of Education D.A. Tolstoy in a period of relative relaxation, it was possible to open a public lecture hall in Odessa in the 1870's. In 1896, under the regime of the more conservative Minister T.D. Delianov, a similar program of "open science courses" was refused permission to operate, while the more subversive Prechistenskie Workers' courses were allowed to open only a year later. Undoubtedly the suspicion of government authorities, and their capriciousness in granting permission to operate, hindered the early development of such programs. In fact, the first attempt to open a people's university in St. Petersburg in 1896, met with a negative response from Count Delianov.³

While these systematic public lectures were the first manifestations of higher adult education in Russia, the main inspiration for people's universities came from beyond the borders. The organizers of the first people's universities, particularly in St. Petersburg, acknowledged borrowing the concepts of the university

extension programs that had sprung up in Western Europe and North America. Among the programs which attracted most attention from Russian intellectuals were the extension courses started in 1867 by James Stewart, a Cambridge University professor, and the Chautauqua movement which developed in the 1870's in the United States. One of the founders of the St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities assessed Stewart's work as follows,

The first initiative in taking real science out of the confines of the university to the broader masses belongs to England. In 1867, a young instructor from Cambridge University, James Stewart, responding to the invitation of a women's teachers' organization in a small city in northern England, gave several lectures on pedagogics, the art of instruction, and moral training. Being opposed to any dry abstraction, Stewart decided to demonstrate for his audience visual aids and techniques of teaching a precise science. For this he chose astronomy...and brilliantly performed his task in eight lectures.⁴

Eventually, Stewart persuaded Cambridge to organize such lecture series on a larger scale, and several years later both London and Oxford Universities followed suit. By 1890, the number of extension courses in England had reached 462 with a total student attendance of over 40,000 students. From England the concept of extension courses travelled to the United States and France, Scandinavia, Germany, and Austria. It was in Stewart's efforts and in the subsequent development of similar programs throughout Europe that the Russian organizers claimed their roots.

The First People's Universities: 1905-1917

Apparently the concept of the people's universities gained popularity in Russia with the 1897 translation and publication of a book entitled The Extension of University Teaching in England and America, by Dr. James Russell, then president of Columbia's Teacher's College. The book was translated into Russian as The People's Universities in England and America, and it was only after the book's appearance that the term came to be used in Russia. The actual embodiment of the concept, however, only became possible in the wake of the revolution of 1905.

According to one account, a proposal to set up a network of people's universities was addressed to the St. Petersburg City Duma (See glossary) not long after the October 17 Manifesto:

At the November 23 session of the Duma, a proposal of November 22 by N.V. Dmitriev was heard in which, in answer to the question before the Duma, "How to commemorate the great liberating act of October 17," Dmitriev responded, "Open a people's university and organize it in such a way that it can develop widely for the satisfaction of the urgent spiritual demands of the people."⁵

A similar proposal was made in the Duma's journal of November 30.

The impatient Dmitriev was anxious to get his project off the ground and brought the same proposal before the Society of Civil Engineers, of which he was a member. Along with other members of the society, Dmitriev, D.A. Dril', and K.I. Arabazhin decided to establish an "All-Russian Society of People's Universities". Through their efforts the first organizational meeting of this Society took place on

the 26th of February, 1906, and on March 21, the first lectures of the St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities were given.⁶

In spite of initial efforts to establish an All-Russian organization for people's universities, the organizers were only given permission to set up a St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities. Other cities were not long in setting up their own sections of a proposed All-Russian organization, however. By the end of May, 1906, initial efforts to organize two people's universities in Moscow were under way. One operated under the guidance of a newly formed Moscow Society of People's Universities. The other, named the Moscow City People's University named for A.L. Shaniavskii, was established by decree of the City Duma in 1906, but did not begin operating until 1908. By the end of 1906, twelve people's universities had been established in nine cities of the then existing Russian empire: St. Petersburg - 1, Moscow - 2, Warsaw - 3, Orenburg - 1, Voronezh - 1, Saratov - 1, Riga - 1, Kazan - 1, and Radom (Poland) - 1.⁷ At the peak of the movement's popularity between 1906 and 1908, a total of thirty-six cities within the Russian empire had registered programs of people's universities.⁸

Despite the revolutionary character of the times and the obvious popularity of and need for educational activities like people's universities, they were not received with enthusiasm in all circles. In a number of cities, for example in Tomsk and Riazan, local authorities denied permission to open people's universities. Even in cities where people's universities were permitted, considerable

obstacles were erected by conservative elements of the government. A case in point is the Shaniavskii People's University in Moscow.

Alphonse Leonidovich Shaniavskii was a wealthy retired general, active in liberal circles of Moscow Society, who wanted to leave a legacy in the form of an endowment for the establishment of a people's university in Moscow. As his wife later explained,

"His greatest dream always was to leave his wealth to a higher educational institution where without requirements for a high school diploma, both men and women, Russian and non-Russian, in a word where all who wanted to study, could study."⁹

On September 15, 1905, he offered the Moscow city government a considerable sum of money to be used for this purpose, but the proposal kicked off an extremely sharp debate at all levels of government. Although the project was approved by the Moscow City Duma on the 30th of May, 1906, the actual granting of the charter was held up and became an issue in the Third State Duma in 1907-1908. Conservative elements of the Tsarist government opposed founding such an educational institution because, as the reactionary deputy Purishkevich argued, it would become, "a new means through which the leftist parties could operate."¹⁰

Realizing that his dreams would be greatly delayed by this debate and might never be fulfilled, Shaniavskii soon put a condition on the granting of his inheritance. Should the university not be in operation three years from October 3, 1905, he stipulated, all funds for the project would be forfeited. Sadly, Shaniavskii did not live to see the completion of his efforts; he died before the end of 1905. With such

restrictions on the funds numerous parliamentary and administrative maneuvers were introduced to block the expeditious granting of the charter. It was not until June 1, 1908, that the charter finally gained governmental approval, largely through liberal and leftist pressure in the Duma. Bureaucratic obstacles, such as refusal of a fire permit, further delayed finding a site for classes to be held, and the university initially was forced to operate out of private quarters. The official opening of the university took place on October 1, 1908, and A.F. Fortunatov gave the first lecture on October 2nd to begin the academic activities of the university on the eve of the deadline stipulated by Shaniavskii.¹¹

With people's universities facing such opposition, it is difficult to imagine the years between 1906 and 1908 as the period of people's universities' greatest freedom and most unrestrained expansion; yet, this was the case. Reaction to the liberal reforms of 1905 subsequently set in, and some programs were quickly suppressed. Toward the end of 1908 in Poland, for example, administrators, teachers, and students in Warsaw's "University for All" were arrested, and all of the university's programs in and around the city were closed. By 1909, the number of people's universities reported to be in existence had been cut back to thirty, and by 1911, only sixteen were still active. Only those in the largest university centers managed to continue their operations, the most active being in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Of the provincial people's universities, the program in Samara was the largest and most innovative. The number of people's

universities stayed constant at between sixteen and twenty until the February, 1917 revolution. As the Soviet researcher N.Ia. Klimochkina points out, however, it is impossible to estimate the extent of the people's university movement solely from the number of reported programs:

"In several locations they were forced by administrative restrictions to register not as people's universities, but under different names."¹²

The people's university movement also reached the peak of its creative educational influence in 1908 with the convening of the First All-Russian Congress of Activists in Societies of People's Universities and Other Private Educational Institutions. For a number of reasons this congress established the people's university movement in the vanguard of adult education activities in Russia. First of all, the congress generated a tremendous amount of interest and publicity. Over the four days of the congress about 100 reports were given to 478 participants who convened in St. Petersburg from all corners of the empire. The organizers of the congress also obtained the use of the main lecture hall of the City Duma on Sadovaia street, where, at the general meetings open to the public, audiences of over 2,000 people were packed in.¹³

By convening this congress the organizers hoped to systematize the activities of people's universities in particular, and of adult education in general, to an extent that had never before been achieved in Russia. On the local level they sought to strengthen individual people's universities and other adult educational institutions by

providing systematic information on how best to administer and teach courses for adults. Lectures and discussion sessions were offered during the congress on such topics as "The Internal Organization of People's Universities," "The Character and Scientific Level of Lectures in People's Universities," "Curricula and Teaching Techniques in People's Universities," and "Techniques for Evaluating Students' Knowledge in People's Universities". Topics not specifically related to people's universities also formed a large part of the program.

On a national level the congress served as a forum for the establishment of the long desired All-Russian Society of People's Universities. Participants took concrete steps to create a central coordinating office in Moscow. This bureau was to provide lecturers, visual aids, and other educational assistance to provincial programs, and to undertake publishing activities for the nationwide dissemination of information about and of use to all people's universities. While a central office for people's universities was never established, a journal entitled Vestnik narodnykh universitetov (The People's Universities Herald) was founded and ran from 1909 to 1911 under the guidance of the St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities.

Finally, the scope of the congress was much broader than a mere attempt to organize people's universities. In essence, this was the first attempt to place all the adult education activities of private institutions within the social and economic context of Russia at that time, and the congress' purpose in part was to define the role of

private educational initiative in social and economic change. A look at the list of issues which were discussed at the general meetings of the congress illustrates how far-reaching the organizers intended the scope of their activities to be:

1. Out-of-school Education as the Basic Task of People's Universities,
2. Out-of-School Education in Russia and Abroad and People's Universities,
3. Public Education and Public Health,
4. Public Education and Morality,
5. Public Education and the Economy,
6. The Importance of Enlightening Programs in the Battle against Alcoholism,
7. Teaching Practical Morals,
8. Aesthetic Education as One of the Tasks of People's Universities.¹⁴

In raising these questions the congress kicked off a long debate about the proper tasks of out-of-school adult education activities. Some argued that the programs should be of a general educational (prosvetitel'nyi) nature so as to uplift the spiritual and cultural level of the population. Others maintained that programs should be professional and vocational in response to the demands of the students who attended. Still others pointed to the need for political and economic education among the lower classes.

Notwithstanding the intent of the congress to form an All-Russian Society of People's Universities, the differences which came to light during the congress may have been the undoing of any national

organization. As a result of these programmatic disagreements the "pro-vocational" forces of the St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities were pitted against the "pro-enlightenment" advocates of the Moscow Society of People's Universities under the leadership of B.I. Syromiatnikov. Neither group wished to change its program to accommodate the other for fear of becoming subordinate to it. Secondly, by admitting trade union representatives to the congress and by publishing their calls for political and economic education, the organizers must certainly have brought suspicion and condemnation upon themselves from conservative forces within the government. Thus, in part due to disorganization and in part due to governmental obstruction and fear, plans for a second congress in 1910 were never realized. All efforts to unite people's universities under one organization were effectively stopped at that point.

For all of their differences about the proper curriculum for a people's university, the leaders of various people's universities did agree on several basic characteristics which defined the essence of these programs. A fundamental goal of all people's universities was the democratization of scientific knowledge; that is, the opening up of educational opportunities to those who previously had been hindered in their access to schools. One of the leading figures of the Moscow Society of People's Universities explains this goal as follows:

Among the many conditions which serve as barriers to entry in Russian academic institutions, age, sex, religious beliefs, "trustworthiness", educational attainment (on entry and concurrent examinations), financial circumstances (tuition here plays the role of a prohibitive tariff in public education) all have great significance...We do not

find even one of these conditions in people's universities, which have only one point of contiguity with any school or any academic institution - namely in their aspirations for the dissemination of knowledge.¹⁵

It was in the organizers' sincere desire to provide access to education to all classes of society, to the "uneducated masses", to the narod, that these programs were considered narodnyi or people's universities.¹⁶

A second characteristic common to all programs, at least initially, was the attempt to offer the rudiments of a university education; whence the second part of the name, people's universities. Here the influence of the existing European extension programs was most strongly felt. For the Western-inspired liberals who initiated people's universities, it was natural to borrow the organizational basis for their programs from progressive democratic societies. It was recognized, of course, that allowances would have to be made for the backwardness of Russia's educational system and the lack of preparation of prospective students. Thus, organizers phrased their goal as "providing the conclusions of a university education".

What this goal actually meant, and how it was carried out, varied substantially from program to program. According to Klimochkina, two distinct visions of people's universities arose in this regard. One view saw them as "true academic institutions, offering systematically selected, interconnected series of lectures in the main branches of science, open to all, in which serious intellectual interests would be awakened."¹⁷ Supporters of this view, among them the organizers of the

Shaniavksii People's University and the St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities, sought the democratization of access to scientific knowledge without compromising that knowledge itself.

Another view, put forth by Syromiatnikov and other organizers of the Moscow Society of People's Universities, saw the issue differently:"

...a people's university is an enlightening institution, having as its goal the widest popularization of scientific knowledge among the masses."¹⁸

In this light the task of people's universities was to inculcate an interest in knowledge among their students and to inform them in an accessible and entertaining fashion of the most important findings contained in the subjects of a university education. This was to be the very democratization of science itself, and it aimed to attract as many people as possible to its activities.

As it turned out, this latter perspective was more sensitive to the difficult living conditions and pitifully low educational background of the Russian people. These programs, therefore, proceeded from a more realistic conception of their students' needs. Along with the Moscow Society of People's Universities, the majority of provincial programs operated from this basic conception of their goals.

The relatively poor condition of Russian education soon began to redefine some of these initial goals as it became evident that Russian people's universities could not be copies of the Western European

university extension programs. A comparison of the status of education there and in Russia demonstrates this point. In 1905, according to contemporary figures, in England and America 17.5 percent and 19 percent, respectively, of the population was comprised of students, with the equivalent of 21.60 and 50.80 rubles per student spent each year. In Russia, 3.8 percent of the population was made up of students with 1.20 rubles spent on each yearly. An even more telling figure in working with adults was the 21.2 percent literacy rate in Russia as opposed to England's 92 percent and America's 89.3 percent.¹⁹ Under these circumstances organizers had to confront the almost total lack of preparation on the part of their audiences for handling university subjects, no matter how watered down the lectures were in content. The inappropriateness of offering this level of education in Russia was reflected in the fact that almost every people's university saw its average attendance per lecture cut in half after the first couple of years of its existence. As one organizer of a people's university explained,

The more the business developed, the clearer it became, both for the Boards of Directors of societies of people's universities and for the auditors themselves, that lectures on university subjects, no matter how popular they might be, demand of auditors a certain educational background, and that background has been acquired by very few.²⁰

The need for an educational program to provide a link between primary schools and people's universities soon became obvious. As early as 1906, the Moscow Society of People's Universities opened a program of secondary level courses for adults. By 1907, secondary "people's schools" were operating in Moscow and Voronezh as affiliates

of the Societies of People's Universities. Following the congress of people's universities in 1908, other local organizations began instituting similar programs, in spite of the controversy this aroused.

In general, the subjects offered in the secondary programs were the same as those in government schools, although the curriculum varied from city to city. In Voronezh organizers closely followed the secondary curriculum, offering in 1909 such courses as "The Law of God," grammar, literature (slovestnost'), mathematics, chemistry, geography, Russian history, French, and German. Moscow organizers consciously tried to link their school closely with the people's university by teaching Russian language, arithmetic, literature (literatura), history, botany, zoology, algebra, physics, chemistry, geography, geometry, and cosmography. All of these were courses taught at a higher level in the people's university. The goal of the Moscow program was to provide, "on the one hand, a sort of link between primary schools and the people's university, and on the other to give auditors the necessary development and complete knowledge found in secondary general education."²¹

The number of secondary people's schools which actually came into operation was not very large, perhaps as few as four or five. They never became very popular in large part because they duplicated the activities of Sunday schools and other schools for adults, and because many of those involved in people's universities saw them as detracting from their most important goals. The fact that they were set up at

all, however, illustrates how varied and broad-ranging were the conceptions of the role of people's universities. Some people's universities came to be seen as offering a whole range of educational services, thus their definition and purposes became vague and amorphous.

Given these broad purposes, which could have been construed as providing leeway for propaganda, and given the Tsarist government's general resistance to the idea of universal education, it is not surprising that all people's universities operated without governmental support. The directing organizations were private, not-for-profit societies, organized according to the Fundamental Laws of 1906. This was a third common characteristic of people's universities. Funding came primarily from individual donations, from income from the sale of tickets to the programs, and from the sales of publications of the societies. As Syromiatnikov explained,

To count on the government's coming to the aid of our institution - a government which not long ago led a persistent battle with education - is the purest utopianism...It is difficult to count on serious support from city and zemstvo institutions - not mentioning the fact that this sort of material dependence could open the doors to an external influence on the development of our free people's universities.²²

In some areas, however, local governments and the zemstva (See glossary) did provide some financial and logistical support. In St. Petersburg, for example, the Society used the meeting chambers of the City Duma as evening lecture halls until 1911, when a more conservative composition of the city government unceremoniously forced them out. The Tomsk Society of People's Universities received a

promised subvention from its City Duma of 3,000 rubles per year from 1906 until the opening of its Makushin People's University in 1910. This sum was added to the initial investment of 10,000 rubles and a 3,000 ruble annual contribution by a private citizen, P.I. Makushin, for the creation of an eventual 100,000 ruble endowment for the university.²³ On the other hand, the zemstvo council in Voronezh noted its interest in the establishment of a people's university in that city, provided an annual contribution to the local society of people's universities, and offered its meeting chambers as classroom space, but it refrained from actual involvement in the programs, maintaining that they should be the result of private initiative.²⁴

As constituted in 1906-1908, people's universities were locally organized, privately funded educational institutions which sought to provide greater educational opportunities to a broad range of the Russian population through the democratization of university education. Within this common framework, however, there was a great deal of variation, especially in the area of curricula. The greatest programmatic difference between people's universities, which came to light during the congress of 1908, centered around the question of whether a people's university should offer a practical, academic curriculum or a more cultural, popularized curriculum.

Beginning in 1910, the St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities began to offer a quite sophisticated three-year course in various engineering subjects, designed to train assistant engineers, agronomists, and office administrators of different sorts. An example

of the curriculum for the Fall, 1910 semester is given in table 2.1. Given the high fees the Society charged for these courses, between fifty and sixty rubles per year, organizers must have expected a strong demand for places. These engineering courses bolstered an already strong practical curriculum which included courses in law, bookkeeping, stenography, pedagogy of expansive reading, foreign languages, and so on.

It seems that one of the goals of the St. Petersburg Society was to increase the range of courses offered in its programs as much as possible. In doing so, however, it had to restrict the geographical spread of its offerings to only a few locations: the Central Auditorium in the City Hall on Sadovaia St., and the auditoria in the Vasili-ostrovskaiia, Peterburgskaia, and Bol'shoiokhtinskaia quarters of the city. The only courses on the outskirts were in the Smolensk district near the Lomonosov China Factory, an area that is now part of central Leningrad. A small subsidiary program of the Society operated in the town of Luga, about 100 miles south of the city. In 1909, eight lectures were given there.

The Moscow Society of People's Universities took a different approach. It decided to restrict its range of offerings to six main subject areas, but it also decided to establish as broad a geographical distribution of these offerings as possible. Besides its central auditorium in the Polytechnical Museum on Liubianskaia Square²⁵, the Moscow Society of People's Universities organized courses in at least a dozen other locales, many in factories or

Table 2.1

Course Prospectus for the St. Petersburg Society of
People's Universities, Fall, 1910

<u>1. Polytechnical Courses:</u>	-Geology (Minerals, Crystals)
a. Mechanical Section:	-Philosophy
Algebra	
Geometry	2nd Year:
-Mathematics Trigonometry	-Mathematics
Analysis of In-	-Physics
finite Quantities	-Chemistry (Organic, Analytic)
-Physics	-Botany (Physiology with Micro-
-Chemistry	biology, Study of Forms)
-Descriptive Geometry	-Zoology
-Elements of Mechanical Studies	-Mammalian Physiology
-Theoretical Mechanics	-Geology
-Applied Mechanics	-Psychology
-Resistance of Materials	
-Details of Machines	<u>3. Socio-Juridical Courses:</u>
-Steam Boilers	-Political Economy
-Steam Engines	-General Studies in Government
-Internal Combustion Engines	-State Law
-General Technology of Materials	-Civil Law
-Machine Tools	-Criminal Law
-Electrical Engineering	-Introduction to Legal Studies
-Construction Arts	-History of Legal Philosophy
-Drawing	-History of Russian Law
-Drafting	-Introduction to Philosophy
-Calculation and Drafting of	-Psychology
Machine Details	-Introduction to Logic and the
-Projects in Lifting Machines,	Theory of Consciousness
Steam Boilers, Engines, and	-Logic
Machine Tools	-History
-Practicum	-Financial Law
b. Electrical Engineering Section	-Russian Law
c. Construction Engineering Sect.	-Economy of Russia
d. Agronomy Section	-Civil & Criminal Legal Procedure
e. Commercial/Economic Section	-Practical Courses in Civil,
	Criminal, and other law fields
<u>2. Natural Science History Courses:</u>	
1st Year:	<u>4. Vyborg Courses: (Courses on the</u>
-Mathematics	secondary level)
-Physics (with Mechanics)	-Preparatory General Education
-Chemistry	Arithmetic - 3 hrs.
-Human Anatomy	Russian Language - 3 hrs.
-Zoology	Drafting and Drawing - 3hrs.
-Botany (Anatomy of Plants	
with Microscopy)	[Continued on the following page,
	First column]

Table 2.1 Continued

-General Education Section	<u>8. Stenographic Courses</u> (According to the Zhivotskii system)
Arithmetic - 3 hrs.	
Algebra - 2 hrs.	
Russian Language - 2 hrs.	<u>9. Expressive Reading Courses</u>
Physics - 2 hrs.	-Diction
Drafting & Drawing - 2 hrs.	-Development of Vocal Abilities
-General Technical Section	<u>10. Pedagogical Courses in Expressive Reading</u>
Algebra - 2 hrs.	
Geometry - 3 hrs.	
Trigonometry - 2 hrs.	<u>11. The People's Conservatory</u>
Mechanics - 3 hrs.	-Choral Singing
Drafting & Drawing - 2 hrs.	-Folk Instruments (Balalaika, Domro, Mandolin, etc.)
Chemistry - 2 hrs.	-Singing Class
-Special Technical Section	-Wind Instruments
Mechanical Affairs	-Class in the Special Theory of Music
Foundry Affairs	-Class in the Basic Techniques of Constructing Instruments
Electrical Engineering	-General Piano Class
<u>5. General Education Courses:</u>	
-Russian Language	Proposed:
-Russian History	-Ensemble Playing
-Arithmetic	-Italian
-Geometry	
-Natural Science	<u>12. Course in the History of Music</u>
-Chemistry	
-Commercial Studies	<u>13. Systematic Course: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion</u>
-Physics	
-Geography	
-Penmanship	<u>14. General Course in Hygiene</u>
<u>6. Commercial Courses:</u>	
-Bookkeeping	<u>15. First Aid Course</u>
-Commercial Accounting	
-Office Management	
-Business Correspondence in Russian	
<u>7. Foreign Language Courses:</u>	
-German	
-French	
-English	

Source: Vestnik narodnykh universitetov, 2 (October, 1910): 107-128.

The six fundamental subject areas, or faculties (See glossary) as they were called, offered by the Moscow Society included law, literature, natural science, medicine, economics, and the arts, the most popular being law, literature, and economics. Within these faculties the actual course offerings were not extensive, as the curricula shown in several of the faculties in 1907-1908 testifies:

Table 2.2

Selected Courses Offered by the Moscow Society
of People's Universities, 1907-1908

<p><u>A. Juridical Faculty:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Government as a Social Phenomenon -General Studies in Law -State Law -Constitutional Law -Criminal Law -Civil Law -Criminal & Civil Courts -Local Self-government -Federal Law 	<p><u>C. Natural Science</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Botany -Zoology -Physics -Chemistry -Earth Science <p><u>D. Medical Faculty</u></p> <p>1st Semester: Human Anatomy and Physiology</p> <p>2nd Semester: The Diseased Human and the Battle Against Disease</p>
<p><u>B. Literature Faculty:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -History of Russian Literature since the Beginning of the 19th Century -History of Western Literature (Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, Schiller, French Romanticism and naturalism, young Germany) 	

Source: B.I. Syromiatnikov, "O deiatel'nosti Moskovskogo obshchestva narodnykh universitetov," Trudy logo vserossiiskogo c"ezda narodnykh universitetov i drugikh prosvetitel'nykh uchrezhdenii chastnoi initsiativy v S-PB, 3-7 ianv., 1908, (St. Petersburg: "Provintsiia", 1908), p. 497.

This relative lack of variety is a little misleading, however. In an effort to make lectures understandable to those with only a primary and incomplete secondary education, organizers arranged three levels

of lectures within each faculty. Thus, each faculty offered up to eighty class hours of lectures per year, even though these concentrated in a few content areas.

The organizers and teaching staff of the Moscow People's University, perhaps more than any other program, sought the popularization of educational activities. In their view,

"The People's Universities, opening their doors to all circles of society, should first of all serve the working (in the widest sense of the word) groups of the population, but at the same time should not turn away from offering lectures to a better prepared public."²⁶

This goal was largely met; as a survey of auditors taken in 1908 showed, 62.9 percent of the students of the Moscow People's University had only a primary education.²⁷

The organizers recognized that educational practices used in the schools of their day were not appropriate for adult programs. A great deal of emphasis was placed on finding flexible instructors who would be willing to tailor their teaching methods to the special adult audiences found in people's universities. Organizers stressed the importance of visual aids, lecture prospectuses and explanatory notes, and discussion sessions following lectures, which were in reality a repetition and summary of the lecture. In addition, teachers and organizers attempted to ascertain how the material was received by their audiences through voluntary question and answer sessions and occasional evaluation questionnaires.

In Moscow an attempt was made to make the people's universities more financially accessible, as well. Organizers devised a primitive sliding scale of fees: ten kopecks per lecture for workers and low-level employees, thirty kopecks for all others. And to lower prices even more, a twenty percent discount was offered on season passes with liberal payment rules for workers who could not come up with the money for a season pass all at once. As a result, the minimum price for attending a season's series of lectures was R 2.95, as opposed to St. Petersburg's six ruble minimum. There seems to have been substantial discussion of offering lectures free of charge, but to discourage curiosity-seekers and to attract and hold a more serious audience, it was felt that a minimal fee was in order.

If the attendance figures at the lectures of the St. Petersburg and Moscow People's Universities are compared, it would seem that the policies of the program in Moscow achieved their goal. In 1909, the St. Petersburg Society offered 536 two-hour lectures with a total attendance of 44,836,²⁸ averaging about 84 auditors per lecture. During the 1909-1910 academic year in Moscow, only 355 lectures were organized, but the attendance totaled 77,374, an average of about 218 students per lecture.²⁹ Of course, any number of factors may have contributed to these different rates of attendance, among them the different sizes of the two cities, their social composition, geographical layout, and so on. The policy of carrying the programs to outlying districts, however, seems to have been the most significant factor. When the St. Petersburg Society organized 50 lectures in

outlying areas of the capital in 1910, attendance jumped to 143 students per lecture.³⁰

Attendance at people's universities in general reached its peak between 1908 and 1910 and declined steadily thereafter, as shown in table 2.3. Klimochkina rightly points out that the scale of activities in people's universities, in particular attendance, depended on political and economic conditions of the time, as well as on internal organizational matters. The political reaction which followed the events of 1905 and which deepened after 1910, had a significant effect on the activities of people's universities.

It should be noted that the societies of people's universities were involved in educational activities other than offering lectures and courses. In 1909, for example, the St. Petersburg Society organized thirteen excursions for 1,500 people, ran a library and reading room which registered over 2,000 books read per month, organized a small museum, and established its own publishing house. This latter institution not only put out the Vestnik narodnykh universitetov in 1910-1911 and Vol'nyi universitet in 1914, it also printed lectures, outlines and summaries of lectures, and important textbook materials for its audiences. The Society in Samara likewise ran its own press. In fact, the Samara Society's house organ, Izvestiia Samarskogo obshchestva narodnykh universitetov, not only pre-dated St. Petersburg's by several months, but greatly outlived it, as well. Vestnik narodnykh universitetov folded in 1911, whereas the Izvestiia was published until 1916.

Table 2.3

Attendance Figures at Selected People's Universities:
1908, 1910, 1912

University	Year	Number of Lectures	Total Attendance	Average Attendance
Moscow Society of People's Univs.	1908	431	135,188	314
	1910	355	77,376	218
	1912	304	53,056	175
Smolensk Society of People's Univs.	1908	31	6,985	225
	1910	24	3,825	159
	1912	19	2,675	141
Kazan Society of People's Univs.	1908	74	8,969	121
	1910	27	1,895	70
	1912	12	905	75
Samara Society of People's Univs.	1908	106	63,811	602
	1910	105	69,541	662
	1912	21	5,183	246
Tiflis Society of People's Univs.	1908	25	10,530	421
	1910	32	10,570	336
	1912	21	3,820	182
St. Petersburg Society of People's Univs.	1908	383	33,871	89
	1909	536	44,836	84
	1912*	---	35,835	--

* Complete figures not available for 1910 or 1912 in St. Petersburg

Sources: N.Ia. Klimochkina, Narodnye universiteti v Rossii (1905-1907), Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Moscow State Institute of Culture, 1970; "Iz zhizni S-Peterburgskogo Obshchestva narodnykh universitetov," Vestnik narodnykh universitetov, 1 (May, 1910): 39-40; Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' Granat, v. 41., (Moscow, 1916), p.357-358.

It also seems that the Samara People's University was the first Russian institution to use film as an educational medium on a regular basis and was particularly innovative in adapting teaching techniques to suit its adult audience. The Samara Society was active in other areas, as well, running its own arts section, pedagogy courses, library, and even kindergarten.

Each university varied, of course, in the extent to which it was able to carry out supplemental activities; some were hardly able to run a regular program of lectures. Even so, as Klimochkina points out,

The people's university was distinguished from other forms of out-of-school education by its more complicated functions. The second paragraph in the charters of almost all people's universities envisaged the establishment of libraries, book stores, museums, exhibitions, laboratories, publications of books, pictures, engravings, maps, and so on.³¹

In the realm of cultural or aesthetic education many people's universities organized literary or musical evenings for the reading of poetry or presenting of concerts. Several universities went beyond this more passive inculcation of aesthetic values and established their own artistic centers for the development of amateur talent in the arts, especially in music and theater. The Moscow Society of People's Universities, the Shaniavskii People's University, and the St. Petersburg People's University among others created their own "people's conservatories", each of which had its own choir, orchestras, and ensembles. A look at the curriculum of the St. Petersburg People's University in table 2.1 shows how rich the opportunities were for acquiring and developing musical abilities. In

1912, the Moscow Society of People's Universities instituted a program of popular theater under a "Section to Assist the Organization of Factory, Village, and School Theaters". This section operated until October, 1917, and was the largest organization in Russia promoting the activities of popular theater groups³²

For all of the diversity in the programs of people's universities and the numerous conceptions of the proper approach to adult education, there was remarkable agreement and cohesiveness among the organizers of people's universities in their world-outlook. The organizers and teachers who were the lifeblood of the people's university movement came from a narrow slice of Russian society: they were almost all middle-class academics and professionals, although a few of the more liberal nobility also participated. Among them were some of the leading lights of the liberal intelligentsia. It was through the voluntary efforts of this civic-minded group of social activists that people's universities were able to attract private financial support, to win government approval for their programs, and to develop an innovative program for adults.

James C. McClelland has offered some interesting insights into the motivations of the liberal intelligentsia (or as he calls them, the academic intelligentsia) for becoming involved in the many private educational initiatives which flourished in the 1890's and early 1900's. McClelland notes that while there were conservative professors in Russian universities,

...the majority [of academics] shared a general commitment to the implementation of liberal political and intellectual values in Russia and the sense of moral obligation to strive for an ideal society that was so characteristic of the Russian intelligentsia, broadly defined...They, as academics, developed an additional viewpoint of their own, which stressed the vital importance of university autonomy and the role of nauka (Science) in Russia's future social and cultural development...They formed a closely knit and activist socio-cultural group which sought to embody in its academic activities a moral commitment to progress and reform³³

It was just such individuals, seeking to establish autonomous university programs open to the general public and having so much faith in the capacity of scientific knowledge to democratize Russian society, who participated in the programs of people's universities.

One of the most vocal advocates of people's universities and a leading member of the St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities was the geochemist V.I. Vernadskii. Vernadskii, a full member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a world-renowned scientist, was one of the most influential academicians of his day. He was a member of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets), was elected to the State Council as a representative of the Academy of Sciences and higher educational institutions, and later became an assistant Minister of Education under the Provisional Government. Perhaps the clearest intellectual justification for the establishment of people's universities came from his pen:

The first and most basic task of higher education is the rapid and complete communication of the discoveries of nauka and technology to the broadest possible layers of the young and adult population, the inculcation of this knowledge into their consciousness so that the results of this knowledge can be rapidly put to use in life.³⁴

To Vernadskii the medium for the "rapid and complete communication of the discoveries of nauka" was not the closed system of higher education which operated under the Tsar at the turn of the century. To achieve this aim, educational programs accessible to the general public would have to be established, and such programs would have to include university-type curricula which could transmit the true cultural value of nauka. Nauka was crucial to Russian society because, "in its very basis it is profoundly democratic because it has as its source only the mental ability and inspiration of the individual person."³⁵ Thus, the democratically organized people's universities, among other higher educational institutions, could inculcate a spirit of nauka into the Russian people, creating an educated populace which would eventually reform and democratize Russian Society.

Such a vision was almost certainly typical of the high aspirations that organizers had for people's universities. Behind this vision, too, lay the political clout necessary to initiate and maintain such a program despite the strength of conservative educational forces within the Tsarist government. Almost certainly Count I.I. Tolstoy, one of the few liberal Ministers of Education in the late years of the empire, was instrumental in gaining initial governmental support for the people's universities. His selection as chairman of the St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities must have guaranteed the granting of its charter during his brief tenure as Minister in 1905-1906. Support from the strong Kadet party in the

Duma, garnered through the backing of liberal professors like Vernadskii, Paul Miliukov, M.M. Kovalevskii, N.V. Speranskii, and many others, must have protected at least the Moscow and St. Petersburg people's universities from the reactionary education ministers A.N. Schwartz and L.A. Kasso between 1908 and 1915.

Two other factors may have saved people's universities from abolition in these conservative years: the unassailably high scholarly standing of many of their lecturers and the unwavering maintenance of a non-partisan political stance in their lecture activities. In St. Petersburg the names Ivan Pavlov, A.F. Ioffe, and M.I. Tugan-Baranovskii appeared on the teaching roles. Active in the people's universities in Moscow were some of the leading scientists of Moscow University, P.P. Lazarev, A.A. Kizevetter, N.V. Speranskii, and others. The involvement of such leading figures gave the people's universities an academic legitimacy that was not possible in the Sunday school movement or in the literacy societies, both of which suffered more seriously in this period.

Strict adherence to non-partisan views as much as possible was an essential survival tactic for people's universities. Needless to say, organizers were only partially successful in maintaining such a stance, and there is some justification for the conservative belief in the Duma that people's universities were in the hands of "leftist" elements. In her dissertation Klimochkina states that these programs were the first legal educational activities in which the Bolsheviks were involved in Russia. She cites a great deal of evidence pointing

to the involvement of Bolsheviks in the activities of people's universities, both as lecturers and as students.³⁶ Even so, Klimochkina admits, people's universities were in the hands of liberal intellectuals who were hardly socialist in their political leanings. The programs maintained a strict enough non-partisan stance to enable Speranskii to take pride in the fact that the students of Shaniavskii People's University did not participate in demonstrations, and that the university continued to operate during the student uprisings touched off by Kasso's policies in 1910-1911.³⁷

If the organizers and teachers in people's universities were generally cut from one social mold, the same cannot be said for their students, or auditors (slushateli) as they were called. They came from different social classes with different educational and professional backgrounds, were of different ages, and no doubt had different motivations for attending the programs of people's universities. Furthermore, the composition of student bodies varied from program to program, and even from year to year. A rough comparison of the two Moscow universities shows how varied the make-up of these programs could be, even in the same city. The results are provided in table 2.4. The program of the Shaniavskii University was a far more academic program than that of the Moscow Society of People's Universities, and no attempt was made to popularize either the content or the teaching methodologies of lectures. The programs of the Moscow Society of People's Universities, from which these data come, were located in two neighborhood lecture halls in working class districts in Moscow and

Table 2.4

The Student Body Composition of Moscow and
Shaniavskii People's Universities, 1910

Category	Shaniavskii	M.P.U.
1. Total Attendance:	1,010	600
<u>2. Professional Background:</u>		
A. Employees: (includes bureau- cratic officials, military and navy personnel, accountants, office workers, salesmen, foremen, dress- makers, etc)	24 %	91 %
B. Teachers:	24.1 %	0 %
C. Students of other higher educational institutions:	7.3 %	0 %
D. Free Professions: (Doctors, nurses, technicians, engineers, businessmen, artists, etc.)	13.3 %	2 %
E. Self-employed:	2.2 %	2 %
F. Undefined Professions: (House- wives, unemployed, living with parents)	29 %	5 %
<u>3. Educational Background:</u>		
A. Higher Education	8 %	0 %
B. Incomplete Higher Education	3.7 %	0 %
C. Secondary	52.3 %	6 %
D. Normal School	13.2 %	0 %
E. Self-educated to secondary level	5.4 %	4 %
F. Pre-gymnasium education	9.9 %	} 90 %
G. Self-educated to primary level	5.0 %	
H. Primary	1.8 %	
<u>4. Gender:</u>		
A. Female	56.7 %	10 %
B. Male	43.3 %	90 %

Sources: Iu.S. Vorobeva, Moskovskii gorodskoi narodnyi universitet im. A.L. Shaniavskogo (1908-1920), Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Institute of the History of the USSR, Academy of Sciences, 1972, p. 188; Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' Granat, v. 41. (Moscow, 1916), p. 362; B.I. Syromiatnikov, Chto daet slushateliu narodnyi universitet? (Moscow: Izd. Moscow Society of People's Universities, 1910), p. 3.

were both popular in intent and content. The contrasting results provided in these two cases may differ in the extreme, yet they offer vivid evidence of the impact the two approaches had in attracting varied audiences.

Far more difficult to assess are the reasons auditors had for attending people's universities. In the case of the Shaniavskii University, students may have been motivated by opportunities for career advancement. A.A. Kizevetter notes in his memoirs that, "a Shaniavskii certificate was highly regarded by many employers," and that "the university was used as a recruiting center by officials from the distant provinces who were intent upon hiring students, even before they had completed their course of study, to staff their provincial libraries and cooperatives."³⁸ In this instance, however, Shaniavskii University was not typical since few, if any, of the other people's universities offered a systematic enough program of courses to compete with an education in one of the governmental universities, and few others offered a certificate of completion.

Some insights into student motivations came to light as a result of a survey of auditors carried out by B.I. Syromiatnikov on behalf of the Moscow Society of People's Universities. While Syromiatnikov may have selectively used these questionnaires to bolster his argument that people's universities should be general educational and cultural institutions on a secondary school level, the results nonetheless provide a rare opportunity to read auditors' reactions to the lectures of people's universities in their own words.

One of the key themes in the responses to these questionnaires was that students simply never had had such an educational opportunity before. One twenty year old respondent wrote, "not having had a proper education and having practically no understanding of the surrounding environment, I attended lectures with great interest." Others noted, "I can say that up until now for me that which was presented was completely new," and "all of the lecturers expounded in general terms,...but even this information was enough to awaken an interest in science and self-study." The responses also reflected the belief that science in its broadest sense is a key factor in the development of human personality. One auditor testified, "I am a modest provincial man, but with all my soul I have been attracted to science and, therefore, am deeply grateful to you for the hours which I have profitably spent within the walls of your people's university." Perhaps the most eloquent of all of the statements was the following:

Science is a second food for any man. Without science man cannot understand himself...I am fully convinced that any scholar or well-educated person cannot look upon ignorant people without a shuddering of the heart and spiritual sorrow,...and that's why I say science is a second food. A man nourishes himself on food, his body puts on flesh and it seems good, but the intellect is bad and ignorant all the same, so that this man represents a living puppet. Give him science, he will be completely different.

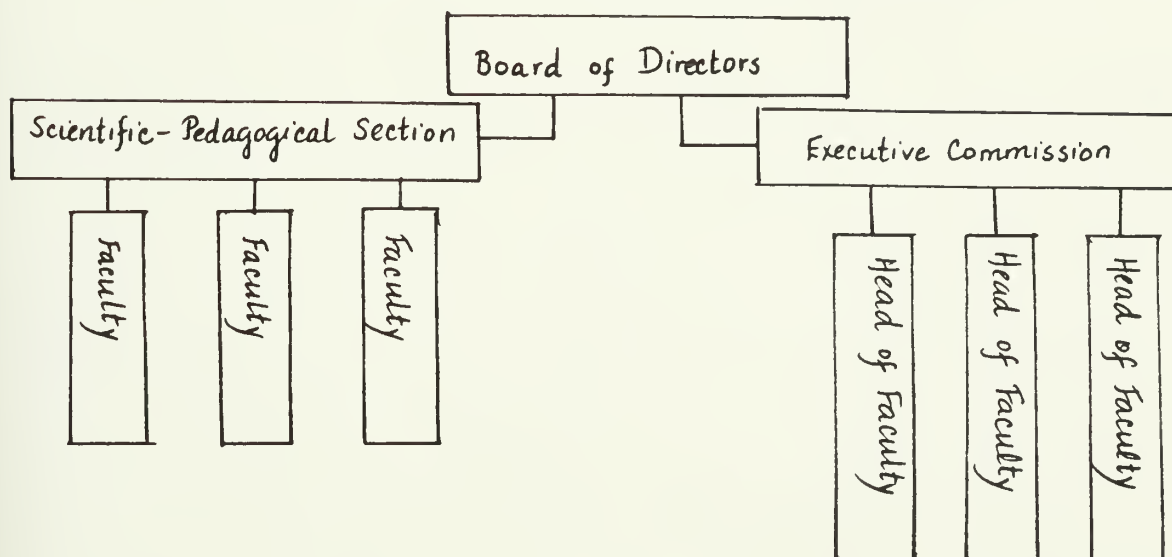
Regardless of their motivations for attending, 85 percent of the auditors in this program, according to Syromiatnikov, "acknowledged their full satisfaction with the lectures and courses attended by them." Furthermore, 70 percent of the respondents reported attending all of the lectures in their neighborhood, suggesting that these two

programs of the Moscow People's University were able to attract and hold the interest of many simple working people.³⁹

The administrative organization of people's universities was relatively simple, and almost all followed the same basic model used by both the St. Petersburg and Moscow Societies shown in figure 2. At the head of the organization was a Board of Directors (Pravlenie) composed of leading members of the local society of people's universities. An attempt was made by trade unions to be

Figure 2

Administrative Chart for Moscow People's Universities



Source: B.I. Syromiatnikov, "Vnutenniaia organizatsiia narodnykh universitetov," Trudy logo vserossiiskogo s"ezda deiatelei Obshchestv narodnykh universitetov i drugikh prosvetitel'nykh uchrezhdenii chastnoi initsiativy v S-PB, 3-7 ianv., 1908, (St. Petersburg: "Provintsia", 1908), p. 508.

represented on these Boards, but this seems to have taken place only for a short while in St. Petersburg. In general, representatives of the student body were not included in the running and policy making of

the universities. The primary tasks of the Boards of Directors, in addition to adhering to the guidelines of the program's charter and setting general policy, were to raise funds, to establish an annual budget and to oversee the supplementary activities of the university, such as its library, museum, publications, and so on.

Within the university itself administrative and managerial tasks were separate from the academic and curricular decision-making chores. A scientific-pedagogical section, composed entirely of the teaching staff, was responsible for all academic and programmatic decisions. This section was broken down into faculties according to broad subject areas; there were, for example, an historico-literary faculty, a socio-historical faculty, and a natural science faculty in St. Petersburg. Each faculty handled the following tasks:

1. establishing curricula of systematic lectures with a distribution of courses, number of hours per course, etc.;
2. selection and invitation of lecturers;
3. preparing for press all outlines of courses and the courses themselves;
4. establishing a collection of necessary visual aids, texts, and materials for lectures;
5. general supervision of the programs of courses in their sections;
6. organization of discussions, excursions, etc.⁴⁰

On the administrative side, the heads of all of the faculties formed an executive commission which coordinated the logistical details of the university. Their primary duty was to assure that the lecture hall was in proper order for the courses, but they also

supervised the accounting of ticket sales in their section and other budgetary matters, were responsible for publicity and the publication of lecture outlines and notes, and handled all dealings with both lecturers and auditors. It is difficult to believe, however, that one person alone handled all of these responsibilities on a volunteer basis. Thus, other members of the Society presumably shouldered these tasks, as well.

One innovative aspect in the organization of people's universities was the use of evaluation questionnaires of auditors to find out their needs and interests, as well as to discover their reactions to previous lectures and courses. While such questionnaires were quite primitive and simplistic by modern standards, and their analysis even more so, their novelty lay in the attempt of organizers to be responsive to their audience. The concept that the curriculum of an educational institution could and should change to meet public demand and interest was quite a radical departure from traditional practices. There were strict confines in which the people's universities could vary their offerings, but even the willingness to be flexible, probably more than any other factor, distinguished people's universities from other academic institutions in early 20th century Russia.

In the pre-revolutionary years people's universities never quite achieved those goals which were so promisingly set out for them between 1905 and 1910. A large part of the blame for this must certainly fall on the shoulders of the Tsarist government whose

reactionary official closed universities, banned certain lecturers, placed police informants in all lectures, and used bureaucratic technicalities to hinder the activities of people's universities. By the time a more perspicacious Minister of Education, in the person of P.N. Ignatiev, recognized the value of and need for out-of-school education in 1915, it was a case of too little, too late.

The First World War also created the conditions for a further restricting of the programs of people's universities. Authorities forbade the Moscow Society of People's Universities from operating beyond the city limits, and all rural lectures and programs were effectively stopped. Even more seriously, the St. Petersburg People's University broke off all activities with the exception of lectures in the central auditorium once the city of Petrograd was put on war footing. Military censors in all other areas claimed the right to prohibit lectures as they saw fit. According to Klimochkina, the number of lectures in the Samara Society of People's Universities was cut by two-thirds, and attendance there was scarcely at one-fifth of its pre-war level.⁴¹

Even without the obstacles mentioned above, however, it is doubtful that people's universities could have expanded much beyond the level at which they were operating in the years between 1908 and 1910. Organizers of people's universities failed to take seriously the difficulties of developing adult higher education without the requisite primary and secondary institutions as a foundation. As urban institutions, people's universities would have survived, yet in

expanding into rural areas they would have come face to face with the realities of the highest rate of illiteracy among major European powers.⁴² Under those circumstances expansion would have been impossible, thus the stated goal of the democratization of science could never have been achieved.

Despite their inherent limitations, people's universities were ground-breaking institutions for the Russian educational system. Their innovations had a significant influence on shaping out-of-school education for adults in the Soviet period. As Klimochkina states,

the activities of people's universities between 1905 and 1917 were very significant because precisely at that time the basic foundations were laid for those forms of educational work which in our day have received wide application and further development.⁴³

As will become more evident when we turn to a discussion of the present day activities of people's universities, several characteristics particularly stand out as descending from the pre-revolutionary programs.

Now, as then, there is still a great deal of faith in the capacity of science and culture to humanize broad section of society. Only now such humanizing goals are not expressed as leading to the democratization of society; rather, contemporary programs seek to develop in the Soviet citizen an all-rounded personality which exemplifies the "new Soviet man", or at the very least to provide for the Communist upbringing of the Soviet people.

In this effort the voluntary participation of Soviet intellectuals is just as crucial to the success of programs now as was the involvement of the academic intelligentsia before the revolution. Because of this social activism, people's universities can be organized according to voluntary principles, just as the first people's universities operated through private initiative, separate from the Tsarist Ministry of Education.

Finally, the initial efforts of the organizers to be responsive to auditors needs and interests continue to be manifested in many of the organizational principles of present-day people's universities. The influence that the early programs have on today's people's universities is symbolically acknowledged in the maintenance of the name "people's university", even though programs do not now offer an educational curriculum on the university level.

People's Universities in the Experimental Period, 1917-1935

By the time the two revolutions of 1917 overturned Russian society, people's universities had gained considerable prestige and had attracted much interest throughout the country. Tsarist repression had more the effect of increasing the thirst for such programs than it did in suppressing interest in them. Such was their popularity that at least five universities appeared in Tula, Reval, Irkutsk, Tambov, and Omsk between the February and October revolutions. A number of city dumas began to include funds for people's universities in their budgets, as Nizhni-Novgorod did in March, 1917. And such was the

political allure of being associated with these programs that the opening of a new people's university, called the First Seamen's University, in St. Petersburg attracted an unlikely trio of speakers: A.F. Kerensky, the anarchist I.A. Kropotkin, and the chairman of the Union of Republic Soldiers, V.I. Lebedev.⁴⁴ Thus, when the Bolsheviks came to power and began formulating their educational policies in late 1918 and early 1919, people's universities were already established as popular, progressive programs which deserved consideration in future policy-making.

Within days of the October revolution Lenin asked Lunacharsky, the Commissar in charge of education and culture, to accept the appointment of N.K. Krupskaya as head of the Adult Education Section of Narkompros, the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment. It was a position which she held with tenacity throughout its entire existence, first as the Adult Education Section, then from 1920 to 1930 as Glavpolitprosvet, the Central Administration for Political Education. It was also a position for which she was admirably suited, having had both a practical background in adult education in her work in the Smolenskaia Workers' Evening Courses from 1891 to 1896, and a theoretical preparation through her studies and writing on American, Swiss and Russian education.⁴⁵ As head of the new Soviet agency which took control of the people's universities, she had considerable impact on their post-revolutionary existence.

Both Krupskaya and Lunacharsky were favorably disposed to people's universities from the on-set of the revolution. Lunacharsky

was inclined to let them continue for both personal and philosophical reasons. As a member of the intelligentsia himself (he once labelled himself an intelligent among the Bolsheviks and a Bolshevik among the intelligentsia), he was particularly familiar with and sympathetic to that class of society as a whole. He especially supported those who were willing to work with the Bolsheviks after the revolution, as did some of the leaders of the people's university movement. Lunacharsky also shared the intellectuals' view that the dissemination of science and culture was an essential component of national development. As a recent portrait of Lunacharsky points out,

He insisted that cultural enlightenment was one of the most important tasks that party members could undertake: it alone, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, would lead to communism, for only education could change a person's thinking and engender behavior modification along socialist lines.⁴⁶

This most liberal of Commissars, then, must have been an enthusiastic supporter of people's universities as part of a broader system of cultural enlightenment.

Krupskaya's support for people's universities was more qualified, for she did not share Lunacharsky's belief that intellectuals would eventually be won over to a proletarian point of view. In fact, cognizant of their domination by liberal intellectuals before the revolution, she was quite suspicious of people's universities. She noted in 1918 that "all these people's universities in the vast majority of cases in no way propagate socialist culture, but in the best instances only inculcate a spirit of democracy."⁴⁷ Even stronger, however, was her belief in the principle of educational

decentralization and her faith in the capacity of local authorities to come to appropriate judgements regarding their communities' educational needs. She asked at that time,

...But does the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment have the right to deny allocations to people's universities which are being begged for by local Soviets? Narkompros has not given money to even one people's university without a request from the local soviet. From the center it is difficult to judge whether this or another people's university will have a liberal or socialist character. On site this is much clearer. We in the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment set only one condition: the people's universities must be under the control of workers.⁴⁸

Thus, people's universities began their existence under the Soviet regime with the tacit approval, if not outright support, of the highest educational authorities. More people's universities opened after the revolution, and one Soviet source claims that 101 people's universities were in operation in the Russian Federation alone in 1919.⁴⁹ Even so, the conditions under which these programs operated began to change dramatically.

The one stance of the pre-revolutionary universities which was absolutely intolerable to the Bolsheviks was their apolitical character. Lenin criticized such a view saying,

the very terms 'apolitical' or 'nonpolitical' education is a piece of bourgeois hypocrisy, nothing but the deception of the masses...We must put the matter frankly and openly and declare, despite the old lies, that education cannot help but be connected with politics.⁵⁰

To politicize people's universities, Soviet authorities placed them more and more under the control of local soviets, and they began to reflect the political and cultural viewpoints of local Soviet officials. One of the consequences of this influence was the renaming

of some programs as "proletarian universities" in an attempt to shed the stigma of liberal, bourgeois involvement.

These changes were successful, of course, in ridding people's universities of liberal influence, but they also lost their academic and scientific standards with the exodus of liberal professors from their programs. Proletarian and people's universities were often set up in rural areas, for example in Chernogorsk, Balt and other Ukrainian towns and villages, but they usually ran with staffs of unqualified teachers.⁵¹

Even more important for the people's universities was that their fundamental *raison d'etre*, to provide scientific knowledge equivalent to a higher education to the broader population, was in principle coopted by the Soviet regime. In August, 1918, all state universities were decreed to have open admissions policies for everyone above the age of sixteen. For the vast majority of their clientele who lived in urban areas, people's universities ostensibly became redundant, even second class institutions since all who wanted to, could now attend the more prestigious state institutions. Even the people's universities' role in providing a preparatory education for university subjects was taken over by Narkompros through the creation of the popular and relatively successful Workers' Faculties or Rabfaks.

The urban programs of the people's universities began to close down shortly thereafter. The St. Petersburg People's University broke off its activities totally in 1919. In the course of that year

Shaniavksii University ceased to exist, although part of it was incorporated into the Rabfak of the new Communist University named for Ia.M. Sverdlov, eventually becoming part of the Second Moscow State University.⁵²

By 1920, only rural people's or proletarian universities were left, and these were irregular, poorly staffed programs at best. Krupskaya commented at the time,

...present-day people's universities, which for greater show have adopted the nickname "proletarian universities," came into being here arbitrarily and are in the vast majority of cases parodies of state universities...The student body of these "universities" are non-proletarian practically everywhere: employees of soviets, 'petty-bourgeois' public, which does not at all know what it wants, and so on. And it is understood that their curricula are haphazardly put together.⁵³

Even given these problems, Krupskaya saw the value of such programs, properly directed, and Narkompros continued to provide them financial support until 1920.

In 1920, largely in connection with Trotsky's "war communism" policies, Narkompros radically altered the focus of its educational objectives. Instead of seeking to further the all-round development of the individual through general educational curricula, which had been Lunacharsky's and Krupskaya's aim to that point, the Soviet regime began to demand a strictly vocational curriculum which would serve the urgent short-term needs of the economy. The Central Committee for Professional-Technical Education, or Glavprofobr, was created to implement this new policy, and its essential principle was the "rigorous subordination of all other possible functions of education

to the economic function."⁵⁴ Since proletarian and people's universities did not conform in any way with the new principles, it seems likely that they lost whatever support they had in Narkompros. They were phased out during the course of 1920-1921. For the first time since their establishment in 1905, people's universities temporarily ceased to play a role in out-of-school adult education in Russian and the Soviet Union.

The eclipse of people's universities by other programs was short-lived, however. State universities soon began to reinstitute selective admissions policies, and the Rabfaks' preparatory curriculum remained too narrowly defined to be of interest to many potential students. There still remained a need for higher level adult education courses in which people could participate while working full time. A response to this need was developed in late 1925 and early 1926 in the form of so-called workers' universities, which arose through the initiative of trade union and Party organizations, first in Moscow, then elsewhere.

Following the failure of the policies of centralization and compulsion in adult education which marked the "war communism" period, the pendulum began to swing back to the general educational orientation of the former people's universities. Writing in 1930, Hans and Hessen noted this trend,

Thus in 1926 were refounded the "Workers' Universities" (pre-revolutionary people's universities), closed by the Soviet government during the first period of its policy as superfluous... So, influenced by life, the Soviet educationists are returning to the principles of the old

Russian adult education movement: neutrality in politics, voluntary attendance, and adaptation of the courses to the interests and requirements of actual workers and peasants and not the imaginary wishes of an abstract "proletarian" who is supposed to be directed by his "class consciousness."⁵⁵

It should not be thought, however, that politics and vocational training were taken out of these programs entirely. An official Soviet document describing these workers' universities, lists their goals as follows:

...the development and deepening of the communist world-outlook of auditors on the basis of raising their general educational level; ...the instillment in auditors of habits of the independent organization of knowledge;...aid in raising the productive qualifications of auditors (workers) by means of the scientific- theoretical elucidation of the most important productive aspects of factory-plant enterprises of a given raion; help for auditors in acquiring greater preparation for social work.⁵⁶

In broader terms, the aim of these programs was to help in the self-education of workers, a goal which was very similar to people's universities.

In several other respects workers' universities reflected the influence of their predecessors. They were to be as accessible to workers as possible, meaning that fees were low and the level of course work was adapted, if necessary, to the abilities and backgrounds of the students. In order to keep down costs, lecturers (in large part university professors and their students) were either paid a low honorarium or contributed their services gratis. The fundamental organizational principle of workers' universities was decentralization; they were not controlled centrally by Glavpolitprosvet, nor did they follow a centrally devised curriculum.

In fact, according to Krupksaya, their growth was entirely spontaneous, based on local demand. She relates an incident in Ivanovo-Voznesensk where local authorities hesitated to allow paid courses, but workers there refused to permit the closing of the program.⁵⁷ There is not doubt, however, that effective control was maintained locally either by trade union or Party organs, or by local officials of Politprosvet.

In two respects the workers' universities departed from the practices of people's universities. First, all workers' universities were connected to or even incorporated in existing state higher educational institutions, and as the programs developed, these ties became even stronger. Classroom and office space, laboratories, supplies, teachers, and help in developing teaching methodologies were all provided by the base institution, presumably free of charge. Consequently, the costs of running a workers' university were many times lower than the former people's universities. The monthly budget for 130 auditors at the Second Moscow State University was a mere 80 rubles, although the cost at the Zamoskvoretskii workers' university was as high as 2,000 rubles per month with the same number of students.⁵⁸

The location of workers' universities in the state universities created a natural tension between efficiency and workers' control of the program. While state universities kept costs down and had both the necessary supplies and teachers, they were situated in city centers, away from workers' districts. As a response to this conflict, workers'

universities set up affiliates on site at factories and plants, and attempted to integrate curricula with the needs of these enterprises. Krupskaya pushed hard for a rapprochement between workers' universities and factories, saying it was necessary that "the program be oriented to the demands of plants, factories, to the needs of workers, so that the living science would as little as possible be forced into the confines of out-dated forms."⁵⁹

The curricula which emerged to meet the needs of factories were much more practically and technically oriented than most earlier people's universities. While there were numerous variations from site to site, each university offered two- and three-year courses primarily in a socio-economic faculty and a socio-technical faculty. The socio-economic faculty was designed to train men and women for administrative and managerial positions, for trade union work, for cultural-educational work and for involvement in various voluntary social activities. The socio-technical faculty had a three-year program in several technical subjects: electronics, chemistry, mechanics, agronomy, and others. In addition to these two main branches, there were general education courses which were oriented to those with only a primary or incomplete secondary education. Finally, there was a "Faculty of Mass Work", consisting mainly of short courses and lectures given by correspondence.⁶⁰ It can also be assumed that a great deal of political education was incorporated into the various curricula of workers' universities.

Although the workers' university turned out to be a short-lived phenomenon, going out of existence around 1931, it gained considerable popularity during its life. Table 2.5 demonstrates the rapid growth of enrollments in workers' universities between 1925-1926 and 1930-1931. The figures for 1930-1931 and 1931-1932 indicate the projected enrollments for the programs according to the five-year plan. Had these figures been realized, there would have been more students enrolled in workers' universities that there were in the more famous and better supported Rabfaks.

Table 2.5

Enrollments in Workers' Universities, 1925-1932

Year	Number of Universities	Enrollments
1925-1926	6	1,000
1926-1927	21	?
1927-1928	33	11,200
1928-1929	45	15,400
1929-1930	68	21,600
1930-1931	(200)	(80,000)
1931-1932	(800)	(400,000)

Sources: N. Hans and S. Hessen, Educational Policy in Soviet Russia, (London: P.S. King & Son, 1930), p. 201; Susan Kingsbury, Factory, Family and Woman in the USSR, (New York: G.P. Putnam's and Sons, 1935), p.183; and Pedagogicheskaiia Entsiklopediia, v.3, (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1966), p. 608.

Exactly why workers' universities broke off their activities at the height of their popularity is difficult to ascertain. It is possible that their downfall was connected with the culmination of Stalin's rise to power and Lunacharsky's and Krupskaya's concomitant fall from influence. With the arrival of the cultural revolution, which accompanied the industrialization policies the the First

Five-Year Plan in the late 20's and early 30's, many radical changes were made in educational policy. It is probable, as one Soviet source suggests, that the workers' universities were supplanted by other forms of adult education,⁶¹ and that this was done for political reasons.

Universities of Culture: 1931-1959

The immediate consequence of industrialization and the First Five Year Plan was a centralization of educational policy and control under Narkompros, which from 1929 was headed by A.S. Bubnov. Even more serious in their implications for programs like people's and workers' universities was the rejection of the progressive, general educational approach to adult education which had been pushed by Krupskaya, and the complete undermining of the position of intellectuals and specialists in Soviet society. Without the support of Narkompros and without the initiative of intellectuals, who had been the sustaining force for out-of-school education for adults, people's and workers' universities ceased to exist once more. What remained were the Rabfaks, which continued their role of preparing workers and peasants for university study, and "Schools for Adults of the Advanced Type," which provided for the equivalent of an incomplete secondary education (at that time a seven-year education) through evening courses for adults. Under Stalin, then, out-of-school educational programs for adults which offered more than a basic curriculum ceased to function.

Almost simultaneously with the demise of workers' universities, a small movement began to develop in student dormitories which aimed at broadening the cultural and aesthetic horizons of students specializing in technical subjects. The first of these programs, which were called universities of culture, was founded in 1931 at the Leningrad Chemical-Technological Institute,⁶² and several others were started in Leningrad shortly thereafter.

In their earlier, undefined stages these programs bore more resemblance to clubs and cultural organizations than they did to educational establishments:

the uniqueness of the universities of culture lies in the fact that they are not academic institutions, not VUZi [higher educational institutions], nor do they graduate specialists; however, several common aspects among them exist, namely the scientific basis of their work, their well-known discipline, their routine and so on...[The university of culture] is a social organization in that it is built upon the voluntary principles of student initiative and creativity, but it is a special type of social organization, sharply distinguished from mass cultural organizations by its integral trait, the scientific organization of the work.⁶³

In this case the "scientific organization of the work" means two different things: that the curriculum was based upon a regular series of lectures, and that scientific socialism and Marxist-Leninist aesthetics were the guiding philosophies of the program. Undoubtedly Party and Komsomol guidance and control of the universities assured that this would be so.

In the beginning universities of culture were not intended to be adult education programs at all since they operated in schools with

university students. Soon, however, the programs began to develop through Party and trade union organizations in other establishments. A Soviet dissertation focusing on the development of people's universities in the Ukraine from 1917 to 1937, explains how this process occurred:

In the Ukrainian SSR universities of culture were also founded at academic institutions. On the initiative of the Kiev Party Committee, a university of culture was opened at Kiev State University. The initiative of students was taken up by workers, who established universities of culture in enterprises, in factory clubs, parks, or open squares. A university of culture was opened at the Kharkov Steamboat Factory and the Kiev Red Banner Factory.⁶⁴

These programs acquired the name "universities of culture" because their content almost totally concentrated on literature, the arts, and a great deal of Marxist-Leninist theory. The example of one university of culture located in a Leningrad workers' dormitory, shown in table 2.6, is typical in the thrust of its efforts.

In this case roughly two-thirds of the hours deal with political and cultural topics. One Soviet researcher, however, divides the content of the universities of culture, as a whole, into four separate categories: socio-political, natural sciences, scientific-technical, and arts studies. She cites the case of the Donetsk University of Culture which offered four cycles of courses, science, technology, literature, and art, every Sunday over the course of a five month period.⁶⁵

Table 2.6

Example Curriculum for a University of Culture, 1959

Program of Study	Number of Hours
-Foundations of Marxist-Leninist Ethics	18
-The XXI Congress of the C.P.S.U.	24
-The Foreign Policy of the USSR and Contemporary International Relations	20
-Newest Achievements in Science and Technology	18
-Soviet Literature	16
-Theater	12
-Soviet Cinematography	10
-Visual Arts	10
-Soviet Music	14
-For a Healthy Life	46

Source: M. Tsirulin, Universitet kul'turi na Okhte, (Leningrad, 1959), p. 15.

For a long time, almost twenty years, universities of culture existed only on a local scale and were sparsely scattered throughout the western part of the country. Furthermore, it is probably that they ceased to exist altogether during the Second World War, although similar programs may have existed in officers' clubs or other military establishments.⁶⁶ In their early years and up until the late 1950's these programs played only a minor role in the cultural education of adults and attracted little attention in the Soviet press. In the late 40's and early 50's occasional reports were printed in Pravda, Izvestiia, Literaturnaia Gazeta, and Sovetskoe Iskusstvo of openings of universities of culture, especially universities of musical

culture, in Moscow, Leningrad, and certain republic capitals, but these are not numerous.⁶⁷ The significance of these programs lies less in their numbers than in their influence on the people's universities which grew out of their experience. In essence, the universities of culture were prototypes of contemporary people's universities, and, while many of their characteristics have changed, their basic goals and organizational patterns have been carried down to this day. Such is their influence that even now the culturally oriented programs of people's universities are often called universities of culture by laymen and specialists alike.

Beginning in 1957, a momentum began to develop in the establishment of universities of culture, both in their numbers and in the range of curricula offered for study. At this point not only were programs in culture and politics offered, but health, technical, agricultural, and pedagogical topics began to appear also. Many of the new programs, perhaps to accommodate the broader range of offerings, were named people's universities of culture or merely people's universities. As a result of this growth, approximately 1,000 programs were reported to be operating in 1959. Exactly why the programs began a growth spurt at this time is not clear. One Soviet official has suggested that by the mid-1950's, a large enough number of adults had received an incomplete secondary education and the Soviet economy had recovered sufficiently from war-time destruction, allowing people the luxury of concentrating their energies elsewhere, that interest and demand for such programs appeared naturally. Other reports suggest

that this growth was connected with Khrushchev's "Movement for Communist Labor," although Soviet officials now deny that. At any rate, it is certain that there was a degree of spontaneity in the growth of people's universities, and that up until this point, universities of culture and people's universities had developed without coordinated control and supervision from central authorities in Moscow.

Development of the System of People's Universities, 1959-1968

By early 1959, officials in the Ministry of Culture realized that coordinated efforts were necessary in order to guide the development of people's universities. To that end the All-Union Ministry issued an order to its republic branches to cooperate with trade unions, the Komsomol organization and sections of the All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge in working out specific plans for aiding the various programs grouped under the term, universities of culture. For the first time since the 1920's, people's universities were again recognized programs of the government under control of one agency, although that agency, the Ministry of Culture, shared responsibility for running these programs.

It seems likely that along with its stated purpose of aiding the universities of culture, the Ministry of Culture intervened in the supervision of the programs to assure the "communist character" of their activities. In the short, relatively free period of the "thaw" following the death of Stalin in 1953, intellectuals were on much

safer ground in openly discussing cultural matters, and this relaxation may have contributed to the growth of interest in people's universities. By the end of the 1950's, however, that short period of relaxation had already begun to make a retreat and more conservative cultural authorities were once again exerting their influence. With the rapid and unsupervised growth of universities of culture at this time, these authorities may have felt it necessary to provide ministerial control over the content and organization of the programs.

Whatever the reasons, the Ministry of Culture did take an active role in developing universities of culture from 1959 on, organizing all-union conferences for the directors and staff of the programs in April and July of that year. The purpose of these gatherings was to publicize the experiences of these programs and to work out standardized plans and curricula. The impact of these conferences was to increase the number of universities of culture reportedly to 2,000 by July, 1960, all of which came under the authority of the Ministry of Culture. A third conference on people's universities was held on July 1, 1960, entirely under the control of the Collegium of the Ministry of Culture with attendance by representatives of other cultural organizations. It looked at this point as if people's universities were becoming a monopoly of the Ministry of Culture.

Such were not the intentions of the Party leaders, however. Shortly thereafter, on August 20, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. issued a resolution entitled, "On the Work of People's Universities," which was to define the basic goals and organizational

patterns for the people's universities for the next eight years. The resolution, while favorably disposed toward people's universities in general, was sharply critical of the way in which the programs had developed to that point. Although not mentioned directly, the Ministry of Culture seems to have borne the brunt of most of these criticisms.

...the C.C. C.P.S.U. has noted that in the content of the work of some people's universities of culture there are major shortcomings. The most serious of these is their passion for high culture (kul'turnichestvo) and abstractions to the detriment of ideological Marxist-Leninist education. Quite often the study of works of literature and art departs from the task of forming a communist world-outlook, of educating auditors in a spirit of collectivism and love of labor, of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. In certain universities of culture insufficient attention is paid to the elucidation of relevant questions of theory and policy of the Party, or to the popularization of the achievements of Soviet science and technology, or the advanced experience of industry and agriculture.⁶⁸

In addition to being criticized for lack of attention to political, scientific, and technological topics in the programs, universities of culture were also castigated for "violations of the principle of unlimited access to the university," "violations of public, voluntary principles in their activities," and for being "artificially complicated and bureaucratized by mechanical borrowing of organizational forms from higher educational institutions."⁶⁹ All of these criticisms indirectly pointed to the Ministry of Culture's attempt to solidify control over the universities of culture.

The Party's solution to this situation was to have its republic and local level committees bear ultimate responsibility for the activities of people's universities and for supervision of the activities of the "organs of culture," the All-Union Society for the

Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, the trade unions, the Komsomols, and the creative arts unions in their work with people's universities. These agencies for their part were required to work with the Party in the creation of advisory councils which would oversee the day-to-day running of the universities in each of their special fields.

The organization which gained the most from this change by the Central Committee was the All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge (later the Znanie Society, see glossary), a public, voluntary organization established in 1947 to organize lectures on a broad range of topics for the adult population. The resolution ordered the establishment of a scientific-methodological council under the control of the Society's Board of directors which would be responsible for working out lesson plans and curricula for different types of people's universities and for creating texts and teaching materials for auditors and teachers. Of all of the agencies cited, this would be the only one which would have a hand in all fields of people's universities.

The Central Committee's resolution firmly established three conditions which would serve as the basis for running people's universities. First, and perhaps most importantly in their view, political education would always have a prominent place in the curricula of people's universities, both in the types of courses that the universities offered and in the content of each university itself. Secondly, people's universities would always be run on a public,

voluntary basis, separate from the control of any one ministry, but guided by the Party and a broad range of ministries. Thirdly, the pedagogical approach of people's universities would in principle be radically different from formal educational institutions, assuming open access to all programs regardless of educational background, the use of "active methods" of teaching, such as visual aids, seminars, discussions as opposed to lectures, and responsiveness to local needs and conditions in establishing program goals and content. While these three conditions are not always met in practice, they became guiding principles of these programs following the Central Committee resolution.

Party direction of people's universities was reinforced by a resolution included in the Third Program of the C.P.S.U. at its 22nd Party Congress in 1961. This resolution in particular called for the rapid growth of the system of people's universities, and with Party involvement this growth was soon forthcoming. In the course of the following year the number of people's universities nearly tripled and the number of auditors enrolled in the system rose by about 500,000. Up until 1968, attention in the development of people's universities was entirely focused on their quantitative growth. Table 2.7 shows how dramatic this growth was.

It is interesting to note that this quantitative growth took place almost exclusively in programs other than the universities of culture. For example, one researcher notes that in Leningrad

Table 2.7

Growth of People's Universities: 1959-1968

Year	Number of Univs.	Number of Auds.
1959-1960	ca. 1,000	ca. 500,000
1960-1961	2,121	ca. 1,000,000
1961-1962	6,357	1,494,000
1962-1963	10,500	1,840,000
1963-1964	9,635	1,926,000
1964-1965	15,837	2,694,000
1965-1966	16,908	2,900,000
1966-1967	16,466	2,913,000
1967-1968	14,449	2,712,000

Sources: V.Ia. Tokman', Partiinoe rukovodstvo deiatel'nost'iu gosudarstvennykh i obshchestvennykh organizatsii po razvitiu narodnykh universitetov, 1959-1970, Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute im. Krupskaya, 1975, p. 83; Smotr narodnykh universitetov: Sbornik materialov v pomoshch' narodnym universitetam, organizatsiiam, i kommissiiam provodiashchim smotr, Vyp. 1, (Moscow: Izd. Znanie, 1965), p. 47; L.V. Dubrovina, Narodnye universiteti, (Moscow: Znanie, 1963).

universities of culture made up 100 percent of people's universities in 1958-1959, but declined to 60.8 percent in 1961-1962.⁷⁰ The difference was made up primarily by universities of scientific-technical knowledge, of health, atheism, pedagogical people's universities for parents and others. Furthermore, the relative weight of universities of culture in the system of people's universities fell to 18.3 percent by 1968.⁷¹ Thus, while the Ministry of Culture was not cut out entirely from involvement with people's universities, its influence was sharply curtailed after the two Party resolutions.

An unavoidable concomitant to this rapid quantitative growth was the standardization of the programs and activities of people's

universities. Up until the time the Party began to become actively involved in the program, the spontaneity and individuality of universities of culture meant that there was no uniformity of objectives or content. Now that pressure to develop the programs came from the top down, there was a need to devise a standard set of guidelines according to which all programs, ideally, would be established. The task of doing this fell to the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge in 1961.

A document published by the Society entitled, Model Regulations for People's Universities of Culture,⁷² quite suddenly gave these previously amorphous programs a definitive set of guidelines which they were supposed to follow. The regulations went into far greater detail than the Party resolutions about the goals and tasks of people's universities, their structure and administration, admissions policies, teaching methods, student rules, and so on. Although these regulations have been altered somewhat since 1961, the basic parameters established by the document remain unchanged.

The fundamental task of people's universities, as envisioned by the regulations, was to:

assist in raising the communist consciousness of the broad popular masses, to promote the ideological-aesthetic upbringing, the popularization of the newest achievements of science, technology, and industrial innovation. Various types of universities of culture are called upon to assist the Communist Party in every possible way in the formation of the new man, to bring to bear an ideological influence on every Soviet person, to develop in auditors a striving for self-education, help them better use acquired knowledge in life, and in the active participation in carrying out the

Program of the Communist Party's Central Committee and the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.⁷³

While the tasks outlined in the regulations give a highly ideological slant to people's universities, the rest of the document leaves considerable flexibility for local authorities to decide how to interpret these ideological goals and in what manner they should be achieved. For example, "the profile [academic field] and structure of people's universities of culture are determined in accordance with local conditions and needs."⁷⁴ Furthermore, the document states that, "the basic form of study in people's universities consists of a series of lectures on various questions of science and culture,"⁷⁵ implying that the ideological goals are achieved indirectly through acquisition of knowledge in these areas. In the final analysis, the document stipulates that ultimately, "the curricula of universities of culture shall be differentiated depending on local conditions, the age, professional, educational, and national backgrounds of the student body, their needs and interests."⁷⁶ There is inherent in the document, then, a tension between central direction of the ideological content of people's universities and local consideration of auditors' needs and interests in determining the curricular content of programs. This tension has turned out to be a long-standing issue, yet to be resolved in the national system of people's universities.

A look at the breakdown of people's universities according to their various fields in 1964 demonstrates how this tension has manifested itself in the programs. While the regulations state that

Table 2.8

People's Universities by Field of Knowledge, 1964

Field of Knowledge	No. of Univs.	No. of Auds.
<u>Universities of:</u>		
-Culture	2,264	557,859
-Pedagogical Knowledge	1,566	245,636
-Medical Knowledge	1,420	171,954
-General Knowledge	998	382,011
-Scientific-Technical and Economic Knowledge	900	166,027
-Agricultural Knowledge	858	115,600
-Communist Uprising and Everyday Life	544	87,267
-Legal Knowledge	355	77,944
-Natural Science	146	17,584
-Scientific Atheism	141	17,501
-Soviet Trade	77	15,242
-International Relations	42	10,918
-Physical Culture and Sport	21	3,089
-Philosophy	11	1,825
-History	11	1,235
-Lecturing Skills	2	124
-Others	248	43,726
<u>Total in USSR:</u>	<u>9,629</u>	<u>1,924,836</u>

Source: Smotr narodnykh universitetov: Sbornik materialov v pomoshch' narodnym universitetam, organizatsiiam, i kommissiiam provodiashchim smotr, vyp. 1 (Moscow: Izd. Znanie, 1964), p. 68. Note: These statistics were compiled by the Central Statistical Administration in Moscow, yet even a cursory inspection of the figures shows how carelessly and inaccurately they were compiled. The total attendance figures for all fields adds to 1,923,831, not 1,924,836 as published. The difference is not significant, but the error in calculation is not explained anywhere.

people's universities were "to bring to bear an ideological influence on every Soviet person," the statistics seem to indicate that this was not happening in most programs. Any subject can, of course, contain ideological material, but this appears to not to have been the case for people's universities at this time. Thus, those fields which had an overtly ideological slant or which would contain a scientific

socialist perspective, such as Universities of Communist Upbringing, of Legal Knowledge, of Scientific Atheism, of International Relations, and others, were the only ones which were ideologically oriented, and they made up only 18 percent of the programs and slightly over 11 percent of the auditors in people's universities. Despite the prominent role of ideological education mandated for people's universities, the vast majority of programs at this time remained oriented to cultural and general educational topics.

Perhaps for this reason an All-Union Evaluation of People's Universities was carried out in 1964-1965, although other factors may have played a role in precipitating this review, as well. For one thing, the quantitative growth of people's universities had stagnated in 1963-1964, and a push from central authorities may have been deemed necessary to continue the development of the system. Quality of the programs may also have been at issue, as one Soviet researcher indicates:

...in this period a number of serious shortcomings were allowed to come to light. Firstly, a hastiness in the founding of people's universities and a certain enthusiasm for quantitative indicators were allowed. As a result cases of people's universities stopping their work took place, and some of them lost their authority. Secondly, in some cases the establishment of a people's university was not supported by serious organizational work in selecting teaching staffs or in writing curricula, and this had negative consequences. Thirdly, all of this bespoke of an unsatisfactory level in the methodological preparation of lecturers and teachers in people's universities, their weak equipment in visual aids, and as a result classes amounted to simple lectures, seldom using visual aids.

Finally, there were also imbalances in the system which needed some correction. Few programs existed in Central Asia of the Far East, or

in rural areas in general, and certain fields of knowledge were stronger before the review than others. Most of these, universities of culture, pedagogical and medical knowledge, remained strong afterwards, as well. Furthermore, those for whom the programs were intended, workers, kolkhoznik, and working youth, were still not being drawn into the programs in satisfactory numbers.

Yet the main impetus of the review seemed to be to strengthen the ideological aspects of the programs. The evaluation and subsequent efforts to improve the activities of people's universities did serve to revive the growth of people's universities for a couple of years. Best of all from the Party's point of view, was the mushrooming of universities of socio-political knowledge; that is, those programs which contained political or ideological information. The results of the evaluation report that the number of such programs tripled over the course of the year-long review.

The leading force behind the evaluation had been the Znanie Society,⁷⁸ and after the evaluation this organization took on more and more of the strictly educational chores of the people's universities. Lecturers and teachers were supplied, example lesson plans and curricula were drawn up, texts, visual aids, and other educational materials were prepared, all with the cooperation and guidance of the Znanie Society. Furthermore, the Znanie Society began to be organizationally responsible for an increasing number of people's universities, so that it soon had more programs under its jurisdiction than any other ministry or agency. In the years between 1964 and 1968,

it became the de facto leader and organizer of the system of people's universities.

While the Znanie Society was pushing ahead in the quantitative development of people's universities, in most areas the serious questions about the level of quality raised by the 1964-1965 evaluation remained. It appeared as if most ministries and administrative agencies had neither the educational resources nor the qualified personnel necessary to run these adult education programs as autonomous entities. A second Central Committee resolution, published in October, 1968, noted these qualitative shortcomings and ordered a reorganization of the system of people's universities.⁷⁹ The results of this move brought about the organizational and structural configuration which characterizes people's universities today.

The focus of this Party resolution was the centralization of the system under one coordinating body, the Central Council of People's Universities. In recognition of the Znanie Society's leadership, this Council was created out of the former scientific-methodological council of the Society and located at the headquarters of the Society. In spite of these formal ties to the Znanie Society, the Council remained an autonomous body composed of representatives of the ministries and agencies most actively involved in people's universities. The most prominent members of the Central Council are representatives of the Znanie Society, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Komsomols, the Ministries of Education, Higher and Secondary Specialized Education,

Culture, Agriculture, and Public Health, the Academy of Sciences, and the All-Union Council of Scientific-Technical Organizations. Other interested ministries, agencies, and creative arts unions also have representatives on the Council, and the total membership may be as high as fifty.

This Central Council sits at the top of a system of advisory councils which branch out along territorial and departmental lines. The territorial councils are under the jurisdiction of the Znanie Society and oversee the coordination of people's universities at the republic, krai, oblast, and city levels. (For clarification of these geographical terms, see glossary) The departmental advisory councils are under the jurisdiction of individual ministries which direct the activities of a particular profile of university. For example, the Ministry of Public Health runs the People's Universities of Medical Knowledge, the Ministry of Education coordinates the Pedagogical People's Universities, and so on. These departmental advisory councils also have their affiliates in republic, krai, oblast, and city sub-sections of the ministry. There is no doubt, however, that the Znanie Society is at the center of the restructured system, its primary role being the provision of educational support to different types of universities and the supervision of the effectiveness of the system as a whole.

A second, subtler consequence in the 1968 Central Committee resolution was a shift in programmatic priorities within the system. Previously, the goals of people's universities had been to broaden the

cultural and ideological horizons of its auditors, to produce the new Soviet man. After 1968, a new, more practical and vocational side was added to their activities. The Academic Secretary of the Central Council of People's Universities explains these new tasks:

Universities of Technical Progress, Natural Science and Economic Knowledge began to substantially supplement the state system of retraining and raising the professional qualifications of personnel. Precisely this tremendous state task was first proposed to the people's universities in the resolution of the C.P.S.U. of October 8, 1968. And the task is handled by a majority of universities in the productive realm.⁸⁰

In essence these universities were being asked to supplement, and in some cases supplant, the activities of the Institutes and Faculties of Raising of Professional Qualifications, the state organizations responsible for this task. Since these faculties and institutes retrain a specialist at most once every five years, it was clear that continuing programs were necessary for the intervening period of time. After 1968, it was the people's universities which became responsible for filling this gap. It seems likely that this particular change was part of the broader economic reforms which were initiated under Brezhnev in the late 60's. The resolution itself notes that, "in connection with the economic reforms the number of people's universities of economic and technical progress grew significantly."⁸¹

Aside from the imbalances in the system of people's universities mentioned in the 1964 review, the issues of quality pinpointed by the 1968 resolution were concerned with the educational methods and techniques used in the programs.

The educational/upbringing work in some people's universities is at a particularly low level: classes are conducted according to lesson plans and syllabi which have been written without consideration of the general education and special preparation of auditors or of their profession or age. Part of the people's universities do not live up to their name since study in them consists solely of lectures. Many lecturers and teachers needing scientific-methodological help in essence do not get it. The creation of lesson plans for various branches of knowledge is weakly organized.⁸²

Aside from the restructuring of the system noted above and naming the organizations and ministries responsible for improving the system, no specific solutions to these problems were forthcoming from the document. While the Znanie Society and various ministries have worked at improving the educational quality of people's universities since, many of these deficiencies continue to trouble these programs.

Since the 1968 resolution there have been no major changes in the organization and content of people's universities. Those modifications which have been made have tended to concentrate on righting the rural-urban imbalances, improving the inappropriate methods and low quality of teaching, and augmenting the financial base of the universities. It can be said, then, that the programs of people's universities attained their present form in full with this resolution.

Summary and Conclusion

From the first efforts to establish a people's university in St. Petersburg in 1896, to the present configuration of the system which evolved in 1968, the programs which have operated under the name, people's university, have organized themselves in a variety of

patterns, set out to achieve a range of purposes, and operated on the basis of numerous curricula. In any given period they have also been at the mercy of political and ideological trends, thus they have had to adjust to the rapidly changing Russian and Soviet political climate over the past eighty years. At times they have been more successful at adapting to these fluctuations and have managed to survive. At other times they have been overwhelmed by the political storms which raged about them and have been swamped by the turbulence, only to reappear with the ensuing calm.

Despite the radically different political contexts in which people's universities have had to exist, the basic concept of the program has proved to be remarkably stable over time. People's universities now, as at the turn of the century, are conceived to be voluntary, out-of-school programs for working adults which seek to provide scientific and cultural information and training beyond an elementary level. Furthermore, a number of characteristics of people's universities have continually reappeared throughout their existence, making them readily identifiable from other types of adult education. Some of the characteristics clearly aided the development of the universities while others created tensions for the programs.

The most salient of these traits was people's universities' persistent capacity to remain public, voluntary, as opposed to governmental, educational programs, both under the Tsarist and Soviet regimes. While the universities have undergone frequent scrutiny and supervision from governmental authorities to insure their

"trustworthiness," they have always remained organizationally and financially independent institutions. To a large degree this autonomy and self-reliance have been crucial factors in the program's endurance: it has made them rely on the voluntary initiative and good-will of concerned individuals and has forced them to be responsive to the needs and interests of their audience.

Some of the issues which have divided people's universities in the past continue to be controversial today. The extent to which political or ideological education should be part of the program of peoples' universities created a heated debate before the revolution. Today the issue arises because Party-mandated universities of socio-political knowledge demand by far the most time and effort of organizers in attracting and holding students, reflecting a general disinterest in this profile of university. The issue of the practical versus the cultural curriculum for people's universities also resurfaced in 1968 with the push to develop more universities of economic knowledge and technical progress and to increase their role in retraining and raising the qualifications of workers. Both of these issues raise the question of whether certain content areas can be required for the voluntary people's universities when a sufficient level of popular demand for the programs is not present.

As we turn to a more detailed discussion of the contemporary system of people's universities in the next chapter, the role of their historical characteristics in creating a unique identity for people's universities will become clearer. the long history of people's

universities, and their surprising ability to prosper under both Tsarist and Soviet governments, are only a couple of the more fascinating aspects of people's universities. Their present form, in part a consequence of this history, also presents an interesting picture of the shape of adult education in the Soviet Union today.

Footnotes

- 1 V.I. Charnoluskii, Ėzhagodnik vneshkol'nogo obrazovaniia, 1st ed., (Moscow: Sitina, 1907).
- 2 K.I. Arabazhin, Narodnye universiteti v S-Peterburge, (St. Petersburg, 1898), p.17.
- 3 For a personal account of these efforts see A. Kremlev, "Pervaia popuitka sozdat' narodnyi universitet v Peterburge," Vestnik narodnykh universitetov, 1 (May, 1910): 21-26
- 4 G. Genkal', Shto takoe narodnyi universitet? Ego istoriia, zadachi, i organizatsiia, (St. Petersburg: Izd. St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities, 1908), pp. 12-13.
- 5 M. Gran, "Ocherednye voprosi russkogo narodno-universitetskogo dela," Vestnik narodnykh universitetov, 7 (March, 1911): 307.
- 6 Ibid., p. 308. Sources for these date are given as the archives of the St. Petersburg Society of People's Universities and of the St. Petersburg Duma, and as V.I. Charnoluskii.
- 7 Ibid., pp. 310-311.
- 8 I. Lapshov, "Narodnye universiteti v Rossii," Russkaia Mysl', (August, 1911), Part XVII, p. 30. This figure of thirty-six programs appears in several different sources. However, a list of cities that are supposed to have had a people's universities between 1905 and 1917 comprises 40 or more. In addition to the nine mentioned in the text, these cities include Ekaterinburg, Kiev, Nizhni-Novgorod, Viatka, Kursk, Baku, Astrakhan, Rostov-na-Donu, Pskov, Libau, Tver, Orel, Poltava, Yaĭta, Yaroslavl, Odessa, Smolensk, Kherson, Tbilisi, Novgorod, Samara, Harbin (Manchuria), Ekaterinodar, Maikopa, Ufa, Sukhumi, Perm', Ashkhabad, Krasnoyarsk, Valuiki, and Tomsk.
- 9 Russkie Vedomosti, October 2, 1908, No. 228. Cited in Iu.S. Vorobeva, Moskovskii gorodskoi narodnyi universitet im A.L. Shaniavskogo, 1908-1920, Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Institute of the History of the USSR, Academy of Sciences, 1972, p. 73.
- 10 Stenograficheskkii otchet 3ogo Gosudartsvennogo Dumy, (St. Petersburg, 1908), p. 2013. Cited in N.Ia. Klimochkina, Narodnye Universiteti v Rossii, 1905-1917, Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Moscow State Institute of Culture, 1970, p. 60.

- 11 See Vorobeva for a more detailed account of this university and the difficulties it encountered in opening its doors.
- 12 Klimochkina, p. 13.
- 13 Trudy logo vserossiiskogo c"ezda deiatelei Obshchestv narodnykh universitetov i drugikh prosvetitel'nykh uchrezhdenii chastnoi initsiativy c S-PB, 3-7 ianv., 1908, (St. Petersburg: Izd. "Provintsiia", 1908), pp. 10-11. Hereafter cited as Trudy.
- 14 Trudy, p. 9.
- 15 B.I. Syromiatnikov, "Vnutrenniaia organizatsiia narodnykh universitetov," Trudy, p. 502.
- 16 It is worth noting that the name, vol'nyi universitet", that is "free" or "unrestricted" university was an early name for people's universities as well, but never came into common usage.
- 17 M. Girsch, Narodnye universiteti," (Moscow, 1907), p. 10.
- 18 B.I. Syromiatnikov, "Narodnye universiteti," in Prakticheskaia Shkol'naia Entsiklopediia, (Moscow, 1912), p. 599.
- 19 Vestnik narodnykh universitetov, 1 (May, 1910): 37-38.
- 20 M. M---ski, "K voprosu o srednei shkoli narodnykh universitetov," Vestnik narodnykh universitetov, 8 (April, 1911): 325.
- 21 M.N. Astapova, "Sektsiia 'narodnoi srednei shkoli' Moskovskogo obshchestva narodnykh universitetov," Trudy, p. 124.
- 22 Syromiatnikov, "Vnutrenniaia organizatsiia....," p. 508.
- 23 M. Gran, p. 309. Although a great deal of financial support was put forth for this program, there is some debate about whether a people's university ever existed in Tomsk. In her dissertation, Klimochkina maintains that it was refused permission to register by governmental authorities under the pretext that it could not be considered a "university." Both Medynskii and Hans, more contemporary to the program than Klimochkina, claim that the Makushin People's University was one of the more active provincial programs.
- 24 Ibid., p.311.
- 25 The Polytechnical Museum is the present-day headquarters of the Znanie Society and the Central Council of People's Universities, located on what is now Dzherzhinskii Square.

- 26 B.I. Syromiatnikov, "O deiatel'nosti Moskovskogo Obshchestva narodnykh universitetov, Trudy, p. 493.
- 27 Ibid., p. 499.
- 28 "Iz zhizni S-Peterburgskogo Obshchestva narodnykh universitetov," Vestnik narodnykh universitetov, 1 (May, 1910): 39-40. This and other attendance figures appear to have been calculated by summing attendance figures for each lecture. Thus, the number of people who actually participated was considerably less since about three-fourths of the lectures were part of a series, and many students were counted repeatedly.
- 29 I. Lapshov, P. 30.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Klimochkina, p. 148.
- 32 Ibid., p. 208.
- 33 James C. McClelland, Autocrats and Academics: Education, Culture and Society in Tsarist Russia, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 65. McClelland defines nauka in its broadest sense as, "The totality of all knowledge which has been intellectually and systematically ordered, ranging from theology, metaphysics, and pure mathematics to heraldry and numismatics," p. 63.
- 34 V.I. Vernadskii, Pis'ma o vysshem obrazovanii v Rossii, (Moscow, 1913), p.4. Cited in McClelland, p. 89.
- 35 Ibid., p. 5.
- 36 Klimochkina, p. 95.
- 37 N.V. Speranskii, Krizis russkoi shkoli, (Moscow, 1914), Cited in Ibid., p. 98.
- 38 A.A. Kizevetter, Na rubezhe dvukh stoletii (Vospominaniia 1881-1914), (Prague: Izd. Orbis, 1929), p. 493.
- 39 B.I. Syromiatnikov, Chto daet...?, pp. 6-19. All quotes from respondents are from this source.
- 40 B.I. Syromiatnikov, "Vnutenniaia organizatsiia...", p. 513.
- 41 Klimochkina, p. 132.

- 42 Urban literacy rates in Russia in 1897 were above 45 percent, whereas for the 85 percent of the Russian population in rural areas, the rate was below 20 percent. See. W.H.E. Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, (Pittsburg, PA: Carnegie Press, 1950), p.284.
- 43 Klimochkina, p. 2.
- 44 Ibid., p. 135.
- 45 For an evaluation of Krupskaya's educational work see, among others, I.Rader, Krupskaya: Pioneer Soviet Educator of the Masses, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1970.
- 46 T. O'Connor, The Politics of Soviet Culture: Anatolii Lunacharsky, (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Press, 1983), p. 63.
- 47 N.K. Krupskaya, Pedagogicheskie Sochineniia v 10-x tomakh, Vol. 10, (Moscow: Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, 1958-1959), p. 26.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 K 50-letiiia utverzhdeniia pervogo ustava narodnogo universiteta vneshkol'nogo obrazovaniia, (Moscow: Znanie, 1970), p. 3.
- 50 V.I. Lenin, Lenin o narodnom obrazovanii, (Moscow, 1957), pp. 354-355.
- 51 For a detailed look at the fate of people's universities in the Ukraine after the revolution see V.S. Lopandia, Stanovlenie i razvitiia narodnykh universitetov v UkSSR, 1917-1937, Unpublished candidate's dissertation, A.E. Komeichuk Institute of Culture, 1980.
- 52 Vorobeva, p. 24-25.
- 53 N.K. Krupskaya, Pedagogicheskie Sochineniia v 10-x tomakh, Vol. 9, (Moscow: Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, 1958-1958), pp. 42-43.
- 54 James C. McClelland, "Bolshevik Approaches to Higher Education," Slavic Review, 30 (December, 1971): 827-828.
- 55 N. Hans and S. Hessen, Educational Policy in Soviet Russia, (London: P.S. King & Son, 1930), p. 201.
- 56 Rabochii universiteti: Sbornik statei i organizatsionnykh materialov, (Moscow-Leningrad, 1929), p. 5. Cited in Pedagogicheskaia Entsiklopediia, V. 3, (Moscow: Izd. Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, 1966), p. 606.

- 57 Krupskaya, Ped. Soch., Vol. 9, pp. 252-253.
- 58 Ibid., p. 249.
- 59 Ibid., p. 258.
- 60 Susan M. Kingsbury, Factory, Family and Woman in the USSR, (N.Y.: G.P. Putnam's and Sons, 1935), p. 180.
- 61 Pedagogicheskaiia Ents., p. 607.
- 62 L.A. Belin, Universitet kul'turi: Opyt raboty universiteta kul'turi pri Leningradskom Khimiko-tehnologicheskome institute, (Leningrad: Izd. KUBUCH., 1934).
- 63 E.L. Aksel'rod and A.A. Vedenskii, Universitet kul'turi Leningradskogo instituta inzhenerov zhel.dor. transporta, (Leningrad: Izd. L.I.I.Zh.T., 1934), p. 7.
- 64 Lopandia, p. 59.
- 65 Lopandia, p. 93.
- 66 Krasnaia Zvezda in November, 1944, reports such a program for officers at the Red Army House in Leningrad. Cited in Kul'turnaia Zhizn' v SSSR: 1941-1950, (Moscow: Izd. Nauka, 1977), p. 161.
- 67 see Ibid., and Kul'turnaia Zhizn' v SSSR, 1951-1965, (Moscow: Izd. Nauka, 1979), *passim*, for such reports.
- 68 "O rabote universitetov kul'turi," Sbornik dokumentov o razvitii narodnykh universitetov v SSSR, (Moscow: Znanie, 1971), p. 5. Some sources cite the date of this resolution as October 8, 1960.
- 69 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- 70 I.N. Elfimova, Pod'em kul'turno-tehnicheskogo urovnia rabocheho klassa Leningrada, 1956-1962, Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Leningrad State University, 1964, pp. 433-434.
- 71 T.N. Levashova, Pedagogicheskie usloviia uchebnogo protsessa v narodnykh universitetov kul'turi, Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Leningrad State Institute of Culture named for Krupskaya, 1975, Appendix #2, Table 12.
- 72 Primernoie polozhenie o narodnykh universitetov, (Moscow: Znanie, 1961), This document is translated and provided in toto as Appendix 1.
- 73 Ibid., p. 1.

- 74 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
- 75 Ibid., p. 4.
- 76 Ibid., p. 5.
- 77 Tokman', p. 40.
- 78 The All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge changed its name to the All-Union Znanie (or Knowledge) Society in 1963.
- 79 "Ob uluchshenii raboty narodnykh universitetov," from Sbornik dokumentov o razvitii narodnykh universitetov v SSSR, pp. 10-14.
- 80 A. Didenko, "Novye gorizonti," Slovo lektora, No. 10, 1978, p. 55.
- 81 "Ob ulushchenii raboty...", p. 10.
- 82 Ibid., p. 11.

C H A P T E R I I I

THE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES

Introduction

Along with the Communist Party's system of political education and school-based evening and extramural programs, people's universities constitute one of the main pillars of Soviet adult education. With an official estimate of almost 17 million auditors enrolled in 56,829 programs in 1981-1982, they predominate in the realm of continuing education and seem destined to increase their influence in the future. As the Soviet Union completes its move toward universal ten-year schooling, the number of evening and part-time general education programs should decrease, to be replaced by the more specific and adult-oriented continuing education opportunities offered by the people's universities. In addition, people's universities have assumed many of the tasks of the Institutes and Faculties of Raising Professional Qualifications. The result of this trend has been a fourfold growth in programs and a sixfold increase in auditors in people's universities since 1968, and the growth has yet to slow down. While even fifteen years ago people's universities could have been considered on the periphery of adult education in the USSR, today they form one of its basic components.

Exactly what people's universities attempt to accomplish as they are presently constituted, how the system is organized, how individual

programs operate and what individual programs teach are all questions which need to be answered in order to provide a more thorough and realistic picture of the role of people's universities in Soviet adult education. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the goals, objectives, and content of people's universities, examining the system from a programmatic standpoint. In particular, the curricula of various types of programs will be surveyed, and particularities in their organizational patterns will be investigated. The chapter is composed of two sections, the first of which describes overall goals and objectives of the system of people's universities, and looks at some of the statistics on the system. The second section takes each of the four basic categories into which people's universities can be slotted and examines their curricula and content.

Goals and Objectives

The legal basis for the activities of people's universities in continuing education was set by the 1973 Fundamental Laws of the Soviet Union and Union Republics. Article 12 of these laws states that people's universities are organized "in order to promote the self-education and raise the cultural level of citizens."¹ While the system of people's universities is officially recognized by the Fundamental Laws as raising the cultural level of the population, in fact it goes well beyond that and encompasses all of the objectives mentioned for continuing education as a whole. The broadest statement of objectives of people's universities is included in the Model Regulations for People's Universities²:

As goals the people's universities set for themselves the following tasks:

To broaden the political and cultural horizons of auditors, to arm them with knowledge and acquaint them with the newest achievements in the different branches of science, technology and the arts; to form a communist world-outlook in auditors, to inculcate in them an irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology.

To inculcate in auditors communist morality, noble sentiments of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, fundamentally humanistic convictions, and qualities of the unwavering struggle for communism.

To assist auditors in putting acquired knowledge into practice, to further the dissemination of scientific achievements and advanced industrial experience, to develop the creative thinking of auditors, to offer practical assistance in the rationalization of productive processes, in developing inventions, and in carrying out feasible scientific research activities.

To impart to auditors habits of self-education, to further the development of their abilities and talents.

To actively assist auditors in carrying out various voluntary social and governmental functions both during their time of study in people's universities and after they have finished, and to help in mastering such voluntary public occupations.

The emphases and priorities which are reflected in this abstract and theoretical statement of goals differ substantially from the way in which the objectives of people's universities are implemented on a day to day basis. It is more realistic to view the objectives of people's universities in terms of the functions they actually perform, as these functions are manifested in the basic categories of program offerings in the universities. The more than fifty profiles, which are roughly equivalent to fields of study, of people's universities can be grouped into four categories: universities of socio-political knowledge, universities of professional-educational knowledge,

universities of cultural-enlightening knowledge and universities of public occupations. These categories reflect the respective goals of political education, raising professional qualifications and job retraining, general and cultural education, and training for public, voluntary activities. The latter is a function which is unique to people's universities.

In the official statements of objectives for people's universities, the goal of political education always receives the most prominent attention. In practice, however, it is the programs which offer "cultural-enlightening" education, such as the universities of culture, of pedagogical knowledge, of medical knowledge, which predominate. Table 3.1 displays the relative weight of each of these basic categories with regard to the entire system of people's universities.

Despite the ideological slant of the Model Regulations, it is clear from the table that programs oriented toward cultural-enlightening education have remained the focus of people's universities, as stipulated by the Fundamental Laws. More than fifty-five percent of the universities and more than sixty-two percent of all auditors are enrolled in programs which fall into the 'cultural-enlightenment' category. On the other hand, barely one-fifth of all auditors are enrolled in programs geared to 'socio-political knowledge' or in the related fields of training for public occupations. With the exception of the universities of public

Table 3.1

The Number and Percent of People's Universities and Auditors
by Profile, 1981-1982

Universities of:	No./Univs. %/Total	No./Auditors %/Total	(In 000's)	
I. Cultural-Enlight. Knowledge	31,777	55.9	10,541.8	62.1
Pedagogical Knowledge	15,288		6,370.8	
Culture	6,744		1,430.2	
Medical Knowledge/Physical Ed.	6,030		1,501.4	
General Profile	3,710		1,113.4	
II. Socio-Political Knowledge	6,782	11.9	1,794.2	10.6
Lenin's Ideological Heritage	752		181.9	
The XXVI Party Congress	1,036		402.8	
Military Knowledge	2,014		713.2	
Foreign Policy of CPSU	760		167.2	
Scientific-Atheism	567		88.6	
Others	1,653		689.1	
III. Public Occupations	6,749	11.9	1,672.0	9.9
Legal Knowledge	5,388		1,483.7	
Lecturer's Trade	1,361		181.3	
IV. Professional-Educ. Knowledge	11,521	20.3	2,925.0	17.4
Economic Knowledge	2,830		1,011.4	
Natural Sciences	1,240		208.6	
Scientific-Technical Knowledge	3,750		854.3	
Agricultural Knowledge	3,160		793.0	
Soviet Trade/Service Industries	541		57.7	
V. Total	56,829	100	16,807.0	100

Source: Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta narodnykh universitetov, 16 fevralia, 1983, (Moscow: Tsentral'nyi sovet narodnykh universitetov, 1983), pp. 24-25

occupations, which have grown in their percentage of the total, these relative emphases among categories of programs have remained fairly constant since 1968. This suggests that the practical objectives of people's universities have remained stable since that time, as well.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the year 1968 marked a significant watershed in the development of the contemporary system of people's universities. Once concrete goals and objectives were finally established and organizational structures were set up to provide long-term stability, a surprising growth in the number of universities and the size of their clientele took place. The statistics provided in Table 3.2 offer vivid evidence of the rapid growth which has continued up to the present.

This rate of growth is so surprising that it naturally calls forth a certain amount of skepticism about the accuracy of the statistics. All of these figures come from Soviet documents, most published by the Znanie Society, which were intended for activists within the system of people's universities or for the general public in the USSR. Some of the data comes from the internal reports of meetings of the Central Council of People's Universities, and as such were intended for a more limited audience. It would be safe to assume that these figures reflect what Soviet officials believe to be the actual state of development of people's universities and are not meant for broader propaganda purposes. There is an indication, however, that even Soviet officials treat these statistics warily. One authority in the Znanie Society cautioned against making too close an analysis of the figures and suggested they were more indicative of a general trend.

At least within some profiles of universities there seems to be

Table 3.2
Growth of People's Universities, 1959-1983

YEAR	NUMBER/ UNIVS.	NUMBER/AUDITORS
1959-1960	1,000	500,000
1960-1961	2,121	1,000,000
1961-1962	6,357	1,494,000
1962-1963	10,500	1,840,000
1963-1964	9,635	1,926,000
1964-1965	15,837	2,694,000
1965-1966	16,908	2,900,000
1966-1967	16,466	2,913,000
1967-1968	14,449	2,712,000
1968-1969	15,788	3,218,000
1969-1970	22,507	4,747,700
1970-1971	25,324	5,519,000
1971-1972	28,107	6,326,200
1972-1973	28,815	6,870,000
1973-1974	33,800	7,928,000
1974-1975	36,000	9,000,000
1975-1976	38,278	10,019,500
1976-1977	40,000	10,500,000
1977-1978	44,600	12,000,000
1978-1979	44,300	12,900,000
1979-1980	47,534	13,838,000
1980-1981	53,777	15,401,900
1981-1982	56,829	16,807,000
1982-1983 (Planned)	58,783	18,000,000

Sources: Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta narodnykh universitetov, 16 fevralia, 1983, (Moscow: T.S.N.U., 1983), p.23; Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo sovieta narodnykh universitetov, 24 dekabria, 1981 (Moscow: Ts.S.N.U., 1981), p. 7; Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo sovieta narodnykh universitetov, 10 dekabria, 1980 (Moscow: Ts.S.N.U., 1980), p. 17; Narodnoe obrazovanie, nauka i kul'tury v SSSR: Statisticheskii sbornik (Moscow: Statistika, 1977), p. 393; Otchet: narodnye universiteti v 1972 godu (Moscow: Ts.S.N.U., 1973), p.101; Ob itogakh Vsesoiuznogo obshchestvennogo smotra narodnykh universitetov v ozamenovanii 100-letia so dnia rozhdenia Vladimira Il'icha Lenina, 1969-1970 (Moscow: Ts.S.N.U., 1970), p. 10; M. Poluboiarinov, "Itogi ucheta narodnykh universitetov," Slovo lektora, 4 1971: 60; M. Poluboiarinov, "Iazikom tsifry," Slovo lektora, 2 1970: 39; V. Ia. Tokman', Partiinoe rukovodstva deiatel'nost'iu gosudarstvennykh i obshchestvennykh organizatsii po razvitiuu narodnykh universitetov, 1959-1970 Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute im. Krupskoi, 1975, p. 83

an incentive for officials to exaggerate the number of programs which actually operate. One worker in a Leningrad House of Culture reported that his director annually provided data for two universities of culture which, in fact, did not exist. He pointed out that this cultural center received funds from the higher-standing trade union organization for support of these universities, but that the director used these funds for other purposes within the House of Culture. While such fraudulent actions are probably not uncommon, Party organizations do provide some oversight in an attempt to limit them.

It should also be pointed out that the number of auditors in people's universities is inflated due to the way in which they are counted. Actually, the figures for auditors reflect the number of enrollments in the programs. Individuals can and many do enroll in more than one people's university. Thus, these individuals are counted two, three or more times, making the actual numbers seem higher than they really are.

It is likely, then, that the numbers of universities and auditors reflected in the official statistics are inflated to some extent, although it is impossible to say by how much. On the whole the stature of people's universities, as indicated by press articles, political pronouncements of the Communist Party and the specialized academic writings on adult education, is rising in a manner which is consistent with the growth in the official figures. In conclusion, it would be wise to accept the rapid growth of the system of people's universities

as a general phenomenon, but to treat with caution the official figures which reflect this trend.

The Educational Content of Various Profiles

No one university nor even one profile of university embodies all of the objectives set for the system as a whole. Each of the more than fifty subject areas of people's universities concentrates its efforts within one of the main categories, and most have their own objectives which, while contributing to one of the four major goals of people's universities, are quite specialized. Furthermore, each individual university is authorized to establish its own goals and objectives in accordance with local conditions and the needs and interests of auditors. One exception to this flexibility on the local level is that "a specified number of hours for familiarizing auditors with current political events and for studying the resolutions of the Party and the government must be set aside in people's universities of all types."³ Within an eighteen hour program of study, for example, between two to four hours will be set aside for such political questions, thus all programs are required to contribute at least minimally to the political goals of people's universities. Furthermore, there is considerable uniformity of program content within each profile.

The various goals and objectives of the different profiles are reflected in the curriculum plans and syllabi which define the educational content of each people's university. The Model Regulations for People's Universities states:⁴

People's universities operate according to curriculum plans and syllabi worked out by the governing council of the people's university using the model curriculum plans recommended by the All-Union Znanie Society and the republic organizations of the Znanie Society. Higher educational institutions, scientific-research organizations, creative arts unions, ministries responsible for various profiles, agencies and public, voluntary organizations are called upon to offer assistance in working out the programs of people's universities.

The content of each program, then, is determined locally, but there is a great deal of curricular input into and expert support of the local programs from a range of competent institutions, including the central authorities of the Znanie Society. In addition, many ministries publish their own model curriculum plans for the people's universities under their jurisdiction.

It should be noted that the local governing council is normally made up of representatives of the organization or institution which established the people's university and representatives of the university itself. Founding organizations can be local Party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, local organizations of the Znanie Society, branches of the Ministries of Culture, Education, Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, Public Health, Agriculture, scientific and scientific-technical organizations, creative arts unions and others.⁵ In principle, there is a process whereby teachers and students can review curriculum plans and syllabi for the up-coming year, and supervision of content is often undertaken by the 'raion' or city councils of people's universities and local party organizations. There is a great deal of flexibility, then, in curriculum planning,

but in the final analysis all plans receive careful scrutiny and monitoring by "responsible" local officials.

Because of the local variations of program content within each profile, a circumstance which is unusual in the Soviet system of education, it is impossible to describe the curriculum of each people's university as precisely as one could describe the curriculum of each general school in the Soviet Union. At the same time the model curriculum plans and syllabi put out by the Znanie Society and other institutions serve as fundamental enough guidelines as to provide a broad definition of each profile. Through these model curriculum plans and through descriptions of some of the more successful universities, it is possible to gain a general understanding of the educational content of people's universities. Nine of the largest and most significant profiles in the system of people's universities are briefly described here so as to give an idea of the actual content of people's universities. The descriptions of these profiles are organized here according to the four basic categories of people's universities.

Universities of Cultural-Enlightening Knowledge

The content of programs in this category of people's university comes closest to what Westerners would label continuing education. While still a long way from 'consumer education', the content of these profiles does attempt to meet the demands of self-enrichment, personal growth and development, help in solving personal or family problems,

or simply entertainment which motivate Western Europeans and Americans to participate in adult education activities. For this reason this is the largest and most popular category of people's university, comprising in 1982 roughly fifty-five percent of all universities and sixty-two percent of all auditors. The universities of culture, pedagogical knowledge, medical knowledge and general profile all fall into this one category.

Universities of Pedagogical Knowledge Far and away the most popular single profile of people's university is composed of the universities of pedagogical knowledge, which contain more than twice the number of universities and four times the number of auditors as any other profile. In 1982, close to thirty-eight percent of all auditors in the system were enrolled in the pedagogical people's universities. Furthermore, within this type of university one faculty alone, called parents' pedagogical universities or simply parents' universities, accounts for ninety percent of those auditors.

The success and popularity of parents' universities may be due in part to their relatively lengthy history; with the exception of the universities of culture, parents' universities are the longest continually running programs in the system. One reports describes the origins of the programs this way:

The first parents' two-year university, run on public, voluntary principles for members of parents' committees of schools, opened in the Fall of 1945 in the Sokol'nicheskii raion of Moscow...Soon on the example of the Sokol'nicheskii parents' university a similar university was opened in the Moskvoetskii raion and a number of other raions in Moscow.⁶

It is a measure of the perceived importance of these programs that they were begun in the midst of the massive rebuilding and recuperation necessitated by the destruction wrought by World War II. The influence of these initial programs, however, was confined largely to Moscow until the late 1950's. From 1959 on the parents' pedagogical universities developed into the most popular of the people's universities throughout the country.

This lengthy history has allowed the parents' universities to become recognized and accepted by the broader population and has enabled them to develop tested and proved objectives and modes of operation. The public at-large often recognizes parents' universities as the medium through which the homeroom teacher (klassnyi rukovoditel') conveys information to parents about their children's performance and deportment in school. The class meetings for parents which often make up the university have been described vividly by the American journalists Hedrick Smith and, more recently, David Shipler.⁷ The use of the parents' university for this purpose has been criticized, however, as not contributing to the pedagogical education of parents and as having a negative influence on parent-teacher relations.⁸

The main goal of the parents' universities is to make the family a more effective agent in the intellectual and physical development of children, both in the pre-primary and school years. Soviet educational theory sees the family, the school and society as the three great formative institutions of an individual's personality and

world-outlook. Each of these institutions dominates at various points in a person's development: the family in pre-school years, the school during the rest of childhood, and society for the rest of a person's life, although there is naturally a great deal of interaction between the three at most points in time. Soviet authorities believe that the degree of a family's educational effectiveness in the early years and the degree of their participation in the educational work of societal institutions depends upon their general educational awareness. To raise this level of awareness, Soviet officials have developed a number of forms of what is called pedagogical propaganda, among them adult education departments of local branches of the Ministry of Education, the Znanie Society lectures, and parents' universities. In recent years parents' universities have come to dominate the system of pedagogical propaganda.⁹

There are four basic objectives which the parents' universities hope to achieve¹⁰:

- 1.) To provide parents with the basics of pedagogical knowledge,
- 2.) To help parents use this knowledge in the Communist up-bringing of children,
- 3.) To promote the formation of positive characteristics in parents themselves,
- 4.) To make parents into active assistants of the school.

To achieve these objectives, the content of parents' universities focuses on a roughly balanced combination of political and psychological topics. The former seem designed to provide parents with an understanding of the theory of "communist education" and the latter to arm them with the necessary tools to put this theory into practice.

A look at the curriculum of a typical parents' university, provided in table 3.3, will show how these topics are balanced out.

A close look at this curriculum plan shows that political themes are quite prominent, but that general child-raising and health topics more than balance these out. The organizer has also made a special effort to include more a popular, entertaining facet to the program, presumably to maintain interest. This program also has been adapted to the particularities of life in Tashkent, a rapidly developing city in Central Asia. Special attention has been paid to the importance of neighborhood communities, the tenacity of the Islamic faith, and the sometimes less than adequate public health facilities of the city through the inclusion of special topics on these subjects.

Clearly, one purpose of such a program is to bring a greater amount of control and direction to education in the family, for family education is not a private matter in the Soviet Union, rather an issue of public concern. As one Western scholar has pointed out, however,¹¹

it would be one-sided to consider the system of cooperation between the family, school and public and of pedagogical propaganda merely as an instrument of social control and indoctrination. A large part of the practical work entails concrete aid for individual families or students. This includes not only the youngster's free time activity, but also individual counselling for parents and adult education in pedagogy.

This statement is particularly true for the parents' universities which are based in local schools. While some programs still operate under the guidance of trade union or factory organizations and the

Table 3.3

Curriculum Plan for the Faculties
of Pedagogical and Medical Knowledge for Parents
at Secondary School #73 of Tashkent, 1975-1976

Date	Class Topic	Amt/Time In Mins.
Sept. 14	Results of the University for 1974-1975, The tasks of the 1975-1976 academic year.	30
	Lecture: "The Tasks of Pedagogical Propaganda among Parents in Light of the Decisions of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR "On the Completion of the Transition in the Edu- cation of Youth and the Further Improvement of the System of Professional-Technical Education.""	60
	Conversations-Consultations: The Parents' Role in Establishing Proper Eating Habits in Children.	30
	Film: "Senior and Junior"	60
Oct. 17	Lecture: The School, Family and Society in Fore- seeing a Child's Lack of Success.	30
	Conversation: The Prevention of Colds and Infec- tious Childhood Diseases.	30
	Excursion: A visit to the Tashkent Branch of the State Museum for Lenin.	60
Nov. 19	Lecture: At the Political Map of the World: Issues in the Internal and International Position of Our Country.	30
	Conversation: Cleanliness-Guarantor of Health; "Unfinished Tale".	20
Dec. 12	Lecture: The Role of Parents in the Patriotic and International Up-bringing of Children.	60
	Get-Together: With Foreign Students Studying in the Higher Educational Institutions of Tashkent	30
	Concert: Amateur Ensemble of the School	60
Jan. 17	Lecture: The Family and Issues in the Career Ori- entation of Children.	30

Table 3.3 Continued

Date	Class Topic	Amt./Time
	Conversation: The Family's Role in Sex Education.	30
	Film: "Student Life at the State Professional-Technical School".	60
Feb. 21	Lecture: Service in the Ranks of the Soviet Army is Honorable and Important.	30
	Conversation: The Role of the Family and the School in Raising the Physical Endurance of Children	30
	Film: "Keys from the Sky"	60
March 2	Evening: Competition for the "Best Mother/House-keeper of the Neighborhood".	90
	Concert: Folk Instrument Ensemble	60
April 7	Lecture: The Role of the Family in the Atheistic Up-bringing of Children	30
	Conversation: How to Accustom Children to Reading Literary and Political Materials.	20
	Film: "Zhenya".	60
May 17	Lecture: The Interaction of the Family and School in Setting Norms of Communist Morality for Eighth to Tenth Grade Students by Means of Out-of-School Activities.	40
	Conversation: The Parents' Role in the Proper Organization of Children's Summer Vacation.	10
	Conversation: Preventing Intestinal Illnesses During the Summer	10
	Excursion: Around the City	60

Source: Kumor Abidova, Problemy povysheniia effektivnosti i puti sovershenstvovaniia narodnykh universitetov pedagogicheskikh znaniy v obuchenii i vospitanii roditel'skoi obshchestvennosti v usloviakh razvitogo sotsializma, Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Tashkent State Pedagogical Institute im. Nizami, 1980, pp.152-155.

Znanie Society, today over ninety percent of parents' universities are supervised by the Ministry of Education and are situated in neighborhood or raion schools. A whole range of advisory or consultative functions for parents which are not found in the Palaces or Houses of Culture are a regular part of the activities of parents' universities in schools. One writer notes that,¹²

Parents' universities in schools include the following forms of work: all-school lectures, homeroom teachers' meetings, Open House days, meetings with mothers, fathers, grandmothers and grandfathers, consultation days, question and answer days, combined activities with children, individual work (in the school and in the presence of the family at home, etc).

In many schools the parent groups are divided up according to the class-level of their children. Thus, in addition to universities for parents of pre-school children, there are special programs for parents of children in classes I-IV, V-VII, and VIII-X.

A combination of factors, centered around the location of parents' universities in schools accounts for their tremendous enrollment. On one hand truly useful information is provided to parents in helping them raise their children, and it is provided in a way which attempts to respond to individual cases and problems. On the other hand, as Ludwig Liegle points out, the joint activities of parents and schools are not entirely voluntary. For example, pressure may be placed upon the parents of problem students by their work supervisors to participate in such pedagogical programs so as to demonstrate a greater responsibility toward their children. Finally, as many Western observers have noted, Russian parents and grandparents

generally make the raising of children a much higher priority in their lives than is true in Western countries. The broad popularity of parents' universities may merely be another expression of this general cultural phenomenon.

For all of their efforts, though, organizers have not been able to attract that segment of the population which theoretically has the most to gain from participation in such programs: the less-educated workers and kolkhozniks. Liegle notes that the higher the level of education of parents, the greater their participation in such activities.¹³ One report of a typical parent's university in Tashkent noted that in 1978-1979, workers made up little more than sixteen percent of the auditors in the program.¹⁴ This seems to be a common problem throughout the country, as evidenced by this comment from an All-Russian report evaluating the results of these programs:¹⁵

In many people's universities for parents there is not a stable student body, and too small a number of workers, kolkhozniks and especially youth are included in them.

The response by Soviet authorities to this lack of attendance now seems to be to place greater pressure on parents in the workplace to become involved in pedagogical propaganda. The general educational reforms which were initiated in 1984 stress that, "it is necessary to activate the trade union commissions for aiding family and schools in raising children...and to attract a broader group of parents into the activities of educational circles."¹⁶ Whether or not parents' universities will gain enrollments from these pronouncements remains to be seen.

A second type of pedagogical university, the universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge, is targeted specifically at raising the professional level of teachers and "educational workers", a term that covers a broad category of people, including those who work with children in the Pioneers or Komsomols, lecturers, librarians and so on. While this task is normally the responsibility of the more formal Institutes for the Improvement of Teachers, the pedagogical universities for teachers have taken up an adjunct role, both in reaching out to teachers in rural areas and in covering content areas not handled by the Institutes. In 1980-1981, there were approximately 1,000 such universities with about 200,000 auditors,¹⁷ thus their function nation-wide is primarily to broaden the reach of the more extensive system of the Institutes for the Improvement of Teachers.

As a rule the universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge are located in formal pedagogical institutions, either teacher training institutes or colleges or in one of the scientific-research institutes of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. They are able to take advantage of the material and human resources of these formal educational institutions at a minimal cost. From this base the universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge reach out to the larger teaching community in two ways: by providing extension courses designed to upgrade teachers in rural areas in specific academic subjects, and by offering specific courses in pedagogical theory and practice to educational workers who would not normally be served by the Institutes for the Improvement of Teachers, such as Pioneer

leaders, librarians, club directors and so on. In this way the universities offer pedagogical services without duplicating the activities of these Institutes, which generally focus on theoretical and methodological issues for teachers in schools.

A common mode of operation for the universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge is to offer courses for teacher renewal on a travelling basis, moving to different raions every two years or so. It would seem that the largest and most sophisticated of this type of operation is run from the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute named for Krupskaya. This university operates ten faculties in academic and pedagogical subject areas outside of the city of Moscow, but within the Moscow oblast in different schools for two years at a time. In addition to these on-site programs, this university undertakes other educational activities, including "studying and disseminating information about the experiences of the best teachers, conducting scientific-methodological seminars and conferences, presenting lectures and reports on urgent questions of study and upbringing, preparing and publishing text books and teaching aids for schools."¹⁸

The two-year People's University of Scientific-Pedagogical Knowledge for Teachers and Public Education Workers of the Dagestan ASSR is perhaps more typical in that it does not run such itinerant programs or undertake such a range of activities. Based at the Dagestan State Pedagogical Institute, this university consists of a core curriculum with a political/ideological focus and eight

faculties, one for school directors and others for teachers of Russian and local languages and literatures, history and social studies, foreign languages, mathematics and physics, natural science and geography, visual arts and graphics, and physical education. This program's curriculum plans from 1975-1976 for the core curriculum and for the faculty for teachers of Russian and local languages and literatures are provided in Appendix II.

In this particular university the core curriculum is required of all auditors, then teachers follow the curriculum of their special subject area. Thus, the political content of the program is transmitted to all. A relatively strong emphasis on ideological-political topics is not unusual for the universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge, and this emphasis is a significant part of what distinguishes them from the Institutes for the Improvement of Teachers. In the past these institutes have been criticized for paying overly much attention to methodological and theoretical questions, ignoring both "the up-bringing role of teachers," and the importance of familiarizing teachers with recent scientific, cultural or educational advances.¹⁹ The universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge are specifically charged with handling these tasks, perhaps to make up for the deficiencies of the institutes.

Judging from various reports on this profile of people's university, it seems that they handle the political aspects of their

work well, but do not always keep up with the latest scientific developments. One report notes that,

they do not fully familiarize auditors with the newest achievements of science, culture or pedagogy; in lectures theoretical propositions are not always related to experience or to practical matters...In individual people's universities lessons have an abstract-enlightening character and curriculum plans²⁰ do not keep up with developments in pedagogical science.

This is particularly true in rural areas which are too far from regional centers to be reached by travelling programs.

Even given these shortcomings, the universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge have earned an important place in the system of in-service teacher training in the Soviet Union. Not only is their presence felt numerically, but they add a valuable dimension to the quality of teacher retraining by virtue of their two- and three-year programs. While the Institutes for the Improvement of Teachers generally run intensive programs of one to several months, teachers are only required to attend these once every five years. The people's universities for teachers are less intense, but the number of class hours is significantly greater. Thus, a greater amount of material can be covered in greater depth. Furthermore, some these programs attempt to respond to the needs of teachers at different points in their careers. For example, first year or young teachers may follow a different curriculum from their more experienced colleagues. In sum, there is a responsiveness and flexibility in the universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge which is not present in the

Institutes, and it is this characteristic which attracts large numbers of teachers.

Universities of Medical Knowledge There are two essential orientations for the content of the people's universities of pedagogical knowledge: one, provided by the parents universities, is to popularize educational information for a broad spectrum of the population, and the other, more specialized, is to improve the theoretical background of teachers through the universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge. The universities of medical and hygienic knowledge operate in a similar fashion, popularizing health information on a broad scale and offering specialized training for professionals in the field. Officially, the goals for this profile of university are:

- 1.) the hygienic education and up-bringing of the population;
- 2.) raising the professional level and operating efficiency of public health officials, as well as their ideological and moral up-bringing; and
- 3.) training public health volunteers.²¹

As with the pedagogical universities, well over ninety percent of these programs are oriented to reaching the broader population. A list of the various programs within this profile in the Ukraine in 1981-1982 gives an idea of how these objectives are broken down for the many audiences for which they are intended:

From looking at table 3.4, it would seem that the scale of health education in the republic, as provided by the universities of medical and hygienic knowledge, is not very large in terms of either the

Table 3.4

Composition of the People's Universities of Medical and Hygienic Knowledge in the Ukraine in 1981-1982

Profile of University	Number/Univs.	Number/Auds.	%/Tot.
for Women	218	26,000	10.0
for 8th-10th Grade Students	41	10,000	3.9
for Students in Higher Education (Students in VUZi, tekhniums and Prof-Tekh Uchilishchi)	493	121,000	46.6
for Parents	42	6,000	2.3
for Workers in Industry	164	58,000	22.3
for Agricultural Workers	71	22,900	8.8
for Workers in Pre-schools	16	2,500	1.0
for Teachers in General Schools	25	5,300	2.0
for Employees in Service Industries, the Internal Affairs Ministry, Retired persons, and others	49	3,300	1.3
Universities of Progress in Medical Science and Practice for Doctors	8	1,500	0.6
Universities of Progress in Medical Science and Practice for Mid-Level Public Health Employees	8	1,700	0.7
for Training Health Volunteers	15	1,600	0.6
TOTAL	1,150	259,600	100.0

Source: Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta narodnykh universitetov, 16 fevralia, 1983, (Moscow: Tsentral'nyi sovets narodnykh universitetov, 1983), p. 35.

school population or the population at large. Furthermore, in a country of about 290 million people, only one and a half million auditors attended 6,030 universities of medical and hygienic knowledge in 1981-1982.²² The figures are deceptive, however, because the

people's universities are essentially an adjunct to the primary agency for handling health education, the Houses for Health Education (Doma sanitarnogo prosveshchenia), which are run by the Ministry of Public Health.

The founding organizations for universities of medical and hygienic knowledge are often these health education centers, as well as local departments of the Ministry of Public Health, sanitation-epidemiological stations, city and raion hospitals, polyclinics, dispensaries, women's consultation points, in fact almost any health organization. In some ways these universities operate similarly to the universities of scientific-pedagogical knowledge in their relationship with the Institutes for the Improvement of Teachers. The necessary specialized knowledge and expertise needed to develop curricula and teach classes is provided by the Houses for Health Education and other health organizations while financial and logistical support is provided by "co-founding" institutions. Such institutions might be local organizations of the Znanie Society or of the Red Cross or Red Crescent, enterprises, construction firms, kolkhozes or sovkhozes, or any institution where the universities are actually located. The universities of medical and hygienic knowledge are seen as a valuable complement to the Houses for Health Education because through such institutional cooperation they can extend their reach and can tailor programs more specifically to the needs of a given audience.

The largest single group of the Ukrainian population which receives health education is comprised of students, both at a secondary and higher level. Women and parents also are targeted for health training as a means of maintaining the health of children. As is true in other republics, programs for these three groups, and for teachers at various levels, make up almost three-fourths of the universities in this profile. In Lithuania in 1980, for example, it was reported that seventy percent of all of the auditors in the universities of health were youths. Another Soviet report credits such health education and prevention programs with lowering infant and child mortality rates in the country.²³ Two other groups which receive special attention are industrial and agricultural workers, making up almost a third of the auditors in this profile. Particularly those who work in food production or preparation industries are given special training in maintaining industrial hygiene.

The structure of the curriculum for the universities of medical knowledge differs slightly from that of the pedagogical universities. For one thing there seems to be less political content in the curriculum; one report estimates that as little as ten to fifteen percent of class time is allocated to "socio-political issues".²⁴ Secondly, the same report states that "an analysis of the curricula for people's universities of medical and hygienic knowledge shows that forty to fifty percent of class time is devoted to special practica, seminars, and film showings."²⁵ In most other profiles of universities lectures can take up as much as eighty percent of all

class time. An example of a typical curriculum of a university of medical knowledge is provided in Appendix II.

From this example it is evident that the curriculum devotes nowhere near as much as forty percent of the class time to so-called "active forms of study," such as excursions, practical classes, seminars and so on. While it does appear that the universities of medical and hygienic knowledge, particularly in the more specialized profiles, do use these methods more than other types of universities, they still have not achieved the levels expected of them by higher officials. Several reports underscore this point by decrying the over-reliance of many programs on lectures to convey their information.

Another official complaint about this profile of university centers around the problem of how best to involve a broad variety of audiences in health education. In the past one solution has been to adapt program content for particular groups of the population, such as for students or industrial workers. In the official view such "profilization" has not developed enough, with particular deficiencies occurring in programs for rural populations and professional health workers. For example, in the Ukraine, which has a large rural population, less than one-fourth of the auditors in universities of medical and hygienic knowledge come from the countryside.

The more specialized programs of this profile of university are often quite sophisticated. The universities of medical progress are

usually designed for professionals who need retraining in a particular area to keep up with developments in the health field or to move into a related area of the field. An outstanding example of such a program is the Leningrad people's university of medical and technical knowledge jointly run by the manufacturing complex, 'Red Guard', which makes surgical and diagnostic equipment, and the Red Army Military-Medical Academy named for C.M. Kirov, which is primarily a medical research institution. The two profiles of this university are designed to provide a cross-fertilization of two interrelated but highly complex fields. Engineers and technicians of the Red Guard factory take courses in the university to learn more about the medical issues which the instruments and equipment they make are designed to deal with. At the same time the doctors and professors of the academy learn about the technical and design problems related to the manufacturing of medical equipment in their area of specialty. Organizers hope that the sharing of information between these two groups of specialists will lead to better, more efficient designs for medical instruments and equipment.²⁶

A small number of universities in this profile also trains volunteer sanitation inspectors to carry out the task of insuring that health laws are enforced for restaurants, businesses and public buildings. In addition to teaching auditors about the various health regulations which must be enforced, these universities also provide a grounding in medicine and practical training in how to spot the various kinds of infractions.

Aside from imparting strictly medical information, the universities of medical and hygienic knowledge perform a number of other health-related functions. Many programs actually serve as a group counselling medium for people with a variety of problems. Thus, it is not unusual to encounter such programs as "Marriage and the Family," "The Young Family," "The Moral-Hygienic Up-bringing of the Younger Generation," [sex education], and "The Abuse of Alcohol and Smoking." At one Palace of Culture in Riga in 1983-1984 there were also programs entitled "Psychology and Psychoanalysis for Mental Health" and "Beauty and Health for Women". Probably the largest group of these non-medical programs are the approximately 250 universities of physical culture and sport which were incorporated into this category of people's university in 1981-1982. These programs primarily train their auditors to serve as volunteer instructors in the nation-wide fitness program, GT0, which stands for 'Ready for Labor and Defense'.

With such programs the dividing line between profiles becomes blurred. As seen earlier, it is possible to have a university of pedagogical and medical knowledge combining the different focuses of two profiles. It is also possible to have different content areas within a larger university, and these are called faculties. Thus, the programs at the Palace of Culture in Riga are actually faculties of a larger people's university of culture, although they were labelled universities of health. The people's universities of culture, in particular, have an extremely broad range of offerings which meld into

other profiles at times. Of all of the many existing profiles of people's universities, the universities of culture most nearly epitomize the flexibility and responsiveness of the system to learners' needs and interests, but these characteristics are occasionally manifested in the ambiguity of this profile's goals and objectives.

Universities of Culture Both historically and conceptually the universities of culture are at the heart of the system of people's universities. The lengthy history of this profile's programs has been described in Chapter II, but it is worth remembering that up until the early 1960's, very few alternatives existed to this particular type of university. Even universities which would fall into different profiles today, such as universities of technical knowledge or parents' universities, were considered 'universities of culture' up until the system began to mushroom in the early 1960's. Even now, the legally established objective for the entire system of people's universities is "to assist in...raising the cultural level of [Soviet] citizens." While this statement seems to leave a great deal of leeway for organizing a broad spectrum of people's universities, clearly the universities of culture come closest to fulfilling this overall objective.

While it may not be possible to compile as succinct a list of the various profiles of universities of culture as it was for the universities of medical and hygienic knowledge, it is possible to get a general idea of how the content of the 6,749 programs in this

category which were in operation in 1981-1982 are distributed. In her candidate's dissertation on the educational processes used in the universities of culture, T.N. Levashova provides a more detailed and critical analysis of these programs than is normally available. To begin with Levashova narrows the definition of the objectives of the universities of culture to "the aesthetic and artistic up-bringing and education"²⁷ of auditors. Within these objectives Levashova notes that:

In contemporary practice three basic groups of universities of culture have grown up, divided according to their purposes of study. These are, first, universities where auditors can raise their ideological and cultural level by means of aesthetic and artistic education. Secondly, universities for raising professional qualifications through the acquisition of aesthetic and artistic knowledge, habits and skills. And, thirdly, universities where auditors acquire public, voluntary professions in the sphere of aesthetic and artistic affairs.²⁸

Based on her analysis of 250 curriculum plans in 176 universities of culture located largely in the European republics of the Soviet Union, Levashova estimated that the vast majority of these programs, about ninety-one percent, fall into the first category. Of the rest, nine percent were devoted to developing professional qualifications, while less than one percent trained auditors for public, voluntary professions. In the decade since the completion of Levashova's dissertation, it is likely that the number of programs devoted to both of the latter categories has increased by several percentage points, although the data has not been published to let us know by how many.

The programs devoted to raising the cultural level of the population can be subdivided further into three groups according to their content: 1.) artistic education (including not only the visual arts, but literature, music, dance, etc., as well); 2.) different branches of aesthetics (the culture of etiquette and behavior, the aesthetics of work, and so on); and 3.) combined programs simultaneously studying artistic and aesthetic issues and issues in related fields (pedagogy, sociology, psychology). Levashova estimated that sixty-four percent of these programs focused solely on artistic questions; twenty-eight percent studied combined issues; and only eight percent were oriented to aesthetic content alone.²⁹ The common theme within all of these programs is

to teach auditors, guided by communist ideals, to correctly interpret and evaluate works of art in their connection with life and to cultivate in them an interest in consciously developing their cultural values."³⁰

In other words, raising the cultural level of the population and developing their aesthetic sensibilities in universities of culture means primarily gaining a knowledge of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics.

Despite the ideological overtones of the universities of culture, they do deal with a broad range of cultural topics which are of interest to the average Soviet citizen. In her dissertation Levashova conducted an interest assessment of various socio-economic groups of the population, trying to determine which aspects of culture were most popular among these groups. Not surprisingly, she determined that for all but one social group, literature and film ranked as the two most popular forms of cultural entertainment, closely followed in most

groups by either the theater or music.³¹ In their offerings the universities of culture follow this pattern fairly closely. An example of how they do this is the recommended curriculum plan, provided in Table 3.5, for those who are attending a university of culture for the first time. While this plan was intended for a program based in Leningrad and has a wider variety of cultural offerings at its disposal than most, it does provide an idea of the more common topics discussed in the universities of culture.

The universities of culture do not deal solely with theoretical or intellectual questions, however. A large number of universities, particularly those which are based in Palaces and Houses of Culture, focus on the acquisition of skills and techniques for the creation of works of art. Musical or choral groups, workshops for developing techniques in painting, sculpting or different forms of applied arts, dance classes, and discussion groups for writers, poets, film buffs are frequently available to auditors of universities of culture. In principle all of these activities are distinguished from the typical clubs and groups which are run in Palaces and Houses of Culture by their "systematic nature"; that is, by the adherence to well thought out curriculum plans lasting for longer periods of study. In practice, though, this is not universally the case since many clubs and groups have quite systematic programs of study, and equally as many people's universities operate without any guiding plan or syllabus.

In recent years the number and range of programs devoted to raising the professional qualifications of cultural workers has

Table 3.5

Model Curriculum Plan for a One-Year Program in
a People's University of Culture

No.	Title of Topic	No./Hrs.
I.	<u>Introductory Lesson:</u> (Interest assessment: Data sheet, questionnaire, and discussion); Discussion of possible variations in the plan; Clarification of general goals for the course; Possible meetings with former auditors and with the teaching staff;	1
	<u>Lecture:</u> "Life in the Fullest Sense." (On the spiritual characteristics of modern times.)	2
II.	<u>Lecture:</u> "Theatrical Leningrad." (Survey of recent productions);	2
	<u>Practical Lesson:</u>	*
	a. Visit to a theater & discussion of performance,	
	b. Organization of a wall newspaper of written reviews by auditors on a recent television broadcast,	
	c. Meeting with various theatrical artists	
III.	<u>Lecture-Concert:</u> "Music of Our Day," (Contemporary composers of Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and others);	2
	<u>Practical Class:</u>	2
	a. Listening to records and tapes of music,	
	b. Attendance at a concert & subsequent discussion	
IV.	<u>Lecture:</u> "Contemporary Soviet Prose," (Works of V. Likhonosov, V. Bykov, Iu. Trifonov, D. Granin; Possible in-depth discussion of one author not discussed during the lecture);	2
	<u>Practical Lesson:</u>	2
	a. Attend a dramatic presentation of a contemporary work,	
	b. Setting a theme and collection of material for an oral journal, "Our Contemporary",	
	c. Discussion of the topic, "My Favorite Literary Genre".	
V.	<u>Lecture:</u> "Soviet Films on the Screens of the World," (Various genres of Soviet cinematography; New names: actors, directors, screen-writers);	2
	<u>Practical Lesson:</u>	2-3
	a. Meeting with representatives of 'Lenfil'm',	
	b. Film showing and debate on it,	
	c. Quiz game on new films.	

Table 3.5 Continued

	Hours
VI. <u>Lecture</u> : "Contemporary Western Drama";	2
<u>Practical Lesson</u> :	2
a. Attendance and discussion of theater performance,	
b. Seminar - Reading and analysis of a piece of foreign drama,	
VII. <u>Meeting</u> : Leningrad poets and Literary presentations	
VIII. <u>Lecture</u> : "Progressive Foreign Cinematography";	2
<u>Practical Lesson</u> :	2
a. Viewing and discussion of clips from the films "Strawberry Fields," "It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World," and "Nights of the Khyber," and others,	
b. Survey-discussion of books on foreign cinematography.	
IX. <u>Lecture</u> : "New Translations" (Of recently published works);	2
<u>Practical Lesson</u> :	2
a. Literary readings from works by foreign authors,	
b. Meeting with a librarian; visit to a library and information on new books by foreign authors,	
c. Seminar - "Through the Pages of Journals," (Readings and commentary on selections from the journals, <u>Inostrannaia literatura</u> , and <u>Zvezda</u> .)	
X. <u>Lecture-Concert</u> : "Music of Our City," (Works of Leningrad composers);	2
<u>Practical Lesson</u> :	2-3
a. Attendance at a concert,	
b. Listening to records and exchange of opinions	
c. Seminar - Commentary on the theme, "What is Being Written about Musicians and Music ?",	
XI. <u>Lecture</u> : "People in Defense of the Living," (Books by Soviet and Foreign Authors	2
XI. <u>Concluding Lesson</u> :	4
Theoretical conference: "What Have We Gained from the University ?"; Concert Evening; Meetings with writers, actors, musicians; Excursion.	
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 58-60

Source: L.K. Kamysanova and T.N. Levashova, Priobshchenie k estetike i tvorchestvu, (Moscow: Znanie, 1975), pp. 19-21.

increased. The most common of these are the universities of culture for cultural-educational workers, librarians and club directors, as well as programs called 'universities of culture for tutors of youth'. As an example of what these programs offer, the Sliudansk People's University of Culture in the Irkutsk oblast consists of two faculties, one for cultural educational workers and one for librarians. The three-year course of study in this university is broken down into eight sections: 1.) Socio-political knowledge, 2.) Fundamentals of pedagogy and psychology for cultural-educational workers, 3.) Literature, 4.) Music, 5.) Visual Arts, 6.) Theater, 7.) Working with Clubs, and 8.) Library work.³² Following such a course, a person with a secondary school background would be prepared to work in one of the various cultural institutions which are found in most Soviet towns and villages.

Naturally such programs are under the guidance and control of the Ministry of Culture and are universally located in what are called cultural-educational establishments: Palaces and Houses of Culture, clubs, youth centers and the like. In total, though, about three-fourths of the universities of culture fall under the authority of the Ministry of Culture. The rest are run either by trade or creative arts unions, by the Znanie Society or by local Party organizations. The influence of the Znanie Society in these programs, however, is larger than the figures would indicate. Levashova notes that roughly eighty percent of the model lesson plans published from 1960 to 1972 were put out by that organization. Since then, it would

be safe to assume that the proportion has stayed about the same. Thus, the content of the universities of culture is defined to a large degree by this organization which has an interest in increasing the ideological content of adult education.

Although the universities of culture have lengthy experience to draw upon in ironing out the deficiencies in their programs, problems still exist. Levashova noted an extremely unequal development of the programs, with shortages particularly evident in those "in which society is especially interested (universities for raising professional qualifications, for training in public, voluntary activities, for youth, for workers and kolkhozniks, for women)."³³ The quality of the programs is often in question in many universities, too. Besides not having fully worked out curriculum plans, many universities of culture simply don't have the qualified staff to delve deeply into the subtler aspects of culture. Thus, the intellectual or theoretical level of the curriculum is quite low, and the programs turn out to be more like social get-togethers than educational activities. Finally, despite the flexibility available to them, many organizers don't know how to respond to the specific needs and interests of the auditors who attend their programs. Many programs fold after a couple of years because the potential audience loses interest.

The very flexibility of the universities of culture creates a problem of definition for them. Because they have such a long history and are the most visible of the people's universities, the

universities of culture are often assigned tasks which have nothing to do with aesthetic or artistic education.

It is not unusual for universities of culture to be called such only because of a connection to cultural-enlightening institutions, while, in fact, they are universities of general profile. Thus, in Irkutsk in the people's university of the Palace of Culture named for Yu. Gagarin, one finds faculties of socio-political knowledge, health, law, military-patriotic up-bringing, etc... But in this situation, unfortunately, it frequently turns out that in the curricula of multi-profile universities questions of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, literature and art are essentially abandoned.³⁴

Universities of General Profile. The universities of general profile are the catch-all category of people's universities. While lacking a specific content orientation or focus, they have developed a certain popularity of their own largely because they attempt to include something for everyone. In 1981-1982, 3,710 programs with 1,113,400 auditors were included in this category.³⁵ Although their numbers are large, it is difficult to find much specific information about the universities of general profile. It appears as though no one ministry or organization is in charge of their overall direction, as is true with other profiles. The Ministry of Culture and the Znanie Society are most often responsible for their activities, but these agencies seem to have taken up this responsibility by default. Very little has been written about the programs of this category of people's university, perhaps because there is no defined goal or distinguishable pattern of operation. The safest comment that can be made about them, as reflected in the quote in the previous paragraph, is that they are often confused with the universities of culture both in name and in content. They go far beyond the universities of culture

in their range of programming, however, and even become involved in ideological and professional education. They, thus, become the bridge between all the categories of people's universities.

All of the profiles within the category of universities centering on cultural-enlightening education, including the universities of pedagogical and medical knowledge, of culture and of general profile, are in some sense interchangeable. They all take on the broader educational tasks that normally encompass continuing education, and often interact to achieve their aim of enlarging the intellectual horizons of their auditors. The same can be said of the universities of socio-political knowledge, except that the latter perform more specific political functions and are under tighter ideological control from central authorities. It is to this category of people's universities that we now turn.

Universities of Socio-Political Knowledge

The most recent category of people's universities to develop are the universities of socio-political knowledge. They are most directly a product of the reorganization of the system which took place in 1968, and are the result of pressures by the Central Committee of the CPSU to increase the ideological content of people's universities. Although programs of political education existed in people's universities prior to this, they were not conceptually unified enough to constitute a separate category of university. Since the 1968 Party resolution, however, the various programs of political education have

been combined into one category and placed under more unified control. As a result ideological and political education became one of the primary goals for the system of people's universities.

As in other profiles of people's universities, classes for universities of socio-political knowledge are most often held in factories, plants and enterprises, Houses and Palaces of Culture, formal educational institutions and even scientific-research institutes. In contrast, though, the programs are controlled by local or raion party organizations, Komsomol organizations and by the Znanie Society, which itself has close ties both to the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and to the Council of Ministers. Both of these institutional connections assure that this category of people's universities closely adheres to the official Party line.

The goal of these universities is "the propagation of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and [the discussion] of pressing questions of contemporary social life."³⁶ By this latter is meant "the study of questions of theory and practice discussed in the materials of the Congresses of the CPSU and in declarations of the Party and the government which are directed to solving the most important tasks of the economy."³⁷ In their goals and in their basic approach the universities of socio-political knowledge are quite similar to other programs of political education run by the Party. The main difference is that the people's universities are intended primarily for non-party members, thus they attempt to popularize the information by dealing with issues of current interest and by avoiding

the subtleties of Marxist-Leninist theory which Party members might be expected to master.

The list of profiles in this category of university reflects those ideological issues the Party feels is important for Soviet citizens to comprehend. The 6,782 universities of socio-political knowledge in 1982-1983, were broken down into the various profiles shown in table 3.6.

Table 3.6

People's Universities of Socio-Political Knowledge, 1982-1983

Profile	No./Univs.	No./Auds.	%/Tot. Auds.
Lenin's Ideological Heritage: The Life and Revolutionary Activities of Lenin	752	181,900	10.1
The Decisions and Materials of the XXVI Party Congress	1,036	402,800	22.5
Contemporary Economic Theory and Policies of the CPSU	375	24,600	1.4
The Socialist Way of Life	294	56,400	3.1
Lenin's Nationality Policy and the Friendship of Peoples of the USSR	404	58,700	3.3
Moral Education and Up-bringing	580	100,800	5.6
Scientific-Atheistic Up-bringing	567	88,600	4.9
Military Knowledge and Military-Patriotic Up-bringing	2,014	713,200	39.8
The Foreign Policy Actions of the CPSU and Soviet Government	760	167,200	9.3
Total	6,782	1,794,200	100

Source: Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta narodnykh universitetov, 16 fevralia, 1983, (Moscow: T.S.N.U., 1983), p. 25.

Earlier in the history of people's universities there existed such programs as universities of philosophical knowledge, universities of historical knowledge and universities of the Fundamentals and Issues of Marxism-Leninism, all of which were largely ideologically oriented. Of the latter there were as many as 173 programs in 1980, but their numbers had been steadily dwindling since the early 1970's. Although a few of these programs still exist today, most have died out and are no longer considered worth mentioning in the overall statistics of people's universities. Presumably interest in these programs deteriorated because of their abstract and theoretical nature; it would seem that they had little attraction for non-Party members.

On the other hand the programs which have attracted the largest following and which have sustained themselves over the years are those which have dealt with more concrete issues and current events topics. Indeed, one survey carried out jointly by the Central Council of People's Universities and the Scientific-Research Institute for General Adult Education of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences showed that the primary reason auditors have for attending universities of socio-political knowledge is "to keep abreast of current events and to raise their political and cultural horizons."³⁸ It is not surprising, then, that programs which are especially topical also draw large audiences. The largest of the universities of socio-political knowledge, the universities of military knowledge and military-patriotic up-bringing, is especially relevant for its

intended audience. This program was established for young men of draft age to inform them about life in the military and to remind them of their patriotic duty to fulfill their military service obligation. In 1981-1982 the next largest profile of the universities of socio-political knowledge was devoted to studying the decisions and materials of the 26th Congress of the CPSU. This was, of course, at that point a timely topic.

Over the long haul one of the most popular of the political programs has been devoted to foreign relations and the foreign policy of the Party and government. Such interest is hardly surprising given the average Soviet's abiding interest in affairs outside his country and the paucity of information on international issues. The purpose of this university is, of course, to promote and explain the Party's foreign policy, and thereby to gain support for it; thus, the ideological slant of these programs is predominant. Even so, a great deal of information which auditors can find nowhere else seems to be available in such programs, and auditors will frequently challenge the information and viewpoints that they receive. One lecturer, who also teaches in a state university, reported that the auditors in one of his classes were far more ready to take issue with his statements than were university students. He also noted that the maturity and sophistication of the auditors in the people's university was such that the questions he received were much more penetrating and difficult to respond to. A recommended outline for a two-year people's university of international relations is given in Appendix II.

As with the other profiles of people's universities, a distinction can be made between those programs which are intended for an undifferentiated, mass audience and those which are meant for more specialized groups. Thus, according to F.I. Kazakova, two other groups of universities of socio-political knowledge exist besides those described above.³⁹

The second group of people's universities of socio-political knowledge is made up of universities for raising the professional knowledge and qualifications of auditors. They are created for teachers, leaders of workers in different sectors of the economy, employees in the sociological services of enterprises, in personnel and payroll offices, and for different categories of cultural-educational workers, as well as for people taking their candidates' exams. There are still very few such universities.

Since the political actions of the Party and government affect such groups directly, information about those actions is considered to be for professional purposes. At any rate the content of these programs is obviously more specific and limited to the job concerns of auditors. For example, one such people's university for teachers studied the effects of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress on education and schools.

One of the major dilemmas in assessing the significance of the universities of socio-political knowledge for the entire system of people's universities is determining which programs fall into this category and which do not. The university for teachers mentioned in the previous paragraph, as an example, was labelled a university of pedagogical knowledge, yet it clearly served the function described by Kazakova. This is especially true of the third group of universities

of socio-political knowledge mentioned by Kazakova, which is made up of "universities providing the public occupation of lecturer, propagandist, 'politinformator', agitator, or trade union or Komsomol activist."⁴⁰ Although she considers these programs to be within the purview of the universities of socio-political knowledge, others rightly place them within the universities for public occupations. It is, perhaps, sufficient to recognize that almost all people's universities contain an ideological element to a greater or lesser degree and to consider those programs whose primary purpose is other than providing political education as falling within other categories.

Significantly, more than any other category of university, pressure to increase the numbers and quality of these political programs comes from the center rather than from local initiative. That this is so indicates that popular support for these universities is less than for other categories of universities, although statistics to support this hypothesis are not available. It is interesting to note, however, that this category of university has not increased its relative weight within the system of people's universities, in spite of central efforts to do so, since 1968. In the publications of the Znanie Society and the documents of the Central Council of People's Universities a disproportionate amount of attention is paid to improving the quality and attractiveness of these political programs. For the foreseeable future such efforts will probably continue to be a priority for central officials, but given the voluntary nature of the

system of people's universities, they are not likely to change the existing balance of programs.

Universities of Public Occupations

Pressure to develop a related category of people's universities also came primarily from central Party authorities. In contrast to the universities of socio-political knowledge, however, the group of programs called universities of public occupations (obshchestvennykh professii) has responded to this pressure and grown considerably over the past fifteen years. Whereas these universities comprised a little over six percent of all programs in 1968, today they constitute about twelve percent of the people's universities, placing them roughly on a par with the universities of socio-political knowledge. In actual numbers in 1982 there were 6,749 such programs with 1,672,000 auditors, about seven times as many universities and almost ten times as many auditors as there were fifteen years ago.

This burgeoning of programs coincides with the desire of Soviet authorities to devolve a broad range of paid and voluntary social functions, which previously had been handled by governmental institutions, upon public-minded citizens. The people's universities were given much of the responsibility for training people for these public occupations, although in some instances this responsibility is shared with formal educational institutions. Two general types of activities dominate in these public occupations: positions with minor legal functions and activities connected with propaganda and

agitation. Consequently, the two primary faculties of people's universities in this category are the universities of legal knowledge and the universities of the lecturer's trade (lektorskogo masterstva).

In addition to these two main faculties, others exist to train cultural-educational workers, librarians, out-of-school educators (for the Little Octoberists and the Pioneers), workers and rural correspondents, directors of amateur cultural groups (khudozhestvennaia samodeiitel'nost'), and public health volunteers and volunteers for the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. It is clear from this list that no one organization or ministry oversees the activities of all of the universities of public occupations. The Ministries of Culture and Education do a great deal of work in this area, as do the Ministry of Health and public, voluntary health organizations. The universities for workers' and rural correspondents are unique in that they are the only programs organized by the Union of Journalists of the USSR.

Begun in 1959-1960 in Leningrad as a result of the Central Committee's resolutions strengthening the system of workers' and rural correspondents (rabochii i sel'skii korrespondenti, or rabselkor), which had been operating since the 20's in some areas, these universities were designed to raise the literary and journalistic skills of unpaid stringers and to acquaint auditors with the way the rabselkor system is organized.⁴¹ The programs generally operate out of republic or oblast offices of the Union of Journalists, and auditors often have hands-on experiences at local presses before they

are accepted as correspondents. There are a variety of faculties for auditors to choose from, although only the largest city universities offer a broad selection of these faculties. Included among them are faculties in newspaper reporting, photojournalism, radio and television broadcasting, and creating wall newspapers, as well as programs for youth correspondents and artists.

Universities of Legal Knowledge The largest profile of universities of public occupations is run by the judicial organs of the USSR and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. These are the universities of legal knowledge, of which there were 5,388 with 1,438,700 auditors in 1982. The primary role of these universities is to:

provide the necessary judicial knowledge to those who fulfill public functions in the legal sphere - people's assessors in the People's Courts, members of the Comrades' Courts in enterprises and housing superintendents' offices, Voluntary People's Brigades (Dobrovol'nye Narodnye Druzhinniki) for maintaining public order, public labor inspectors, deputies to local Soviets and to the trade union aktiv, to members of factory party committees, to members of commissions reviewing labor disputes, to members of commissions for social security and others, to the aktiv of organs of the People's Controllers, to commissions on juvenile affairs and so on.⁴²

The universities of legal knowledge also serve to raise the level of legal literacy for staff in bureaucratic and administrative agencies, especially for employees in personnel, payroll and accounting offices, for those who work in housing or social security fields, and so on. Finally, they also train lecturers and propagandists who speak on legal topics in enterprises and institutions and among residents of housing complexes. Essentially, the people's universities have become

a convenient vehicle for the judicial organs in creating any type of training program to fit their needs.

Although there are conflicting reports, it seems that the first university of legal knowledge was established in 1957 in Ventspils, Latvia,⁴³ a republic which has continually maintained a strong system of people's universities. At present the most comprehensive programs are naturally in Moscow where a broad range of institutions supports their activities. According to one researcher, there are three categories of universities of legal knowledge in Moscow.⁴⁴ The first are the so-called "satellite" universities of the scientific-research juridical institutes and juridical higher educational institutions. In addition to training their own staff members and students to become propagandists of legal knowledge, these programs also supply the most consistently qualified cadres of teachers to other universities of legal knowledge. The second category of universities are those operating out of large juridical institutions such as the Procurator's Office of the USSR and the Supreme Courts of the USSR and RSFSR. Again, the rectors and teachers of other universities of legal knowledge are often staff members of these institutions. The final category is made up of universities founded in raion juridical institutions such as the Procurator's Office of the raion, legal consultation offices, and raion police departments. In contrast to the more theoretical backgrounds of teachers in the other two categories, the staff of these programs are generally practical workers.

Outside of Moscow, where such a plethora of legal institutions is absent, it is most often the local party organs which direct the activities of this profile of university. For example, a university of legal knowledge was opened in Vologda in 1959 under the auspices of the city committee of the CPSU, the local Znanie Society and the oblast trade union council.⁴⁵ The Party committee supplied the initiative and oversight, the Znanie Society supplied lecturers and curriculum plans, and the trade union council supplied the financial base for the university. In such instances the political reliability of the people's university is guaranteed, and it is evident from the curriculum plans of the programs that there is a strong political element in the content of all of the universities of legal knowledge. This was particularly true in 1977-78 right after the promulgation of the new Soviet constitution; the universities of legal knowledge were among the main organizations called upon to inform citizens of its content.

Besides the inevitable political slant of programs focusing on legal issues, these people's universities also contain a great deal of practical, factual information on the functioning of the Soviet judicial system which would seem to be of genuine value to auditors. An example is the curriculum from the Bratsk People's University of Legal Knowledge provided in Appendix II.

The extensive legal information provided in this curriculum is tantamount to a survey course for an entire law degree. Having received this broad background, many auditors continue to study in

subsequent years in more specific areas. These include programs for people's deputies and deputies to local Soviets, commanders and leaders of the D.N.D., representatives of the people's controllers and Comrades' Courts, and volunteer aides to the Procurator's Office. In these continuing programs the content is more specific and includes more practical activities related to the work that needs to be done. For those who will become members of the D.N.D., for example, there are even ten hours of training in sambo, or self-defense without arms.⁴⁶

The biggest complaint about the universities of legal knowledge by authorities is that they generally attract only a narrow segment of Soviet society. One report notes that "the majority [of auditors] are white collar employees in administrative and accounting positions. Their ages vary, but most are between thirty and fifty. Education - higher, incomplete higher, and secondary."⁴⁷ Furthermore, since the programs are inevitably situated in cities or in raion centers, the rural population has almost no access to them. The problem of limited access to these universities seems to be self-imposed to a certain extent, however, since there are selective admissions policies to at least some of the programs. Soshnikov notes that

in selecting auditors [to the Vologda People's University of Legal Knowledge], Party and trade union organizations take into consideration the need of the worker to acquire the fundamentals of legal knowledge according to the nature of his professional and voluntary activities, and give their recommendations.⁴⁸

Given the empowering capacity of legal knowledge, it is perhaps not surprising that such selective policies exist, even if they do

contravene the directives concerning open admissions to people's universities.

Universities of the Lecturer's Trade: Aside from activities in the legal and judicial spheres, the largest demand for volunteers in the USSR comes from propaganda and agitation organizations, such as the Znanie Society and the people's universities themselves. Lecturing, or oral or lecture propaganda as it is often called, is taken very seriously by Soviet authorities, and no one goes out onto the circuit unless he has been trained both in lecturing techniques and in the appropriate content of his area of specialization. The system for training lecturers, propagandists, agitators, and politinformatory is extensive, including Party Political Schools, Universities of Marxism-Leninism, Schools for Young Lecturer's, organs of the Znanie Society, and so on. Within the system of people's universities the programs for training lecturers are called universities of the lecturer's trade (lektorskogo masterstva). While the broader system for training and retraining lecturers in people's universities will be discussed in the following chapter, the universities of the lecturer's trade will be covered briefly here since they constitute the second largest profile of the universities of public occupations.

Although some of the universities of the lecturer's trade had existed previously, it was as a result of the Fourth Congress of the All-Union Znanie Society in 1964 that serious attention was paid to developing programs to train adult educators both for the Znanie Society itself and for the growing system of people's universities.

The goal of these universities is "to raise the scientific-political and methodological preparation of lecturers and to improve their lecturing skills."⁴⁹ The broad conception of "lecturing skills" is defined as follows:

The lecturer's trade is a synthesis of four characteristics which every lecturer must acquire and develop in the course of study at the university:

- 1.) A political view-point, political knowledge,
- 2.) General cultural and specialized knowledge,
- 3.) Pedagogical, psychological and logical knowledge and habits,
- 4.) Mastery of the skills of oral presentations and the fundamental techniques of the orator's art.⁵⁰

For the most part the universities of the lecturer's trade are intended for novice lecturers rather than veterans, although there are exceptions. The Znanie Society, which controls these programs, selects specialists in all fields who have a higher or secondary specialized education and a demonstrated desire to acquire the voluntary profession of lecturer and trains them in the political and specialized content of their profile, as well as in the actual techniques of speaking before large audiences. Considering that this profile of universities has a selective admissions policy limited to a specialized group in Soviet society, the number of programs and auditors is surprisingly large: in 1982 there were 1,361 universities of the lecturer's trade with 181,300 auditors.

A few universities exist which train experienced lecturers and so-called "lecture-methodologists". In essence these programs, which are invariably located in large cities, are designed to train the trainers, to prepare those who will run other universities of the

lecturer's trade. One such university run by the Leningrad organization of the Znanie Society has been graduating between 30 and 50 lecture-methodologists a year since 1972.

The curriculum of most universities of the lecturer's trade offers an introduction to public speaking in a one or two year course, depending on the frequency of class meetings. The total class time for the program is usually around 132 hours. The model curriculum plan for the Leningrad programs, provided in table 3.7, is typical for this profile.

Because they are meant to train auditors for specific and identifiable social functions, the universities of public occupations usually contain a much larger practical component in their curricula than other profiles of universities. Typically eighty to ninety percent of the curricula of people's universities consists of lectures, to the dismay of central authorities and specialists who would like to see greater participation by auditors. The universities of public occupations come much closer to the ideal of sixty percent lecture and forty percent practical activities in their curricula, as evidenced by the program cited above.

The question of the extent of voluntary participation in the universities of public occupations is a troublesome one. For a number of cultural and historical reasons, some of which were explained in Chapter II, the commitment of Russians, particularly intellectuals, to voluntary social activities appears to be greater than in the West. As

Table 3.7

Model Curriculum Plan for the People's University
of the Lecturer's Trade, 1965

A. All-University Program of Lectures	Hours
I. General Political Series:	
1. The International Situation and Questions of Current Policies,	8
2. The Basic Characteristics of Communist Propaganda	2
3. On the Skill in Public Speaking of V.I. Lenin	2
II. Series: "The Theory and Practice of the Lecturer's Trade"	
1. From the History of the Orator's Art	
a. Orators of Ancient Greece and Rome	2
b. Pre-revolutionary Russian Orators	2
c. Outstanding Soviet Public Speakers	4
2. The Independent Work of the Lecturer and General Principles of Working on Topics for Mass Lectures	4
3. Principles of Constructing Mass Lectures (unity of form and content)	2
4. Several Methods of Using Visual Aids and of the Popularization and Concretization of Material for Mass Lectures	2
5. The Lecturer at the Podium (The lecturer and his audience.)	2
6. The Culture of Speech and Style	6
7. The Techniques of Speaking (Practicum in groups)	10
8. The Fundamentals of Pedagogy	10
9. The Fundamentals of Logic	10
10. The Psychological Bases of Oral Presentations	8
11. Methods of Listening to and Critiquing Lectures	2
12. A Brief Overview of the Literature on Lecturing and the Orator's Art	2
<u>B. Practical Classes by Series (for example on the International Situation, Scientific-Atheism, Chemistry, etc.)</u>	
1. Common Tasks in Propagating Scientific Knowledge in the Given Field	4
2. Current Scientific and Industrial Problems in the Given Field (Lectures and Reports of Scholars and Innovators in Industry)	10
3. Methods of Preparing and Giving Lectures in the Given Field	4
4. Meetings with Outstanding Lecturers	10
5. Survey of the Newest Popular and Scientific Literature in the Given Area	4

Table 3.7 Continued

	Hours
6. Practicum in the Orator's Art and Lecturing Skills	
a. Attending lectures in enterprises and discussing them in the classes of the university (both the lectures of auditors themselves and of others)	22
b. Critique of plans and texts of auditors	
c. Excursion to a museum, to industries, etc, followed by a discussion of the results of the excursion	
d. Organization of debates, question and answer evenings, and thematic evenings by auditors and discussion of them	
e. Conducting academic consultations in groups, followed by a critique in class (one auditor conducts a consultation with the rest, and the critique is conducted on the basis of specially worked out "memories")	
f. The presentation of lectures and reports by auditors and critiques of them in class.	
Total Hours:	132

Source: Narodnyi universitet lektorskogo masterstva, ed., E.A. Adamov, (Moscow: Znanie, 1965), p.7-8.

a result a large percentage of the auditors in the universities of public occupations claim to become involved voluntarily and for seemingly altruistic motives. That there are selective admissions policies suggests that the demand for places in certain programs is greater than can be accommodated. On the other hand, there is no doubt that pressure is placed upon individuals in responsible positions, again primarily intellectuals, to undertake voluntary social or political activities. The selective admissions policies also indicate that suitable individuals are "encouraged" to enroll in these universities. It may be that the attractiveness of the offerings of the universities of public occupations is due to their less overtly political nature than similar Party activities. This issue relates to the teachers and lecturers in people's universities, as well, and that topic will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

The large rate of growth of the universities of public occupations over the past ten years indicates that this category of people's universities has yet to reach a plateau of program development and enrollment increases. The continued use of volunteers to carry out basic social functions in the USSR will almost certainly continue to increase the need for such programs in the future.

Universities of Professional-Educational Knowledge

One of the fundamental underpinnings of the Soviet theory of lifelong education is the notion that the current scientific-technological revolution places a premium on the continued renewal of professional knowledge. The present chairman of the Central Council of People's Universities, Gurii Ivanovich Marchuk, stressed this point in his first report to the Plenum of the Central Council in May, 1980:⁵¹

The dynamism of our lives has grown so much, new scientific achievements have appeared so quickly, and basic ideas about progressive trends in science have changed so greatly that only a person who continually studies, continually picks up new ideas, continually tries to imagine and correctly notices tendencies which appear almost invisibly and secretly, but which in the future are transformed into whole fields of technical progress -- only such a person can become a creator of scientific-technical progress and of the scientific-technical revolution.

Marchuk goes on in his speech to state that the people's universities, and in particular the universities of professional-educational knowledge, are well suited to this task, and suggests that the goal of educating this sort of person should become the priority of the system of people's universities.

The primary goal of the universities of professional-educational knowledge is to complement the governmental system of raising professional qualifications and retraining workers, or as it is put in Soviet terms, "raising the cultural-technical level of workers." The operative word in this statement seems to be "technical", for the central focus of educational activities is to provide knowledge which can be of practical, technical value in work. In this sense the people's universities are more functional and utilitarian than the Institutes and Faculties of Raising Professional Qualifications which, being based at higher educational institutions, scientific-research institutes and in various ministries, offer a more general, standardized and academic curriculum. Furthermore, since retraining for a worker in one of the Institutes or Faculties for Raising Professional Qualifications takes place only once every five years, the on-going educational opportunities which are possible in people's universities simply cannot be organized within the framework of the governmental system. Thus, in a short period of time the universities of professional-educational knowledge have become an essential component of the larger system of raising qualifications.

As a whole the universities of professional-educational knowledge have consistently made up about twenty percent of the system of people's universities since the mid-sixties. Some programs of this type were established experimentally as early as 1958 in certain enterprises of Moscow and Leningrad, but it was not until the 1968 Party resolution that they were accorded full recognition as a

valuable part of the system. Expansion since that time has been steady, but uneven. For a period in the 1970's programs focusing on economic education were the rage. Thus, in 1973 there were 2,568 universities of economic knowledge in operation as compared to 167 in 1969. This number fell back to 2,119 in 1980 before reaching 2,830 in 1982. Over the past ten years the universities of scientific-technical knowledge have increased by more than two and a half times from 1,474 in 1973 to 3,750 in 1982. Growth of the universities of agricultural knowledge has been even; although the programs experienced a jump from 2,569 to 3,160 between 1980 and 1982, the rise in the number of auditors in them has not been dramatic as in the last decade.

Of all of the categories of people's universities, the universities of professional-educational knowledge are the most diversified and specialized. It is in the sphere of raising professional qualifications and the retraining of specialists that the structure and organization of the system of people's universities seems to work most advantageously. The multitude of different faculties, or different curricula within one profile of university, is one indicator of this. In 1982, the 11,500 programs and almost 3 million auditors were grouped into five basic profiles, universities of economic knowledge, of the natural sciences, of scientific-technical knowledge, of agricultural knowledge and of Soviet trade and the service industries, but within each profile various industries have developed highly specialized faculties which are directed solely toward the employees in that industry. Among the

most active are the Ministries of Agriculture, Communications, Energy, Transportation, Heavy Industry (esp. in the mining and geological, chemical, machine construction and automobile construction sectors), and Light Industry (esp. in the clothing production and certain service sectors). Within the universities of scientific-technical knowledge alone, a very conservative estimate of the number of faculties would be between 35 and 40. This section will look at only two of the many faculties; one within the universities of agricultural knowledge and one within the universities of scientific-technical knowledge.

Universities of Agricultural Knowledge. The goals and objectives for each profile vary, of course, but in most cases the concepts are the same. The following statement of goals for the universities of agricultural knowledge would be similar to those used by other profiles within the category of universities of professional-educational knowledge:

The basic educational tasks of people's universities of agricultural knowledge include not only specialized training, disseminating information about the latest research and achievements of science, technology and advanced practice, and of the scientific organization of labor, but also the study of some legal and pedagogical issues which could help improve industrial relations, raise labor discipline, widen the general horizons and raise the cultural level of auditors, and instill of habits of self-education.

Just as in any form of education within our country, people's universities are called upon to carry out important upbringing tasks: to propagate the policies of the Party and government on questions of agriculture, to inculcate a creative and responsible relationship to work, love for one's native area, the land, nature and a conservationist attitude toward natural resources.

People's universities of agricultural knowledge can help in solving the problem [of strengthening agricultural cadres and attracting youth to the agricultural profession] by disclosing the creative nature of various agricultural professions and by providing perspectives on the long-term development of their growth and prestige.⁵²

To achieve these ends the range of topics offered in the universities of agricultural knowledge is quite large; the majority of programs function with between two and five faculties. The most common topics are horticulture (agronomy, field-crop cultivation, gardening, floriculture, floriculture and landscaping, vegetable cultivation, beet cultivation, cotton cultivation, tobacco cultivation, and viniculture), animal husbandry (livestock management, veterinary skills, cattle breeding, sheep raising, poultry farming, and horse breeding), economics (economics and accounting, for leaders of sovkhoz and kolkhoz production teams), mechanization and electrification, water resource management, and agricultural law.⁵³ These programs are often further subdivided into study groups according to the educational or professional level of the auditors.

Three different organizational structures provide the framework for operating the universities of agricultural knowledge. The most widespread of these are the universities located in raion centers where auditors from outlying districts congregate on class meeting days. In general these programs seem designed for mid- and higher level specialists with a higher or secondary specialized education. Included among them might be specialists in the raion agricultural sections of the Party apparatus; accountants or economists from the raion and interraion industrial complexes of sovkhozes; veterinarians

from the raion sector of sel'khoztekhnika, an extension service providing technical assistance; seed quality inspectors; leading agronomists and directors of sovkhozes and kolkhozes; secretaries of Party organizations; and so on.⁵⁴

The second type of program is located on-site in the larger sovkhozes, kolkhozes, and agricultural processing enterprises, either in places of work or residence. The focus of attention in these programs is generally on the popularization of agricultural information or on more political or social themes since the programs are less selective in admitting auditors and since auditors themselves will often have no more than an incomplete secondary or primary education. Here auditors might be agronomists, brigade leaders and their assistants, directors and heads of farms, leading kolkhozniks and, occasionally, workers in sovkhozes.

Finally and more rarely, universities are organized on farms or in smaller enterprises as affiliates of a larger, "head" university, which is located in a raion center. The thrust of activities in such a structure is similar to that of the on-site programs, although they are likely to be organized on an itinerant basis, moving from site to site in different years.

Yet another opportunity for learning from the universities of agricultural knowledge comes from the "radio- and television-universities" which are often mentioned as a popular means for the dissemination of information. In the Orenburg oblast in 1979-80 such

topics as "Ways of raising the cost-effectiveness of farms," "Advantages to speeding up the rearing of milk cows," and "What's new in machine milking techniques"⁵⁵ were part of a regular agricultural series in such a university. How widespread such broadcasts are is difficult to ascertain, but it would be safe to assume from the hortatory tone of the few publications that mention them that they are still in a developmental stage.

It should be noted that the universities of agricultural knowledge have not yet reached a stage where the average kolkhoznik and sovkhoznik finds his way into these programs. Statistics from the Orenburg oblast, for example, indicate that in 1980-1981 only ten percent of the auditors in universities of agricultural knowledge were "workers in sovkhozes and kolkhozes". The overwhelming majority of auditors were "leading workers and specialists at a higher and mid-levels".⁵⁶ Lower level workers in this oblast are either directed toward or opt for other types of continuing education programs, the largest of which are the "Economic schools" and "Special purpose courses".

Because the majority of universities of agricultural knowledge are situated in raion centers of agricultural regions, they are assured of close ties to both Party organizations and higher educational institutions. Founding organizations of raion people's universities can be the oblast, raion or city organs of the Party, administrative branches of the Ministry of Agriculture, raion administrative stations for the public, voluntary scientific-technical

organizations, organizations of the Znanie Society, and different academic and scientific-research institutions (agricultural higher educational institutions, scientific-research institutes and experimental stations).⁵⁷

A successful program run along these lines is the People's University of Agricultural Knowledge and Technical Progress in the Poultry Industry at the Kuibyshev Trust of "Ptitseprom", the governmental organ of the poultry industry. Located in a number of poultry processing plants and poultry farms, this university operates under the jurisdiction of the Kuibyshev Oblast Committee of the CPSU, the Oblast Trust of "Ptitseprom" and the Oblast organization of the Znanie Society. Auditors primarily are directors, animal husbandry specialists, economists, agronomists, veterinarians, workers in the poultry processing plants, and so on, and they participate in a two year program design to raise their technical competence in this area. In contrast to the academic schedules of other people's universities, this program begins in January and ends in December with a two month summer recess. Classes are held twice monthly. The curriculum for one year of the program of study in this university is provided in Appendix II.

Most other universities of agricultural knowledge are operated on the October to May calendar, but in order to save travelling time to the raion centers, they are held once a month on Saturdays for from six to eight hours per class. Even the rearranging of schedules and routines, however, is not sufficient to allow many agricultural areas

to be served by these people's universities. The greatest complaint that official publications have about these programs is that insufficient efforts have been made to reach outlying districts.

A second problem arises from the organizational structure of the programs. Since two, three or more organizations oversee the activities of many universities there is confusion about where the ultimate responsibility lies for the successful running of these programs. It often turns out that none of the responsible agencies effects any kind of supervision or evaluation of activities. This issue also surfaces in the distinct lack of texts, example curriculum plans, and educational materials for these programs.

Universities of Scientific-Technical Knowledge Such geographical or jurisdictional issues are not the primary concern of the universities of scientific-technical knowledge, which are invariably located in cities or well populated areas and are often so specific as to be of interest to only one or two supervisory bodies. There is, however, a definitional problem for this profile of university; the very specificity of many faculties and the plethora of directions in which their curricula take them make it difficult to clarify a single purpose for this type of university. The variety of names given to them, including universities of science and technology, of technical progress, of technical creativity and of scientific-technical and economic knowledge, leads to the conclusion that their objectives are loosely oriented toward raising the professional qualifications of

workers by providing some combination of scientific, technical and economic information.

One program in the food industry in Leningrad comes close to describing the general purpose embodied by the universities in this profile:⁵⁸

The university sets for itself the following tasks: providing practical assistance to workers in enterprises (for the most part working youth and young specialists) in mastering new techniques, progressive technology, advanced methods of labor and the complex automatization and mechanization of production; in raising their productive culture; in furthering the introduction of the newest achievements of science and technology into productive practice; in developing workers' creative initiative in guaranteeing the uninterrupted growth of the productivity of labor; and in raising the quality and widening the assortment of products produced.

It is clear from this and other statements that the educational activities of the universities of scientific-technical knowledge are intended to have a direct, measurable impact upon the productivity of workers who have attended the programs. In fact, in discussing the effectiveness of programs of this sort, reports often cite instances of large amounts of rubles being saved through inventions or innovations in production processes which have been suggested by auditors of people's universities. In this sense a larger purpose for the universities is to transform theoretical knowledge into practical production methods, or as one program sees it, "to promote the convergence of science and production."⁵⁹

The universities of scientific-technical knowledge are subdivided in a number of ways to achieve the specific objectives set for them.

For example, they can be differentiated according to the backgrounds and interests of the auditors. Thus, the largest number of the universities of scientific-technical knowledge are organized according to the professional specialization of the auditors on-site at their places of work or in space provided by their trade union. Programs are also established outside of the auditors' field of specialization, but in fields related to their work, and in areas in which they have expressed an interest. These are people's universities in which auditors can, a.) acquire knowledge not received earlier, b.) deepen and broaden knowledge received earlier but which has become outdated, and c.) learn how to incorporate existing knowledge into the practice of productive activities.⁶⁰

Programs are differentiated according to the general level of educational or professional preparation of auditors, as well. The largest group of these is for people with a secondary, specialized education who wish to deepen their knowledge. At the same time within the same people's university a small group of advanced specialists, such as graduate students or doctoral candidates, might be studying the same topic more intensively in order to prepare themselves for independent research.

Because of the technical nature of the programs of study in this profile, the streaming of auditors into groups of approximately similar backgrounds is seen as crucial for maintaining the interest and meeting the needs of auditors. One author even proposes that six levels of study be established in these universities according to

auditors' educational, theoretical and practical preparation.⁶¹ Such streaming means, however, that auditors are assigned to programs on a less than voluntary basis. There is also evidence to suggest that participation in this profile of university is less voluntary on the whole than in other profiles. The same author rationalizes the assignment of students to particular programs as follows:

In a number of enterprises the process of assigning students is carried out by means of a directive from the heads of the enterprise. Usually in such a directive the public, voluntary character of people's universities is noted, a list of leaders and auditors is provided which also indicates the class days and hours and which also forbids the distraction of auditors from classes for other activities. Such directives and the interest of the plant administration in no way contradicts the public character of the university nor the voluntary decision of workers in the plant to study in it. In such examples we see only one of many forms of the mixing of state and public, voluntary principles in the activities of people's universities.⁶²

This disclaimer notwithstanding, it is difficult to imagine a worker or employee in a plant refusing to participate in the programs of a people's university once such a directive has been issued.

The organizational patterns for the universities of scientific-knowledge are similar to those of the universities of agricultural knowledge, although programs tend to be geographically more centralized. The most prominent pattern is the operation of a university directly in industrial enterprises or in the clubs or Houses of Culture of a given enterprise or institute. Secondly there are central programs located in the largest enterprises which have affiliates or sections scattered throughout a raion or city. Finally, both the Znanie Society and various public, voluntary

scientific-technical organizations (NTO) operate programs on a "territorial" basis. These programs offer a more theoretical curriculum on scientific or technical topics and are situated in the Houses of Scientific-Technical Propaganda or of Technology of these organizations or in higher educational or scientific-research institutions.

As with the universities of agricultural knowledge, responsibility for the universities of scientific-technical knowledge lies with a range of Soviet institutions, including Party organizations, trade unions, many of the industrial ministries, higher educational and scientific-research institutions and the Znanie Society. In addition to these bodies, a group of scientific-technical organizations are also responsible for a large number of programs in this profile. According to one report the number of universities of technical progress and economic knowledge under the jurisdiction of the All-Union Council of the Scientific-Technical Organizations was as high as 3,645 in early 1979.⁶³ It seems likely, however, that these organizations share responsibility for running the universities with other organizations and institutions.

Given the specificity of objectives of programs in this profile and the differentiation of auditors within each university, it should come as no surprise that each university has a large number of faculties. For example, the People's University at the Volga Automobile Factory has a total of fifteen faculties, five of which concentrate on technical issues in the automobile industry, five on

economic issues, and five on political topics. An example one-year curriculum from one of the technical faculties is given in table 3.8.

Many of the problems which arise in the universities of scientific- technical knowledge stem from difficulties in finding and organizing a suitable teaching staff. In his 1980 report Marchuk complains that the academic work of the universities is often unsatisfactorily carried out because teachers either present too specialized lectures or are not sufficiently conversant with technological innovations to be able to offer auditors any new information.⁶⁴ Often workers on the production line will know more about current technology than the academics who are brought in to teach them. A report on one people's university notes that such problems are inherent in the structure of the programs:

[Such difficulties] arise from the contradiction between the attempt to give auditors systematic information, to construct an integrated course at a high scientific-technical level, and the necessity of attracting lecturers who are able to lead only one or two classes. Only in rare cases do ^{we} succeed in finding lecturers to conduct an entire course.⁶⁵

In spite of these and other organizational difficulties, it seems likely that the universities of scientific-technical knowledge, and the entire category of universities of professional-educational knowledge, will remain a priority for the central authorities in the system of people's universities. On one hand many of the figures in prominent positions in the central council are scientists and technological specialists, and they see the role of people's universities in raising the scientific awareness of the population at

Table 3.8

Curriculum Plan for the Faculty of
 "Technical Progress in Automobile Construction"
 of the Metallurgical Division, 1977-1978

Class Topic	Number of Hours:	
	Lec.	Sem.
1.) The socio-economic policy of the CPSU and fulfillment by the Volga Automobile Plant of socialist obligations undertaken in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October,	2	
2.) The Constitution of the USSR - The basic law of our government,	2	
3.) Seminar class		2
4.) The Great October and the progress of humanity (on the report of L.I. Brezhnev),	2	
5.) The unity of rights and obligations of Soviet citizens	2	
6.) The quickening of technical progress - deciding factor in raising the effectiveness of social production	2	
7.) Technical progress in the metallurgical industry (casting, forging, hot and cold stamping, the non-stamp working of details by pressure)	2	
8.) Latest tendencies in the development of automobile designs	2	
9.) Tasks of engineers and technicians in the metallurgical division of the factory in improving economic-management activities	2	
10.) Four cylinder engines and long range perspectives on their development	2	
11.) The participation of auditors in the fulfillment of the organizational technical plan and measures for raising the quality of production		2
12.) The mechanization and automatization of technical processes in the metallurgical division		2
13.) Socialist competition and its role in raising the quality of production	2	

Table 3.8 Continued

	Hours	
	Lec.	Sem.
14.) The role of the design and technical bureaux in introducing the achievements of the world automobile industry into production	2	
15.) The long-term development of engines in light automobiles		2
16.) Completion of independent study designs and plans by auditors		2
17.) Concluding theoretical conference on the theme, "Ways of raising the effectiveness of production in light of the decisions of the XXV Party Congress of the CPSU"		2
Total = 34 hours	22	12

Source: N.V. Neretin, Narodnyi universitet na Volzhskom avtozavode, (Moscow: O-vo Znanie RSFSR, 1978), pp. 29-30

large as crucial. Marchuk, for example, is also an academician and the chairman of the State Committee of the USSR on Science and Technology, thus he is doubly interested in such topics. On the other hand, the focus of the reforms of primary and secondary education which took place in 1984 was on improving the effectiveness of schools in providing professional skills. It is expected that in the future these reforms will be extended along the same lines to higher and adult education. When this happens, it seems probable that the role of people's universities in raising the professional qualifications of workers will be increased.

Summary and Conclusion

In the twenty-five years since the current system of people's universities has been in existence, its programs have mushroomed from about 1,000 to almost 60,000 in number, and the number of auditors has

risen from one-half million to approximately eighteen million. This astonishing growth reflects the Soviet government's adoption of the theories of continuing or lifelong education (nepreryvnoe obrazovanie) and its increasing reliance on public, voluntary organizations, such as the Znanie Society and people's universities, to carry out important responsibilities in the education of adults.

The people's universities have been assigned four main areas of responsibility in the education of adults, and these areas define both the goals and objectives for the system and to a degree its academic structure. Roughly stated the goals for the system of people's universities are:

1. to broaden the cultural horizons of auditors,
2. to inculcate in auditors communist morality and a basic understanding of Marxism-Leninism,
3. to assist auditors in putting acquired knowledge into practice and to further the dissemination of scientific achievements and advanced industrial experience,
4. to actively assist auditors in carrying out voluntary social and governmental functions.

To achieve these goals the many different types of programs of people's universities are loosely grouped into four different categories: universities of cultural-enlightening knowledge, universities of professional-educational knowledge, universities of socio-political knowledge and universities of public occupations. Although each of these categories is primarily oriented to one of the four main goals of the system, there is so much interaction between these categories and such a degree of curricular flexibility that

within each division all of the goals are addressed to a greater or lesser extent.

This chapter has concentrated on describing the goals, content and curriculum of these four categories and on pointing out the particularities of selected profiles. Although some of the issues related to the organizational patterns of the system and to the various participants in it have been touched upon here, the following chapter will analyze more thoroughly administration of programs within the system, the selection and training of lecturers and teachers, the materials and methods used in classes and the composition of the student body of these universities.

Footnotes

- 1 Osnovy zakonodatel'stva Soiuza SSR i soiuznykh respublik (Moscow: "Iuridicheskaiia literatura", 1982), p. 109.
- 2 "Primernoie polozhenie o narodnykh universitetakh," in Sbornik dokumentov o razvitii narodnykh universitetov v SSSR (Moscow: "Znanie", 1971), pp 122-124.
- 3 "Primernoie polozhenie...", p. 129.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid., p. 125.
- 6 A.M. Filippov, Puti k pedagogicheskomu prosveshcheniiu roditeli: Opyt raboty narodnogo universiteta (Moscow: "Znanie", 1969), pp. 5-6.
- 7 See Chapter 15 in Hedrick Smith, The Russians (New York: Times Books, 1974) and David K. Shipler, Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams (New York: Times Books, 1983), pp. 87-88.
- 8 P.G. Pshebil'skii, Roditel'skii universitet pedagogicheskikh znani v shkole, (Leningrad: "Znanie", 1983), p. 13.
- 9 For detailed information about the system of pedagogical propaganda see Ludwig Liegle, The Family's Role in Soviet Education (New York: Springer, 1970), pp 66-72 and 91-95.
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C H A P T E R I V

ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES IN PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES

Introduction

Neither the goals and objectives of people's universities nor their programmatic content particularly distinguish this system from other forms of adult education in the Soviet Union. What really set the people's universities apart are their unique organizational traits: how the system is structured and administered, how teachers are recruited and trained, what kinds of teaching methods and materials are used, what kinds of students are admitted and why they choose to attend. As a mass system of adult education (or, as the Soviets prefer to label it, of the self-education of adults), the people's universities most outstanding characteristic is their operation according to public, voluntary (obshchestvennye) principles.

In the Soviet system public means non-governmental, and over the years an increasing number of political, social and economic functions have come to be performed outside of governmental ministries, state agencies or Party organs. The best known of the organizations which perform these functions are the trade unions, the Komsomol organization (legally a non-Party activity), and various cooperative organizations. A large number of voluntary societies, ranging from several scientific-technical organizations to sports societies to DOSAAF, the voluntary auxiliary organization of the

Soviet armed forces exist on a different level, however. What these many activities have in common is that under Soviet law they are all theoretically public organizations, that is "citizens' groups which are founded upon the principles of voluntary membership, self-management and independent action, which have their own material base, and which operate on the basis of charters that they themselves have adopted."¹ In the realm of adult education the most active public organizations are the Znanie Society and, of course, the people's universities. As such they are run independently of both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, although, as will be seen later, there is significant direction and control from Party organs. All other forms of adult education have legal connections either with these ministries or with formal educational institutions.

The legal concept of people's universities as a public, voluntary organization has definite implications for the way the system is run. With this legal framework as a starting point, this chapter will examine the organizational patterns of people's universities, and will discuss important issues arising within the system. This examination and analysis will focus on four key elements in the organization of people's universities: the structure, administration and financing of the system, the teachers and their training, materials and methods used in the programs, and the selection of students and the outcomes of the educational process for them.

The Structure and Administration of
the System of People's Universities

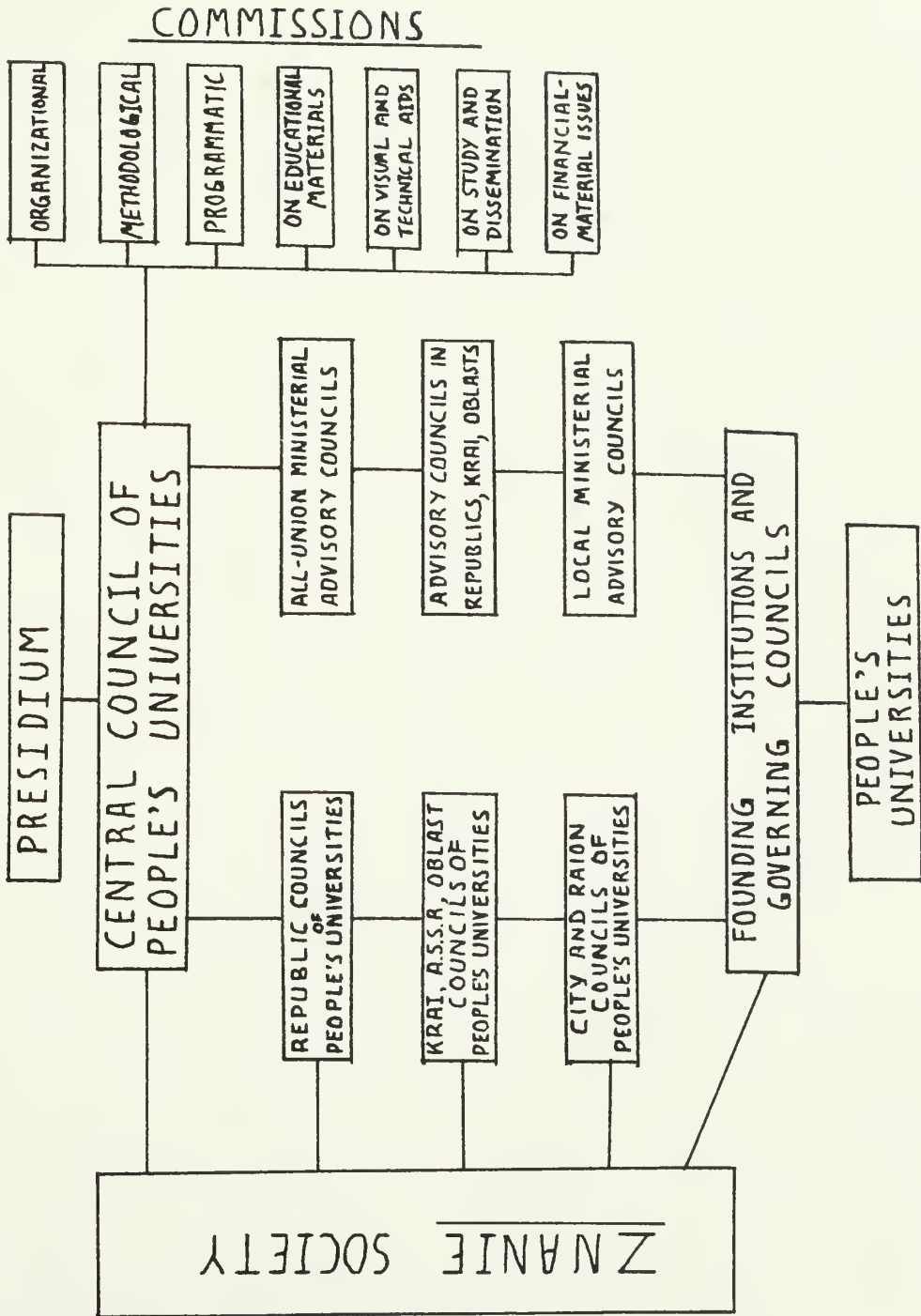
The Central Council of People's Universities

Until 1968, the system of people's universities had no central body or agency to oversee its activities or guide its overall growth and development. Rather the system developed along departmental lines with the most active ministries, administrative agencies or public organizations, among them the Ministries of Culture, Education, Public Health and the Znanie Society, providing most of the initiative for further growth. Naturally such growth was unevenly weighted in favor of the people's universities of culture, the universities of pedagogical knowledge and the universities of health, and overshadowed the limited growth of political or professional-technical programs. As a result of the 1968 Central Committee resolution "On Improving the Work of People's Universities," a Central Council of People's Universities was created to operate in cooperation with, but independently of the Board of Directors of the Znanie Society. With this innovation the system of people's universities now had an organizational structure which branched out along "territorial" as well as "administrative" lines, but which at least could be coordinated from the center. The organizational chart in Figure 3 demonstrates the distinctions between these two lines of command.

There are over fifty permanent members of the Central Council, including representatives of Party organs, the All-Union Znanie Society, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Central

Figure 3

Organizational Chart for the System of People's Universities



Committee of the Komsomols, the Ministries of Culture, Education, Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, Agriculture and Public Health, the Academy of Sciences, the All-Union Council of Scientific-Technical Organizations, the Central Council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, the republic councils of people's universities and so on. Its primary charge is to:

oversee the coordination of the activities of governmental and public, voluntary organizations in running people's universities, take the necessary measures to improve the content of academic work and further the development of public, voluntary principles in their activities.²

Beyond this general purpose, though, the Council is specifically in charge of assuring the provision of model curriculum plans and syllabi to people's universities in all fields, establishing policy guidelines for the system of people's universities, reviewing the activities of republic councils and ministerial advisory councils, conducting public evaluations of the people's universities and arranging for research on various questions related to the development of people's universities

The Council as a whole is too unwieldy a body to be able to carry out much of the practical work assigned to it. In fact, the Council normally meets as a body only twice a year to approve the major decisions concerning people's universities. The day-to-day activities are supervised by a much smaller Presidium which consists of the chairman and vice-chairman of the Council, a small, but unspecified, number of members of the Presidium and the Academic Secretary of the Central Council. More specific tasks are handed out to various

permanent commissions of the Council, including an organizational commission, methodological commission, programmatic commission, commission on educational materials, commission on visual aids and technical teaching aids, commission on the study and dissemination of information on people's universities and, finally, a commission on financial-material issues. Furthermore, the tasks of developing curricula and teaching materials are delegated either to the advisory councils in various ministries or to the Znanie Society's scientific-methodological bureau on issues of people's universities.

Most of the individuals who fill the roles and carry out the tasks necessary for the functioning of the people's universities theoretically perform their duties on a "voluntary" basis. That is, their major professional responsibilities lie outside of their work with the people's universities, although it may be that their job descriptions include contributing time and effort to these programs. Another way of viewing it is that the Central Council of People's Universities does not pay them a salary or consulting fee for the work that they do for the Council. For example, the chairman of the Central Council, G.I. Marchuk, is first and foremost a Vice-chairman of the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR and Chairman of the State Committee of the USSR on Science and Technology, and F.G. Panachin, besides being a member of the Central Council, was in 1980 the First Vice-Minister of Education and Chairman of the Ministry's Advisory Council on People's Universities. There is, however, a "permanent staff" (shtatnyi apparat) connected to the Central Council of People's Universities

which consists of six salaried employees, including one of the Vice-chairmen of the Council (who serves as a sort of executive director for the system of people's universities), the Academic Secretary of the Council and four other professional employees. In addition, the Znanie Society also places salaried employees at the disposal of the Central Council through its scientific-methodological bureau on issues of people's universities. While this small office dedicates its efforts to the development of curriculum plans, syllabi and texts for people's universities, it is officially under the jurisdiction of the Board of Directors of the Znanie Society. Both of these staffs do most of the actual administrative work for the Central Council.

The connections between the All-Union Znanie Society and the Central Council of People's Universities are quite close, and their financial and administrative arrangements often blur the distinctions between the two. The Central Council, for example, occupies office space at the Znanie Society headquarters at 3/4 Novaia ulitsa, just off Dzhherzhinsky Square in Moscow (also the site of the Polytechnical Museum and the headquarters of the pre-revolutionary Moscow Society of People's Universities), uses the Znanie Society presses for all of its publications and has an overlapping membership between its Presidium and the Board of Directors of the Znanie Society. Moreover, the six permanent staff members of the Central Council are paid out of the Znanie Society's budget. On the surface the Central Council of People's Universities appears to be merely a subdivision of the

activities of the much larger Znanie Society, but legally and administratively the people's universities are an autonomous entity. As one official put it, the two organizations are merely "partners".³ Nevertheless, these close ties with the Znanie Society are crucial for the people's universities, not only at the level of the Central Council but at lower levels as well, enabling the system to maintain a territorial line of command down to the local programs.

Before examining the workings of the the territorial and administrative organizational lines in more detail, it is crucial to note that a third party is also actively involved in oversight and control of the people's universities, even at the level of the Central Council. As the opening paragraph of the "Regulations Concerning the Governing Councils of People's Universities" points out,

Governing councils of people's universities operate under the leadership of Party organs. Their main task is to bring to life the programs of the Party and resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the further development and improvement of people's universities.⁴

As an example of this control, it is not unusual to find in the reports of the Plenary meetings of the Central Council the participation of high level representatives of the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the Central Committee. Both this and the fact that Party and ministerial officials effect almost all control over people's universities gives the lie to the notion that people's universities, as public organizations, are truly voluntary, self-managing institutions which take actions independently of Party or governmental policy. In legal terms people's universities may

operate in such a fashion but in reality the linkages are so close as to make such legal distinctions meaningless.

Territorial Line of Organization. The territorial line of organization runs from the Central Council in Moscow down through the republic, krai, oblast, city and raion councils of people's universities. At the bottom of this structure lie the most important bodies in terms of actually running the programs, the local governing councils situated in the faculties and universities themselves. These local governing councils are usually linked with higher organizational levels of the Znanie Society and often take advantage of the nationwide infrastructure that the Znanie Society has set up to get office and meeting space and to obtain the material support necessary to carry out their functions.

The republic councils of people's universities. In each of the fifteen republics the activities of the people's universities are headed, naturally enough, by the republic councils. These councils are set up on a very similar basis as the Central Council with the "voluntary" participation of fairly high level Party and governmental officials. In Latvia, for example, the chairman of the council is Vice-chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR.⁵ One of the major differences between the republic councils and the Central Council, though, is that the scale of activities is generally much smaller. The Uzbek Council has only thirty-one members, and as a rule between thirty and forty ministries and organizations are involved in people's universities at the republic level. As far as

the permanent staff is concerned, the republic councils are usually allocated a few employees and perhaps one office which is connected to the republic organization of the Znanie Society. In Uzbekistan, for example, there are currently only two full-time staff members administering the day-to-day activities of people's universities, an Academic Secretary and a Senior Advisor (starshii referent).⁶

The tasks of the republic level councils are generally the same as the Central Council except that policy-making responsibilities are substantially diminished. As far as such decisions are concerned, the republic councils are largely conduits through which centrally devised regulations and plans are transmitted to the local universities. To make this process smoother, the chairmen of the republic level councils are also members of the Central Council in Moscow. At the same time the republic councils do have the authority to interpret policies and regulations from Moscow in terms of local needs and conditions.

Beyond the policy-making duties, the main tasks of the republic councils are to 1.) provide direction and coherency to the entire program of people's universities in the republic, 2.) develop curriculum plans and programs for people's universities, 3.) provide evaluation and oversight for the activities of people's universities, 4.) raise the qualifications of teachers and administrators in people's universities and 5.) supply necessary equipment and materials on a first-come, first-serve rental basis to programs which need them.⁷ Of these tasks, perhaps the most important is the development

of curriculum plans and programs for people's universities. Most such plans and programs are devised at the republic or oblast level, rather than at the center. Those which do come from the center have to be adapted to local conditions. One of the main reasons for this is that responding to language sensitivities is crucial to attracting auditors in most of the republics. In Uzbekistan about 50 percent of the programs are conducted in Uzbek, and additional programs are offered in Kazakh as well as Russian. (It should be noted that the substantial populations of Tadzhiks, Turkmen, resettled Crimean Tatars and the people of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR who live in Uzbekistan do not receive curricula and programs in their own languages, at least not from the republic council of people's universities.) The percentage of universities offering courses in the local languages of the Baltic Republics is as high as 65 percent.

In the Baltic States, and possibly in other European republics, an additional task is assigned to the republic councils. These bodies are also the direct governing agencies for what are called republic people's universities. Sometimes called "head" universities, these are large, multi-profiled programs in most fields of knowledge. Their function is not only to meet the diverse needs of large numbers of auditors and serve as models for the universities at city, raion or local levels, but also to provide methodological and material assistance to the smaller programs. By overseeing the republic universities, the republic councils attempt to establish a standard of quality which they hope will be maintained throughout the system.

Not all of the republics are assiduous as others in developing a system of people's universities. The Baltic States, Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan seem to have the most innovative and responsible republic councils, but such activism is not always a guarantee of high rates of participation. Table 4.1 provides one indicator of vast differences between republics in their ability to attract auditors to the people's universities. It is difficult to provide a general explanation for these large differences in participation in people's universities since the reasons can be attributed to a range of geographic, demographic, cultural and historical factors. Certainly it seems that the smaller European republics offer the most congenial atmosphere for the development of people's universities. This may be due to their lengthier history in working with people's universities, their size advantage in being able to administer a workable, more urban geographical area, and their greater cultural and linguistic homogeneity. On the other hand, the relative youthfulness of the Central Asian populations must skew these crude statistics, thus apparently diminishing the percentage of the population in adult education activities. Such a glib analysis, however, may overlook more complex realities which are not amenable to simple explanations.

Krai, oblast, and ASSR councils of people's universities. In the Russian Republic, the Ukraine and other republics large or diverse enough to be subdivided into oblasts or autonomous republics, an

Table 4.1

Distribution of People's Universities by Republic, 1982

Republic	# of Univs.	# of Auditors (000's)	Tot/Pop. (000's)	% of pop. in p.u.s
RSFSR	29,909	8,941.2	141,012	6.3
Ukraine	11,322	2,778.6	50,461	5.5
Uzbekistan	2,784	380.1	17,039	2.2
Kazakhstan	4,223	705.7	15,452	4.6
Byelorussia	2,590	1,200.1	9,807	12.2
Azerbaijan	684	121.6	6,399	1.9
Georgia	738	133.1	5,134	2.6
Tadzhikistan	1,314	157.7	4,239	3.7
Moldavia	564	405.8	4,052	10.0
Kirghizia	649	205.4	3,801	5.4
Lithuania	405	826.1	3,506	23.7
Armenia	411	218.3	3,219	6.8
Turkmenistan	361	93.2	3,042	3.1
Latvia	515	319.8	2,569	12.5
Estonia	360	320.3	1,507	21.3
USSR	56,829	16,807.0	271,239	6.2

Source: Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta narodnykh universitetov, 16 fevralia, 1983, (Moscow: T.S.N.U., 1983). p.23, and The Statesman's Yearbook: Statistical and Historical Annual for the Year 1984-1985, 121st ed., John Paxton, ed., (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), p. 1209-1274. The source for the population statistics in this yearbook is listed as Naselenie SSSR, 1983, (Moscow, 1983).

additional level of governing councils has been created. These krai, oblast, and ASSR councils duplicate virtually all of the functions of the republic councils and are useful only in the sense that they oversee a more manageable geographic area than is possible by the republic councils.

Obviously, this organizational layer is essential for the Russian Republic, but it also seems to diminish the authority of that republic's council by delegating responsibilities away from Moscow. If the mid-level councils take this responsibility upon themselves, as do

for example the Moscow and Leningrad oblasts, the Krasnodar krai and the Daghestan ASSR, the results can be quite positive. If, however, responsibility is shunned, the republic council seems to be able to do little more than publicly deplore such behavior. In short, both the Central Council and republic councils lack the political clout to be able to push the development of people's universities from above; they can encourage and provide incentives for mid- and local councils, but little more.

The krai, oblast and ASSR councils theoretically should be the ones most actively developing universities in rural areas. That they have not done so is demonstrated by the perpetual urban/rural imbalance in the distribution of programs, a fact much lamented in the plenums and reports of the Central Council. Table 4.2 shows that this imbalance has begun to be righted in recent years, but still remains a problem.

It is clear that since 1980, a concerted effort has been underway to increase the number of rural programs, and this effort has been at least partially successful. 1982 is the latest year for which statistics are available, so it remains to be seen whether the recent surge in the creation of rural people's universities can be maintained. Although the distribution of programs for 1982 approximates the rural/urban distribution of the Soviet population, this success in part is due to a spurious readjustment of statistical accounting procedures. Rural populations still seem to be underserved

Table 4.2

The Rural/Urban Distribution of People's Universities
in Selected Years, 1962-1982

Year	Urban				Rural			
	univs.	%	auds. (000's)	%	univs.	%	auds. (000's)	%
1962	4,857	76	1,284	86	1,500	24	210	14
1969	11,040	70	2,655	83	4,748	30	563	17
1973*	20,662	72	5,707	83	8,153	28	1,163	17
1980	34,869	74	11,551	84	12,665	26	2,287	16
			10,302	74			3,536	26
1982	32,126	57	10,451	62	24,703	43	6,356	38

Sources: Narodnoe obrazovaniia, nauka i kul'tura v SSSR: Statisticheskii sbornik, (Moscow: "Statistika", 1977), p. 393; Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta narodnykh universitetov, 10 dekabria, 1980, (Moscow: T.S.N.U., 1980), p. 17; Materialy..., 16 fevralia, 1983, p. 23.

Note: Since 1980, auditors of city people's universities, their divisions and affiliates, who worked for rural localities have been counted in the "Rural" column. Statistics are available for 1980 which show the data before, and as a result of this change.

by people's universities in comparison with the rest of the Soviet people.

The krai, oblast and ASSR councils must have had some role in these changes, but it is likely that the impetus for improving the rural imbalance came from the Central Council and from Party authorities. Maintaining the quantity and improving the quality of rural programs will be the test which measures whether or not these mid-level councils are taking more responsibility for people's universities in the future.

City and raion councils. The lowest level of the governing councils (other than those in the universities and faculties themselves) is that which oversees the activities of people's universities in a given

city or raion. Although they are at the lowest level, these councils are the only territorial administrative bodies to undertake any direct supervision of programs. This is their primary task. In carrying out this responsibility, the city and raion councils review the programs and curriculum plans of universities for the coming year, ratify the selection of the administrative officials, the rectors, pro-rectors and deans, in local programs, provide instructors and lecturers through the Znanie Society if needed provide necessary visual and other teaching aids, and organize group educational excursions for programs.

In addition to local Party and cultural officials, the membership of the city and raion councils is composed largely of the rectors of the universities themselves. In the city council in Krasnodar, for example, the thirty-three members include Party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers, representatives of the city and raion organizations of the Znanie Society and rectors of a number of people's universities in the city. In order to deal more efficiently with the various profiles of universities located in the city, the council has established six sections: socio-political, economic and scientific-technical, pedagogical, cultural, medical and health, and agricultural. Meetings are held once every three months.⁸

Although the city and raion councils essentially have a veto power over decisions made in the local programs, it appears that local decisions are rarely overridden. The city and raion councils can suggest curriculum plans, provide lecturers and materials, encourage

innovative teaching methods, plan for the further development of universities in their areas but cannot dictate educational personnel or practices to the local programs. Thus, the initiative and responsibility for developing attractive and coherent programs ultimately rest with the local governing councils in each of the universities. These councils will be examined after a brief look at the advisory councils of the ministries which run people's universities.

Ministerial Advisory Councils. As a holdover from the pre-1968 days, the administrative lines of organization still play a significant role in providing support for and supervision of the people's universities. Approximately forty all-union ministries, agencies, trade and creative arts unions, and other public, voluntary organizations operate people's universities and maintain their own advisory councils (sovety sodeistviia) to provide guidance for the programs under their jurisdiction. These advisory councils also branch out into the republics, krais, oblasts, cities and raions of the Soviet Union, although not nearly as completely or uniformly as the councils associated with the Znanie Society. At the apex of this line of command, of course, are the advisory councils in the All-Union Ministries in Moscow, and these are usually chaired by deputy ministers. These chairmen in turn sit as members of the Central Council of People's Universities, thus in theory assuring coordination of all policies and activities regarding the people's universities. It

should be noted that their ministerial counterparts at the republic level share similar duties and responsibilities.

The major purpose of these advisory councils is to offer theoretical and methodological help in the development of universities in the field with which the ministry or organization is concerned. As a result the ministries possess real control over the direction and content of the universities under their jurisdiction. Even so, the membership of the councils is not restricted to the administrative heads of departments of a given ministry; it includes representatives of the Znanie Society, directors and scientific personnel of scientific-research institutes, rectors and deans of higher educational institutions, authorities of the Central Council of Trade Unions, scientific-technical societies, societies of "rationalizers and inventors", trade newspapers and journals and so on.⁹ As with the territorial councils a smaller "directing bureau" deals with more day-to-day affairs while the council as a whole meets relatively rarely. The activities of both these "directing bureaux" and the councils work according to the plans of and must report to the Central Council or to republic councils of people's universities. This relationship does not seem to reduce the authority of the advisory councils over the universities under their control, however.

The advisory councils perform most of the same functions as the republic and oblast territorial councils. This includes establishing model regulations for the universities under their auspices, drafting curriculum plans and programs, training and raising the qualifications

of lecturers and teachers, organizing seminars and conferences on topics related to the universities, and evaluating the activities of their programs.¹⁰ In one important regard the advisory councils differ from their territorial counterparts: they are also responsible for providing and strengthening the financial and material base for the universities under their jurisdiction. In other words they are responsible for seeing that their ministry supplies sufficient classroom, office and meeting space, visual and teaching aids, texts and other educational materials; allocates funds for honoraria for lecturers and instructors and provides for the advertising of upcoming programs in the local media. Consequently, particularly effective advisory councils can significantly advance the development of people's universities under the authority of their ministry, and, conversely, inactive advisory councils can slow such development. At least one article in the journal of the Znanie Society, Slovo lektora, suggests that the majority of ministries have not been quick to pick up this responsibility in the past:

In the plans of the majority of advisory councils no attention whatsoever is paid to providing the branch people's universities with visual aids and technical means of propaganda or to the creation of a financial-material base.¹¹

All people's universities operate under one or another organization along administrative lines in addition to being responsible to the territorial councils. Table 4.3 shows which ministries and organizations bore the responsibility for the development of these programs in 1980. From the table it is clear that formal educational institutions, schools, institutes, and universities

Table 4.3

Distribution of People's Universities
by Administrative Affiliation, 1980

Ministry or Agency	No./univs.	%	No./Auds. (000's)	%
All-Union <u>Znanie</u> Society	6,558	13.8	1,730	12.5
Industrial Ministries*	5,714	12.0	1,278	9.2
Construction Ministries*	443	0.9	76	0.5
Agricultural Ministries*	2,876	6.0	702	5.1
Transportation Ministries*	716	1.5	165	1.2
Ministry of Public Health USSR	3,608	7.6	888	6.4
Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education USSR	442	0.9	166	1.2
Ministry of Education USSR	13,088	27.5	5,489	39.7
Ministry of Culture USSR	4,745	10.0	861	6.2
Goskino USSR (State Film Agency)	82	0.2	29	0.2
Creative Arts Unions	17	>0.1	2	>0.1
Trade Union Soviets (for trade union members)	1,961	4.1	528	3.8
Other Ministries and Agencies	7,824	16.5	1,924	13.9
All universities	47,534	100	13,838	100

Source: Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta narodnykh universitetov, 10 dekabria, 1980, (Moscow: T.S.N.U., 1980), p. 24.

* Note: The ministries in these categories share control jointly with trade unions in various fields, scientific-technical organizations and societies of "rationalizers and inventors".

under the authority of the Ministries of Education and Higher and Secondary Specialized Education (MinVUZ), play a substantial role in running people's universities and in providing a base from which they can operate. About forty percent of all auditors attend programs run by these ministries. The Ministry of Education deals almost solely with the pedagogical people's universities, but MinVUZ oversees a broad variety of programs. Most notable of these are the universities for raising the qualifications of teachers and doctors which are located in pedagogical and medical institutes. Furthermore, many agricultural institutes house a "head" university of agricultural knowledge and run sections and affiliates in outlying areas from this base. All of which is not to mention that the Znanie Society maintains organizations in most higher educational institutions, and these run political programs, universities of public occupations and "Schools for Young Lecturers", a variation on the universities of the lecturer's trade.

In addition to providing a base for the universities which are under the authority of the Ministries of Education and Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, schools, institutes, and universities are the home for other people's universities, too. In 1980, 14,090 people's universities were located in general schools, while 2,851 universities were based in higher educational institutions. Together with "club institutions" such as the Houses and Palaces of Culture, formal educational institutions housed over 55 percent of all universities with about 60 percent of the auditors.¹² The rest of the

programs were spread out among scientific-research institutes, "Houses of Technology", Houses for Sanitation Education, factories and enterprises, military bases, state and collective farms and even ocean-going vessels.

Administration of People's Universities at the Program Level.

According to the 1980 figures compiled by the Central Statistical Administration of the USSR, about 92 percent of all people's universities are headed by voluntary governing councils (obshchestvennye soveti).¹³ If these statistics are correct, then the vast majority of programs have a locally based governance structure which enables them to make programmatic and curricular decisions responsive to local needs and conditions and to auditors' interests. Indeed, the same statistical data indicate that auditors comprise 39 percent of the total membership of these councils, giving them a surprising amount of leverage in determining the direction and content of local programs.

It seems likely that such a situation does exist in many of the people's universities, but that these figures exaggerate the prevalence both of fully functioning councils and of auditors' participation in them. What is more probable is that a large percentage of such councils exist on paper, complete with representation of auditors, but that real decisions are made by authorities of the "founding institutions", be they Houses of Culture, local offices of the Ministry of Education, the management of a factory or enterprise or branches of the Znanie Society. These

pretensions to a participatory decision-making structure, inaccurate though they may be, do serve to underline an unusual factor in the organization of people's universities: certain important programmatic, personnel and content decisions are decentralized in this system.

The membership of the local governing councils is normally not large and consists of a rector, deans of faculties and representatives of the founding institution, teachers and students. Only in the larger city or republic universities does one find a more complicated administrative structure which includes prorectors of various affiliated universities and sections, academic secretaries, heads of methodological or organizational commissions and so on. Although it is difficult to generalize about the individuals who fill these official administrative roles, most seem to do so to fulfill either Party or professional obligations, even though their involvement in theory is voluntary. Thus, local Party or trade union officials, cultural-educational workers, and personnel or "public service" workers figure prominently in the membership. While such officials are involved in the decision-making processes, it is not unusual for a salaried staff person to handle many of the more time-consuming administrative and organizational duties involved in carrying out the decisions of these councils.

The most important tasks of these councils include determining the programs and content of the various profiles; assuring the provision of curriculum plans and texts, visual or technical teaching aids; selecting and providing honoraria for instructors and lecturers;

finding suitable classroom or meeting space; attracting and maintaining a stable student body; and evaluating the effectiveness of programs in progress or just completed. The councils may call upon the assistance of either the territorial or advisory councils to carry out these tasks, but the ultimate responsibility for the functioning of the university rests with the local organization.

The universities themselves often have a complex organizational structure which necessitates close supervision from governing councils. In the vast majority of today's universities more than one field of knowledge, or profile, is offered for study, thus most universities are subdivided into three or four faculties according to the field of study. In 1982, the 56,829 people's universities were broken down into 131,288 faculties or affiliates. These faculties may offer several topics for auditors to choose from or may organize a number of "levels of complexity" to accommodate auditors with varying educational or professional backgrounds. Within a faculty it is possible to find one program designed to prepare doctoral candidates for the equivalent of their comprehensive exams and another program offering auditors the rudiments of knowledge in the same field. People's universities have also developed structures which help them reach beyond the urban areas in which they are most often situated. The so-called affiliates or sections usually repeat the curriculum of an urban program in rural areas or in different sections of the same city, often on an itinerant basis.

The Financing of People's Universities. The connections between people's universities and the Znanie Society are nowhere more evident than in the issue of financing. The operations of the territorial line of administration of the system are underwritten by that organization, although the relationship is symbiotic to a certain extent. In addition many of the universities, particularly universities of socio-political knowledge, are supported by the Znanie Society. The rest fall under the financial auspices of other ministries and agencies.

The most important point about the financing of the system of people's universities (and the Znanie Society for that matter) is that it receives absolutely no direct governmental budgetary allocations. All funds derive from fees for the educational services the universities perform.¹⁴ In essence the Central, republic and oblast councils of people's universities and the corresponding levels of the Znanie Society operate as educational consulting concerns.

Often a factory, enterprise or organization requests an instructor, curriculum plans or educational materials from one of the councils, and the Znanie Society provides that assistance through the council for a certain fee. About one-fourth of all people's universities are supported through such fees. In addition, in certain instances both the people's universities and the Znanie Society charge a minimal admission fee to their programs. In general, the universities of socio-political knowledge are offered free while professional-educational or more popular programs such as the

universities of culture, pedagogy or public health, are offered on a subscription basis. According to one Znanie Society official, out of a budget of about 100 million rubles for the All-Union organization in 1983, approximately 60 million came from these consulting arrangements and from the proceeds of lectures. Another 20 million rubles of income was received through the activities of the All-Union and republic level Znanie Publishing Houses which print educational materials and journals. Most of the rest came from sales of visual aids and technical teaching materials produced by the Znanie Society's experimental factory for the production and dissemination of visual aids.¹⁵

Out of this large budget, the needs of the people's universities are quite small. Whereas the Znanie Society maintains a permanent staff nationwide of 15,000 employees, the total number of paid workers for the councils of people's universities is probably less than 200. The Znanie Society pays the salaries of these staff members and provides rent-free space for the activities of the governing councils. (It should be added that the Znanie Society itself pays almost no overhead costs for its organization; these are largely absorbed by the state.) The rest of the budget for the Central and republic level councils of people's universities falls into three general categories: 1.) expenses for the business trips of consultants and lecturers going out from the center, 2.) the costs of publishing textbooks and recommended curricula for the universities, and 3.) the expenses involved in bringing local, regional and republic representatives of

the people's universities to Moscow or the republic capitals for plenums, conferences, consultations and so on.¹⁶

The financing of individual programs of people's universities is relatively straightforward. To begin with the "founding institution" is required to provide adequate classroom and meeting space for the university. Beyond this there are three ways in which the costs of local programs are covered. First of all, the Znanie Society can bear all of the costs of providing the lecturer, curriculum, visual aids, advertising and so on. Secondly, the "founding institution", for example a factory or trade union wishing to upgrade the skills of its workers, can organize a university on its own or it can obtain the necessary lecturers and programs through the Znanie Society. Finally, in combination with either of the above, auditors in a university can pay a small subscription fee in order to attend.

Such financial arrangements seem to work in the majority of cases, but there are deficiencies in the system. Most difficult to obtain are the necessary visual aids or technical teaching aids (slide or film projectors, audio equipment, etc) for the universities. One oblast council chairman reported to the Central Council that,

In many cases the issues of strengthening the educational-materials base of people's universities, of equipping them with up-to-date technical means of propaganda are poorly resolved. This is particularly true in view of the fact that such aids are difficult to obtain and that the existing standards for them do not meet the actual needs of people's universities.¹⁷

Although some republic and oblast councils attempt to provide such equipment on a rental basis, clearly they cannot meet the needs of all of the programs in their region.

An additional problem with such methods of financing is that while they work well in the short term, they shortchange efforts at research and development and at long-range planning. The Znanie Society does not seem to be able to offer the additional personnel to carry out these tasks, and the councils of people's universities have only enough resources to implement the current program activities. This problem tends to worry those authorities at the center whose responsibility it is to assure the further development of the system of people's universities.

Lecturers and Their Training

If it is clear that the public, voluntary principles of the people's universities create an unusual administrative and organizational structure within the Soviet educational context, then these same principles also pose special obstacles in attracting and training lecturers and instructors. At the heart of the concept of public, voluntary principles lies the notion that those involved, teachers, administrators and students alike, all participate without any expectation of material gain. At issue is the problem of getting qualified and committed personnel to spend significant amounts of time not just giving lectures, but undergoing sometimes lengthy initial training programs and frequent retraining activities, all for little

or no recompense. When one realizes that the system of people's universities lacks the financial resources to pay its activists and simply would not exist without such voluntary participation, it becomes all the more important to understand the characteristics and motivations of the nearly one million adult educators who teach in people's universities.¹⁸ Since a minuscule percentage of these lecturers are adult educators by profession, it is no less crucial to understand the kind of training they receive to work in people's universities.

The Characteristics and Motivations of Lecturers.

A large body of Soviet sociological research has been devoted to studying the effectiveness of lectures in conveying both ideological and non-ideological messages, and much of this research has investigated the role of lecturers in such "lecture propaganda". The statistics which have been published from this research are not particularly sophisticated and cannot be directly verified from their sources; nevertheless, they provide useful insights that can be gained nowhere else. Although the largest portion of the research focuses on the lecturers of the Znanie Society rather than specifically on the instructors and lecturers of people's universities, the two groups are for all practical purposes identical. For example, when one study asked organizers of people's universities in the Rostov oblast how they obtained lecturers for their programs, results showed that 41 percent of these organizers arranged for lecturers through the Znanie

Society, 31 percent directly invited engineering-technical workers and specialists from industrial enterprises, 17 percent directly invited school teachers and 8 percent arranged for them through higher educational institutions and *tekhnikums*.¹⁹ Thus, the people who make up the remainder of lecturers for the people's universities come from exactly the same professional and demographic groups as the Znanie Society lecturers. They would be expected to have the identical motivations and backgrounds as the Znanie Society's personnel who work in people's universities.

On a nationwide scale the statistics on the professional occupations of lecturers in people's universities are similar to the groups in the Rostov oblast. In the 1980 all-union accounting of people's universities, the collected data were analyzed according to lecturers' professions, whether or not they worked systematically (i.e. organized an entire course rather than giving a single lecture), and their length of service in the university.

From the figures in table 4.4, it can be seen that a majority of those who teach in people's universities are professional educators, and the proportion is even greater for those who teach in them systematically. They even account for about 60 percent of lecturers with five or more years teaching experience in the universities. These teachers form the heart of the lecturing staff of people's universities by providing both theoretical and practical experience and a commitment to the profession. Next to them in experience, commitment and numbers are the engineers, technicians and doctors.

Table 4.4
 Statistics on Lecturers in People's Universities, 1980

Profession	%/Tot.	% of those who worked Systematically	Years of Service*		
			1-5	6-11	12+
Engineers, Technicians, Workers in Enterprises and Institutions	15.0	14.0			
Teachers in VUZ and Tekhnikums	10.6	9.9			
School Teachers	41.9	48.1			
Doctors	12.1	11.4			
Agricultural Specialists	5.6	5.5			
Workers in Literature and Art	5.0	4.1			
Others	9.9	7.8			
Total (908,041)	100	100 (660,500)	73.2	19.3	7.5

Source: Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta nardonykh universitetov, 10 dekabria, 1980, (Moscow: T.S.N.U., 1980), p. 22.

* Note that the figures for years of service refer only to those lecturers who worked systematically.

Even though professional educators are preponderant, teaching experience is clearly not a prerequisite for being selected as a lecturer either by the Znanie or by the governing councils of people's universities. According to one researcher,²⁰

the main criteria for selecting new lecturers are education (academic degree), party affiliation, age, social activism, training for and availability to give lectures on socio-political, natural science or scientific-technical topics.

That these criteria are taken seriously is supported by research done in the Krasnodar krai in 1977: 79.4 percent of the lecturers there had a higher or incomplete higher education, 67.2 percent were Party or Komsomol members, and 67.6 percent were between the age of thirty and fifty.²¹ Similarly, one candidate's dissertation which studied members of the Znanie Society in the Ukraine noted that 96 percent were intellectuals (by her definition, people with higher or secondary specialized education) and 66.2 percent were Party or Komsomol members.²² An advanced level of education and Party affiliation seem to be particularly important factors in being chosen to lecture in people's universities.

A useful question to ask at this point is why individuals choose to commit their time to lecturing in people's universities. After all, about 70 percent of the lecturers get up before an audience once every one or two months,²³ a considerable investment of time and energy if one considers the necessary preparation, travel time and so on. In her candidate's dissertation, L.I. Balakireva carried out a careful, two part study of 450 lecturers between 1973 and 1976 to determine their motivations for undertaking such a responsibility. In the first part the author surveyed the available literature on the topic and interviewed a portion of her sample to establish a list of the most common reasons mentioned by lecturers for undertaking this work. She then surveyed the sample by questionnaire to determine which of these reasons were most significant. Her results are complex largely because she found that responses varied greatly depending upon the profile of

university in which the lecturer was teaching and upon the lecturer's length of service in the university. Table 4.5 offers a summary of her findings, leaving aside the variations due to length of service. In general, it is possible to determine a first, second and third priority of motivations for each profile from her data, and these have been included below.

All of the groups, no matter what length of service, mentioned professional growth and an inclination to teaching as important factors influencing their decision to participate in people's universities. Furthermore, all of the groups except those in universities of socio-political knowledge felt that lecturing gave them an opportunity to do a certain amount of independent study or work in an area which touched upon their career field, but which might not be directly associated with it. Those in technical or scientific fields particularly mentioned this as an important factor. Given the large proportion of Party and Komsomol members in people's universities, it is a little surprising to see that only those in universities of socio-political knowledge half-heartedly mentioned social duty or Party assignment as a reason for lecturing. Interestingly, lecturers in that profile of university differed from the others in that very little provided much motivation for them except professional growth and their attraction to teaching.

Balakireva's survey covers the more intellectual and abstract motives of lecturers, but it fails to take into account the variety of incentives offered primarily to encourage continued involvement in the

Table 4.5
 Prioritized Motives Given by Lecturers for
 Teaching in People's Universities

Motives:	Profile of University*				
	Soc- Pol.	Sci- Tech.	Ped.	Cult.	Agri.& Nat. Sci.
Professional Growth	2	1	2		1
Possess an inclination to teaching	1		1	2	3
Opportunity for creative work related to profession		2	3	3	2
Social obligation or Party assignment	3				
Opportunity to widen sphere of intellectual intercourse				1	
Collaboration with professionals in the field		3			
Opportunity to satisfy avocational interests					

Source: L.A. Balakireva, Povyshenie kvalifikatsii prepodavatelei narodnykh universitetov kak pedagogicheskaja problema, Unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Scientific-Research Institute for General Adult Education of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR, 1978, p. 38

* Note: The profiles denoted by Balakireva are socio-political, technical and economic knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, culture and agricultural knowledge and natural sciences.)

system. It should be remembered that a minority (44%) of lecturers have completed more than two years of service in people's universities, thus officials consider it necessary to provide external incentives to maintain a more stable lecturing staff. Such measures range from the purely hortatory (awarding of certificates of appreciation, listing in the "Book of Honor", granting of honorary

titles such as "Distinguished Lecturer") to wider levels of recognition and non-material rewards (publicity in local or republic media, opportunities for expense-paid tours within the country) to incremental monetary rewards (opportunities for discounts to cultural or spectator events, monetary prizes, payment for lectures), depending upon the service performed, length of service, or professional or political position of the lecturer.

The last of these incentives, payment for lectures, is most interesting because it demonstrates that the public, voluntary principles of people's universities are not universally applied. Between 5 and 10 percent of all lecturers are paid a small honorarium for their services, and these lecturers are generally the most experienced and sought after in the system. Within that elite group of lecturers, however, there are gradations of honoraria which range from ten to twenty rubles and in exceptional cases up to seventy rubles per lecture for all-union ministers or similar high level government officials. In addition, the Znanie Society covers travel and housing costs and throws in a 2.62 ruble per day meal allowance. Even at the level of ten rubles per lecture, such remuneration can provide considerable incentive to go on the circuit. One lecturer, a dotsent, or roughly an associate professor, at a university and a specialist in international relations, reported that it was not unheard of for him to give eight lectures in a two-day period (over a weekend or during the lengthy school holidays), thus earning a quick eighty rubles.²⁴

For someone whose monthly salary is 355 rubles, this is not an inconsiderable sum to earn in two days.

The professional motivations mentioned in a Balakireva's study and the external incentives offered by the Znanie Society seem to provide the most immediate stimulus for lecturers to participate in the programs of people's universities. Nevertheless, they seem to fall short of explaining why such a large system is able to operate on primarily voluntary principles. A more subtle, underlying, factor may be at work: the traditional sense of social responsibility of the Russian liberal intelligentsia. While the same belief in the messianic capacity of scientific and cultural education to create a democratic society which pervaded the thinking of the organizers of people's universities at the turn of the century is surely not present today, the attitude that education is good and more education is better still prevails in the Soviet Union. Many lecturers indicated that they taught in people's universities at least partly because they felt that they were making an important contribution to the cultural development of the country. The intellectual and cultural heritage of this social group may provide some small measure of explanation for the continuing participation of lecturers.

The Training and Raising of Qualifications of Lecturers

While large numbers of lecturers may be motivated to teach in people's universities, such commitment is no guarantee of quality in their teaching. Considering that many lecturers come to the

universities with no pedagogical background, it is not surprising that deficiencies in the calibre of teaching frequently crop up. In her dissertation Balakireva asked "competent judges" (for the most part organizers, fellow teachers, and members of the scientific-methodological councils of the Znanie Society) to rate a selected group of colleagues on the effectiveness of their teaching, then pooled their ratings of 350 lecturers in an attempt to provide a picture of the overall level of teaching in people's universities. Not surprisingly Balakireva findings, provided in table 4.6, showed a significant difference in the ratings depending on how much experience lecturers had in people's universities and on whether or not they were professional educators.

Balakireva noted that only a small percentage of lecturers performed at the "Master" or "Good" levels in their first two years in people's universities, regardless of their previous pedagogical experience. Most experienced secondary or university teachers found that they had to adapt their teaching styles and methods if they were to succeed with adults because "a significant portion of professional educators are in general not familiar with instructional methods for or the psychology of teaching adults."²⁵ As a result she recommends that all lecturers, educators or not, undergo systematic training or retraining to improve their effectiveness in people's universities.

Balakireva also studied fifteen lecturers in various profiles and of differing ages over a five year period and concluded that five

Table 4.6
Ratings of Lecturers in People's Universities

Rating	Length of Service in Years					Tot.	%	Tchrs No.	Specs [*] No.
	1-2	2-3	3-5	5+					
Master	11	13	21	40	85	24	71	14	
Good	12	18	28	39	97	28	78	19	
Satisfactory	60	34	21	5	120	34	46	74	
Below Average	36	6	6	0	48	14	20	28	
Totals	119	71	76	84	350	100	215	135	

Source: Adapted from L.A. Balakireva, Povyshenie kvalifikatsii prepodavatelei narodnykh universitetov kak pedagogicheskaja problema, Unpublished candidate's dissertation, Scientific-Research Institute for General Adult Education of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR, 1978, p. 70.

* Note: The last two columns denote "Teachers" and "Specialists".

factors are instrumental in improving the quality of teaching: 1.) the practical experience of teaching in people's universities, 2.) professional work in the field in which the lecturer was teaching, 3.) self-study, 4.) participation in the system of raising qualifications and 5.) attempts to generalize their experiences (writing articles or textbooks). Most of these factors depend upon individual initiative, but people's universities have begun to tap into the diversified system of training and retraining lecturers that the Znanie Society has established. The people's universities must collaborate with the Znanie Society in this area since they have no independent system exclusively for their own personnel.

The programs of the Znanie Society and people's universities for raising the professional qualifications of teachers can be divided

into long-term and short-term categories. By and large the programs that provide initial training for teaching in people's universities fall into the long-term category: Schools for Young Lecturers and Schools and Universities of the Lecturer's Trade. Retraining or on-going training activities are usually short-term and include consultations, seminars and conferences. Self-study through methodological literature put out by the Znanie Society also falls into the latter category since such study is often systematic and supervised.

In one sociological study between 50 and 60 percent of all lecturers for the Znanie Society reported receiving certain lecturing skills in the course of their study in higher educational institutions.²⁶ Such skills are normally obtained through Komsomol activities or through the Faculties for Public Occupations, which are not to be confused with people's universities of the same name but which perform similar duties. One highly touted facet of such faculties are the Schools for Young Lecturers, whose primary purpose is to encourage all students to obtain agitator's or propagandist's (See glossary) skills for later use in their careers. One report noted that in 1975, 843 higher educational institutions enrolled more than 168,000 students in these schools.²⁷

One such school at Leningrad State University focused its curriculum on providing students with a large quantity of political information and giving them a rather academic background in the theories of public speaking. During the course of this two-year

program students were expected to complete some sort of written work on a relevant topic and in the second year to do some actual lecturing in front of their fellow students and in clubs, schools or other institutions for youth. Those who successfully completed the course were to be awarded certificates and the title, "lecturer-propagandist" and were to receive recommendations to be admitted as a lecturer to the Znanie Society. Even so, no practical information on teaching in people's universities was included, nor does such information seem to be part of any of these schools.

As of yet the impact of the Schools for Young Lecturers on providing a trained lecturing staff for the Znanie Society is quite limited. For one thing interest among students in such activities does not seem high; only fifty-three students attended the organizational meeting for the 1983-84 program for the Psychology and Philology Faculties at Leningrad State University. When questioned, students noted that such activities took too much time away from their academic work. According to the same sociological study mentioned above, only between 3 and 7 percent of the lecturers for the Znanie Society received some training through the Schools for Young Lecturers.²⁸

According to Balakireva the most widespread long-term form of raising the professional qualifications of lecturers are the schools and universities of the lecturer's trade. In 1982, 1,361 such universities trained over 188,000 lecturers for the Znanie Society and for people's universities. The content and organization of these universities were discussed in detail in Chapter III, thus there is no

need to repeat the information here. It is important to add, however, that while some universities of the lecturer's trade do offer programs geared specifically to those who teach in people's universities, many others do not. Their relevance for people's universities, then, is perhaps not as great as the figures indicate.

The most popular of the short-term forms of raising qualifications among the lecturer's themselves are the consultations. These are usually conducted with specialists in the scientific-methodological bureaux of the Znanie Society or with faculty members in pedagogical institutes and can be done either systematically or on a case-by-case basis. Consultations are only effective, however, when they respond to the specific, practical problems facing lecturers. Balakireva finds that such consultations are not used very widely, particularly by those who do not teach in higher educational institutions. Her study showed that 50 percent of the professional teachers received such consultations while only 5 percent of the other specialists did.²⁹ Nevertheless, in the sociological study done in the Krasnodar krai, 93.6 per cent of the respondents felt in need of qualified consultations related to their lecturing, and 23.1 per cent of these received such assistance systematically while 44.6 per cent got help as the need arose.³⁰ These differences in results indicate that the availability of such help varies widely depending upon the activeness of the local governing councils.

Seminars for lecturers and administrators of people's universities are frequently organized by the oblast and republic councils and are usually held in pedagogical institutes and universities. Since they are offered in academic institutions, they are generally of a more theoretical nature than either the consultations or the conferences. Balakireva suggests that such seminars are most successful when they include case studies of programs that have experienced serious problems or notable successes. She found, however, that only 15 per cent of her respondents attended such seminars.³¹

More popular among experienced lecturers are the conferences which are organized once or twice a year both by the territorial councils of people's universities and by the advisory councils of various ministries. Just above one-third of the lecturers in Balakireva's survey stated that they attend such conferences either at the All-Union, republic or oblast levels.³² The main functions of the conferences are to deal with current problems facing the system of people's universities and to provide up-to-date research and information in the many different profiles of the universities. The most successful conferences take place when the content offered is directly applicable to the lecturers' work in peoples' universities or when the issues discussed relate to critical problems facing the participants in their work. Balakireva feels that conferences which do this are rare occurrences.

Methods and Materials Used in People's Universities

The ineffectiveness of the training and retraining programs for people's universities shows up nowhere more clearly than in the teaching methods used for adult learners. Soviet researchers and specialists in the pedagogy of adult education are fully aware of the necessity of actively involving learners in the educational process in order to sustain their interest. All of the manuals and books on methodology urge a balanced use of lectures and so-called "active methods", which include question and answer evenings, excursions, discussion groups, debates, auditors' conferences, "business games" and so on. In the experts' opinion the optimal balance might be 50-60 per cent lectures and 40-50 per cent active methods. However, for all of these exhortations the lecture is far and away the most prevalent style of teaching used in people's universities, accounting for anywhere between 70 and 97 percent of all classes.³³ Furthermore, the Soviets include certain forms of teacher-centered methods, such as seminars, "collective discussions", radio and television classes, and "meetings with interesting people", under the rubric of "active methods". If these methods are grouped with the lectures, they all but exclude other, practically oriented teaching methods in people's universities. One dissertation on the academic processes of the universities of culture notes,

The pedagogical advantages of the active forms of study are self-evident. In the opinion of the supervising organizations their presence defines the quality of work of the university to a significant degree. However, it is precisely these forms which have a hard time finding their way into practice. In the curriculum plans we analyzed, all

types of practical classes occupied last place in relation to other forms of study (They make up all of two percent of all classes.)³⁴

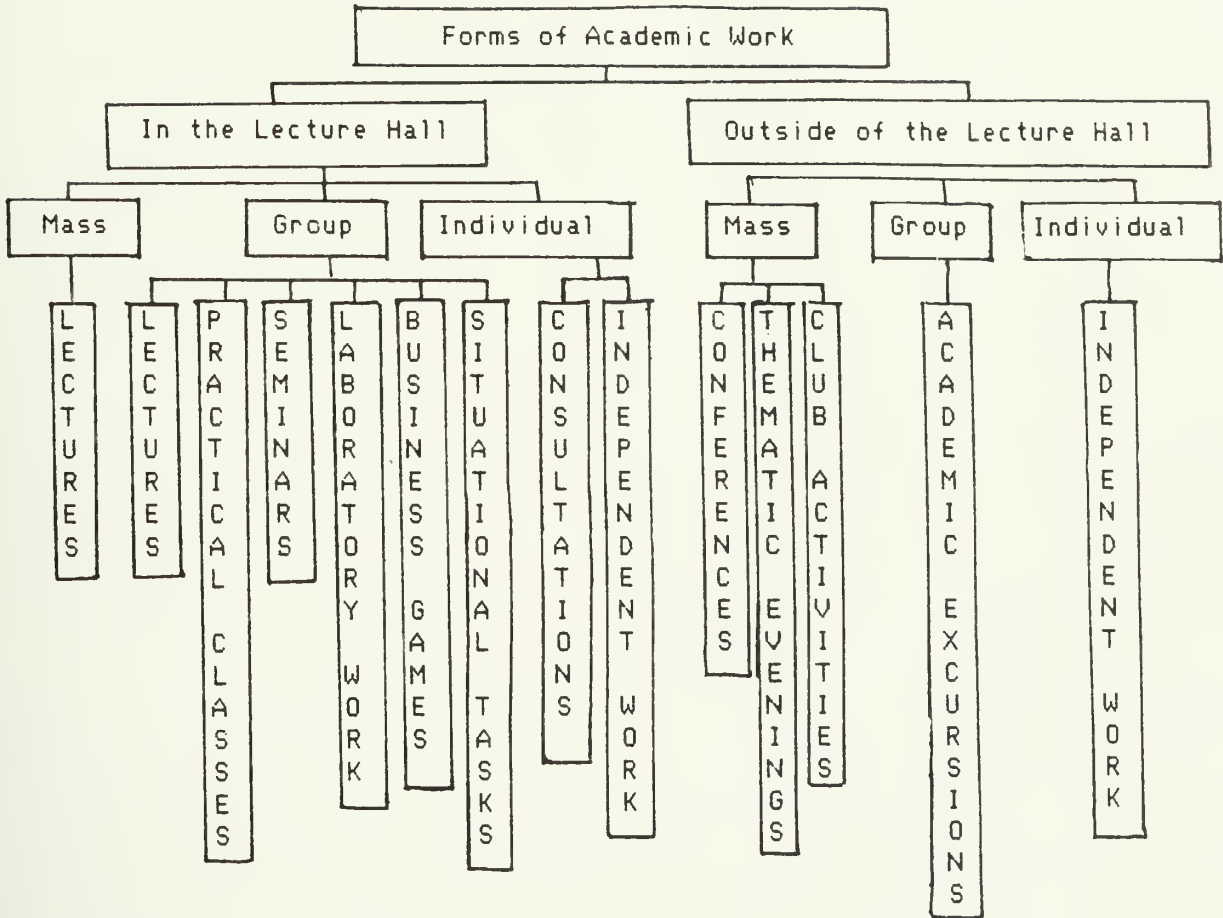
Despite the current unchallenged domination of lectures, some adult education specialists, particularly within the Znanie Society and the Scientific-Research Institute for General Adult Education of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, are carrying out research which is aimed at more fully introducing the active methods into the programs of people's universities. It is likely that such efforts will continue to receive the support of the governing councils of people's universities and may become a more integral component of the teaching in people's universities in the future. Thus, it is worthwhile to survey briefly the most commonly recommended methods for use in people's universities.

Teaching Methods Used in People's Universities

Besides the dichotomy between lectures and "active methods", Soviet adult educators make another distinction between "mass", "group" and "individual" forms of study. According to one report, the mass forms of study are largely borrowed from higher educational institutions; the group forms come from clubs and other cultural-enlightening activities; and individual forms are derived both from higher education and from political propaganda activities.³⁵ After a further distinction between "in class" and "out of class" activities has been made, the diagram in Figure 4 shows these forms of study and which various teaching methods come under them.

Figure 4

Recommended Teaching Methods for People's Universities



Source: Ia. I. Mar'ianovskii, Formy i metody obucheniia v narodnykh universitetakh tekhnicheskogo progressa i ekonomicheskikh znanii, (Leningrad: Leningrad House of Scientific-Technical Propaganda, 1974), p. 6.

Mass Forms of Academic Work. Not surprisingly the lecture in its many manifestations is the basis for all mass forms of academic work. Lectures can include lecture-concerts, lecture-demonstrations, lecture-instructions and lecture-cycles, but all these are variations on the fundamental theme of a single person behind a podium expounding to an audience of between 30 and 400 students. Ideally in people's universities lectures are given in a specific developmental sequence so that one lecture builds on the previous presentation and sets the stage for the following one. It is this integration of themes and sequencing of presentations which supposedly distinguishes the people's universities from other adult education activities carried out by the Znanie Society or by cultural-enlightening organizations. Most authorities will admit, however, that for a number of reasons, the most prominent being a lack of skilled lecturers, such integration and sequencing is more the exception than the rule.³⁶

Not all mass forms of academic work are lecture-oriented. Especially those forms which are conducted outside of the lecture hall include the participation of auditors to a larger extent. Conferences, for example, are often conducted as a concluding session for an academic year or for a whole program, and frequently papers or reports which a few auditors have written are presented at these. Generally such conferences are held for more than one faculty or program, so the number of participants can be quite large. Ostensibly their purpose is to provide a link between the theoretical information and concepts

which auditors have just received in the program and the practical world in which they must apply this knowledge.

Thematic evenings are similar to conferences in that they require a certain amount of independent work on the part of auditors and are presented to mass audiences, but in other important respects they differ from conferences. Thematic evenings do not normally end a program, but are presented at the end of a section or a unit to reinforce recently presented information. In addition, they are not supposed to be strictly academic, but a combination of study and entertainment. "Thematic evenings are most often presented as 'montages' on a specific topic and include reports or presentations of a cognitive nature, artistic readings, presentations by artists or auditors as amateur groups, viewings of films or fragments of films or demonstrations of works of art."³⁷

A number of other teaching methods for mass audiences are labelled club activities because they seldom find their way into the classrooms of higher educational institutions, but are often found in the many extra-curricular activities in these institutions. These include meetings with interesting persons, question and answer evenings, "oral newspapers", and debates. All of these methods demand such preparation on the part of a few auditors as formulating questions for guest speakers for the question and answer evenings, writing and presenting "articles" for the oral newspaper, or establishing debating points. At the same time, they are considered mass forms of study because these activities are intended for

presentation in large groups where most participants are not actively involved.

Group Forms of Academic Work Frequently a faculty in people's universities will be broken down into study groups based upon the age or level of education attained by the auditors. Particular teaching methods are recommended for these groups and include lectures, lecture-conversations, simple discussions, practical classes of various types, excursions, and academic viewing of performances, films, etc. As might be expected, lectures are again the most widely used of these techniques, tempered only by the use of the slightly less formal lecture-conversations.

After lectures, seminars are among the most widely used forms of study in groups. One writer on the subject maintains that two sorts of seminars exist: seminar-conversations for those auditors who are less prepared, and seminar-discussions for more informed groups.³⁸ In both cases the lecturer sets a topic for the seminar and auditors are expected to come prepared either with some sort of analysis of the topic or with questions arising from assigned readings. The basic assumptions of the seminar, in contrast to conferences, are that all auditors have done some sort of outside work to prepare for the class and will participate to some extent in the class. Evidently it is the level of participation of auditors which distinguishes seminar-conversations from seminar-discussions.

Possibly because both profiles intend to bring about changes in levels of performance of auditors, the universities of professional-educational knowledge and of public occupations both employ the various types of practical classes to a greater extent than other profiles of people's universities. For example, in universities of scientific-technical knowledge and of economic knowledge practical classes are often conducted in the shops of factories or enterprises, allowing auditors to complete hands-on work with machinery or presses. Similarly, auditors in a university of legal knowledge who are training to become adjudicators in the comrades' courts will often attend such court sessions, then offer their own judgements on the proceedings in a later class. The purpose of such classes is both to reinforce previously presented academic material and to acquire new skills in the trade or occupation.

A number of variations on practical classes are mentioned in the literature, although it is clear that they are not frequently employed. Laboratory work, "business games" and situational tasks have recently gained popularity among methodological experts as means of providing auditors with skills that would normally be unattainable by anyone not employed in the occupation that uses those skills. The latter two techniques in particular have little history in Russian or Soviet pedagogy and may be borrowed from the case study approaches found in Western business or law schools. Actual laboratory work does not appear to occur very frequently due to a shortage of available laboratory space.

The most popular group form of study among auditors in the cultural-enlightening universities are the various types of excursions. These can include visits to museums or exhibits as well as to theatrical or musical performances. In a city like Leningrad where theater tickets to popular productions can be very difficult to obtain, the box-office priority given to cultural-enlightening institutions like people's universities can make such forms of study very attractive to auditors, indeed. Excursions, of course, are not limited to cultural events, but can include field trips for amateur naturalists or archeologists, visits to factories or plants, and even sight-seeing tours within an oblast or republic. Such trips are almost always followed up in the next class by an analysis or discussion of the event attended or place visited.

Individual Forms of Study. The various individual forms of study are for the most part integrated into the mass and group teaching techniques discussed above. The concept of independent study in the Western sense is completely alien to either Russian or Soviet pedagogy, thus those teaching methodologies which place the most responsibility for learning on the individual student have received the least amount of study or dissemination among Soviet adult educational institutions, people's universities included. As the term is presently used in the Soviet Union, independent work means the writing of essays, reports, and presentations for specific classes or the fulfilling of some sort of practical assignment.

Essays and reports are usually completed for seminars, conferences or debates, but in rare instances are written and defended as a concluding assignment for the academic year. Normally this latter task is left to what is called diploma work, even though official diplomas are not awarded in people's universities. Diploma work, however, often has the narrower goal of getting students at the end of their program to devise a concrete proposal for the improvement of economic efficiency or the rationalization of production processes. In all of these cases the end product is presented in class or as part of a concluding conference. By contrast practical assignments are usually an outgrowth of the practical classes and are set up to provide auditors with additional opportunities to practice those skills which were taught in the practical classes. Thus, they are intended to be completed outside of the classroom.

The one individual form of study which stands out from the rest is the consultation. Although consultations are frequently conducted in groups, they are considered an individual form of study because they are intended to address the individual interests or questions of auditors. In most cases lecturers hold consultations in order to provide guidance for auditors in selecting essay topics or preparing to present essays, reports or other types of written work in the seminars or conferences.

The mass, group and individual forms of study mentioned above form the basis for an adult education methodology, but it is evident that much work still needs to be done before these methods are

commonly put into practice. Fortunately for the people's universities the capacity of Soviet citizens for enduring long orations is unquestionably far greater than that of Westerners, thus the impact of generally lecturer-oriented teaching styles on enrollment appears to be fairly limited. What carries far greater weight for enrollments is the "academic regime"; that is, the frequency and duration of classes and the length of the whole program.

One question which has received a great deal of attention in the research of Soviet sociologists is the amount of free time available to Soviet citizens. The Znanie Society and people's universities have put this research to good use by designing the academic regimes of their programs to fit the schedules of auditors. Most programs, about 83 percent,³⁹ are one or two years in length, although if auditors wish to continue they can attend higher level or "continually running" programs. Virtually all the programs (98 percent) analyzed by Levashova met once or twice per month for between two and four hours per session.⁴⁰ For the most part the universities are conducted during auditors' free time in evenings or occasionally on weekends.

The major exceptions to these general modes of operation are found in the universities of professional-technical knowledge. Although no statistics are available, there are indications that the majority of these programs are conducted on-site in the work place during working hours. The primary reason for this seems to be to give managers greater leverage in "encouraging" the participation of their employees. The greatest variations in the academic regime occur in the

universities of agricultural knowledge since these programs must adapt to the seasonal schedules of their auditors. Unlike other people's universities which normally begin in October and end in June, many of the universities of agricultural knowledge start in the lax working season of January and run through December with a two-month break in July and August. Furthermore, in order to save travelling time from remoter rural areas, many programs are conducted once a month on Saturdays for from six to eight hours per session. All of the variations in the academic regime seem designed to increase enrollments in the universities by making the meeting times more convenient and the schedules more amenable to the motivations of auditors. The growth of people's universities over the past fifteen years at least partially testifies to the wisdom of such policies.

Educational Materials Used in People's Universities

Creating textbooks and other educational materials for people's universities poses a special problem which apparently has yet to be fully resolved. While the Znanie Publishing House, one of the largest in the Soviet Union, puts out a number of series specifically for use in the people's universities, it has a hard time tailoring these booklets to the demands of individual programs. Such series as "Pedagogy," "Natural Sciences," "Health," "Legal Science," "Literature and the Arts," "Man and Nature," and "Science for Your Profession" are all published to be used in conjunction with the recommended curriculum plans of the All-Union Znanie Society. These centrally

devised curriculum plans, however, are used only in 15 percent of the universities, thus the accompanying literature is of value in a minority of the people's universities. The responsibility for the creation of texts and educational materials ought to lie more with the republic and oblast organizations of the Znanie Society and people's universities, but they don't seem to have the capacity to take on these duties yet.

The Znanie Society also publishes a number of journals and booklet series specifically for the organizers and lecturers in people's universities. The All-Union Society, for example, puts out a monthly magazine called Slovo lektora (The Lecturer's Word) which includes articles on the latest decisions of the Central Committee on adult education matters, on improving the organizational and methodological efficiency of the Znanie Society's programs, on the experience of lecturers and organizers in people's universities and so on. From time to time this magazine also includes recommended curriculum plans for selected profiles of universities. A similar journal called Znanie-narodu (Knowledge to the People) is disseminated by the RSFSR organization of the Znanie Society. Finally, the Znanie Society publishes a couple of series of booklets for use by those involved in people's universities called People's Universities in Our Country and From Experience both of which describe in detail the activities and policies of the most outstanding people's universities in the country.

Most difficult for individual programs to obtain are the necessary visual aids or technical teaching aids (slide or film projectors, television sets, audio equipment, etc) for the universities. In the Soviet parlance these are called the "technical means of propaganda", and it is the responsibility of the founding organization to provide them. It is often difficult, however, for founding organizations located outside of republic or oblast centers to obtain teaching aids, and once they have them the quality and reliability of the equipment is often questionable.

There are two ways for programs to obtain teaching aids: they can be ordered directly from the factory outlets or through local organizations of the Znanie Society. As noted in the previous section, the Znanie Society has not been efficient about guaranteeing the supply of such equipment to date. A people's university or a founding organization may purchase teaching aids on its own either from the outlet stores which have been established in most republic capitals or by mail order from Moscow.⁴¹ Neither of these means is much more reliable than ordering equipment through the Znanie Society since the inventory of local stores may not be complete, since the bureaucratic intricacies of ordering through the Soviet mail system are abnormally complex, and since certain types of equipment cannot be ordered by mail.

The Znanie Society recognizes the problem of obtaining the necessary teaching aids and has set up rental services for its programs and for the people's universities in republic and oblast

centers. Administrative officials in the Znanie headquarters in Tashkent, however, state that orders must be made well ahead of time to guarantee the availability of equipment and that some requests cannot be filled because of prior bookings.⁴² Given all of these difficulties, then, it is hardly surprising that in one study only 17 percent of lecturers reported using "technical means of study" and only 40 percent reported using visual aids.⁴³

The problems that the people's universities experience with the lack of appropriate teaching methods and with difficulties in procuring appropriate educational materials reflect the larger dilemma for Soviet adult education of the diffusion of the many programs in operation. Because of this diffusion little coordinated, practical research has been done on how to introduce innovative teaching methods into the Soviet adult education programs as a whole. Similarly little organizational work has been done on assessing the needs of adult education programs for materials and aids, and almost no financial support has been offered in supplying adult education programs with needed equipment. These problems are compounded for people's universities since they have only a small organizational and financial base to work with.

Students and the Evaluation of Learning in People's Universities

In spite of the many deficiencies in their activities, people's universities currently manage to attract over eighteen million auditors annually and in some republics yearly provide educational

programs for approximately one-fifth of the population. Furthermore, the growth of people's universities has been steady ever since their inception, and it appears that peak enrollment has yet to be reached. Since participation in the universities is largely voluntary, such figures indicate a high degree of success and popularity, at least among certain segments of the population. Just which segments of the population attend people's universities and what their reasons are for doing so constitute the basic issues to be discussed in this section. The evaluation of the effectiveness of people's universities, both in the eyes of auditors and organizers, is related to these issues, and this question will conclude the analysis of people's universities in this chapter.

The statistical accounting of the people's universities carried out in 1980 analyzed some of the demographic characteristics of auditors in people's universities. These statistics are shown in Table 4.7. It is worth recalling that the rural/urban imbalance evident in these figures has received much attention from the authorities in people's universities since 1980, and that some improvement in this imbalance, both real and with the help of some statistical juggling, has been made. Except for the statistics on educational background, however, these figures do not tell very much about those characteristics of auditors in people's universities which distinguish them from the population as a whole. The categories into which professional background is divided, for example, are so general as to be virtually meaningless except to meet certain political quotas for

Table 4.7
Demographic Characteristics of Auditors
in People's Universities, 1980

Characteristic	No. of Auditors (000's)	% of Total
Residence:		
Urban	11,551	83.5
Rural	2,287	16.5
Sex:		
Male	6,180	44.7
Female	7,658	55.3
Profession:		
Worker	5,934	42.9
Kolkhoznik	1,845	13.3
Clerical worker (sluzhashchie)	6,059	43.8
Education:		
Higher	2,427	17.5
Incomplete Higher	744	5.4
Secondary Specialized	2,714	19.6
General Secondary	4,444	32.1
Incomplete Secondary	3,509	25.4
Total:	13,838	100

Source: Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta nardonykh universitetov, 10 dekabria, 1980, (Moscow: T.S.N.U., 1980), pp. 21-22

workers and kolkhozniks. All that can be determined from this information is that clerical workers are overrepresented and industrial workers are underrepresented in people's universities compared to the overall population.

The breakdown of auditors' backgrounds by education is more helpful and shows that those with higher levels of education participate in people's universities relatively more actively than those with only complete or incomplete secondary schooling. According to these 1980 figures, 42.5 percent of the auditors in people's

universities had either some higher or secondary specialized education, a figure which is much higher than for the population at large. Furthermore, the level of education of those attending people's universities seems to be rising. In 1982-83, 25 percent of all auditors had a higher or incomplete higher education and 22 percent had specialized secondary training while about 53 percent had either a complete or incomplete secondary education.⁴⁴ It is impossible to tell, however, whether such a trend reflects rising educational levels for the Soviet population as a whole or increased popularity of people's universities among those groups.

These figures are significant because only the educational characteristics of auditors differ from the demographic picture for all auditors who attend the Znanie Society's lectures. Sociological research on auditors conducted in 1973 in the Cheliabinsk oblast showed that for the Znanie Society's lectures as a whole only about a third of the auditors had some higher or specialized secondary education while slightly over two-thirds had varying levels of elementary and general secondary education.⁴⁵ Research by the same authors in 1980 supported these figures and went on to show that as auditors' educational levels rise, their preference for programs of lecture-cycles, such as the people's universities, also rises. In this survey 10 percent of the respondents with an elementary level of education preferred lecture-cycles over individual lectures whereas almost 43 percent of those with some higher education did.⁴⁶ In fact, this latter group was the only one in which more auditors preferred

lecture-cycles to individual lectures. Thus, the higher educational levels of those who attend people's universities can be attributed at least partially to the self-selection of auditors.

Not surprisingly the demographic composition of the student body of each people's university varies radically depending upon the profile of university. For example, in a study by G.V. Ianushevsky of twenty-one people's universities in Leningrad from 1971 to 1973, workers comprised only 4.5 percent of the auditors in universities of professional-educational knowledge, 40.3 percent of auditors in universities of public occupations and 9.5 percent of auditors in universities of cultural-enlightening knowledge (including socio-political knowledge).⁴⁷ In general, engineering and technical workers predominate in the universities of professional-educational knowledge, and industrial (blue collar) workers are the most numerous group in the universities of public occupations. The most differentiated are the universities of cultural-enlightening knowledge, although clerical workers and the engineering and technical workers form the largest groups of participants in these. The same study found that the student body composition of universities also varied significantly by age and by level of education, thus providing some measure of justification for the claim by people's universities that they differentiate their programs to coincide with auditors' needs and interests.

Just as the composition of auditors in a people's university depends in large part on the profile of the university, so do

auditors' reasons for attending that program. Ianushevksy analyzed the goals of study most often cited by auditors in different profiles, and his results are shown in Table 4.8.

Not surprisingly, the motivations expressed by auditors in this survey coincide closely with the intended objectives of the universities themselves. Auditors in the universities of professional-educational knowledge attended in order to raise their professional qualifications; those in the universities of public occupations were there to obtain the skills necessary for such occupations; and auditors in the universities of cultural-enlightening knowledge overwhelmingly sought to satisfy spiritual (e.g., aesthetic, artistic, creative) needs. At least for the universities of professional-educational knowledge, these results were supported by a 1974-75 study in Leningrad which showed that over 80 percent of the respondents attended universities of scientific-technical knowledge primarily to raise their professional qualifications.⁴⁸

Less expected was the response among auditors in the universities of professional-educational knowledge citing political training as a strong motive for attending the universities. While a larger number of auditors put raising professional qualifications ahead of political training as their primary motive (45 % as opposed to 40.2 %), clearly the political aspects of these programs are a strong drawing card for auditors. One may speculate that auditors perceive a need to keep abreast of those policies and decisions of the Central Committee and

Table 4.8
Auditors' Motives for Attending People's Universities

Goals of Study	Category of University*		
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Raise professional qualifications	63.5%	20.9%	3.1%
Widen technical horizons	14.4	24.1	8.6
Acquire knowledge for a public occupation	24.7	86.5	12.8
Deepen political training	68.0	37.4	14.7
Acquire a second profession	2.0	5.4	3.6
Satisfy spiritual needs	24.5	13.2	82.9
Meet with people who have interests similar to mine	15.3	7.7	12.7
Spend leisure time interestingly	5.4	4.4	57.8

Source: G.V. Ianushevskii, Narodnye universiteti i interesy slushatelei, (Leningrad: O-vo Znanie RSFSR, Leningrad Organization, 1975), p. 11.

* Note: Group 1 - Universities of Professional-Educational Knowledge; Group 2 - Universities of Public Occupations; Group 3 - Universities of Cultural-Enlightening Knowledge. These figures represent the percentages of auditors within each group who considered each motive to be of first, second or third priority in attending a people's university, thus they add to more than 100 %.

the government which effect their profession and see these programs as a way of doing so. Indeed, one study showed that auditors of the Znanie Society lectures in Latvia felt that such lectures served as a source for current information on domestic and international policies and cited this reason most often as a reason for attending them.⁴⁹

In contrast to the surveys on lecturers' motivations for teaching in people's universities, the studies cited above only identified the internal characteristics of the universities which motivate auditors to attend. External incentives (or disincentives for not attending) must also play a part in auditors' decisions to participate, but there is no information currently available on this. It is not known, for example, to what extent auditors are required by their bosses to attend, what kind of honorary or monetary incentives exist or whether attendance at a people's universities contributes to advancement in the Party ranks. Any one of these reasons could easily provide more incentive to attend than the internal characteristics of the universities themselves.

At any rate, in the people's universities studied by Ianushevskiy the coincidence between auditors' stated motivations and the programmatic objectives of the various profiles contributed to a high degree of auditors' satisfaction. Ianushevskii found that

the more auditors indicated goals which corresponded to the academic goals of the university, the more auditors responded positively to the question, 'Did the academic process in the people's university help in achieving your goals?',⁵⁰

Table 4.9 illustrates this point with data taken from the five universities in the study which had the largest number of respondents.

Ianushevskii defines program success in terms of the achievement of auditors' goals. Thus, for his purposes statistics on auditors' perceptions of the extent to which the programs achieve their goals, on the coincidence of their interests with lecture topics and on their

Table 4.9
Degree of Auditor's Satisfaction with Study
in People's Universities

% of Auditors:	University*				
	1	2	3	4	5
1. whose goals coincided with those of the university,	74.4	36.4	58.7	84.8	96.2
2. who felt the academic process helped in achieving their goals,	73.6	55.4	57.7	89.8	81.5
3. whose interests completely or mostly coincided with topics of lectures,	86.8	66.1	54.7	76.6	84.2
4. who used the acquired knowledge in everyday activities,	75.9	59.6	87.6	100	41.8
5. who systematically used knowledge in line with goals of university	73.8	49.1	44.5	81.4	47.1
6. who were studying voluntarily,	94.2	64.9	78.2	74.5	100
7. who regularly attended or rarely missed the classes	83.8	58.4	80.8	86.4	88.5

Source: G.V. Ianushevskii, *Narodnye universteti i interesy slushatelei*, (Leningrad: O-vo Znanie RSFSR, Leningrad Organization, 1975), p. 25

* Note: 1 - City University of Radioelectronics; 2 - University of the Manufacturing Complex "Krasnyi Treugol'nik"; 3 - University for Teachers of the Kirov Raion; 4 - University for People's Inspectors; 5 - University of Culture at the Hermitage Museum

voluntary participation and regular attendance are all of primary importance in evaluating the success of people's universities. Of less importance, particularly in the universities of cultural-enlightening knowledge, are the extent and ways in which auditors use the knowledge they gained. The data from these universities provide much support for Ianushevskii's contention that

the more auditors and programs strive toward mutual goals, the higher the other indicators of success will be.

Although this is a highly selective sample of universities and is probably not representative of people's universities throughout the country, the differing levels of voluntary participation in these universities may shed some light on levels of participation across the board. The one university of culture in this group, the university at the Hermitage Museum, had the least authority over auditors, yet it had completely voluntary attendance as well as the highest attendance rates. The University of the Manufacturing Complex "Krasnyi Treugol'nik", a university with professional-educational and socio-political faculties, could and did compel the attendance of a third of the auditors, yet it had the lowest attendance rates by far. The remaining programs, including a university of scientific-technical knowledge held at a Palace of Culture, a university of public occupations and a university of pedagogical knowledge, attracted substantial voluntary participation and maintained solid attendance rates. It seems reasonable to conclude that these differences in participation and attendance generally hold true from profile to profile throughout the Soviet Union.

While Ianushevskii may have evaluated the effectiveness of people's universities in terms of auditors' satisfaction, his is not the prevailing view among most officials in the Znanie Society and organizers of people's universities. For most of its existence the system of people's universities has been considered successful as long

as quantitative indicators of growth have remained strong; the more universities, the more faculties, the more auditors that existed the better the system was considered to be. For example, the main consequence of the all-Union evaluations of people's universities conducted by the Znanie Society in 1964-65, 1969-70 and 1973-74 was to bring about substantial quantitative increases in the system. Only secondary attention was paid to organizational issues such as setting up governing councils or introducing socio-political curricula into all universities. Issues of lecturers' skills, auditors' interests or methodological efficiency were all but untouched in these programmatic reviews.

From 1973-74 on, however, disagreements about how to define effectiveness for people's universities began to arise. One outlet for the expression of opposing points of view was the Znanie Society's journal, Slova lektora, which published a long series of articles on this topic between 1973 and 1975. In the introductory article, F.I. Kazakova outlined the problem of how to determine effectiveness for all people's universities as follows:

Some feel that effectiveness in people's universities should be determined by the growth in numbers of auditors, others by levels of attendance in classes and a third group by the range and quality of the knowledge and skills mastered by auditors. Some correlate effectiveness with the formation of a moral character in auditors as well as by increases in their productivity and social activeness...In this connection the task arises of finding those effects which would be most characteristic of people's universities.⁵¹

The focus of the debate, then, has been to try to establish criteria with which to measure the "effects" of study in people's universities.

Perhaps the easiest programs to evaluate are the universities of public occupations. Since their purpose is to train volunteers for public service types of jobs and since it can be presumed that auditors have no prior training in that area, a substantial part of the subsequent performance of auditors in those positions reasonably can be attributed to the training they received. Understandably, efforts at evaluation have met with little success in the universities of socio-political or cultural-enlightening knowledge. Since these programs primarily aim to raise awareness or develop certain moral characteristics in a broad range of areas, criteria for measuring effectiveness in all profiles within these categories have been difficult to establish.

Efforts to develop criteria for the universities of professional-educational knowledge have met with mixed success since measures of performance in those areas are more quantifiable, but determining the role of the universities in bringing about changes in auditors' performance is more difficult to assess. Currently the most popular means of evaluating the effectiveness of such people's universities is to calculate the number of inventions or rationalizing proposals for improving productivity which auditors have made both during and after their programs of study. By determining how many such proposals have actually been used, organizers estimate the number of rubles saved in

terms of production costs. When sums in the tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles saved appear in documents as figures supporting the effectiveness of people's universities, it is small wonder that such measures have gained favor among organizers. Unfortunately organizers have yet to clarify the extent to which these innovations can be directly attributed to the universities and not to other variables.

Organizers have been virtually stymied in trying to assess the effectiveness of people's universities on nationwide scale. Perhaps for this reason no all-Union evaluations of people's universities have been carried out in the past ten years. At present rather than trying to assess all the universities, the republic governing councils and the governing councils of the various ministries and agencies responsible for people's universities combine forces to carry out evaluations and reviews of individual profiles within a given republic.

For example, from July to December 1984, the Uzbek republic council of people's universities organized a "review-competition" (smotr-konkurs) in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Uzbek republic. In April of that year an organizational committee, composed of representatives from some of the ministerial advisory councils, was set up in order to review and assess materials collected from a large number of programs throughout the republic. This committee's ultimate goal was to award honorary and monetary prizes to the best people's universities in the republic and within the various

profiles which participated. In addition the committee was to recognize universities for the best curriculum plans and the best educational materials developed locally, as well as for the best work done by students.⁵² While such voluntary evaluations seem to be useful for well-organized and established programs, they leave unanswered the question of how less well-organized programs are evaluated by the republic councils.

In determining the outcomes of the educational process in people's universities, then, organizers seem more concerned with the social and economic impact of the system than they are with assessing the extent of learning by auditors as a result of the educational processes of the program. Although one or two researchers have attempted to establish ways of evaluating how much auditors have learned, such efforts are at a preliminary stage and have received little attention in Znanie Society publications. Consequently, this issue leads back to the organizational problem of how to encourage more research specifically on the pedagogical difficulties found in Soviet adult education programs like the people's universities.

Summary and Conclusion

The organizational and administrative characteristics of the system of people's universities are defined largely by its operation as a public, voluntary organization. The policies concerning the organizational structure of the system, selection and training of the lecturing staff, development and implementation of educational

materials and teaching methods, recruitment of auditors and the evaluation of the effectiveness of people's universities were all established to handle a largely decentralized system which has to depend on the social activism of large numbers of people for its successful operation. Moreover, its existence as an extra-state organization run in cooperation with the All-Union Znanie Society means that both its financial resources and its ability to influence larger policies relating to adult education are as of yet limited.

Perhaps because of a lack of attractive alternatives auditors seem to be satisfied with people's universities in spite of such problems. The results of a number of sociological studies indicate that while only a minority of auditors find the quality of people's universities to be "good", a large percentage finds them at least "satisfactory". In the opinion of auditors the biggest problems encountered in many of the programs are lecturers' avoidance of "sticky issues", a lack of connections between the material presented and everyday life and work, and the dryness and monotony of the presentations.⁵³ One leading adult educator agrees with these criticisms, admitting that for all intents and purposes a methodology for teaching adults is nonexistent, either in people's universities or in the Znanie Society. In his opinion only one or two hundred out of the thousands of universities are truly innovative and forward-looking in their approach to adult education.⁵⁴ The rest cling to the methods and approaches found in Soviet formal educational institutions.

The problems that people's universities have in developing teaching methods and materials is symptomatic of the deficiencies of Soviet adult education as a whole. A practice and methodology of adult education has failed to develop in the USSR in part because of its diffuse and disorganized nature and in part because of a resultant lack of concentrated research and planning in this area. Research institutes such as the Scientific-Research Institute for General Adult Education in Leningrad and the leading pedagogical universities have focused their efforts on improving individual programs, be they evening or extra-mural schools, Institutes for the Improvement of Teachers or even the people's universities. In doing so they have failed to see the problems of individual programs as part of a larger picture encompassing all of adult education.

With the spreading influence of the theories of continuing education, a move toward at least a partial unification of adult education activities seems to be underway. According to A.P. Vladislavlev, a central council for adult education under the direct authority of the Council of Ministers is likely to be formed in the near future. The primary function of such a council would be to coordinate a uniform adult education policy, thereby avoiding unnecessary duplication and waste. Vladislavlev feels that the development of such a council will give adult education more political clout than it has ever had before and may serve as the nucleus for an apparatus which will be dedicated to carrying out much needed research in adult education and its psychology, organization and relationship

to the rest of society.⁵⁵ This body could also play a significant role in designing upcoming reforms of the system of adult education.

The public, voluntary principles by which people's universities are run, and which set them apart from other forms of adult education, may place these programs in a strategic position to influence future directions for Soviet adult education. The tensions between centralization and decentralization which have characterized the history of people's universities are now being played out on the larger scale of the entire system of adult education. Before they gain that influence, however, the people's universities will have to resolve the issues of quality which currently prevent the system from running most efficiently.

Footnotes

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C H A P T E R V

THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY OF CULTURE AT THE A.M. GORKY PALACE OF CULTURE, LENINGRAD: A CASE STUDY

Introduction

In studying any aspect of life and culture in the USSR, Western researchers must be cautious not to rely solely on official Soviet sources of information. Unfortunately, any information which is published for public consumption in the Soviet Union may contain inaccuracies or distortions which can give a misleading picture of social conditions or programs. This is especially true of information put out for foreign readers; in almost all cases such information is disseminated for propaganda purposes and is slanted to shed only the most positive light on the Soviet Union and its policies. While pressures exist to reduce internal propaganda disinformation, especially in literature intended for professionals in a particular field, distortions still cannot be counted out. As in most bureaucracies where the individual departments must fight for funding and political clout, strategy dictates that accomplishments be spotlighted and problems or shortcomings be kept in the shadows. As a result, Western researchers have to find ways to validate the official information they receive and to calculate the extent to which it coincides with realities of life in the USSR. In studying the people's universities, it would have been best, of course, to survey as many programs on-site as possible so as to produce a statistically valid sample with which to compare the documentary information. Under present political conditions, however, such opportunities are not

available to Westerners.

For this dissertation a six-month case study of a people's university of culture was carried out during the 1983-84 academic year to provide a means of validating the picture of people's universities presented by the documentary literature. A second reason for conducting a case study and describing this case in the dissertation was to provide a particular, concrete depiction of a people's university in an effort to clarify the general, abstract discussion which has gone before. While it would be illogical to argue that a single case study provides a definitive verification of the Soviet sources, it can help to clarify issues which have been raised in the literature and can at least suggest points where the official picture of people's universities may have been distorted.

The people's university of culture which was the object of this study is located in the A.M. Gorky Palace of Culture, a cultural center for the Leninskii Raion of Leningrad. The primary reason for this university's selection as a case study was the relative accessibility to it by the author. Being located in Leningrad, where most of the research was carried out, the university could be studied for a lengthy period of time. Moreover, through informal contacts which had been set up prior to arrival in the Soviet Union, an arrangement was reached directly with one of the lecturers, M.D. Mikhailov, and the organizer of the university, N.A. Pozdniakova, whereby access to all classes, students and lecturers was permitted.

With one minor exception this program was the only one to which the researcher was granted access during his entire stay in the Soviet Union. The exception was a people's "film-university" of legal knowledge intended for students in formal schools. Since it did not fall into the mainstream of people's universities, however, it was not deemed suitable for study. Despite repeated attempts to gain access to other people's universities through official channels, no other programs became available for study. In two cases authorities actually denied permission to visit and study a program. In at least three other situations permission was formally granted, but bureaucratic delays prevented such study from being carried out.

The sub-rosa arrangement with the people's university at the Gorky Palace of Culture apparently was made with the approval of neither the university's founding institution, which is the Leningrad Oblast Council of Trade Unions, nor the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education to whose authority the author was subordinate during the period of research. As a result, the agreed upon access was limited to the extent that the author's presence as a researcher could not be obvious. Thus, it was clear from the outset that a questionnaire disseminated to all students or even elaborate interviews with participants in the university would not be possible. At the same time, informal interviews in the form of conversations were conducted, and along with observations of classes of the faculties these conversations provided most of the information for this case study. Four of the faculties were observed in the course of

the case study, and one faculty was followed throughout the course of the year. In addition to these sources, two of the lecturers and the organizer agreed to in-depth discussions of their roles in the university.

In presenting the information collected from this program, this chapter will follow the pattern presented in the preceding discussion of people's universities. First, the goals of the university and the content of each of its faculties will be described. Then organizational issues, including the administration of the program, the lecturers and their teaching methods and materials, students' participation in the university and the evaluation of programmatic outcomes, will be discussed. Finally, some comparisons will be made between this university and the depiction of people's universities as a whole which has been presented by the literature.

The Goals and Content of the University

The People's University of Culture at the A.M. Gorky Palace of Culture first opened in 1956, thus making it one of the oldest continuously running people's universities in the country. The Gorky Palace of Culture itself is situated so as to be able to offer its services to a primarily blue-collar clientele from both the Leninskii and Kirovskii raions of Leningrad. This cultural center is financially supported and directed by the Leningrad Oblast Council of Trade Unions as well as by a number of factories and enterprises in the raion. It has gained enough recognition for its efforts to be awarded the "Order

of the Red Banner of Labor", a relatively common honorary title bestowed upon Soviet institutions which have made important contributions in their fields. It should be noted that this university of culture was not the only people's university, nor the only type of educational activity housed by the Gorky Palace of Culture in 1983-84. At least three people's universities operated by other founding organizations, as well as a number of diploma-oriented evening courses used the facilities of the Palace for their classes.

The people's university of culture is part of the "Mass Section" (massovyi otdel) of the Palace, thus is grouped with the lecture and concert activities of the organization. This placement leaves no doubt that the major goal of the university is to provide general educational and cultural courses to adults and working youth. All of the eight faculties of the university could be categorized as people's universities of cultural-enlightening knowledge, and most of the faculties of the university in 1983-84 focused on various forms of the arts, including theater, music, architecture and sculpture, and the visual arts. Three of the faculties could be considered self-improvement courses in a uniquely Soviet way since they offered advice and opinions about how to improve the lives of specific groups of auditors. Only one of these courses was sufficiently ideological in tone to be considered a university of socio-political knowledge, but even in this the specifically political content was kept to a minimum. The eight faculties and their programs for 1983-1984 are given below:

1. The Theatrical Living-Room was a seminar course set up "for those who love the theater, are interested in problems of the stage arts and want to chat and argue a bit about new theatrical productions...".¹ In many ways this seminar resembled any course studying dramatic literature in a higher educational institution. Its basic format called for auditors to read a play or view a theatrical production then to discuss in class a particular theme in relation to that play. For each class one auditor was asked to prepare a resume of the play and to provide a brief critical analysis of it. Both the play and the auditor's presentation then became part of the class discussion. The topics of discussion, which formed the program for the course, are shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Course Prospectus for "The Theatrical Living-Room"

Date	Topic
October 20, 1983:	"The Classics and Modern Society",
November 17:	"The Problem of Authorship in the Theater",
December 15:	"Contemporary Dramatic Composition",
January 19, 1984:	"Time and Space in the Theater",
February 16:	"Topicality and Contemporaneity", (<u>King Lear</u>)
March 15:	"The Theory of Performance: The Leningrad and Moscow Schools" (<u>The Cherry Orchard</u>)
April 19:	"Modern Theories of Staging",
May 17:	<u>"Literature and the Theater"</u> .

Source: From the syllabus published for the faculty.

The lecturer for this course, Nella Arkad'evna Brodskaja, was well-qualified to conduct this seminar, being a theater critic as well as the head of the "Creative Section" of the Palace for Arts Workers, a cultural center for the creative artists' unions. Her position in the union, however, insured the ideological correctness of the literary interpretations in this class. For example, her analyses of King Lear and The Cherry Orchard reduced the dramatic tensions of both plays to antagonisms engendered by class struggles within the societies depicted by Shakespeare and Chekhov.

In contrast to the larger theatrical faculty of the people's university, this seminar was intended for young adults, and, indeed, all of the auditors were in their 20's or early 30's. In addition, the number of auditors who could attend was limited to fifteen so as to keep the class small enough for discussions, although it turned out that only between seven and ten auditors regularly attended the classes. The small class size, combined with the assignments handed out, seemed to promote fairly active participation by the generally articulate and well-read auditors who regularly attended.

2. The Theatrical Faculty was a much larger lecture course organized in conjunction with the State Museum of Theatrical and Musical Arts to provide the 30 to 40 auditors with an opportunity to hear the leading dramatists and theatrical artists of Leningrad discuss their work. In essence this was an organized "behind-the-scenes" look at the theatrical world of Leningrad for theater enthusiasts. Most of the classes took the form of performances or question and answer evenings

with playwrights, directors or actors, as the program of classes in Table 5.2 testifies.

Table 5.2
Course Prospectus for "The Theatrical Faculty"

Date	Topic
October 10, 1983:	"The Youth of BDT" (The Large Drama Theater),
October 24,	"A Meeting with Future Actors in Musical Theaters",
November 14,	"Leningrad's Author-Performers",
November 28,	"A Meeting with Future Actors in Puppet Theaters",
December 12,	"The Foreign Theater" (Discussion of <u>Amadeus</u>),
December 26,	"We Discuss a Premier",
January 9, 1984,	"A Performance by the Merited Artist of the RSFSR, I. Krasko",
January 23,	"A Meeting with Future Actors in Drama Theaters",
February 13,	"Theatrical Parodies Yesterday and Today",
February 23,	"A Meeting with the Film Director A. Sokurov",
March 12,	"A Name on a Poster: G. Yanovksaia",
March 26,	"A Meeting with the Playwrights A. Sokolova and S. Dreiden",
April 9,	"A Performance by the People's Artist of the USSR, V.I. Strzhel'chika",
April 23,	"The Young Theater",
April 30,	"The Leningrad State Academic Comedy Theater",
May 14,	"The Young Variety Theater",
May 24,	"The Results of the Academic Year" (Speeches by auditors and organizers of the faculties, Awarding of certificates of completion of the university, Concert).

Source: From the syllabus published for the theatrical faculty.

Prior to the course auditors were asked to attend a number of productions playing in Leningrad theaters in order to be aware of the works these artists were discussing. In addition, the auditors took part in a competition of independent written work on any topic related to the theater or on one of several recommended topics, such as "What we Expect from the Theater," "Forms of Contemporaneity on the Stages of Leningrad Theaters," and "Reflections after a Premier". It was unclear, however, whether such written work was required of all auditors or merely optional.

The co-leaders of this faculty, V.C. Zhuk and A.O. Ures, were both members of the research staff at the Museum of the Theatrical and Musical Arts. Their primary role seemed to be arranging for and introducing the various speakers for the faculty. In contrast to Brodskaia, who actively led each class, these co-leaders handled the more organizational tasks of processing auditors' written questions for speakers during the question and answer periods and of overseeing the independent work of auditors.

3. The Youth Musical Faculty provided a unique opportunity for those interested in Soviet rock or contemporary folk music to learn about its origins and development, to meet with some of the most popular Leningrad performers and to keep abreast of up-coming concerts and performances in the city. Given the quasi-underground nature of Soviet rock music, the very existence of such a faculty was unusual and generated much excitement not just from auditors, but from some performers, as well.

The organizer of this faculty, M.D. Mikhailov, was the president of the Leningrad Rock Club, an organization formed to promote the development of musical groups and individual performers of rock and contemporary folk music. Almost all of the rock groups which perform in Leningrad have contacts with this club, thus Mikhailov was in a good position to know the history of Soviet rock music and to arrange for musicians to come and perform in the faculty. Classes in the faculty were a broad mixture of lectures, question and answer evenings, concerts and discussions. Furthermore, the faculty lent itself to the use of a range of audio-visual materials, including tape recordings, slides of concerts and even television broadcasts of performances. The original syllabus for the course gives a loose idea of some of the topics covered during the year

Depending on the topic or performer for the class, this program attracted anywhere between 30 and 100 auditors to each session. The role of auditors in this faculty was more passive than in others, but the most interested auditors generated many questions and often carried on lively discussions following the official proceedings. These diehards more than once were rewarded with an opportunity to buy hard-to-get tickets to the concerts sponsored by the Leningrad Rock Club. For the most part auditors were the youngest of any of the faculties of the university -- in their teens and 20's -- although a solid minority of auditors seemed to be in their 30's and 40's.

Table 5.3

Course Prospectus for the "Youth Musical Faculty"

Date	Topic
October 12, 1983:	"Sources of Contemporary Youth Music",
October 26:	"The Emergence of Soviet Rock Music",
November 9:	"On the Balladeer's Art", (Okudzhava, Vysotskii, Galich),
November 23:	"A Creative Portrait of a Composer-Performer", (Boris Gribenchikov of the group "Aquarium"),
December 14:	"Rock Music in the Struggle for Peace",
December 28:	"Meeting after a Concert",
January 11, 1984:	"Folklore",
January 25:	"A Creative Portrait of Composer-Performers", (The group "Strange Games"),
February 8:	"The Classics and Rock Music",
February 22:	"Jazz in the Past and Present",
March 14:	"A Meeting with the Host of the Musical Program on Estonian Radio, N. Meinert",
March 28:	"A Creative Portrait of a Composer-Performer", (A televised concert by and interview of "Aquarium")
April 11:	"The Theater and Rock Music",
April 25:	"Music in Moscow", (Guest speaker, A.Troitskii, member of the research staff of the Scientific-Research Institute for the Arts),
May 23:	"Basic Directions in Contemporary Youth Music",
May 24:	"Results of the Academic Year", (Speeches of auditors and organizers of the faculties, Awarding of diplomas for completion of the university, Concert).

Source: From the syllabus published for the Youth Musical Faculty.

4. The faculty entitled The Greatest Museums of the World, run in conjunction with the Hermitage Museum, was designed to familiarize auditors with the collections of some of the greatest museums of the world. Generally each class concentrated on the major museum or collection found in a specific country such as Greece, Japan, or England, or occasionally on collections of a specific artist's works. An example of the latter was the lecture on the collection of Rodin's sculptures found in Leningrad's Hermitage Museum. Unfortunately by the end of the program a complete syllabus could not be located; thus a complete listing of the topics is not available here.

Rather surprisingly this faculty was far and away the most popular in the university. For example, at one lecture on the museums of Greece an estimated 160 to 170 auditors were present. A number of factors may account for this popularity, among them the teaching methods, the opportunity to participate in excursions to the Hermitage Museum, and the subject matter itself. Lectures were the predominant teaching style in this faculty, but almost all of the lectures were accompanied either by slides or films. The use of such visual aids maintained the interest of auditors and allowed them to view the important parts of the collections under discussion. Similarly, the opportunity for an organized excursion to the popular Hermitage Museum was well received since it allowed auditors a firsthand look at the pieces of art being discussed. Finally, the subject matter, which in many cases was in the form of a travelogue, may have been especially

interesting to auditors who have little if any opportunity to travel beyond the borders of their country.

This particular faculty differed from most of the others in that it had no leader other than the organizer of the whole university, even though the staff of the Hermitage was actively involved in presenting the program. The result was more a lecture series than a unified faculty in which each class built upon the one that preceded it. The advantage of this was that auditors were able to select those sessions which were most interesting to them and not have to worry about the topics which appealed to them less. This seemed to be especially attractive to those auditors who were less interested in gaining systematic knowledge. Such a group, those 50 years of age and older, formed the largest single block of auditors in the faculty.

5. "By Peter's Will Created...", consisted of a series of lectures and excursions to acquaint auditors with the many architectural and sculptural monuments of Leningrad. The curriculum for this faculty, which evidently was written by the Kirovskii raion section of the Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, took an historical approach to discussing the topic, providing an overview of the growth of the city of St. Petersburg and Leningrad in the process. The syllabus of lectures is given in Table 5.4.

As with "The Greatest Museums of the World", this faculty was without a particular leader overseeing the year-long academic process.

Table 5.4

Course Prospectus for the faculty,
"By Peter's Will Created..."

Date	Topic
October 4, 1983:	"The Founding of Petersburg and the Architecture of Peter's Day" (D. Trezzini, M. Zemtsov, S. Chevakin'skii),
October 18:	"The Work of F.B. Rastrelli",
November 1:	"The Architecture of Leningrad in the Second Half of the 18th Century," (V. Bazhenov, M. Kazakov, I. Starov, A. Kokorinov, N. L'vov, D. Quarenghi and others),
November 15:	"The Architect Carlo Rossi",
December 6:	"The Architecture of Petersburg in the 19th Century", (A. Zakharov, A. Voronikhin, V. Stasov, V. Briullov, A. Stackensneider and others),
December 20:	"Sculptural Monuments of Petersburg in the 18th and 19th Centuries",
January 3, 1984:	"The Architecture of Petersburg in the Beginning of the 20th Century", (F. Lidval', N. Vasil'ev, I. Fomin, M. Lialevich and others),
January 17:	"In Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary from the Day of Renaming Petrograd to Leningrad,"
February 7:	"The Bridges and Embankments of Petersburg",
February 21:	"The Menshikov Palace--The Most Valuable Monument of Civil Architecture from Peter's Time", (A Meeting with the Restorer),
March 6:	"The Architecture of Leningrad", (I. Fomin, V. Shchuko, N. Troitskii, L. Rudinev, A. Gegello, I. Il'in, A. Nikol'skii and others),
March 20:	"The Sculpture of Leningrad",
April 3:	"The Bridges and Embankments of Leningrad",
April 17:	"The Projected Development of the City in the 11th Five Year Plan",
May 15:	"Architectural and Sculptural Monuments of Leningrad,"

Table 5.4 Continued

May 24: "The Results of the Academic Year," (Speeches by auditors and organizers of the faculties, Awarding of certificates of completion of the university, Concert).

Source: From the syllabus published for the architectural faculty.

In this case, however, the program was integrated and did build from class to class. In addition, auditors were asked to prepare some sort of independent work as part of the course, and a couple of the lecturers took responsibility for this aspect of the course. These lecturers, V.I. Lisovskii and A.L. Punin, also conducted the excursions to the Peter and Paul Fortress, the Menshikov Palace (of which Punin is one of the restorers), and the former Aleksandrinskii Theater. According to Pozdniakova, this architectural faculty was popular among older auditors since it showed Leningraders aspects of their city that they had never seen before. On average 40 to 50 auditors attended the classes.

6. In Your Home was less a faculty than a series of lectures intended primarily for a small group of young women who wished to learn more about "the culture of everyday life", i.e. homemaking. This was a kind of self-help course that could have come out of an American home-economics textbook for the 1950's. It appeared to be intended to prepare young working class women for the traditional role of the housewife. The list of topics, which is provided in Table 5.5, vividly illustrates this point.

Table 5.5

Course Prospectus for "In Your Home"

Date	Topic
October 25, 1983:	"Beauty is Always in Fashion," "In Order to Look More Attractive," "To Gain Weight Is To Age",
November 22:	"The Ability to Dress Well," "A Personal Style in Clothes," (Modelling and Discussion of New Fashions),
December 27:	"Holidays in the Home," "So You're Having Guests...", "The Etiquette of the Dinner Table,"
January 24, 1984:	"Your Kitchen," "Doing Your Housework Sensibly,"
February 28:	"The First and Second Courses,"
March 27:	"For Dessert," "Let's Cook 'Pirogi' ",
April 24:	"From Old Recipes,"
May 22:	"Order at Home," "On Seasonings," "Save Those Vitamins !"

Source: From the syllabus published for the faculty, In Your Home.

The leader for this faculty was Liudmila Iur'evna Obraztsova, a journalist on matters of etiquette and "everyday culture" and an experienced lecturer on these topics. It was Obaztsova who Pozdniakova had in mind when she stated that it was important to get "energetic and eager" lectures so as to maintain the interest of auditors². Although there were no more than eight auditors, their attendance was regular. Part of the attraction of this course for them may have been the opportunity to actually prepare some of the recipes and meals discussed during the lectures in "practical classes".

7. The same level of interest was not generated for The Family in the Modern World, a faculty intended for newly or soon-to-be married

couples to discuss the problems of married life and to suggest ways to deal with these problems. While the topic itself may not be inherently uninteresting, the dry, academic manner of presentation undoubtedly put off many of the auditors. The organization responsible for heading up this faculty was the Scientific-Research Institute for Complex Social Research of Leningrad State University, and the academic background of the staff members who lectured in the faculty was evident. The curriculum itself treated the problem in an abstract, impersonal way, allowing time for discussion only at the end of the program. The prospectus for this course is provided in Table 5.6

Of all of the faculties, attendance at this one was most irregular. Although the program was intended for couples, at one session all nine auditors participating arrived unaccompanied, indicating that their spouses had lost interest. Not only was the lack of attendance of auditors a problem, however. On two occasions the class sessions were cancelled because the lecturer did not appear. The combined lack of enthusiasm of both lecturers and auditors made this the least successful program of the university.

8. Ethics and Esthetics, a philosophy faculty which addressed topics related to the development of ethical and esthetic traits in the personality, was conducted in a similarly academic vein. Not only was this a highly abstract and intellectual program, but the ideological content was pronounced as well. In particular, the lecturers' prescriptions for the development of these traits were necessarily

Table 5.6

Course Prospectus for the faculty,
"The Family in the Modern World"

Date	Topic
October 5, 1983:	"Be Happy !" (To Youth on Marriage),
October 19:	"Hand in Hand," (The Modern Young Family and Its Basic Functions),
November 2:	"Yesterday, Today, Always," (The Sociology of the Young Family),
November 16:	"The Earliest of the Emotions," (The Psychology of the Young Family),
November 30:	"What Does Love Die From ?" (The Psychology of the Young Family),
December 7:	"The Anatomy of Everyday Life," (The Way of Life of the Young Family),
December 21:	"Careful: The Doldrums," (The Way of Life of the Young Family),
January 4, 1984:	"In Search of Formulas for a Happy Family," (The Special Character of the Development of the Modern Family),
January 18:	"The Problem of Communication in the Family," (Practical Class),
February 1:	"Secrets of Domestic Pedagogy," (Raising Children and Teenagers),
February 15:	"The Sacrament of Love," (A Doctor-Sexologist Answers our Questions),
March 15:	"To Women with Love," (The Place of Women in Modern Society),
April 4:	"Both Comfort and Beauty," (The Role of Women in the Family),
April 18:	"The Theme of the Family in Art,"
May 16:	"An Invitation to a Dialogue," (A Public Discussion on Questions of the Family),

Table 5.6 Continued

May 24: "The Results of the Academic Year," (Speeches of auditors and organizers of the faculties, Awarding of certificates of completion of the university, Concert).

Source: From the syllabus for the faculty, The Family in Modern Society.

Marxist-Leninist. While the list of speakers was certainly high-powered, it also insured the orthodoxy of the program content, a summary of which is provided in Table 5.7.

Although it is not clear how many auditors were enrolled in this course, the total was probably not larger than fifteen or twenty students. The very nature of this program insured that only well-educated auditors would have any interest in attending. Indeed, there is an indication that for some auditors at least, pressures to attend came from external sources, rather than their own attraction to the topic. According to Pozdniakova, many of the auditors were extra-mural students from a range of faculties at Leningrad State University, indicating that this program may have been a part of their ideological studies. The fact that the writing and defense of papers was a mandatory aspect of the faculty also suggests that higher levels of participation could be compelled.

In spite of the heavy ideological overtones of this faculty and the subliminal influence of Marxist-Leninist esthetic interpretations in some of the other faculties, the ostensible political content of the programs in this university was remarkably limited. In none of the faculties could the injunction of the "Model Regulations for People's

Table 5.7

Course Prospectus for "Ethics and Esthetics"

Date	Topic
October 21, 1983:	"Youth and Culture," (A Meeting with Doctor of Philosophy, S.N. Ikonnikova),
November 4:	"The Moral Ideal and Reality," (Doctor of Philosophy, B.G. Ivanov),
November 18:	"How Does the Personality Develop ?", (Doctor of Philosophy, A.A. Korol'kov),
December 2:	"Youth and the Urban Environment," (Candidate in Philosophy, V.C. Visharenko),
December 16:	"The Ideological Subversion of the Western Special Services," (Candidate in Philosophy, S.S. Sizov),
January 6, 1984:	"Our Contemporary on the Stages of Leningrad Theaters," (Theater critic, V.V. Letsovich),
January 20:	"Love and Its Socio-Psychological Problems," (A Meeting with Candidate in Philosophy, S.I. Golod),
February 3:	"The Art of Communication," (A Dialogue with Candidate in Philosophy, V.V. Riabchikovi),
February 17:	"Friendship and Its Problems," (Doctor of Philosophy, I.C. Kon),
March 2:	"The Intellectual Needs of the Personality," (Candidate in Philosophy, V.I. Eremenko),
March 16:	"A Debate on Popular Television Broadcasts, Their Educational Possibilities and Artistic Level,"
March 30:	"Music and Religion," (Candidate in Philosophy and Senior Staff Member of the Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism, L.N. Romanov),
April 6:	"False Idols," (A Discussion led by Doctor of Philosophy, V.T. Lisovskii),
April 20:	Presentation of Auditors' Independent Work
May 4:	"The Culture of Leisure," (Viewing and Discussion of a Slide-Film),

Table 5.7 Continued

May 24: "The Results of the Academic Year," (Speeches of auditors and organizers of the faculties, Awarding of certificates of completion of the university, Concert).

Source: From the syllabus for the faculty, Ethics and Esthetics.

Universities", that each curriculum contain at least two hours of political educational topics, be said to have been carried out to the letter. Moreover, three of the faculties, The Greatest Museums of the World, The Youth Musical Faculty, and the architectural faculty, managed to present their information in an ideologically neutral manner. The musical faculty could even have been seen as presenting mildly anti-Soviet information. On one occasion, for example, the lecture turned to a relatively open and positive, if uncomfortable, discussion of Alexander Galich, one of the Russian bard-poets whose work is officially censored.

Organizational Issues in the University

The organization and administration of this people's university of culture rested completely in the hands of one person, Nina Aleksandrovna Pozdniakova. Her main responsibilities involved running the people's university as one part of the cultural-enlightening activities of the Palace of Culture. As she explained it, her duties consisted of formulating curricula "which would be of interest to the widest possible segments of the population,"³ finding highly qualified leaders for each faculty, and guaranteeing that each class is

conducted interestingly and to its fullest potential. These tasks provided more than enough work for a full time job.

Aside from the many details of her work, Pozdniakova was responsible for the programmatic direction of the university. In some cases the curriculum was worked out in agreement with the ideas and abilities of the leader of each faculty. The curricula for In Your Home, The Youth Musical Faculty, The Theatrical Living-Room, and Ethics and Esthetics were established in this fashion. In those cases where the faculty was operated jointly with another organization, as in The Greatest Museums of the World, The Family in the Modern World, and the theatrical and architectural faculties, the cooperating organization worked out the curriculum on its own. The input of the supervisory organizations, that is of the administration of the Palace of Culture and the oblast trade union council, seems to have been limited to approval of the program before the beginning of the academic year.

There was no public governing council for this university, although Pozdniakova admits that there should have been. From her point of view auditors' opinions on the various curricula which would have been expressed through such a council could have helped make the programs more interesting. There seemed to be very little incentive for either auditors or the administration of the Palace to establish such a council. At the same time a number of factors mitigated against its formation. Neither auditors nor lecturers had any long term stake in the running of the university; rather, they usually perceived it as

a one year commitment. For them to spend a block of their free time in contributing to the long-range development of the university held little attraction. Furthermore, since the university was fully capable of obtaining lecturers, visual aids, educational materials, and financial support on its own, there was no need to establish an elaborate structure so as to promote formal ties with the city organization of the Znanie Society.

In short, this university was organized and administered quite independently of the rest of the system of people's universities. This may in part be due to the fact that it has existed for a relatively long time. It is more likely, though, that this independence can be attributed to the guaranteed financial and logistical support of the Palace of Culture and the trade unions, the comparative ease in finding lecturers and organizations in Leningrad willing to head the faculties, and the existence of a full time staff person to develop curricula and handle the administrative minutiae of the university. As with the governing council there simply was neither the need nor the obligation for the university to actively participate in the system as a whole.

The "public, voluntary principles" of the university clearly are not in effect as far as the administration of the university is concerned. The program is managed by a paid staff person who considers her work with adults to be her career, even to the extent that she hopes to complete an advanced trade union school of culture to better prepare her to work with adults. Nor is the university public in the

sense that a governing council relatively open to public input coordinates and makes policy for the university. In this case the decision-making processes are solely in the hands of the organizer and the administration of the Palace of Culture.

Lecturers, on the other hand, did contribute their time and efforts to the university voluntarily in spite of the fact that all were professional educators in one capacity or another who held paying jobs in other institutions. Furthermore, most of those who headed the faculties of the universities had had previous experience lecturing either in a people's university or for the Znanie Society. Compared to the national average, a large percentage of the lecturers were experienced in working with adults in out-of-school situations. The leaders of three faculties, Obraztsova, Mikhailov, and Brodskaiia, were on the staffs of other palaces of culture, while the leaders for the theatrical and architectural faculties, as well as most of the lecturers involved in The Greatest Museums of the World, were on the staffs of various museums in the city. Lecturers and leaders for the two remaining programs were on the faculties of higher educational institutions in the city.

A number of factors seemed to motivate the lecturers to participate in the university, and prominent among these were the factors mentioned by Balakireva in her dissertation. Most lecturers clearly felt "an inclination to teaching" since they chose that as their profession, but they contributed their free time to the university because they saw it as one of the best ways for them to

provide a public service. The lecturers interviewed seemed to feel a sort of internal social obligation, but it also seemed to coincide with their professional interests. Thus, Mikhailov, as president of the city's rock music club, felt it was important to inform interested auditors about the history and development of Russian rock music, but he also realized that he was building an audience for the concerts that his organization was sponsoring. Similarly, Brodskaja felt it important to have an informed theatrical audience, and saw part of her professional role as developing such an audience. The side effect of this for her was an assumed increase in interest in attendance at the productions staged by the members of her creative arts union.

It should not be surprising that in the city of Leningrad, one of the main cultural centers of the Soviet Union, there was little difficulty in finding lecturers trained in working with adults. Undoubtedly the training and backgrounds of lecturers helped to contribute to the success of those programs that ran well. On the other hand, those programs run by educators from formal educational institutions, for example The Family in the Modern World and Ethics and Esthetics, were the least popular among the auditors of the universities. It does not appear that the Znanie Society played any role in training the lecturers in this university: most had formal training in cultural or pedagogical higher educational institutions. For at least one lecturer, however, much of the training for working with adults was received through one of the Party's universities of Marxism-Leninism. While he admitted that there was a great deal of

ideological content in the program in which he participated, he also felt that it supplied him with a methodology for working with adults which he had previously lacked.

The backgrounds and specific training of the lecturers must have been a contributing factor in the university's frequent use of "active methods" of teaching. From a methodological viewpoint the university was a model program in the ways in which it involved auditors in the educational process, employed audio and visual teaching aids, and generally extended teaching styles beyond the simple lecture. A close look at the proposed syllabi shows that in those faculties where leaders had training and experience in working with adults, a range of active methods are used, including question and answer evenings, meetings with well-known artists, seminars and discussions, independent work and occasional practical classes. Observations of the faculties verified that such methods were in use. In the less popular faculties, however, the predominant teaching style was the pure lecture.

None of the faculties used textbooks or other educational materials on a regular basis. In the one faculty where auditors were expected to do outside readings of plays, The Theatrical Living-Room, auditors were supposed to obtain copies themselves from public libraries or from friends, or they could borrow a copy of the play from the leader. At any rate there was no demand for the university to supply texts which fit with the curriculum of a faculty. Again a governing council or closer ties with the Znanie Society could have

facilitated the production of such texts had they been requested; the absence of such ties probably led to the simpler option of doing without. The audio and visual materials used were all produced or supplied by the lecturers themselves, although the university supplied the technical equipment.

The one document which was available to the auditors in all faculties was a combination syllabus and attendance booklet. When signing up for a course, an auditor would receive a numbered booklet which included a class schedule, a brief description of each class, and a little tag which could be torn off and dropped in a box as a record of attendance. These booklets also served as the official curriculum plans for the university. By the standards of officials of the people's universities, however, they are woefully deficient as curriculum plans since they fail to include sufficient information on the content of lectures, the methods to be used, and readings for auditors who wish to pursue each topic further.

The academic schedule, or "regime", of the university was uniform for all of the faculties. All were self-contained courses one year in length; none of the programs was a continuation from a previous year, and there were no plans to continue any of these faculties in 1984-85. The only variation in program length was that two of the faculties, The Theatrical Living-Room and In Your Home, met only once a month while the rest were held twice monthly. The meeting time for all faculties was identical: from seven to nine on week-nights with the obvious exceptions for excursions, concerts and theatrical

performances. Frequently, however, lecturers would run overtime, so auditors could usually count on classes of two and a half hours in length. This schedule was evidently set up to fit most easily into the work and domestic schedules of auditors, and, indeed, seemed a convenient time for those who attended. In addition, the October through May schedule coincided with Leningrad's "indoor months" and appeared appropriate to most auditors.

It is interesting to note that this university focused its efforts on attracting young adults between the ages of 18 and 30 to its programs. All but three faculties were specifically intended to deal with issues of interest to that age group, and one other ended up being composed solely of auditors in their twenties or early thirties. This seems to have been a conscious decision by the administration of the palace of culture. Pozdniakova noted that the other regular cultural-enlightening activities of the palace largely attracted either retired persons or younger children. The university of culture, therefore, was specifically assigned the task of drawing in larger numbers of young adults, and Pozdniakova seemed well qualified to design programs for this age group. During its 1982 plenary meeting the Central Council of People's Universities focused on the issue of attracting "youth" to its programs, although it seems a matter of coincidence that the administration of the palace of culture decided to concentrate its efforts in this area, as well.

In spite of the fact that careful attendance records were kept for each faculty, it must have been difficult to provide an exact

accounting of the numbers of auditors who attended the university. If only those auditors who attended regularly are counted, then the total figure for the university is about 200. If attendance for each faculty is taken to mean the largest number of auditors at any one lecture, then the total figure for all faculties could easily be doubled. For example, regular attendance at the Youth Musical Faculty was about 30 auditors, but on a couple of occasions the speaker or performer attracted an audience as large as 100.

Such fluctuations in attendance indicate that Pozdniakova's efforts to make the faculties lively and interesting often paid off. In almost all faculties auditors attended first and foremost out of personal interest, but the fact that individual lectures attracted much larger audiences showed that the potential audience for the university was even greater. When questioned about why they attended, auditors invariably responded that either the topic or the lecturer attracted them. A few felt it was important to become more cultured and that they could achieve this most easily through the people's university. Although the auditors of the faculty Ethics and Esthetics were not questioned, they were the only auditors who may have had some external pressure applied on them to attend.

One of the main unanswered questions for this university was how Pozdniakova and the administration of the palace of culture evaluated the quality of the programs. On one level, attendance figures seemed to be important since a great deal of thought was put into keeping an accurate attendance list for those who regularly attended. Beyond this

quantitative indicator, though, there were no clear criteria for a successful program other than that it should be lively and interesting. It seems improbable that the university participated in the review-competitions of the Znanie Society, thus little outside advice on the functioning of the university seemed to be forthcoming. The oblast trade union council may have established some sort of mechanism for review, but this was not made clear.

Summary and Conclusion

In an attempt to balance the picture of the system of people's universities presented by official documents and literature, an on-site case study was conducted of a people's university of culture in Leningrad. This study included a review of the content and goals of the eight faculties of the university, as well as an analysis of the various organizational components of the university. In investigating this case, particular attention was paid to the extent to which the organization and administration of the university, the selection and training of lecturers, the use of teaching methods and materials, the attraction of auditors, and the evaluation of program quality conformed with the depiction of a "typical" people's university in the literature.

The results of this case study shed some interesting light on the overall system of people's universities and call into question the factuality of certain aspects of the system as officially presented. The most serious of these has to do with the total number of auditors

who participate in people's universities. While the aggregate statistics seem to be based upon initial enrollments for a given academic year, the case study showed that attendance can fluctuate significantly in any faculty during the course of a year. Since the official figures do not indicate the regularity of attendance of auditors, they may therefore overstate the numbers of people who actually participate in and complete the programs. Furthermore, given certain external pressures to keep attendance figures high, universities may count one-time participants in popular lectures as auditors, thereby inflating their actual numbers perhaps by as much as two or three times.

It seems unlikely that the aggregate figures are exaggerated to this extent, particularly since officials are attempting to regularize the collection of information on auditors by creating a uniform questionnaire for auditors to fill out and return both at the beginning and end of their programs. As one official at the Central Council of People's University pointed out, one should not examine the statistics on people's universities too closely, rather it is wiser to take them as broad indicators of the system as a whole.⁴ The results of the case study go an additional step in suggesting that one be aware that the statistics may overstate reality.

The extent to which public, voluntary principles are actually in force in local programs is also called into question by the case study. The official statistics indicate, for example, that 90 percent of the universities are directed by a public governing council

composed of volunteers from a range of official and professional backgrounds. The fact that this university of culture, which was in one sense randomly selected for study, was not operated by a governing council suggests that not a few of these councils exist only on paper. Again, the Central Council of People's Universities relies upon the self-reporting of each university in a standardized "passport" for its information. Thus, it is an easy matter for a university to claim that a group of officials from the founding organization form such a governing council when, in fact, no such council exists.

In this particular university the voluntarily composed governing council has been replaced by a paid administrator who performs most of the functions of the council. One of the claims implicit in the people's universities' use of public governing councils is that they help to keep down overhead costs. If the use of paid staff to run people's universities is more widespread than reported, then the costs of running the system of people's universities are significantly underreported and the claims of cost-effectiveness are specious.

In the official literature the role of the Znanie Society in providing an organizational structure and certain kinds of support for the system of people's universities is shown as being quite significant. Even the academic studies not published by the Znanie Society indicate that the collaboration between the Znanie Society and people's universities is crucial for maintaining and improving the quality of programs. Yet, this university seemingly had no official ties with the Znanie Society nor any apparent need of them. One

wonders, therefore, whether the influence of the Znanie Society is as great as the literature suggests, or is overstated because the Znanie Society publishes the vast majority of information on the people's universities and sees an advantage in exaggerating its role in the system. It may be, however, that since the founding of this particular university predated the establishment of a system of people's universities, it has remained more independent than is normal for such programs.

In one important area this case study has born out the findings from the official literature: the connections between local people's universities and other organizations in Soviet society are crucial to the successful running of a program. In this case four of the faculties were formally designed and operated in collaboration with other institutions, including museums, other trade unions and palaces of culture, public voluntary organizations, and higher educational institutions. Furthermore, in those faculties in which other organizations were not formally involved, leaders as well as lecturers were informally recruited from professional positions in other institutions. It would be safe to say that without formal or informal linkages to other institutions in the city this university could not maintain a successful program. A more detailed analysis of the linkages between people's universities and other institutions is the topic of the following chapter.

Footnotes

- 1 From a poster advertizing the faculty.
- 2 Interview with Pozdniakova, April 22, 1984.
- 3 Interview with Pozdniakova, April 22, 1984.
- 4 Interview with Vladislavlev, March 23, 1984.

CHAPTER VI

LINKAGES BETWEEN PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER SOCIETAL INSTITUTIONS

Introduction

The relationships between the people's universities and other institutions with educational functions in Soviet society are both diverse and complex. Contrary to initial expectations in this study, people's universities gain most of their support from ministries, trade unions, scientific-technical organizations, and in particular the Znanie Society rather than from schools or higher educational institutions. Granted, the education ministries directly oversee almost 30 percent of the universities with over 40 percent of the total attendance of people's universities¹, yet their role is different from the other institutions only in size and not in kind. Analyzing the nature of the linkages between people's universities and formal educational institutions in Soviet society thus involves categorizing all of the cooperating institutions according to their roles as actors in the operation of people's universities and delineating the functions intrinsic to the roles played by these institutions. If it is recalled that in this study the term linkages is defined as the delegation to or sharing with formal educational institutions certain functions necessary for fulfilling the educational objectives of people's universities, then the delineation of those functions gets at the heart of defining the nature of the

linkages.

The functions deemed most necessary for fulfilling the objectives of people's universities are embodied in the five questions asked at the outset of this study. Translated into a more indicative voice, these are 1) the locus of control of decision making in individual people's universities, 2) the extent of financial and logistical support from formal educational institutions, 3) the extent of curricular and educational materials support from formal educational institutions, 4) the kind of training for lecturers and administrators provided by formal educational institutions, and 5) the extent of research for and evaluation of people's universities undertaken by formal educational institutions. These elements of the system will serve as the framework within which the linkages between the basic categories of institutions and the people's universities are analyzed.

While the number of Soviet institutions linked to people's universities is large, for the purposes of this analysis they can be organized into four basic groups according to the roles they play. The institutions that have the most important and direct links to individual people's universities are the founding institutions, that is those bodies responsible for establishing and financially supporting each program. The most prominent of the founding institutions are local Party and Komsomol organizations; local organizations of the Znanie Society and trade and creative arts unions; branches of various ministries, most prominently the Ministries of Education, Culture, Public Health, Agriculture, and

certain industries; and scientific and scientific-technical organizations. This list seems to include all of the possible institutions which could be of assistance to people's universities. However, two of these institutions, the Znanie Society and Party organizations, play important roles above and beyond that as founding organizations. Thus, they are assigned to different categories. Finally, schools, higher educational institutions, and scientific-research institutes also have special functions with regard to people's universities and make up the last of the four categories.

People's universities operate according to the legal principles and regulations pertaining to public, voluntary organizations. Those characteristics common to all Soviet public, voluntary organizations put pressure upon the people's universities to seek help from the institutions with which they are associated: voluntary membership, self-management and independence of action, and a non-governmental financial base. In a sense the people's universities were bequeathed these traits by the legal and organizational history of the Soviet public, voluntary organizations, a history which has been traced elsewhere.² When the people's universities stepped outside of the permissible boundaries for such organizations, as they did in 1960 and 1968, they were quickly brought back into line by Party resolutions. It should be kept in mind, then, that these principles are a determining factor in the functions to be carried out by cooperating institutions and in the linkages to those institutions.

Linkages with Founding Organizations

Each people's university came into being and is currently maintained through the initiative of a founding institution or organization. Since almost all founding organizations are locally based, this means that in theory the vast majority of people's universities were initiated in response to a perceived local need. Given the necessary institutional support, a group of individuals can start up a people's university, but in the vast majority of cases the impetus comes from officials of an existing institution who identify the need for an educational program. All it takes to start a people's university is the capacity to organize the various inputs for a successful educational activity: a staff of qualified lecturers, classroom space, a financial base for academic support of the program, and, of course, a willing group of auditors (which according to the Model Regulations should number no less than 100). Once started, however, a university is obliged to register with the closest territorial council of people's universities.

Because the founding institution organizes all inputs on its own, a great deal of autonomy is possible for people's universities, as, for example, was the case with the People's University of Culture at the A.M. Gorky Palace of Culture. In such instances the control of decision making and governance rests entirely with the founding organization or, if one is created, with a governing council established by the founding organization. The actual decisions

regarding the program may be taken by only one or two people, but the founding organization inevitably has veto power over those decisions.

Having said that initiative for starting people's universities comes from local founding organizations, it is difficult to imagine tens of thousands of people's universities spontaneously emerging because local officials suddenly perceive an educational need. In fact, most programs seem to develop as a result of policy initiatives by higher standing administrative bodies. For example, the All-Union Ministry of Education sees that pedagogical people's universities are an excellent medium for disseminating information about individual schools and overall ministerial policy. Thus, it orders its local organs to take an active role in creating such programs and provides them with model curriculum plans and syllabi. As a result over the years more than 15,000 pedagogical people's universities have come into operation.³ Ultimately the local organs are responsible for setting up the universities, but the initiative has clearly originated elsewhere.

When the moving force behind a people's university is departmental policy, the locus of decision making makes a slight shift away from the local founding organizations. Most importantly, the control of curricular and programmatic decisions moves up the administrative line of command, resting in oblast and republic advisory councils. While some decisions remain at the local level, such as the selection of lecturers, the actual siting of the classes, and possibly the arranging of an academic schedule convenient for

auditors, even these must be approved at higher levels. Even the most autonomous founding organizations are responsible to higher authorities, but when departmental control of decision making is tight, the approval of local decisions seems hardly to be a formality.

The actual costs of running a people's university do not seem to be terribly high since more often than not lecturers contribute their time voluntarily and overhead costs for classroom and office space are subsumed by the sponsoring organization. Expenses usually come in the form of printing costs for advertising posters, syllabi or attendance booklets handed out to each auditor, and reports if they are made. If material incentives are the policy of the university, or if honorary incentives involve some financial outlay, then these are part of the expenses of the university as well. In most cases the founding organizations cover these costs directly from their operating budgets. If there are expenses above and beyond these, for example if the university must obtain its lecturers or curriculum from the Znanie Society, the founding organization will often cover these as well.

Getting educational materials, equipment, and qualified lecturers is problematic for many founding organizations since most are not primarily educational institutions and do not have such resources readily available. The most immediate recourse for help is to the advisory councils of the ministry or institution to which the founding organization belongs. If the higher authority has taken an active interest in developing people's universities in the organs under its jurisdiction, then the advisory council will readily supply curricula,

accompanying educational materials, and often lecturers. Even these advisory councils, however, have a hard time assuring that equipment for audio or visual aids gets to local programs, given the short supply of such equipment. The alternative is to turn to the organizations of the Znanie Society for such assistance.

The first line of supervision and evaluation of a people's university is, of course, the founding organization. Ideally an assessment of the program is made twice yearly by the founding organization: once in November or December to evaluate the current operation of the program and once in May or June to make changes for the coming year. How often this actually happens is difficult to say. Much more infrequently public reviews of all of the universities of a given profile within a republic or oblast are carried out by the ministry in charge, usually in cooperation with the territorial councils of people's universities. While participation in these reviews is nominally voluntary for each program, it is clearly highly encouraged.

The lifeline of support for any people's university is the founding organization. No program exists without one, and it would be difficult to imagine the possibility of a program existing for long without some kind of outside institutional support. As the initial mediator between the individual people's university and the rest of Soviet society the founding organization both legitimizes the existence of the university in official eyes and serves to channel any support from outside the university to the program. Thus, the linkages

between an individual people's university and its founding organization, and by extension to the higher authorities above the founding organization, are the necessary condition for the existence of any people's university.

Linkages with the Znanie Society

If linkages between people's universities and the founding organizations are a necessary condition for the operation of a people's university, they are not always a sufficient condition. Local programs are frequently in need of the kind of support that only the Znanie Society and its branches are in a position to supply. Furthermore, on a nationwide scale the links between the system of people's universities and the Znanie Society are especially important. While the influence of the Znanie Society on people's universities is in most cases subtler and less direct than the founding organizations, it is no less important.

After the Ministry of Education, the Znanie Society has direct control over the largest number of people's universities. These programs contain almost fourteen percent of all universities and over twelve percent of all auditors,⁴ and in such cases the Znanie Society serves as the founding organization. For the most part the programs sponsored by the Znanie Society are universities of socio-political knowledge, but the universities of the lecturer's trade are also an important part of its activities. The major exceptions to this are the republic or oblast people's universities which are set up as model

programs for an entire region under the authority of the republic or oblast councils of people's universities and the corresponding levels of the Znanie Society. A larger variety of profiles is included in these universities, so they should be considered universities of general profile.

Since the universities coordinated by the Znanie Society do not fall under an administrative line of organization, they are usually overseen by the lowest level of the territorial councils of people's universities situated in the raion branches of the Society. In this context the raion councils and branches of the Znanie society have direct decision-making control over these universities, determining curriculum, content, and program organization. However, just as founding organizations under ministries or agencies are often spurred into action by higher standing authorities, decisions of the territorial councils must be in accord with and are often as a result of policies established by republic and oblast councils.

Except for the universities directly under their control, the territorial councils at all levels have almost no decision-making influence over the people's universities in their geographical sphere of operation. In order to implement policies regarding people's universities these councils must rely on the cooperation of the administrative bodies which supervise the founding organizations and local governing councils. As will be seen below, with regard to decisions coming from the center, the territorial councils are aided tremendously by Party organs. Consequently, the role of the

territorial council is less of a policy-making nature than it is of a coordinating one. The various programmatic inputs needed by programs below it are organized and supplied by a council and the Znanie Society, while at the same time the information and feedback desired at higher levels are organized and channeled toward the top.

The Znanie Society not only provides financial support for all the universities under its control, it also underwrites the relatively small expenses of the nationwide administrative network which is made up of the territorial councils. For one thing, the Znanie Society provides office and meeting space to the territorial, oblast, and republic councils free of charge. Also, many of the territorial councils have one or more permanent staff members assigned to carry out day-to-day functions, and the salaries of these staff members are covered by the Society. The total number of such staff members does not likely exceed 200 nationwide, so the costs of such support are not great compared to the 15,000 staff members for the Znanie Society as a whole.⁵ Nevertheless, other indirect personnel costs are borne by the Znanie Society, as well. The Znanie Society maintains staff members in curriculum, materials development, and organizational bureaux, all of which contribute significantly to people's universities in these areas.

In addition to covering the salaries of support personnel, the Znanie Society subsidizes other services provided to people's universities. For example, the costs of organizing training conferences and seminars for lecturers and organizers, of bringing

republic and oblast officials to Moscow for consultations, and of printing textbooks and other materials for people's universities usually fall to the Znanie Society. In the "review-competitions" carried out in the various profiles of universities from time to time, the Znanie Society also will usually share some of the expenses incurred in awarding both material and honorary incentives with the cooperating ministry or administrative agency. Finally, and most importantly, the Znanie Society pays that small percentage of lecturers in people's universities who receive honoraria for their presentations.

On balance the Znanie Society does not seem to expend more on the people's universities than it brings in from them. It should be remembered that the founding organizations of about one-quarter of the people's universities pay a variable fee to the Znanie Society for the assistance that they receive from it.⁶ Although the extent of the income received by the Znanie Society from such arrangements with people's universities is not known, it must coincide fairly closely with expenses since the Society has to maintain an even balance sheet. The Society may subsidize the system of people's universities slightly, or it even may turn a small profit from the relationship. Whatever the reckoning of accounts, the importance of such financial support for the system of people's universities as a whole is fundamental.

The Znanie Society takes an active role in developing curricula for people's universities. At its headquarters in Moscow a special

section of its bureau on curriculum plans and methodology is devoted to creating model programs and techniques specifically for the people's universities under its control. While few if any of these materials are used unchanged by the individual universities, by publishing such plans and recommendations the Society sets a standard against which the programs of all people's universities are measured. In its plans the Znanie Society includes the content and sequence of the lessons to be covered, as well as background notes, bibliographic information, and methodological recommendations for lecturers.

The curriculum plans and materials which are developed at the republic and oblast levels are both more numerous and more frequently used than those from the center. On one hand the republic and oblast councils can work more closely with their administrative counterparts in determining exactly what is needed in the many programs. On the other, local issues, materials, and languages can be used in the plans so as to make them more relevant to the geographic region. Frequently it is the head universities in republic and oblast capitals which devise and test curricula to be used by other universities.

Almost all of the textbooks, visual aids, and other educational materials specifically designed to accompany the curricula of people's universities are published by the central office of the Znanie Society. For this reason very few people's universities have good textual resources for their programs. While the Znanie Society does try to put out booklets, pamphlet series, and documentary films which could be of use to the universities, in practice these materials fit

poorly with local curricula. The republic and oblast branches of the Znanie Society at some point in the future may develop the capacity to publish educational materials which fit with local programs, but for the time being this remains a major weakness of the system.

The Znanie publishing house which is affiliated with the Society is much better at getting out methodological materials and other information about running people's universities. The journals for both the All-Union and RSFSR organizations of the Znanie Society regularly include sections which refer specifically to issues facing the organizers and lecturers in people's universities. Articles in these journals include recommendations and advice on organizing the many profiles of universities, reports of programs that have been particularly successful, summaries of recent policy decisions or Party resolutions which effect people's universities, news of upcoming conferences, and so on. In addition, the Znanie Society disseminates mimeographed copies of the results of conferences and seminars where important issues are discussed. Thus, those involved in running these programs have more than enough professional material available to them.

The support that the Znanie Society gives to lecturers in fact goes far beyond the printing of conference reports or of articles in journals. Of all of its tasks the Society is most specifically equipped to train lecturers for work in adult education programs and to actually supply the lecturers to those programs. Indeed, when the Society was first established in 1947, its membership was made up

almost entirely of academics who saw a need to more broadly disseminate scientific information among adult audiences. The new Society carried out this objective by arranging for lectures to be given not only in higher educational institutions, but also in the residences and work places of those who normally don't have access to scientific information. The Society has broadened its range of activities over the years, but its primary purpose remains the training and supply of lecturers, primarily on scientific and political topics.

Some of the people's universities and their founding organizations are able to locate well-qualified lecturers without the assistance of the Znanie Society. But in a great many cases, especially in rural areas, lecturers able to give presentations on a desired topic simply cannot be gotten other than through this organization. Research done in the Rostov oblast demonstrated that over 40 percent of the organizers of people's universities in that region obtained lecturers through the Society. Beyond arranging for lecturers, the Znanie Society's role in training is significant,⁷ although it appears that very few of the Society's programs train lecturers specifically for work in people's universities. A small number of the universities of the lecturer's trade may have people's universities as a special focus, but this does not show up in the literature. Rather the Znanie Society trains educators and specialists to work with adults in general, and provides specific instruction in preparing and giving public presentations.

It seems likely that without the training services of the Znanie Society the system of people's universities would have been unable to obtain a sufficient number of lecturers to meet the needs of its programs. While the Party's system of political education trains propagandists and agitators in many of the same lecturing skills, their numbers are too few to have allowed for the rapid expansion of programs that the system of people's universities has experienced over the past twenty-five years. In addition, the Znanie Society is continuing to address the issues of improving the quality of teaching for its own lectures and for people's universities. By doing so it hopes to raise the quality of the programs, thereby increasing the number of auditors who attend. All of these efforts have made the Znanie Society's lecturers a vital resource for people's universities in the past, and will likely be a major force for progress in years to come.

The Znanie Society does not limit its efforts at raising the quality of programs to improving the skills of its lecturers; attention is also focused on researching basic issues concerning people's universities and on evaluating the current operations of the programs. In both of these areas the Znanie Society inevitably shares responsibility with other institutions, but it is responsible for coordinating and overseeing most of this work. The support provided to people's universities by these efforts is entirely at the systemic level and only indirectly touches individual programs.

The research on people's universities supported and published by the Znanie Society has two primary functions: to publicize the experiences of some of the most successful people's universities and to carry out sociological studies of programs, lecturers, and auditors so as to obtain more detailed feedback about the quality, efficiency, and responsiveness of people's universities. Both of these functions are intended to be of direct benefit to organizers and lecturers in improving the operation of their own universities, thus research reports in these areas receive wide dissemination. The Society also cooperates with the Central Statistical Administration in Moscow in collecting comprehensive statistical data on the system once every three or four years. Detailed results of this work, however, do not receive broad dissemination beyond the membership of the Society.

As mentioned in the previous section, the Znanie Society provides invaluable assistance to the territorial and advisory councils of people's universities in carrying out evaluations, or "review-competitions" as they are called, of the many profiles of universities. At the outset of the review the Society helps in forming a review committee and, perhaps, printing instructions and criteria for conducting the evaluation. The territorial council and the founding organizations then pull together the necessary materials and information for comparing the many programs and an assessment of the participating universities is made. At the final stage the Znanie Society steps back into the process, awarding monetary and honorary prizes to the best programs and publishing the

names of the winners of the competition. In essence, then, the Society provides most of the financial support needed for carrying out the evaluations.

While individual people's universities maintain their closest ties with a founding organization, the links between the system as a whole and the Znanie Society are equally close. In some areas, for example in the financing of the national administrative structure, the two organizations are all but indistinguishable from one another. In other areas, as in supplying lecturers or carrying out research for people's universities, the Society is the primary input. Although some individual programs can and do run fairly autonomously, the system as a whole is highly dependent on its ties with the Znanie Society in achieving its objectives. In one sense the Society serves as the institutional support for the operation of the system, and in the long run the relationship seems to benefit the people's universities tremendously.

Linkages with Schools and Higher Educational Institutions

At the outset of this study one of the author's unconscious assumptions was that people's universities had to maintain their closest ties with formal schools of all types in order to obtain the inputs necessary for their operation. The results of the study have shown that this clearly is not the case; for individual programs the founding organizations and for the system as a whole the Znanie Society are both of greater importance to the universities.

Nevertheless, the ties, both formal and informal, that people's universities have with schools and higher educational institutions are a significant factor in the accomplishments of these programs.

Perhaps most importantly for people's universities the Ministries of Education and Higher and Secondary Specialized Education serve as the founding organizations for the largest single group of programs. Since schools and VUZi are the local representatives of these ministries, these institutions account for almost 30 percent of the universities serving over 40 percent of all auditors. In overseeing the pedagogical people's universities and a good share of the universities of socio-political knowledge and of public occupations, they exercise considerable decision-making control in the running of people's universities. However, in comparison to some other ministries the Ministry of Education in particular keeps a tighter rein on its local programs, largely because it has the extensive bureaucratic structure to be able to do this and because its program of pedagogical propaganda fits well with the educational format provided by the people's universities. Even so, the local schools and higher educational institutions do have a fair amount of leeway in decision-making for the people's universities they work with.

Beyond their role as founding organizations, formal schools provide additional support to people's universities not directly under their jurisdiction. Particularly in rural areas, the logistical support offered to people's universities is especially important; between 55 and 60 percent of the rural people's universities have

their operations based in formal schools.⁸ This means that the schools and institutes supply not only classroom and office space, but also the necessary equipment and supplies needed by the programs. There seems to be no doubt that without the cooperation of formal schools in rural areas, the spread of people's universities to these regions would be significantly curtailed. There simply is no nationwide structure as suitable as schools for serving as a base for the rural people's universities.

Although the Znanie Society trains and supplies lecturers for adult education programs, including the people's universities, that organization must itself locate potential lecturers with both a sufficient academic background and an expressed interest in and talent for educational work. Not surprisingly, the Znanie Society turns to general schools and higher educational institutions in recruiting its lecturers. Well over half of the lecturers of the Znanie Society are professional educators in formal schools, and about 60 percent of the Society's lecturers who worked systematically, that is, who worked in programs like the people's universities, were school teachers or teachers in VUZi and tekhnikums.⁹ The relationship between secondary schools and the Znanie Society in supplying lecturers appears to be informal. Teachers are not obligated by schools to cooperate with the Znanie Society, nor does there seem to be any formal arrangement between the institutions.

Higher educational institutions, in contrast to secondary schools, do actively cooperate with the Znanie Society in preparing

and training students for lecture work. On one hand this involves a broad range of activities designed to accustom students to the idea of participating in public, voluntary activities, and on the other it means actively supporting the activities of the Schools for Young Lecturers. According to Soviet statistics, some 843 higher educational institutions currently sponsor such schools. The overall impact of such efforts for the Znanie Society as a whole and for the people's universities is significant: in one sociological study between 50 and 60 percent of all lecturers reported receiving certain lecturing skills during their course of study in higher educational institutions.¹⁰

Some higher educational institutions, most notably pedagogical and cultural institutes and a few scientific-research institutes of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, also provide research support for people's universities. The Scientific-Research Institute for General Adult Education has been especially active both in developing the general theories of continuing education and in carrying out research specifically for the people's universities. This institute, for example, was one of the first to use sociological survey techniques to understand the motivations underlying the participation of lecturers and auditors in people's universities. In addition, the institute has carried out some research in the development of teaching techniques which are increasingly being used with adults in people's universities.

A small number of pedagogical and cultural institutes, located primarily in Leningrad and Moscow, have sponsored the growing number of dissertations focusing on people's universities. To 1982, about a dozen candidates' dissertations were based at least in part on research in people's universities, but all of those which concentrated on current programs had been completed since 1975. The insights provided by several of these studies contribute significantly to the literature on people's universities by adding a rigor and a depth which is generally lacking in other studies. It does not seem, though, that the content of these studies was coordinated in any way with the leadership of people's universities, thus they do not always deal with the most pressing issues facing the programs. While the research provided by these institutes and the scientific-research institutes is important for people's universities, it still falls quite a bit short of what is needed for a deeper understanding of the system.

The connections between formal schools, universities, and institutes and people's universities are significant, even if the relationship is very loosely defined. In a number of senses formal schools are the foundation upon which people's universities are built. For auditors people's universities are programs for continuing their education beyond the base which was established in their school years. People's universities can assume that for most of its auditors a certain educational level has already been achieved and can build upon that in its curricula. By the same token people's universities can use the actual school buildings and a portion of schools' teaching

staffs as the basis for its operations in many areas. The system has the capacity to go beyond this base, but without it there probably would be no starting point for people's universities.

Linkages with the Party and Central Government

In theory one of the basic characteristics of public, voluntary organizations is that they operate through self-management and independent action according to charters that they have established themselves. In practice this means that these organizations must finance their activities without the benefit of direct governmental allocations, but policy- and decision-making control ultimately rests in the hands of the Communist Party at all levels and of the central government. While the ties between the Party and government and people's universities are fairly indirect, people's universities can in no way be said to operate independently of their decisions. As one Soviet dissertation points out,

From the very beginning of its existence the formation and development of the system of people's universities has been conducted under the leadership of the CPSU which defined both the tasks and basic directions of its activities...¹¹

In the late fifties and early sixties some raion and city Party organizations became directly involved in setting up people's universities and, in fact, served as founding organizations for these universities. This initiative was largely connected to the decisions of the 21st Party Congress which spurred the creation of public, voluntary organizations in carrying out certain governmental functions. While the involvement of Party organs has never been as

direct as it was in those years, the precedent of Party oversight and control of people's universities has always been maintained.

The most significant indicator of Party influence is the fact that all major policy decisions regarding people's universities have first been promulgated by Party resolutions. The October, 1960 resolution of the Central Committee established the public, voluntary basis for the operations of people's universities and linked them closely with the activities of the Znanie Society. The August, 1968 resolution initiated a major push in the creation of both universities of professional-educational knowledge and socio-political knowledge and at the same time created an independent organizational structure for people's universities. This last decision served to remove the making of everyday policy for most people's universities out of the direct control of Party organs by setting up the many levels of territorial councils, but effective overall control of people's universities still remains with those organs.

Aside from the Party's supervision and control of the policies of people's universities, its most potent influence is felt in subtler and more indirect ways. From the Central Council of People's Universities down to the lowest governing councils, the territorial organizations are dominated by members of the Communist Party. While these individuals may not be direct representatives of the Party organs, they still serve as official agents of Party policy and insure the correctness of even the everyday decisions regarding people's universities. Furthermore, the ideological propriety of the content of

people's universities is largely guaranteed by the large number of lecturers who are Party members. Almost two-thirds of all lecturers in people's universities are Party or Komsomol members,¹² a far higher percentage than for almost any other educational activity. On a number of levels, then, the ties between people's universities and the Party are quite strong, as indirect as they may be.

In the past the divisions between public, voluntary and governmental control of people's universities have been quite clear. The Central Council of People's Universities in its associations with the Znanie Society has coordinated and been responsible for all activities of the system of people's universities since 1968. Even so, there have always been informal ties with the Council of Ministers, especially in the person of Gurii Ivanovich Marchuk as chairman of the Central Council of People's Universities. It seems likely that a major part of Marchuk's role is to coordinate the policies and activities of people's universities with those of the Council of Ministers, on which Marchuk serves as a Vice-Minister, as well as chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technology. Undoubtedly this duplication of duties gives the Council of Ministers a degree of informal oversight over people's universities. In the future, however, these links may become closer and more official as authorities move to unify and coordinate the disparate system of Soviet adult education.

Summary and Conclusion

It is virtually impossible to conceive of the system of people's universities operating at anywhere near its current level without the many links it maintains with other organizations and institutions in Soviet society. The system has almost no resources of its own to draw upon, and were it not for its legal and organizational identity it could hardly be said to exist as an autonomous educational institution. For this reason defining the nature of people's universities' linkages with other institutions in Soviet society is central to understanding how the system as a whole operates. This chapter has attempted to clarify five functions carried out by different categories of Soviet institutions, both at local and systemic levels, which further the objectives of people's universities.

The most complex of the tasks carried out jointly by people's universities and cooperating institutions is the making of decisions regarding these programs. While local universities and their governing councils can and do sometimes have much leeway in determining the content and organization of the university, control inevitably rests in a higher authority. The most influential of these are the founding organizations which directly supervise local programs, but the ministerial advisory councils, Party organs, and the territorial councils all can influence and control decisions pertaining to local programs in a variety of ways. Especially at a national level the

influence of the Party and the Znanie Society through the Central Council of People's Universities is predominant.

Since people's universities have no financial base of their own, they must rely on the founding organizations and the Znanie Society to supply this. For local programs, the founding organizations are specifically responsible for providing whatever financial and logistical support is needed. On a larger scale the Znanie Society underwrites most of the expenses of the administrative structure for people's universities although much of this is recouped in fees charged to founding organizations for its services. While in the long run this means that the costs of running people's universities are passed along to enterprises, ministries, and occasionally the auditors themselves, this also turns out to be a financial arrangement whereby the users of the service carry the burden of paying for it.

The founding organizations and their superiors, the ministerial and organizational advisory councils, largely determine the curricula and content of people's universities. Often the governing council or the university itself will actually write the curriculum and specify what will be taught, but the results inevitably must accord with the desires of the higher standing organizations. While both the Znanie Society and the territorial councils provide much support in the way of model curriculum plans and some educational materials and visual aids, this help is only in the form of a recommendation. Local programs can use this assistance as they see fit.

Much of the training of lecturers takes place both formally and informally in the country's higher educational institutions. Few programs undertake to train lecturers specifically for people's universities, and some of these are a form of the universities themselves. The Znanie Society, however, is most active in providing inservice training and support for lecturers in people's universities through conferences, seminars and group and individual consultations. This is the only organization which trains specialists on a mass scale in the particular methodologies and techniques used in educational work with adults.

In evaluating the effectiveness of people's universities the territorial councils and the Znanie Society play an important coordinating role. While the advisory councils are responsible for assuring the effectiveness of the universities under their jurisdiction, the public, voluntary organizations provide both the criteria and a framework through which this can be effected. The Znanie Society takes this role one step further by conducting sociological research on aspects of the effectiveness of people's universities and making that research available on a nationwide basis. Through a number of candidate's dissertation and other activities higher educational institutions have added a depth to the research on people's universities, although this has not been directed at specifically improving certain functions in people's universities.

Footnotes

- 1 See Table 4.3, p. 225.
- 2 See William E. Odom, The Soviet Volunteers: Modernization and Bureaucracy in a Public Mass Organization, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973).
- 3 See Table 3.1, p. 131.
- 4 See Table 4.3, p. 225.
- 5 See Chapter IV, ff. 16.
- 6 See Chapter IV, p. 230.
- 7 See Chapter IV, pp. 234-235, ff. 19.
- 8 Materialy plenuma Tsentral'nogo soveta narodnykh universitetov, 10 dekabria, 1980, (Moscow: Tsentral'nyi sovet narodnykh universitetov, 1980), p. 22, See Table 16.
- 9 See Table 4.4, p. 236.
- 10 See Chapter IV, p. 244, ff. 27.
- 11 Valentina Iakovlevna Tokman', Partiinoe rukovodstvo deiatel'nost'iu gosudarstvennykh i obshchestvennykh organizatsii po razvitiuu narodnykh universitetov, 1959-1970, Unpublished candidate's dissertation, Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute named for N.K. Krupskaja, 1975, p. 21.
- 12 See Chapter IV, p. 237, ff. 21 and 22.

CHAPTER VII

THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES AND LARGE-SCALE NONFORMAL EDUCATION: ISSUES AND PROSPECTS

Introduction

The linkages between people's universities and other institutions in Soviet society are both more complex and more varied than imagined at the outset of this study. Originally, the concept of formal educational institutions with which people's universities are tied included only schools, higher educational institutions, and the higher governmental authorities which deal primarily with educational issues. Throughout the course of the research this initial definition had to be broadened to include virtually all aspects of Soviet society. This gradual broadening of the phrase "formal educational institutions", however, rendered it virtually meaningless in terms of the initial definition since organizations which could be considered nonformal, specifically the Znanie Society, and institutions whose primary functions are not educational, such as trade unions, enterprises and so on, all had important links to people's universities. Such a broadening was inevitable if the study was to investigate the linkages which are most important to people's universities, but it does not seem to undercut the theoretical issues which serve as the basis of

this study. Indeed, the problems of nonformal educational programs, particularly their relationships with non-educational governmental authorities, may be seen more clearly because of this shift.

On a theoretical level the purpose of this study has been to understand, through the system of people's universities, if and how a large-scale nonformal adult education program can strike a balance between a large institutional base and the combined goals of responsiveness to local conditions and needs and of cost-effectiveness. A second, related question has been, What role do the linkages between nonformal educational programs and other institutions have in allowing programs to strike this balance? The effect of studying cooperating institutions outside of formal schools and the authorities which oversee them is to break down the artificial barriers between these educational issues and the broader issues which face society. Although an unintended consequence, this broadening of scope will hopefully provide a greater relevance and significance to the study.

In many ways the system of people's universities defies the classification of large-scale nonformal education programs provided by Munger.¹ Characteristics of all three types of programs can be found in the system, yet none of the categories fully describes how people's universities operate. As in the government service projects described by Munger, most policies and the organizational structure of people's universities emanate from a central authority outward. Yet a strong current of local policy making also exists in these programs which

makes them more responsive to local interests, a characteristic not found in Munger's classification. People's universities resemble a nationwide campaign in their origins, but they have gone beyond the typical campaign in devising a system of long-term operation. Finally, people's universities frequently use the technology of mass communication to achieve their ends, especially in rural areas, but this is neither a major part of their activities, nor does it limit the programs in the area that it serves. The greatest problem perceived by Munger in developing large-scale programs, that of standardization, has been avoided to a large extent by the people's universities.

Standardization has not been a factor in people's universities in large part because a certain amount of decentralization has been achieved through the linkages that the system has with founding organizations. Decentralization allows founding organizations considerable local autonomy on curricular and programmatic issues, even if approval must come from higher up. Furthermore, in the case of people's universities costs are kept down because there is no need to establish a bureaucratic structure at this point. This would seem to fit with Bray's comments about the decentralization of educational planning activities.²

In the Soviet people's universities this decentralization is only possible because other institutions are willing to take responsibility for local programs. Among the most prominent of these institutions are the Znanie Society and schools and higher educational institutions.

Since both are different types of institutions, the first a public, voluntary organization and the second a governmental agency, they also adopt different strategies in their relationships with people's universities. In terms of the strategies identified by Cash,³ the Znanie Society maintains complementary linkages with the system of people's universities; they collaborate as equal institutions in a legal sense if not in size and capacity. The ties with schools and higher educational institutions are harder to define within the scope of Cash's strategies. Although the systemic linkages Cash identifies come closest to explaining the relationships between people's universities and formal schools, they deviate from the pattern described by her. For one thing, the schools and their advisory councils do have the ability to establish educational objectives for the local programs, and they have this ability primarily because they supply the financial and logistical base of operations.

Schools and higher educational institutions function well as founding organizations for people's universities in part because there is a reciprocal relationship between local agencies and the higher governmental authorities. The programs can be adapted to meet the needs of local schools while at the same time carrying out the Ministry of Education's plan of pedagogical propaganda. If support is needed by a local university, that can easily be arranged with the supervising advisory or territorial councils. In other words, as long as the university fits within the proscribed guidelines of the Ministry's program of pedagogical propaganda and the regulations

concerning people's universities, then it can largely determine its own curriculum and be assured of lecturers and other kinds of educational support, as needed. In the twenty-five years or so of operation, this decentralized framework seems to have worked much better than the model provided by the animation rurale programs. In that case the centralized bureaucracy was much more reluctant to allow curricular changes or local flexibility. In Niger and Senegal the political and economic pressures on the central government were simply too great and resources too limited to permit large expenditures on a program for community educational development.

Existing within a highly centralized and planned administrative structure has placed many conflicting pressures on people's universities as a decentralized system of adult education. As a result of these pressures the system has had to forge mutually beneficial linkages with more powerful institutions within the Soviet political structure, most prominent of which is the Znanie Society. Up to now these linkages have been the lifeblood for people's universities, but in the long run the lack of its own political clout, which is a natural consequence of the lack of its own institutional base, may prevent the system from achieving a more prominent and permanent status in the system of adult education. A summary of some of the advantages and disadvantages of these linkages will show why the long term picture depends heavily on its ability to acquire a stronger institutional and political base.

The Advantages and Disadvantages of
Linkages for People's Universities

First and foremost the relationship that people's universities have with other institutions in Soviet society has kept the costs of the system to a minimum. Administrative, personnel and overhead costs, which normally are the bulk of any educational budget, have all been trimmed through a variety of maneuvers. By decentralizing the system and devolving many administrative responsibilities upon local founding organizations, people's universities have avoided building a large bureaucratic structure to oversee all activities. What territorial administrative structure there is, has remained small and even its costs are kept low by cooperating with the Znanie Society. For example, only a small percentage of the lecturers and organizers who work in people's universities, probably no more than 10 percent, receive a salary,⁴ thus the services of almost a million people can be secured at a cost that would otherwise be prohibitively high. Finally, the system does not have to pay rents, procure its own buildings, or even buy its own supplies; all of these expenses are handled by the institutions with which it has linkages.

It would be wrong to say that all these costs do not exist for the system; many of them are merely passed along to other institutions. Those institutions which benefit from the services of people's universities generally are the ones which underwrite the costs of the system. This fact in itself, however, is an incentive to keep costs low. Founding organizations and the institutions standing

above them must also operate within defined budgetary limits. While a founding organization gains from sponsoring a people's university, it must balance a sort of cost/benefit ratio to determine the net worth of such sponsorship. In doing so, it will obviously be sure to keep the costs of its own inputs into the university to a minimum. The same factors also place pressure on the Znanie Society to keep its charges to founding organizations in line with the economic demand for the services it performs. Officials within the Society are quite proud of the fact that enterprises, factories, and a range of other institutions will contract for the Society's services at a level which supports some 60 percent of its operations. It is in the nature of the linkages that people's universities have with founding organizations, therefore, that the costs of the system are kept down.

By devolving responsibilities and costs upon other institutions, another advantage accrues to the system of people's universities: there is a greater likelihood that individual programs are more responsive to local institutional needs. It should be stressed at this point, though, that any flexibility and responsiveness which exists in local programs must do so within the strict parameters of Party policy and governmental regulations. In other words the concept of participatory decision making on the part of auditors does not exist for people's universities, nor are these programs particularly responsive to popularly perceived needs. The flexibility and responsiveness are to local institutions, be they enterprises, trade unions, or schools, not to local populations. Even so, because some

decisions can be made locally, auditors do indirectly influence certain policies for people's universities. It makes a difference to auditors in many republics, for example, if a program is conducted in a local language rather than Russian, and it clearly increases the interest for auditors if local examples can be used to illustrate the lectures or if issues of local interest are debated in the course of a program. Because they have the flexibility to do so, founding organizations can take such steps so as to increase the number of auditors who attend. If, however, the people's university maintained a centralized administrative structure, as the Ministry of Education does, such flexibility and responsiveness would be less likely to exist.

Because people's universities are not solely dependent upon their linkages with founding organizations, they make up quite a bit more than a loose conglomeration of local programs. Through their association with the Znanie Society, people's universities exist as a nationwide system of adult education activities with a defined set of characteristics which instantly distinguish them from other forms of adult education. By attaching themselves to the organizational structure of the Society, the territorial councils of people's universities are able to coordinate a national policy for people's universities as well as provide some oversight and continuity for the programs in their regions. These councils essentially are "in charge of monitoring [the programs], of keeping their evolving pattern in overall perspective, of identifying gaps and projecting future

requirements,"⁵ all functions mentioned by Coombs as being absent from most nonformal educational programs. Prior to their ties with the Znanie Society, people's universities were in fact a hodge-podge of adult education programs, having no real identity. By developing a nationwide structure, however, it was possible not only to provide guidelines for the operation of people's universities, but also to create a mechanism for insuring that at least minimal adherence to the guidelines was maintained.

A nationwide structure was not all that people's universities gained through its links to the Znanie Society. They were also able to tap into the Society's large network of lecturers, assuring a steady supply, if not an entirely uniformly high quality of specialists willing to work in people's universities. Had the Znanie Society not already established this network, it is unlikely that people's universities would have been able to spread so rapidly, particularly in rural areas. Indeed, one of the major obstacles to further growth in remote regions is still a lack of qualified personnel. Nevertheless, with this network in place it is possible not only to bring in lecturers from urban areas, but also to train rural specialists to work within the system.

By means of such linkages, then, the system of people's universities can be said in a limited sense to balance a large institutional base with responsiveness to local needs and interests and low costs. Certainly the advantages enumerated help the system create programs which are both longer running and more fully capable

of developing skills than most other forms of out-of-school adult education in the USSR. For the most part the system is able to build upon the educational base provided by the incomplete secondary schools, and many of the universities develop integrated programs over two, three, or more years for their auditors. Statistics from the Central Councils of People's Universities show that almost one-fourth of all auditors study in programs of three or more years and about two-thirds attend programs of two or more years in duration.⁵ Furthermore, through the indirect linkages with the Party, the system is almost sure to be in accord with the plans and priorities of the Soviet government.

Nevertheless, it is clear that even these advantages do not fully solve the problems of continuity and long-term development which plague nonformal educational programs in other countries. Indeed, these linkages work against the universities in a number of ways which prevent the system from attaining a higher quality for its activities and from assuring its own continued development in the long run. The most fundamental of these disadvantages is the lack of control that people's universities have over the limited financial resources available to the nationwide system.

The Znanie Society manages the purse strings for the nationwide structure of people's universities, and although this works to the advantage of the system in a number of ways already mentioned, it also hinders it. Officials of the Central Council of People's Universities complain most publicly that this lack of control prevents them from

carrying out any kind of research on the system of people's universities or from establishing their own commissions for long-range planning at a systemic level. Currently the Council has to rely either on the Znanie Society to support sociological research or on scientific-research institutes for more theoretical work in adult education, but both of these institutions have their own priorities which place the interests of people's universities in a position of secondary importance. The absence of any unified body of research on people's universities supports these sentiments.

The Central Council, which is charged with developing a long-term outlook for people's universities, is unable to properly complete this task without the necessary resources for its own research and development. As it presently operates, the Council has only enough time and resources to develop plans on a year to year basis. While this allows the Council to chip away at problems piecemeal, for example in attempts to improve the rural-urban imbalance of programs, larger problems which trouble the system are either ignored or left for an indefinite future. One such quandary is the inability of the system to provide adequate materials and equipment or to introduce more appropriate teaching methods for adults in many of its programs. Solving these problem calls for both financial resources, which the system does not have, and for more planning in conjunction with the suppliers of equipment and the developers of educational materials, which calls for greater administrative resources than are available to people's universities. Again, the Znanie Society is responsible for

developing methods and materials and for supplying equipment to people's universities since it has the administrative capacity to do so. The Society fails to do this well, however, since the educational demands of its own programs are so different; it seems to underestimate the needs of programs which run on a continuing basis for two or more years.

Due to its reliance on founding organizations for supplying many of the inputs for individual programs, the system as a whole has little capacity to enforce a specific level of quality or even to ensure that all universities participate in the periodic evaluations that are conducted. The carrots and the sticks which could be used to encourage or prod recalcitrant programs to live up to standards are either in the hands of advisory councils or the Znanie Society. Consequently, the territorial councils of people's universities can coordinate evaluations and exhort programs to participate, but in the long run they do not control the quality of all programs. Because of this, and because of the lack of appropriate methods and materials, a great many people's universities operate at an uninspired, mediocre level. Quality ultimately rests with the institutions which cooperate with people's universities, but reports indicate that not all of these are assiduous about supervising and reviewing the programs under their control.

The linkages people's universities have with other institutions and the indirect control the Party has over them limits the ability of many programs to respond to auditors' interests. A trade union council

which, for example, oversees a university of general profile may want professional and technical skills developed first, socio-political issues discussed second, and cultural or popular topics included in the curriculum only in third place. One administrator of a trade union Palace of Culture in Riga felt that people's universities were a "worn out and exhausted" form of adult education because their content was so strongly defined by the technical and political topics which have been pushed in the past fifteen years. To her way of thinking, clubs and informal interest groups more fully meet the cultural needs of the people who came to her cultural center.⁶ The case study presented in Chapter V demonstrates that not all cultural programs suffer this problem, but clearly it is an issue for the system.

In sum, these linkages are a double-edged sword for people's universities. Through them the system gains a low-cost nationwide institutional structure without sacrificing its flexibility and responsiveness to local needs. At the same time the conditions under which this nationwide structure must operate in fact leave the system very little autonomy and control in setting future directions or even in establishing some measure of authority over its local units. And the much vaunted responsiveness to local needs is often seriously challenged by the more powerful institutional interests of the founding organizations. In the final analysis, whether the sword cuts in favor of the system or against it depends upon the highly variable factors of local initiative, ministerial support for local autonomy, and access to the necessary educational inputs.

Most of the problems of the system of people's universities stem from a lack of the financial and political clout needed to carry out its objectives. In fairness to the system, it should be noted this is a problem inherent to all public, voluntary organizations in Soviet society. Their non-governmental status and lack of bureaucratic base all but exclude these organizations from participating in the highly political and politicized budgetary process of the Soviet government. Consequently, they are incapable of competing for even the smallest financial allocations to support their activities. In the case of people's universities no funding has come from the government in spite of a clear need and in spite of the relatively small outlays needed to improve some of the deficiencies in the system. Up until recently the divisions between governmental and public institutions have been sharp, but particularly in educational spheres calls are increasingly being made for an easing of these distinctions so as to allow for some governmental funding of public, voluntary organizations.

Future Prospects for People's Universities

Education in the USSR is in a process of change at least as significant as the school reforms promoted by Khrushchev in the late 1950's. The first round of this change was initiated by the 1984 general educational reforms which focused on the primary and secondary levels of schooling. Higher education and adult education will in their turns undergo significant restructuring. As the preliminary debates on these reforms unfolded in the various ministries and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, one of the main issues to emerge was

the need to structure education so that it can more adequately respond to the rapid changes of the scientific-technical revolution. With this as a major focus the reforms seem certain to increase the importance of continuing adult education within the entire Soviet educational system. What the role of people's universities will be in this future reform is not certain, but there are signs which point to their increasing importance as well.

One of the most outspoken advocates of people's universities is A.P. Vladislavlev, who is currently the First Vice-Chairman of the Central Council of People's Universities and an influential member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Vladislavlev is also a prominent spokesman for the theories of a unified system of continuing education, not just for adults, but for the entire educational system. It is Vladislavlev's view that the first step in creating a system of lifelong learning will involve unifying the disparate and varied forms of adult education which exist in the Soviet Union under one authority. Because of their different functions, however, each aspect of the system of adult education will have to be allowed some autonomy. Thus, only an organizational structure similar to that of people's universities, which provides both for a central policy-making authority and for programmatic flexibility, will allow the system to work to its capacity. Furthermore, Vladislavlev believes that such a system will work best as a public, voluntary organization since it will have to respond quickly to the educational demands of society,

but he feels it will ultimately have to have some governmental base both for financial support and political clout.⁷

In the short run the system of people's universities seems to be positioning itself to influence the direction of the reforms when they finally do take place. According to Vladislavlev, two immediate steps were to be taken at some point in 1984-1985, both of which involved a unification of activities. The first of these was the consolidation of the Institutes and Faculties of Raising Qualifications under one ministerial authority. Like the people's universities, these faculties and institutes were under the jurisdiction of some forty different ministries, although they collaborated closely with higher educational institutions and scientific-research institutes. In 1984-1985, the ministerial heads of all of these programs, many of whom have the rank of Vice-Minister, were all to be united into one central council under the direction of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and chaired by a Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Vice-Chairman heading this council will presumably be Gurii Ivanovich Marchuk, who is also chairman of the Central Council of People's Universities.

A second unifying step concerns people's universities more directly. The establishment of a unified body for the Faculties and Institutes for Raising Qualifications will put these programs on an equal organizational footing with the Central Council of People's Universities, the Board of Directors of the Znanie Society, the Central Council of Trade Unions, and other bodies which oversee adult

education activities. According to Vladislavlev, at some point in 1985, all of these organizational entities will be combined into a central council concerned with adult education, although all of these will retain a certain amount of autonomy in conducting their various educational programs. This council, however, will also be chaired by a Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, again probably Marchuk, and it will actually be part of the Council of Ministers. Its main tasks will be first of all to determine the fundamental directions for the upcoming reform of Soviet adult education, and secondly to set policy for adult education in the years to come.

These changes will clearly place people's universities in a far stronger political position than they have held before. The system will acquire the strongest possible governmental base, and with this necessary political clout it should be able to develop an apparatus through which it can carry out much needed research in adult education, its psychology, its organization, and its relationship to the rest of society. Within this council on adult education people's universities should gain much influence, as well. The council is essentially adopting the organizational structure of people's universities wholesale, changing only the actors in the various roles. The experience that people's universities have in working within such a structure may make their voice more prominent, at least at the outset.

These unifications set the stage for a more far reaching reform of adult education, but it is still too early to tell what shape this

reform will take. Because the reforms so far have focused on upgrading professional and technical skills needed to cope with the scientific-technical revolution, it can be surmised that the reforms of adult education will concentrate on continually renewing and updating these skills. With the advent of universal secondary education and with the practical limits on access to higher education, it would seem that adult education activities in this regard cannot help but gain an ever increasing importance in the Soviet Union's economic and political future. Given these changes, people's universities as well seem assured of a prominent, perhaps predominant, role in the future training of adults in the Soviet Union.

Implications of the Study

Should these predicted changes place people's universities in a position to influence all other forms of Soviet adult education activities, the system will surely have to rank among the most prominent and far-reaching nonformal educational programs for adults in the world. The importance, both for adult educators and for students of Soviet society, of understanding this system will surely be heightened in such circumstances. Even if the system does not achieve such prominence, an understanding of the experience of people's universities still should be valuable in comprehending the upper constraints and limitations on large-scale nonformal education of adults. Furthermore, Western scholars' appreciation of the little known and understood role of public, voluntary organizations in Soviet adult education should deepen with an understanding of this complex

and diverse system. It is hoped that this study has furthered both of these ends.

The time has long passed when it was useful to talk about a socialist model versus a capitalist model of development for the Third World. Such a dichotomy ignores the diversity of both socialism and capitalism as well as the strength of existing political and economic structures within Third World countries themselves. For this reason it does not seem profitable to discuss the system of people's universities as a model for the development of large-scale nonformal education for adults. Even if the system had reached a stage where its own development was complete and could claim to be entirely successful, far too many of its aspects are specific to the Soviet historical, political, and economic context to make its wholesale application to any other country worthwhile.

The Soviet Union has reached a stage of development which allows enough free time for many educators and specialists to voluntarily participate in the continuing education of adults. Regardless of whether these activities are voluntary to a greater or lesser degree, the fact remains that the system of people's universities relies upon a supply of lecturers who are for the most part unpaid. This voluntarism, which is the cornerstone of the structure of people's universities, also seems to be a cultural value of long standing, for Russian intellectuals at any rate. This crucial component of the system of people's universities significantly limits the transferability of this system to other contexts, particularly in the

Third World. Few if any developing countries have attained a stage of economic development where even the highest levels of trained teachers and specialists feel in a comfortable enough situation to be able to contribute their time voluntarily to the creation of a system of adult education similar to people's universities.

The experience of people's universities does suggest that voluntarism can be a useful instrument in carrying out nonformal adult education activities. As a suggestion for further research, it would be useful to understand how volunteers have been useful in other programmatic contexts and to investigate those factors which made the use of volunteers a viable part of the system. A study of the Red Cross and its educational activities, for example, might provide some understanding in this area.

A second point about the system of people's universities which makes its transferability to Third World contexts difficult is that it is highly dependent on an existing infrastructure of formal schools and on financial support from a broad range of institutions in society. In most developing countries the use of formal schools is already stretched to the limit in attempting to provide universal primary education to children. Double sessions, split schedules, and the like make it improbable that schools or universities could be used further to promote a system of adult education outside of working hours. Furthermore, economic resources in other societal institutions are limited as well, and few surpluses exist to promote adult education activities within these institutions. This means that

resources for adult education must come directly from the government, which in turn implies a more imposing bureaucratic structure than the one found in people's universities.

Interestingly, the experiences of the societies of people's universities in Russia at the turn of the century may prove more appropriate for Third World contexts. The smaller scale and localization of programs which characterized these societies may be better able to make use of that spirit of voluntarism which does exist on the part of specialists and educators. These programs did not depend as much on an existing infrastructure as the current people's universities do; indeed, in the early stages of some programs, classes were conducted in private residences. Clearly the curricula and content of such programs would have to be developed in accordance with the needs and interests of auditors, and these most likely would be radically different from the curricula and content of the Russian programs.

While the system of people's universities itself may not be transferable to other contexts, certainly the program's twenty-five year experience as a growing system of large-scale adult education provides lessons and insights for adult educators who seek to surmount some of the shortcomings found in many nonformal educational programs. In particular, the dilemmas of a decentralized network of programs existing in a highly centralized educational framework are vividly presented in the case of people's universities, and the ways in which the system has resolved some of those dilemmas may also be

particularly useful. This study, however, has only provided an overview of the system of people's universities and has not analyzed deeply some important issues which relate to the success and failure of the system. Further research on people's universities needs to be carried out which will provide insight on these issues. For example, why are auditors' attendance rates so high in the Baltic republics and so low in certain Central Asian republics? Do these figures reflect primarily demographic differences or can they be attributed to the quality of programs offered?

As adult education in the USSR moves toward the unification of activities and programs, some research needs to be done both on the Znanie Society and on the Faculties and Institutes for Raising Qualifications in order to understand their unique characteristics. While these two systems may quickly be subsumed under a larger umbrella organization, they inevitably will take with them their organizational histories and special modes of operation. The Znanie Society, in particular, is worthy of investigation, not only because its influence is so great throughout the country, but because it has survived intact through a great many twists and turns of domestic Soviet policy changes. It, too, will be an important player upon the adult education scene in the future, thus understanding its origins and history will be valuable.

Soviet scholars over the past ten years have focused a great deal of attention on the relationship between education, especially adult continuing education, and the contemporary demands scientific and

technical development. This theoretical research has been the top priority of educationists, economists, and sociologists because it is of particularly vital concern to the Soviet Union. Except in certain limited areas, space research, metallurgy, and oil exploitation among others, Soviet technology has been unable to keep pace with the West. Of special worry has been the incapacity of the Soviet economy to incorporate technological changes in the production process. In some circles continuing education is seen as the most practical response to both aspects of this technology gap. For Western scholars an urgent need is to summarize and analyze this research with an eye to understanding the future role of adult education in raising the productivity of the Soviet economy.

Both as a large-scale system of nonformal adult education and as an important component of the Soviet Union's diffuse system of adult education, the system of people's universities has proved to be a valuable subject for investigation. This system, however, is only one nonformal education program and only one aspect of continuing education in the USSR. In order to shed further light on both many interesting subjects and many important issues remain to be investigated.

Footnotes

- 1 Munger. Cited in Chapter I, see pages 30-32
- 2 Bray. Cited in Chapter I, see pages 33-34
- 3 Cash, cited in Chapter I, see pages 35-37
- 4 B.I. Pishchik, Chief of the International Relations Branch of the Znanie, Personal Interview, December 13, 1983.
- 4 Coombs, World Educational Crisis, p. 139.
- 5 Materialy plenuma Tsetral'nogo soveta narodnykh universitetov, 10 dekabria, 1980, (Moscow: Tsentral'nyi sovet narodnykh universitetov, 1980), p. 22.
- 6 Informant #2, Personal interview, Riga, Latvia, March 9, 1984. The informant asked not to be identified.
- 7 A.P. Vladislavlev, Personal interviews, Moscow, December 13, 1983 and March 26, 1984.

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- Onushkin, Viktor Grigor'evich. Director, Scientific-Research Institute for General Adult Education, Leningrad. November 2, 1983.
- Pishchik, Boris Ivanovich. Chief of the International Relations Branch of the All-Union Znanie Society, December 13, 1983.

Pozdniakova, N. Organizer of the People's University of Culture at the Gorky Palace of Culture, Leningrad. April 22, 1984.

Sharapov, Dzalil Nabievich, and Ivchenko, Alla Aleksandrovna. Staff members of the Uzbek Republic Council of People's Universities, Tashkent. April 3, 1984.

Vladislavlev, Aleksandr Pavlovich. First Vice-Chairman of the Central Council of People's Universities, Moscow. December 13, 1983, January 4 and March 23, 1984.

GLOSSARY

Agitator, propagandist, politinformator - One of a variety of titles assigned to instructors in the political education system.

Aktiv - the leading cadres and most active members of a society or organization, especially the CPSU.

A.S.S.R. - Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Territories, most of which are located in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and which maintain a measure of political self-determination in internal policies. Most are identified with a single ethnic group.

Auditor - the term used to refer to students in the system of people's universities. It is a directed translation of the Russian word slushatel', which has the same connotation of "listener" as does auditor.

Candidate's degree - An academic degree roughly equivalent to a Ph.D., it is achieved after a minimum of two to three years of graduate study and the completion of dissertation.

cultural-enlightenment institutions - Community centers, including Houses and Palaces of Culture, clubs, libraries, amateur theaters and other artistic centers, museums, etc.

D.N.D. - Dobrovol'nye narodnye druzinniki, The Voluntary People's Brigades which are citizens' anti-crime and neighborhood service patrols.

Doctoral degree - An advanced post-graduate degree awarded only to the most senior scholars in a field after they have completed a dissertation of noteworthy distinction.

Duma - Following the 1905 Revolution, the duma were a series of elected consultative bodies established both at State and local levels.

faculty - the word fakul'tet in Russian normally refers to an academic department of a university, but in the case of people's universities it refers to a course or series of courses on one topic.

Glavpolitprosvet - The Central Administration for Political Education, headed from 1920 to 1930 by N.K. Krupskaya. Politprosvet refers to branches of this administrative office.

Glavprofobr - The Central Committee for Vocational-Technical Education, instituted during the "War Communism" period in 1920.

kolkhoz - a collective farm. A worker on a collective farm is called a kolkhoznik.

krai - territories, located largely in the north or in Siberia.

lecturer - the term used to describe teachers in people's universities. The Russian word is Lektor.

MinVUZ - The abbreviation for the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

Narkompros - The People's Commissariat of Enlightenment, the first agency in charge of education following the October, 1917 revolution. First headed by A.V. Lunacharsky.

oblast' - a province, roughly akin to a large county.

profile - the term used to describe a field of knowledge or subject area of people's universities.

Rabfak - Workers' Faculties. Set up after 1921 to prepare workers and peasants for study at a university level.

raion - district, either a rural or urban borough.

sovkhoz - a state-owned farm. A worker on one of these is called a sovkhoznik.

tekhnikum - vocational or technical school, usually after the completion of eight years of schooling. Part of the system of secondary specialized education.

uchilishche - also a technical, vocational, or training school, but for younger students.

VUZ - abbreviation for higher educational institution.

zemstvo - (pl. zemstva) Following governmental reforms in 1864, provincial and local elected assemblies.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I

Model Regulations for People's Universities

The Model Regulations for People's Universities were promulgated on June 23, 1967, by the Presidium of the Board of Directors of the All-Union Znanie Society in accord with the network of public, voluntary and governmental organizations within which people's universities have been established.

Using these Model Regulations for People's Universities as a base, interested organizations can work out their own set of rules for people's universities in different fields and of various types.

I. The Goals and Tasks of People's Universities

People's Universities comprise one of the important forms of the mass propagation of knowledge. They are called upon to assist the Communist Party in disseminating Marxist-Leninist theory, and to promote the ideological conviction, consciousness, and all-rounded development of builders of communism.

As goals, people's universities set for themselves the following tasks:

to widen the political and cultural horizons of auditors; to arm them with knowledge and acquaint them with the newest achievements in different branches of science, technology, and the arts; to form a communist world-outlook in auditors; to inculcate in them an irreconcilability with bourgeois ideology.

to inculcate in auditors communist morality, noble feelings of Soviet

patriotism and proletarian internationalism, fundamentally humanistic convictions, and qualities of the unwavering struggle toward communism.

to assist auditors in putting acquired knowledge into practice, to further the dissemination of scientific achievements and advanced industrial experience; to develop the creative thinking of auditors; to offer practical assistance in auditors' rationalization of productive processes, inventions, and feasible scientific research activities.

to impart to auditors habits of self-education; to further the development of their abilities and talents.

to actively assist auditors in carrying out various voluntary social and governmental functions, both during the course of study in people's universities and after the completion of the programs; and to help in mastering such voluntary social professions.

Being unique public, voluntary education institutions, people's universities should provide the following basic necessities: a staff of qualified lecturers and teachers, a constant student body, complete curriculum plans and syllabi offering a known system of knowledge and guaranteeing a connection between theory and practice, the use of active forms of teaching methods, opportunities for independent work by auditors which reinforce the knowledge given to them, and the linking of academic and moral education.

In all of these activities people's universities are called upon to make their contribution in accomplishing the most important tasks of the communist upbringing of workers and in fulfilling the historical task of overcoming the fundamental differences between physical and mental work, and between city and countryside.

II. Procedures for Founding People's Universities

People's universities are founded by public, voluntary; governmental; and creative arts organizations in the basis of broad public initiative.

The development of a network of people's universities in accomplished systematically, taking into account the needs and interests of workers, as well as the demands of the cultural-economic development of regions, enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, etc. In light of the multiplicity of these needs and interests, people's universities are established in a very broad range of fields with differing goal orientations (for the widening of the general cultural horizons of auditors, raising their qualifications, acquiring voluntary social professions, etc.)

Founding Organizations of People's Universities The founders of people's universities can be Party, trade union, and komsomol organizations; organizations of the All-Union Znanie Society, organs of the Ministries of Culture, Education, Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, Public Health, Agriculture; scientific and scientific-technical organizations, creative arts unions, and others.

People's Universities are organized, given the necessary conditions for their success (e.g., a staff of prepared lecturers, classroom space, a financial base for academic activities, etc.), in workplaces or in the housing quarters of workers; in enterprises, transportation and construction sites, on kolkhozes and sovkhozes; in

higher and secondary specialized educational institutions and schools; in scientific-research institutes; cultural-enlightening institutions (clubs, Palaces and Houses of Culture, Houses of Technology, theaters, museums, movie theaters, libraries, etc); in medical and out-patient institutions; in military units, officers clubs, military training institutes; in large apartment complexes and workers' dormitories. In case of need and under the appropriate conditions raion, city-wide, oblast, krai, and republic people's universities can be created.

The size of the student body is recommended to be, as a rule, no less than 100 auditors.

Depending on the orientation of their primary activities, on their founding organization, or on their financial base, people's universities form part of the entire system by means of their affiliation with the corresponding central public, voluntary organization; ministry; agency; creative arts union, (for example, the All-Union Central Soviet of Trade Unions, the All-Union Znanie Society, the Ministry of Culture of the USSR, etc.), which provide their leadership and offer them help in all of their activities.

The Registration of People's Universities All people's universities, regardless of their administrative jurisdiction, are registered with the raion, city -- or in their absence -- oblast, krai, or republic councils of people's universities. People's Universities of the Soviet Army and Navy are registered by their political organs and the

political leadership with information about their registration being reported to the responsible council of people's universities.

The basis for registering is the certificate of people's universities which has been published in a standard format. The certification of people's universities is conducted yearly.

III. Forms, Types, and the Structure of People's Universities

Depending upon the concrete conditions and requirements of the locality, people's universities of different forms and types are established.

By form of people's university is meant the direction and content of their work and their profile (according to the field of knowledge).

The basic forms of people's universities are universities or faculties of socio-political knowledge (on the basis of scientific-communication, history, philosophy, political economy, international relations, the State and Law, and others); of Natural Science (in mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, biology, geography, local ecology, geology, etc); scientific-technical and economic knowledge (on the scientific basis, technology, and economics of leading branches of industry, construction, transportation, and communications); agricultural knowledge (the scientific basis, technology, and economics of agriculture); Soviet commerce; culture (literature and art); pedagogical knowledge; the culture of everyday

life; military-patriotic upbringing; scientific atheism; medical knowledge and physical education and sport; public, voluntary professions; lecturing skills and so on. People's Universities of General Profile are also set up, uniting several fields of knowledge.

People's Universities for Youth can be organized either according to the program of one or another form of people's university or on the basis of a special program designed to meet the needs of a given group of youths.

In addition to the regular programs, extra-mural people's universities, radio and television universities (or special programs), and people's universities based on film series can be established, as well.

The types of people's universities are defined by the industrial or territorial principles of their organization, their length of study, the degree of complexity of their curricula, and so on.

By the industrial or territorial organization (of each university) is meant, whether the people's university is in a city or rural area, whether it is organized in a work place or in a housing unit of auditors, etc.

The length of study of people's universities is set up, as a rule, on a one-, two-, or three-year basis, taking into account the student body and the accepted curriculum. Classes are held over an eight or nine month period with two, three, or four classes per month.

The length and frequency of classes in a people's university are established by the local organization.

The degree of complexity of study in people's universities is based on the level of preparation of auditors, their productive needs, and their spiritual interests. Three degrees of complexity are recommended: the first is for those having an unfinished secondary secondary education, the second is for those having basically a secondary or secondary specialized education, the third is for people having an unfinished higher or higher education. The degree of complexity is determined locally depending on the student body and finds expression in the lesson plans and syllabi of people's universities.

Given a proper student body and highly qualified lecturing and teaching staff, a more advanced range of knowledge, organized to attract auditors in scientific-research work can be offered in people's universities or in groups within universities.

The structure of a people's university is defined by the council of people's universities depending on local, concrete conditions. Depending on local demands in people's universities, faculties (or special fields of knowledge of a given profile), divisions (working parallel in a given faculty with different groups of auditors), and affiliates (established in factory shops, on kolkhozes and sovkhoses, or in the living quarters of auditors, etc.) can all be created. Study groups are set up for seminar and laboratory classes and practicums,

the number of which is determined according to the opportunities locally available.

In case of need and under the proper conditions, people's universities can organize consultation points for those wishing to increase their knowledge through self-study.

Through the initiative of governing councils or auditors, different groups in the arts can be created in people's universities: studios and amateur artists' circles, music schools, public libraries, etc.

IV. Regulations for Accepting Auditors in People's Universities

Workers, kolkhozniks, specialists in different branches of the economy and culture and members of their families, all those wishing to supplement and deepen their knowledge in one or another field of science, technology, or the arts are accepted in people's universities without leave from their work.

Recruitment to people's universities is undertaken by public, voluntary and governmental organizations under the leadership of Party committees and organizations.

All matriculants must complete an admissions application, providing a small amount of personal data. Enrollment in the student body is conducted by the governing council of the people's university.

The filling of faculties, divisions, affiliates, and study groups is done, as a rule, taking into account the general educational and special preparation of auditors and their needs and interests.

In addition to fulltime students, others may be invited to the lectures and activities of people's universities.

V. The Organization of Academic and Upbringing Work in People's Universities

People's Universities should assure a close tie between intellectual study and moral upbringing on the basis of voluntary activity and creative initiative of the teaching collective and auditors of the universities.

Curriculum Plans and Syllabi People's Universities operate according to curriculum plans and syllabi worked out by the governing council of the people's university using the model curriculum plans and syllabi recommended by the All-Union Znanie Society and the republic organizations of the Znanie Society. Higher educational institutions, scientific-research institutes, creative arts unions, responsible ministries, agencies, and public, voluntary organizations are called upon to offer active assistance in working out the programs of people's universities.

Curriculum plans and syllabi of people's universities should define the range and system of knowledge given in a particular form or type of people's university, outline the themes of seminars and other

practical activities, and provide lists of recommended readings and texts.

A specific number of hours for acquainting auditors with current political events and for studying the resolutions of the Party and government must be set aside in the curriculum plans people's universities of all forms and types.

Curriculum plans and syllabi for the up-coming academic year are discussed in meetings of teachers and students of the university and are reviewed when necessary by the responsible raion or city councils people's universities which organize consultations with scholars and other specialists to help these governing councils of people's universities.

Forms and Methods of Study The task of each people's university should be to continually improve the forms and methods of academic and upbringing work and to guarantee their variety and effectiveness, taking into account the profile of the university and the make-up of the student body. The basic form of class work is the lecture, making frequent use of a variety of teaching aids. In addition to lectures, it is necessary to practice different active forms and methods of teaching: seminars; laboratory classes; debates and discussions; lectures with artistic accompaniment; excursions; group trips to and discussions of plays, films; scientific-practical and readers' conferences; question and answer evenings; meetings with scholars; public and governmental figures, representatives of the creative

intelligentsia, and industrial innovators; use of radio and television and other modern means of public communication; assignments to auditors of independent work (preparing abstracts, reports, evaluations, practical assignments, rationalizing proposals, etc.)

To reinforce and evaluate the learning of auditors, final conversations and scientific-practical conferences should be conducted.

VI. Lecturers and Teachers in People's Universities

It is the task of each people's university to create a teaching collective responsible for the whole academic and upbringing work of the university.

Scholars; public figures; engineers; teachers; doctors; agronomists; animal husbandry specialists; economists and other specialists in different fields of the economy; outstanding workers and innovators in industry; writers; artists; musicians; theatrical, film, radio, television personalities and other representatives of the technological and artistic intelligentsia, considering work in people's universities to be an honored patriotic duty, are invited by the governing councils of universities to be lecturers (for individual lectures) or teachers (to conduct lecture series, seminars, conferences, and other activities).

The All-Union Znanie Society, higher and secondary educational institutions, scientific-research institutes, scientific-technical

societies, creative arts unions, and other organizations are called upon to offer systematic help to people's universities in attracting lecturers and teachers.

At the end of each academic year, or if necessary at other points in time, organizations overseeing one or more people's universities may recognize and honor lecturers and teachers for outstanding work and may nominate the most deserving for entry into the All-Union Book of Honor of People's Universities.

VII. Auditors in People's Universities

In the affairs of people's universities a large role is played by the creative initiative, activeness, and amateur undertakings of auditors.

Auditors should master scientific knowledge, acquire ideological convictions and high moral qualities, become acquainted with the newest achievements in science, technology, and the arts needed by them in their lives and work.

Auditors successfully completing a people's university are awarded a certificate of completion. In universities of public occupations this certificate signifies the acquisition by a given auditor of that profession.

Among the obligations of auditors are regular attendance at the classes of the people's university and the completion of the required minimum of independent assignments and practical work.

The collective of students in universities, faculties, divisions, and affiliates elect a monitor (starosta) and in large universities establish a student senate organized to help the governing councils of people's universities in arranging the academic and upbringing work (guaranteeing an orderly work routine, discussing curriculum plans and syllabi, supplying classes with texts, organizing and conducting seminars, conferences, mass activities, etc.).

VIII. Councils of People's Universities

In order to conduct the necessary organizational work and to provide leadership in the academic and upbringing work of the university, councils are set up on public, voluntary principles, and their size will depend on local factors. The membership of these councils of people's universities is composed of representatives of teachers and students, as well as of the founding organization and other representatives of interested organizations and institutions. The council is headed by the rector of the people's university who provides the leadership for all of the activities of the people's university. The membership of the council, the rectors and deans are all confirmed by the founding organization.

The Councils of People's Universities,

carry out, in conjunction with the corresponding public, voluntary organization, the organizational work in establishing a people's university; conduct the admission of auditors and the selection of the teaching staff; oversee the internal routine of work of the university; organize attendance records; undertake measures for strengthening the student body; conduct the graduation ceremonies of auditors; and etc.

organize and direct all of the academic and upbringing work with auditors, assuring its high quality; in conjunction with supervisory public councils of people's universities, work out and submit in completed form curriculum plans and syllabi; provide the necessary organizational and methodological help to lecturers and teachers; further the use of active forms and methods of teaching; effect control over the quality of the academic and upbringing work of faculties, divisions, affiliates, and study groups; organize exchanges of experience within the university and the dissemination of its work in conferences, in the press, on radio and television;

take measures to provide teachers and auditors with syllabi, texts, and methodological literature;

maintain contact with enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, academic institutions, and all institutions whose workers enroll in the people's university; conduct, with the public organizations, the encouragement and honoring of lecturers, teachers, and the most active auditors.

In large universities, councils of faculties (divisions, affiliates, etc.) can be set up. In the necessary cases departments (kafedra) including all of the teachers of a given profile can be organized by decisions of the council of the people's university.

To coordinate the leadership of people's universities working in raions, cities, oblasts, krai, ASSR, and union republics, corresponding public councils of people's universities, acting on the basis of their own special regulations, can be created.

IX. The Logistical and Financial Base of
People's Universities

The founding organization of the people's university shall offer space, offices and laboratories of educational institutions, Palaces and Houses of Culture, clubs, scientific-research institutes, and other organizations (with the permission of the responsible soviet or trade union organization) free of charge for the conduct of classes and mass cultural activities. They shall also offer financial assistance and help in providing literature and texts.

Source: "Primernoie polozhenie o narodnykh universitetakh," Sbornik dokumentov o razvitii narodnykh universitetov v SSSR, (Moscow: Znanie, 1974), pp. 121-154. Translated by the author.

APPENDIX II

Table A.1

Academic Plan of the Two-Year People's University of Scientific-Pedagogical Knowledge for Teachers and Public Education Workers in the Dagestan ASSR.

CONTENT OF THE WORK	No. of Hrs. Lec. Sem.
I. MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY:	
The Further Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory in the Decisions of the XXV Party Congress.	2
The XXV Party Congress on the Development of Socialist Society. Results of the Ninth 5-Year Plan and Long Term Economic Development in the Tenth 5-Year Plan. The Social Nature of the Scientific-Technological Revolution in the Conditions of Developed Socialism. The Ideological Work of the Party.	4
Leninist Principles of Foreign Policy. The XXV Congress of the CPSU on Contemporary Foreign Policy Actions of the Party.	2
The XXV Party Congress on the Sharpening of the Ideological Opposition of the Two Systems	2
II. QUESTIONS OF THE THEORY AND METHODOLOGY OF THE COMMUNIST UPBRINGING OF STUDENTS.	
Tasks for the Further Improvement of the Communist Upbringing of Students in Light of the Decisions of the XXV Congress of the CPSU	2
Basic Principles of Communist Up-bringing and the Formation of a Communist World-Outlook. Raising Students through the Example of the Life and Actions of V.I. Lenin. The Revolutionary, Military and Labor Traditions of the CPSU and the Soviet People. Inculcation of Soviet Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism.	4
The Labor, Moral and Aesthetic Upbringing of Students.	2
The Content, Forms and Methods of the Work of Classroom Leaders. Early Signs of Educational Neglect of Children and Teenagers.	2

III. PSYCHOLOGICAL/IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE CONTEMPORARY EDUCATIONAL PROCESS	2	
General Laws in the Process of the Formation of the Character of Students in the Process of Studying, Taking Account of Their Age and Individualities. A Psychological Analysis of the Style of Interrelationships of the Pedagogical Collective and the Teenagers Being Educated.	2	
Particularities of the Academic Activities and Mental Development of Students at Different Levels of Study.	2	
The Psychological Basis of the Work of Teachers.	2	2
The Psychological/Pedagogical Demands of the Modern Classroom.	2	
TOTAL: (First Year - 30)	28	2
V. THE FACULTY OF TEACHERS OF RUSSIAN AND NATIVE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE		
The XXV Party Congress of the CPSU and Questions of the Development of the Arts and Literature of the Peoples of the USSR.	2	
V.I. Lenin on Literature and Art	2	
National and International in the Method of Socialist Realism	2	2
Soviet Literature Abroad	2	
The Ideological Struggle in the Development of Contemporary Literature and Art.	2	2
The Figure of V.I. Lenin in the Oral-Poetical Tradition and Literature of the Peoples of Dagestan.	2	2
Moral and Aesthetic Upbringing of Youth in the Process of Studying Literature.	2	2
Questions of Aesthetic Upbringing in Literature Classes	2	
Basic Questions of Oral Interpretation in the Literature Class.	2	2
Depictions of (non-gentry) Intellectuals in the Works of Turgenev, Chernyshevsky, and Dostoevsky.	2	2

Table A.1 Continued

A. Blok and Contemporary Life	2	
Some Questions in the Development of Soviet Literature	2	2
Study of the Works of C. Dickens in the School	2	2
The Ideas and Forms of Contemporary Foreign Literature.	2	2
Particularities of the Analysis of Artistic Works in the School	2	2
Planning Classes in Oral Interpretation.		2
The Organization, Content and Methods of Elective Classes in Literature in the School	2	2
Using and Evaluating Compositions in the Classroom.	2	2
Survey of the Literary Life of Soviet Dagestan in Recent Times.	4	2
The Basic Tasks and Content of New Programs in Literature	4	2
Survey of Innovative Methods in Literature.	4	
TOTALS: (76)	46	30

Source: Z.T. Gasanov, Narodnyi universitet nauchno-pedagogicheskikh znanii (Makhachkala: Dagestanskoe Knizhnoe Izd., 1976), pp. 21-23, 25-26.

Table A.2

Model Curriculum Plan for a One-Year
People's University of Health for Youth

TITLE	LECT.	PRAC.
1.) Concern of the CPSU and Soviet Government for the Health of the Population.	2	-
2.) <u>Lecture-Discussion:</u> a.) "What Girls Should Know About Their Health." b.) "What Boys Should Know About Their Health."	2	-
3.) "In the Future - Without Illness." (Preventing Infectious Diseases) <u>Practicum:</u> Visiting a sanitation-epidemiological station.	2	1
4.) "Are You Eating Correctly ?"	2	-
5.) Preserve the Health of Your Youth (The Hygiene of Labor and Rest. Aesthetics of Labor and Rest.)	2	-
6.) Physical Culture - The Road to Health and Long Life. <u>Practicum:</u> A Demonstration of a Regime of Physical Exercises for Morning Calisthenics, Production Gymnastics, etc.	2	1
7.) Fashion and Health	2	-
8.) "Don't Cause Harm." (On the Harmfulness of Home Cures.)	2	-
9.) Scientific-Technical Progress and Health	2	-
10.) Developing Memory and the Hygiene of Mental Labor	2	-
11.) Sleep, Dreams, Hypnosis	2	-
12.) Science and Religion on the Health and Illness of Man. <u>Excursion:</u> To the Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism.	2	2
13.) On the Harm of Smoking and the Abuse of Alcohol	2	-
14.) "Illnesses Which Shouldn't Be." (On Venereal Diseases.)	2	-

Table A.2 Continued

15.) <u>Practicum: Giving First Aid in Case of Accident</u> -	3
or Sudden Illness. (Stopping Bleeding, Applying Bandages, Artificial Respiration, Help for Stomache Pains.)	
16.) <u>Practicum: Caring for the Ill at Home.</u> -	3
(Preparing the Bed, Changing Bed Clothes or Sheets, Taking the Temperature of the Body, Techniques for Using Hot Water Bottles, Compresses, Lotions.)	
17.) <u>Concluding Conference for Auditors of the People's</u> -	2
University of Health	
TOTAL: (40)	28 12

Source: N.T. Koval', Narodnye universiteti zdorov"ia v Leningrade (Leningrad: O-vo "Znanie" RSFSR, Leningrad Organization, 1981), p.9-11.

Table A.3

Model Curriculum Plan for a Two-Year
People's University of International Relations

Lecture or Seminar Topic	No/Hour
FIRST YEAR OF STUDY	
<u>Section 1: Leninist Principles of Soviet Foreign Policy and Their Development and Actualization by the CPSU</u>	
Lectures:	
1.) The Great October Revolution and International Relations	2
2.) V.I. Lenin - Founder of Soviet Foreign Policy	2
3.) The Historical Continuity and Consistency of Soviet Foreign Policy and its Faithfulness to Leninist Principles	2
4.) The Principles, Goals and Methods of Soviet Foreign Policy	2
Seminar:	
Leninist Principles of Soviet Foreign Policy and Their Development by the CPSU.	2
<u>Section 2: The World Socialist System - A Defining Factor in Contemporary Development</u>	
Lectures:	
1.) The Efforts of the CPSU in Strengthening Friendship and Cooperation with Socialist Countries	2
2.) The Steady Closening of Socialist Countries - An Objective Law in their Development	2
3.) A New Stage in the Economic Cooperation of Socialist Countries	2
4.) The Assured Progress of World Socialism - The Main Feature of All Contemporary Development	2
Seminar:	
The Contemporary Development of the World Socialist System	2
<u>Section 3: The Rise of the Role of Newly Liberated States in World Development and Politics. The Strengthening of their Cooperation with Socialist Countries</u>	
Lectures:	
1.) The Rise of the Role of Newly Liberated States in World Development and Politics	2
2.) The Strengthening of Progressive Tendencies in the Domestic and Foreign Policies of Newly Liberated Governments	2
3.) The Struggle of Newly Liberated States Against Imperialism and for the Relaxtion of International Tensions - An Important Factor in Further Heightening their Role in World	2

Table A.3 Continued

- Development
- 4.) Strengthening Cooperation with Newly Liberated States - An Important Trend in the Foreign Policy of the CPSU 2
- Seminar:
- Strengthening Cooperation between the USSR and the Newly Liberated States at the Present Stage 2

SECOND YEAR OF STUDY

Section 4: Efforts for the Consolidation of Peace - A Pivotal Trend in the Foreign Policy of the CPSU and Soviet Government

Lectures:

- 1.) The Intensification of the Conflict between the Two Orientations in World Politics 2
- 2.) Efforts of the CPSU and Soviet Government in Affirming the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in International Relations 2
- 3.) Efforts of the CPSU and Soviet Government in Ending the Arms Race and for Disarmament 2
- 4.) The Foreign Policy of the CPSU: Directed toward Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe 2

Seminar:

- The Antagonism of the Two Courses in World Politics 2

Lectures:

- 5.) Efforts of the CPSU and Soviet Government in Normalizing Soviet-American Relations 2
- 6.) Eliminating the Sources of Tension - An Important Trend in the Foreign Policy of the CPSU 2
- 7.) Efforts of the CPSU and Soviet Government in Realizing the Program for Peace for the 80's 2
- 8.) Criticism of the Bourgeois Falsifications of Soviet Foreign Policy 2

Seminar:

- The International Significance of the Program for Peace for the 80's, Adopted by the XXVI Congress of the CPSU 2

Section 5: The CPSU and the International Communist and Workers' Movement

Lectures:

- 1.) Documents of the CPSU and International Conventions of Communist and Workers' Parties on the Development of the 2

Table A.3 Continued

World Revolutionary Process	
2.) The Further Deepening of the General Crisis of Capitalism and the Sharpening of its Internal Contradictions	2
3.) The International Communist and Workers' Movement - A Force Today	2
4.) The Struggle of the CPSU for the Purity of Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism	2
Seminar:	
Efforts of the CPSU in Strengthening the Unity and Solidarity of International Communist and Workers' Movements on the Basis of the Principles of Marxism-Leninism and International Proletarianism	2
Theoretical Conference:	
Efforts of the CPSU in Achieving the Foreign Policy Adopted by the XXVI Congress of the CPSU	4
<hr/> TOTAL:	<hr/> 64

Source: Leninskim kursom mira i mezhdunarodnogo sotrudnichestva: Primernyi uchebno-tematicheskii plan i programma dlia narodnykh universitetov, eds., I.A. Akhtamzian and A. Iu. Borisov (Moscow: "Znanie", 1983), pp. 6-8.

TABLE A.4

Curriculum Plan of the Faculty of
The Fundamentals of Soviet State and Law: 1978-1979

First Lesson: 26 October, 1978

- 1.) The Tasks, Forms, Methods and Means of the Legal Education of Workers in Light of the Decisions of the XXV Congress of the CPSU,
- 2.) The XXV Congress of the CPSU on Improving Soviet Laws and Strengthening Socialist Law and Order. On the Conditions and Measures for Strengthening Lawfulness and Order in the Raion,
- 3.) Methodological Advice to Auditors about Independent Work on the Material to be Studied,
- 4.) Organizational Questions.

Second Lesson: 16 November, 1978

- 1.) The Rise and Development of Marxist-Leninist Studies of the State and Law. Concepts and the Essence of State and Law,
- 2.) The Rise, Essence and Inevitability of the Development of the Soviet State,
- 3.) The Rise, Essence and Inevitability of the Development of Socialist Law,
- 4.) The Constitution of the USSR and the Fundamental Laws of the Soviet State: The Legal Basis for All Current Soviet Laws.

Third Lesson: 30 November, 1978

- 1.) The New Constitution of the USSR: A Manifesto for the Era of the Construction of Communism,
- 2.) Basic Principles in the Theory and Practice of Soviet State and Law,
- 3.) The Fundamentals of Soviet State Law. The Soviets of Peoples' Deputies: The Political Foundation of the USSR,

Fourth Class: 14 December, 1978

- 1.) Fundamentals of Soviet Administrative Law. The Executive-Administrative and Law Enforcement Organs of the Soviet State,
- 2.) The Organization and Activities of the Organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR. Participation of Citizens and the Public in Law Enforcement,
- 3.) Regulations of the Voluntary Peoples' Patrols (Dobrovol'nye Narodnye Druzhinniki, or D.N.D.). The D.N.D., Operative Komsomol Squads, the Squads of Young Friends of the Police, and Public Bases - Important Means of Law Enforcement,

Fifth Lesson: 23 December, 1978

- 1.) The Organization and Activities of the Judicial Organs of the USSR. The Participation of Citizens and the Public in Directing the Legal Process,

Table A.4 Continued

- 2.) Comrades' Courts at Work and at Home. Their Role in Strengthening Lawfulness and Public Order,
- 3.) The Organization and Activities of the Procurator's Office in the USSR. Leninist Principles of Socialist Legality. The Participation of Citizens and the Public in the Activities of the Procurator's Office.

Sixth Lesson: 11 January, 1979

- 1.) The Organization and Activities of the Legal Profession in the USSR. Its Role in Strengthening Lawfulness and Public Order,
- 2.) The Organization and Activities of Notaries in the USSR. Their Role in Strengthening Law and Public Order,
- 3.) The Organization and Activities of Peoples' Controllers in the USSR. Their Role in Strengthening Law and Public Order. The Participation of Citizens and the Public in the Activities of the Peoples' Controllers,
- 4.) The Soviet National Government and the Personality.

Seventh Lesson: 25 January, 1979

- 1.) The Organization and Activities of State and Administrative "Arbitrazh" in the USSR,
- 2.) Labor Discipline and the Disciplinary Responsibilities of Workers and Employees. General Administrative and Internal Rules of Labor Routines for Workers and Employees of Enterprises, Organizations and Institutions. Tutorials and Public Educators,
- 3.) The Material Responsibility of Workers and Employees,
- 4.) Seminar on the Topic: "The International Significance of the New Constitution of the USSR."

Eighth Lesson: 8 February, 1979

- 1.) The Administrative Responsibilities of Citizens and of Those in Responsible Positions,
- 2.) Fundamentals of Soviet Criminal Law. Concepts of Crime and Criminal Liability. Types of Crimes and Types of Punishments,
- 3.) The System for Reviewing Suggestions, Attestations, and Complaints of Citizens,
- 4.) The Soviet Socialist Way of Life: Its Characteristic Traits and Particularities,

Ninth Lesson: 22 February, 1979

- 1.) Criminal Liability for Crimes Against Socialist Property and the Personal Liability of Citizens,
- 2.) Criminal Liability for Crimes Against the Health, Freedom and Dignity of Citizens,
- 3.) Labor under Socialism - The Basic Foundation of the Soviet Way of Life,
- 4.) Viewing of a Film and Discussion.

Tenth Lesson: 15 March, 1979

Table A.4 Continued

- 1.) Fundamentals of the Soviet Criminal Process. Participants in the Criminal Process. Evidence,
- 2.) The Initiation of Criminal Cases. Measures of Suppression. Preliminary Investigations. Appearing as the Accused. Coming to Trial. Court Examinations. The Execution of Sentences,
- 3.) The Economic Basis of the Soviet Way of Life.

Eleventh Lesson: 29 March, 1979

- 1.) Practical Lesson: Attending a Session of the Court.
- 2.) Prevention: The Most Important Means of Fighting Infringements of the Law,
- 3.) Seminar: "Guaranteeing Socialist Law and Order: The Business of Each and Every One."

Twelfth Lesson: 17 April, 1979

- 1.) Fundamentals of Soviet Civil Law. Civil Legal Regulations. The Subjects and Objects of Civil Law. Defending Civil Rights,
- 2.) Property Law. Civil Law Defense of Property,
- 3.) Liability Law. General Principles of Contracts. Types of Contracts in Soviet Civil Law,
- 4.) International and National in the Soviet Way of Life.

Thirteenth Lesson: 28 April, 1979

- 1.) Contracts of Buying and Selling, Property Renting, Exchanging, Giving, and Borrowing,
- 2.) Economic Contracts and Their Role in the Conditions of the New Economic Reforms. Contractual Receipts, Delivery and Transportation,
- 3.) Liability Arising as a Consequence of Causing Harm,
- 4.) Moral Values in the Soviet Way of Life,

Fourteenth Lesson: 17 May, 1979

- 1.) Soviet Housing Law. Rental Contracts,
- 2.) Fundamentals of Soviet Labor Law. Collective Agreements. Labor Contracts (Hiring, Transfer, Firing),
- 3.) Labor Disputes and Procedures for Their Review,
- 4.) Seminar: "Two Worlds - Two Ways of Life,"

Fifteenth Lesson: 30 May, 1979

- 1.) Fundamentals of Soviet Civil Procedure. Jurisdiction and Competence. The Sides and Other Participants in the Civil Process. Court Costs and Procedural Terms,
- 2.) The Procedures for Turning to the Courts to Defend the Rights of the Citizen. Legal Evidence. Court Examinations in Civil Cases. Executing Decisions.
- 3.) Soviet Law on Marriage and Divorce. Registering Activities Related to Civil Status,
- 4.) Forming the New Man - The Basic Task of Communist Education.

Table A.4 Continued

Sixteenth Lesson: 8 June, 1979

- 1.) The Scientific Basis and Practice of Political Propaganda and Agitation. The Tasks of Propagating Knowledge about the State and Law in Light of the Decisions of the XXV Congress of the CPSU,
- 2.) Answers in Response to Auditors' Questions,
- 3.) Conducting the Results of Study in the Peoples' University. Awarding of Diplomas.

Source: P.V. Novoselov, Propagandiruia i obuchaia, vospityvaem: Iz opyta raboty narodnogo universiteta (Irkutsk: Vostochno-Sibirskoe Knizhnoe Izd., 1979), pp. 47-49.

Table A.5

Thematic Plan of Study for the People's University of
Agricultural Knowledge and Technical Progress in the Poultry Industry
at the Kuibyshev Trust of "Ptitseprom", 1981

No.	Topic of Study
<u>January</u>	
1.	Opening of the university,
2.	<u>Lecture:</u> Trends in the development of the world production of food eggs using examples of advanced experience in the conditions of socialist agriculture of the USSR,
3.	<u>Lecture:</u> The biological basis for using periodic chambers in raising chicks,
4.	<u>Exchange of Experience:</u> Production results of the poultry raising factory and incubation-poultry raising stations (I.P.S.) for 1980 and for the 10th Five Year Plan. Tasks for the poultry raising collective for 1981-1985 and for the period to 1990,
5.	<u>Information:</u> Announcement of the results of the socialist competition between the Kuibyshev and Moscow people's universities in 1980.
<u>February</u>	
1.	<u>Lecture:</u> On improving the planning and effectiveness of the economic mechanisms for raising productivity in the industry,
2.	<u>Exchange of Experience:</u> Organization of the technology for breeding poultry,
3.	<u>Lecture:</u> The international position of the USSR,
4.	<u>Completing work on the independent study themes of experimental-productive farms for 1980.</u>
<u>March:</u> Study of the Materials of the XXVI Congress of the CPSU	
1.	<u>Lecture:</u> The foreign policy of the USSR,
2.	<u>Lecture:</u> The economic policies of the CPSU in the period of developed socialism,
3.	<u>Lecture:</u> The socio-political and spiritual development of Soviet society and the tasks of the Party,
4.	<u>Exchange of Experience:</u> Tasks of the poultry and livestock raising industries on farms of the Kuibyshev trust in light of the decisions of the XXVI Congress of the CPSU on the basic directions for the economic and social development of the USSR for the years 1981-1985 and the period to 1990.
<u>April</u>	
1.	<u>Lecture:</u> The Party - Avante-garde of the Soviet people,
2.	<u>Exchange of Experience:</u> First quarter results of the poultry processing factory and tasks for the second quarter in production and sales,

Table A.5 Continued

3. Lecture: Obeying the regulations of the veterinarian's charter and veterinary-sanitation rules in the poultry raising industry - the basis for preventing infectious diseases among birds,
4. Exchange of Experience: Rational utilization of land under intensive cultivation for preparing quality feed meal for birds,
5. Lecture: Raising birds of the "Broiler-6" breed.

May

1. Lecture: On improving the planning of and economic incentives for the output of agricultural products,
2. Exchange of Experience: Progressive bird feeding methods and techniques for the rational utilization of feed,
3. Scientific-practical conference on the feeding of poultry:
Report: The albuminous value of rations for birds,
Report: Feeding younger and mature chickens intended for meat production.

June

1. Lecture: Prospective developments for existing and planned poultry processing plants for 1981-1985 and the period to 1990,
2. Exchange of Experience: Evaluation of the work of the engineering service in 1976-1980 and tasks for 1981-1985,
3. Scientific-technical conference on the mechanization of labor-consuming processes in poultry raising.

September

1. Lecture: Raising the productivity of labor and the quality of work - the duty of every worker,
2. Exchange of Experience: Improving quality control of products in poultry processing plants. What's new in processing eggs and poultry meat,
3. Exchange of Experience: The organization of socialist competitions in poultry raising factories as a means of fulfilling plans and socialist obligations.

October

1. Lecture: Improving methods of managing the economy,
2. Exchange of Experience: Maintaining labor discipline and limiting fluctuations in the staff of poultry processing plants,
3. Lecture: Diseases among birds and their prevention,
4. Exchange of Experience: Production results of the poultry processing factory for the first 9 months and tasks for the fourth quarter.

November

1. Lecture: Contemporary economic strategies of the Party in light of the decisions of the XXVI Congress of the CPSU,
2. Exchange of Experience: The factory's results in providing birds with albuminous materials and vitamin-rich herbaceous feed,

Table A.5 Continued

3. Lecture: Improving the technology of producing "broilers",
4. Lecture: The international and domestic position of the USSR.

December

1. Lecture: Current agrarian policies of the CPSU in light of the decisions of the XXVI Congress of the Party,
2. Lecture: Basic directions in scientific research in the genetic selection, technology and organization of the industrial production of eggs and meat poultry. Prospective breeds and their introduction into the poultry industry,
3. Exchange of Experience: On creating breeding schedules and improving breeding techniques in factories for 1981-1985,
4. Exchange of Experience: Completion of independent scientific themes for 1981. Approval of topics and recommendations for 1982.

Source: N.P. Tret'iakov and M.N. Bogdanov, Narodnye universiteti ptitsevodstva, (Moscow: Znanie, 1981).

