

ADULT LEARNING AND EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN BUKOVINA (1861-1940): A CASE STUDY OF THE UKRAINIAN-SPEAKING COMMUNITY*

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Abstract. *Given the many ways in which adult education, as an important factor of socio-cultural progress and personal growth, has raised a great deal of interest, many studies have given rise to various theoretical approaches to adult education and learning, that still shape research on adult learning at present. Importantly, the social character of literacy is revealed in a variety of ways, since nowadays literacy, in its multi-manifestations, has become a vital set of competencies and practices, interwoven in the fabric of present-day societies. Numerous studies have attempted to explain the prerequisites and preconditions for the emergence of adult learning and education and trace the path of its establishment and further development. The present paper sheds new light on the history of the Bukovinian Ukrainians' (the Ruthenian population) adult learning and education. There remains a neglected area in the field of adult learning education of other nationalities of Bukovina, so there is still a need for its further investigation. It is worth mentioning that experts have always seen Bukovina as a polyethnic and multiconfessional land, but our focus will revolve around the Ukrainian-speaking adult population's education, its establishment and development. Traditionally, historical research techniques and approaches can improve the selection of the most appropriate methods to compare data and test theories to forecast the possibilities of their development. Therefore, the holistic understanding of adult education is pivotal to achieving our research goals. Given the results, we found out which factors contributed to the continuation of learning that prevailed in the public education policy and the public sphere of Bukovina from 1861 to 1940. Consequently, within the above-mentioned chronological framework, we have classified the process of adult learning and education development in Bukovina into 5 distinct periods. Such findings pointed to significant gains from the participation in adult education classes in a set of well-established and widely spread*

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reading clubs that have become the first adult learning and education centres. Their activities were aimed at facilitating people's perception of reality, in order to actively and consciously evaluate the ongoing processes in the society, varying from civic engagement and social cohesion to stimulation of their civil stance and the sentiment of national unity. Analyses of literacy practices and the social contexts in which they were embedded emphasized the enhanced adult learners' participation and their final successful outcomes. This paper stressed the importance of the Folkuniversitet of Chernivtsi, which was widely recognized beyond the boundaries of both the city and the region. Altogether, the findings of this study reveal a number of important implications for future research.

Keywords: Adult learning, adult education development, re-training, literacy courses, Reading clubs, lectures, instructions, people's university.

Rezumat. Evoluția educației și instruirii adulților în Bucovina (1861-1940). Studiu de caz: comunitatea ucrainofonă. Având în vedere multiplele căi în care educația adulților – factor important al progresului socio-cultural și al formării personale – a generat un interes deosebit, numeroase studii au propulsat diverse abordări teoretice privitoare la educația și instruirea adulților care direcționează și în prezent cercetările în domeniu. Trebuie să remarcăm că dimensiunea socială a alfabetizării se manifestă în maniere diferite, iar în zilele noastre educația, în variatele sale manifestări, a devenit un ansamblu vital de competențe și practici integrate în structura societăților contemporane. Numeroase studii au încercat să explice premisele și condițiile primare pentru dezvoltarea educației și instruirii adulților și să traseze parcursul de la întemeierea până la înflorirea acestui fenomen. Articolul de față aduce în atenție istoricul educației și instruirii adulților la nivelul ucrainenilor (populației rutene) din Bucovina. Subiectul rămâne o temă neglijată în contextul cercetărilor privind educația adulților în rândul celorlalte naționalități din provincie și, din acest motiv, sunt necesare investigații suplimentare în această direcție. Trebuie să remarcăm că experții întotdeauna au tratat Bucovina ca pe un teritoriu multiethnic și multiconfesional; noi, însă, ne vom concentra pe analiza educației adulților în rândul populației vorbitoare de limba ucraineană, pe întemeierea și dezvoltarea acestei forme de învățământ. De regulă, tehnicile și abordările de cercetare istorică pot îmbunătăți selecția celor mai potrivite metode pentru a compara datele și a testa teoriile pentru a prezice posibilitățile evoluției lor. Însă abordarea holistică a educației adulților este esențială pentru atingerea obiectivelor noastre de cercetare. Având în vedere rezultatele, am reușit să identificăm factorii care au contribuit la avansul educației și care au dominat politica educației publice și scena publică în Bucovina din anul 1861 până în 1940. Drept urmare, în cadrul acestor limite cronologice, am identificat cinci perioade distincte ale educației și instruirii adulților în Bucovina. Aceste rezultate au evidențiat că participarea la cursurile de educație a adulților în cadrul unei vaste și bine articulate rețele de săli de lectură, ce au devenit primele centre de educație și instruire a adulților, a fost extrem de benefică. Activitățile acestora, vizând facilitarea percepției realității de către indivizi în vederea evaluării active și conștiente a proceselor curente derulate la nivelul societății, au variat de la angajarea civică și coeziunea socială la stimularea

poziției lor civice și a sentimentului unității naționale. Analiza practicilor de alfabetizare și a contextului social în care acestea s-au aplicat a scos în evidență faptul că participarea adulților în activitățile educaționale a cunoscut o evoluție continuă și a avut rezultate pozitive. Articolul reliefează importanța Universității Populare din Cernăuți, care s-a bucurat de popularitate dincolo de limitele orașului și ale regiunii. În ansamblu, rezultatele obținute sugerează mai multe implicații majore pentru viitoarele cercetări.

Résumé : L'évolution de l'éducation et de l'instruction des adultes en Bucovine (1861-1940) : Etude de cas de la communauté ukrainienne. Comme l'éducation des adultes, facteur important du progrès socioculturel et du développement personnel, a suscité un grand intérêt, de nombreuses études ont généré diverses approches théoriques concernant l'éducation et l'apprentissage des adultes, qui façonnent encore les recherches en ce domaine. On doit remarquer que la dimension sociale de l'alphabétisation se manifeste de manières différentes, car aujourd'hui, l'éducation, dans ses multiples manifestations, est devenue un ensemble vital de compétences et de pratiques, intégrées dans la structure des sociétés contemporaines. De nombreuses études ont essayé d'expliquer les prémisses et les conditions préalables à l'émergence de l'apprentissage et de l'éducation des adultes, ainsi que retracer la voie dès son établissement et de son développement ultérieur. L'article ci-joint attire l'attention sur l'histoire de l'apprentissage et de l'éducation des adultes Ukrainiens (la population ruthène) de Bucovine. Il s'agit d'un sujet négligé dans le contexte des recherches sur l'éducation des adultes parmi les autres nationalités de la province ; par conséquent, des investigations supplémentaires en cette direction sont nécessaires. On doit remarquer que les experts ont toujours considéré la Bucovine comme un territoire multiethnique et multi-confessionnel. Mais nous allons concentrer notre analyse sur l'éducation des adultes, en principal de la population qui parle la langue ukrainienne, la création et le développement de cette forme d'éducation. D'habitude, les techniques et les approches de recherche historique peuvent améliorer la sélection des méthodes les plus appropriées pour comparer des données et tester des théories afin de prévoir les possibilités de leur évolution. Mais l'analyse holistique de l'éducation des adultes est essentielle pour la réalisation de nos objectifs de recherche. Tenant compte des résultats, nous avons identifié les facteurs ayant contribué à la poursuite de l'apprentissage qui ont dominé la politique d'éducation publique et la sphère publique en Bucovine de 1861 à 1940. Par conséquent, dans le cadre chronologique qu'on vient de mentionner, nous avons identifié cinq périodes distinctes de l'éducation et de l'instruction des adultes en Bucovine. Les résultats ont montré que la participation des adultes à des cours d'éducation dans le cadre d'un vaste et bien articulé réseau de salles de lecture, qui devinrent les premiers centres d'éducation et d'instruction des adultes, a été très bénéfique. Leurs activités visaient à faciliter la perception de la réalité par les individus, afin d'évaluer de manière active et consciente les processus se déroulant dans la société, allant de l'engagement civique et de la cohésion sociale à la stimulation de leur position civile et du sentiment de l'unité nationale. L'analyse des pratiques d'alphabétisation et du contexte social de leur application a mis en évidence le fait que la participation des adultes aux activités éducationnelles connut une évolution continue et eut des résultats positifs. L'article ci-joint souligne l'importance

de l'Université Populaire de Tchernivtsi, qui est largement reconnue au-delà des frontières de la ville et de la région. En ensemble, les résultats obtenus suggèrent plusieurs implications majeures pour les futures recherches.

INTRODUCTION

The noteworthy contemporary transition from Adult Education to Lifelong Learning has long been a question of great interest in a wide range of fields. An evaluation of the available history of *lifelong learning* or *adult learning and education* shows that a comprehensive history and in-depth analysis of the proficiency of educating adults focused on teachers and their interaction with their students going back to the earliest records has yet to be undertaken by modern scholars in the field of adult education. The prominent thinkers of humanity and great teachers from ancient times Confucius, Solon, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Thomas More, Jan Amos Comenius, Jean Antoine Condorcet, Robert Owen and many others built the foundations of the adult education movement over the past several decades and approached the anthology of a certain methodology of practicing their discipline. While the adult education movement is relatively recent, some historians and theorists have committed themselves to the task of recording its history as it has been practiced over the past several decades, going back as far as a few centuries.

Recently, there has been renewed interest in adult education and different approaches to embracing the role it has been playing from ancient times to modernity. Given the many ways in which adult education, as an important factor of socio-cultural progress and personal growth, has raised a great deal of interest, many studies have given rise to various theoretical approaches to adult education and learning, that still shape research on adult learning at present. Importantly, the social character of literacy is revealed in a variety of ways, since nowadays literacy, in its multi-manifestations, has become a vital set of competencies and practices, interwoven in the fabric of present-day societies.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the establishment and development of adult learning and education. Furthermore, a worldwide research in this area encounters difficulties which are unique to the field of study, and also shares many of the problems experienced by research into other areas of adult learning. Over time, an extensive literature of the Ukrainian

academic school has developed on embracing the importance of adult learning and education in the world. The authors attempted to distinctly conceptualize the shift from education to learning, aiming to emulate the global experience for the active and productive Ukrainian citizen. Recently, Ukrainian scientists presented a significant analysis and discussion on the history of the development of adult education in different countries of the world. The historical trends in the development of adult education in Europe were highlighted in a study conducted by Timothy Desiatov¹; Elena Ohiyenko² conducted a large-scale research on the development of adult education in Scandinavian countries, Svetlana Kovalenko³ respectively in UK, Roman Teslya⁴ – in France, Natalia Bidyuk⁵ – in the USA, Ilona Mariutz⁶ – in Romania; Olga Pastushok⁷ – in Poland; and Valentina Davydova⁸, respectively, focused her study on the history of non-formal education in Sweden.

Moreover, there exists a considerable body of literature of Ukrainian scientists

¹ Т. Десятов, *Тенденції розвитку освіти дорослих: європейський досвід* [Trends in the Development of Adult Education: European Experience], in “Освіта дорослих: теорія, досвід, перспективи”, 2014, випуск 1 (8), с.182-190.

² О. І. Огієнко, *Тенденції розвитку освіти дорослих у скандинавських країнах* [Trends in adult education in the Nordic countries], Суми, 2008, 444 с.

³ С. М. Коваленко, *Тенденції розвитку освіти дорослих в Англії (остання чверть ХХ – початок ХХІ ст.)* [Development Trends of Adult Education in England (last quarter of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century)], Житомир, 2005, 235 с.

⁴ Р. В. Тесля, *Освіта дорослих Франції: історія, досвід, перспективи впровадження в українську систему освіти* [Education of Adults in France: History, Experience, Prospects for implementation in the Ukrainian System of Education], in “Science and Education a New Dimension. Pedagogy and Psychology”, III(25), Issue 49, 2015, http://seanewdim.com/uploads/3/2/1/3/3213611/teslya_r._education_of_adults_in_france_history_experience_prospects_for_implementation_in_the_ukrainian_system_of_education.pdf (Accessed 10 February, 2019)

⁵ Н. Бідюк, *Розвиток системи освіти дорослих у США (друга половина ХХ – початок ХХІ століття)* [Development of the Adult Education System in the USA (second half of the 20th - beginning of the 21st century)], in “Педагогічні науки: теорія, історія, інноваційні технології”, 2015, № 1 (45), с.3-10.

⁶ І. О. Маріуц, *Проблеми освіти дорослих в Румунії* [Problems of Adult Education in Romania], in “Актуальні проблеми соціології, психології, педагогіки”, 2011, вип. 12, с. 175-179 http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/apsp_2011_12_39 (Accessed 22 February, 2019).

⁷ О. О. Пастушок, *Особливості становлення освіти дорослих у Польщі* [Peculiarities of Formation of Adult Education in Poland], in “Збірник наукових праць Херсонського державного університету. Педагогічні науки”, LXXII, 1, 2016, с. 40–45.

⁸ В. Д. Давидова, *Неформальна освіта дорослих у навчальних гуртках Швеції* [Non-formal education in Study Circles in Sweden], Київ, 2008, 20 с.

on the problem of adult learning and education and its development. A thorough study of Liudmyla Vovk⁹ has provided evidence for the genesis of the priority tendencies of adult education in Ukraine at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries; with reference to the scientific and pedagogical literature, we should outline that L. Sihayeva¹⁰, O. Martirosyan¹¹, and L. Shynkarenko¹² have traced the fundamentals of lifelong education in Ukraine at the end of the 20th and early 21st centuries, while Iryna Voronets¹³ and Jezhy Potochny¹⁴ widely considered the development of adult education in Galicia.

Though much of this study involves historical research, the purpose of the study fits more precisely into the category of historical case-study of Bukovina. In fact, scholars such as Vasyl Botushanskyi¹⁵, Oksana Hnatchuk¹⁶, Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi¹⁷, Arkadiy Zhukovskiy¹⁸, Teofil Bryndzan, Denys Kvitkovskiy¹⁹,

⁹ Л. П. Вовк, *Історія освіти дорослих в Україні: нариси* [History of Adult Education in Ukraine: Essays], Київ, 1994, 226 с.

¹⁰ Л. Є. Сігаєва *Розвиток освіти дорослих в Україні (друга половина ХХ ст. - початок ХХІ ст.)* [Adult education development tendencies in Ukraine (the second part of the ХХ century – the beginning of the ХХІ century)], Київ, 2010, 419 с.

¹¹ О. І. Мартіросян, *Теоретичне обґрунтування етапів розвитку освіти дорослих в Україні у ХХ ст.* [Development of Adult Education in Ukraine: Problems and Prospects], in “*Освіта дорослих в Україні*”, збірник наукових праць, Київ, ЕКМО, 2008, с.72-76.

¹² Л. І. Шинкаренко, *Тенденції розвитку освіти дорослих в Україні (1946 – 2007 рр.)* [Adult education development tendencies in Ukraine (1946-2007)], Київ, 2010, 234 с.

¹³ І. В. Воробець, *Освіта дорослих у Галичині (1891-1939 рр.)* [Adult education in Galicia (1891 - 1939)], Івано-Франківськ, 2001, 19 с.

¹⁴ Є. Поточни, *Розвиток освіти дорослих в Галичині (1867–1918 рр.)* [Development of Education of Adults in Galicia (1867-1918)], Київ, 1999, 37 с.

¹⁵ *Буковина: історичний нарис* [Bukovina: Historical Essay], ред. кол., С.С.Костишин, В.М.Ботушанський (відп.ред.) та ін., Чернівці, Зелена Буковина, 1998, 416 с.; В.М. Ботушанський, *Виникнення і діяльність українських сільських читалень на Буковині (80-ті роки ХІХ – поч. ХХ ст.)* [The rise and activities of Ukrainian Local Reading clubs in Bukovina (the 80's of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries)], in *3 історичного минулого Буковини, збірник наукових статей*, Чернівці, 1996, с.96-106.

¹⁶ О. С. Гнатчук, *Українські жіночі організації на Буковині (80-ті рр. ХІХ – 30-ті рр. ХХ ст.)* [Ukrainian Women's Organizations in Bukovina (80's of the 19th and 20th Centuries)], Чернівці, 2002, 17 с.

¹⁷ О. Добржанський, *Національний рух українців Буковини другої половини ХІХ – початку ХХ ст.* [National Movement of Ukrainians of Bukovina in late 19th and early 20th Centuries], Чернівці, Золоті литаври, 1999, 574 с.

¹⁸ А. Жуковський, *Історія Буковини* [History of Bukovina], Чернівці, Час, 1994, ч.2, 224 с.

¹⁹ Д. Квітковський, Т. Бриндзан, А. Жуковський, *Буковина, її минуле і сучасне* [Bukovina, its past and present], Париж-Філадельфія-Дітройт, Зелена Буковина, 1956, 965 с.

Hryhorii Piddubnyi²⁰ and others explored a wider range of subjects in historiography that concern Bukovina, that crystallize a straightforward historical narrative path/direction from a mosaic of works on Bukovina's complicated past, as well as reviews that analyze the stages of the Ukrainian schooling system established in Bukovina (Daryna Penishkevych²¹, Liliia Kobylanska²², Iryna Petriuk²³, Inna Kovalchuk²⁴, Larysa Platash²⁵, Tetiana Sholina²⁶, and Valentyna Zvozdetska²⁷).

The present paper sheds new light on the history of the Bukovinian Ukrainians' (the Ruthenian population) adult learning and education. There remains a neglected area in the field of adult learning education of other nationalities of Bukovina, which still needs further investigation.

The purpose of the research is to further extend current knowledge of adult learning and education of Bukovinian Ukrainians (at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries). Chronologically, the study covers the period between 1861 and 1940: in particular, during 1861-1918, when Bukovina was under the Austro-

²⁰ Г. Піддубний, *Буковина. Її минуле й сучасне (суспільно-політичний нарис із малюнками і мапою Буковини)* [Bukovina, its past and present' (A Social-Political Sketch with pictures and a map)], Харків, Державне видавництво України, 1928, 256 с.

²¹ О. І. Пенішкевич, *Розвиток українського шкільництва на Буковині (XVIII – початок XX ст.)* [Development of Ukrainian Schooling in Bukovina (the 18th and early – 20th centuries)], Чернівці, Рута, 2002, 520 с.

²² Л. І. Кобилянська, *Становлення і розвиток українських народних шкіл на Буковині (70-ті рр. XVIII – початок XX ст.)* [Establishing and Development of Ukrainian Schools in Bukovina (the 70's of the 18th and early 20th centuries)], Чернівці, 1998, 20 с.

²³ І. М. Петрюк, *Розвиток загальної середньої освіти на Буковині (1774-1918 рр.)* [The formation and development of general secondary education in Bukovina (late 18th – early 20th centuries)], Чернівці, 1998, 20 с.

²⁴ І. В. Ковальчук, *Моральне виховання учнів українських шкіл Буковини (друга половина XIX – початок XX століття)* [Moral and Ethical Education of Ukrainian pupils of Bukovina (late 19th - early 20th Centuries)], Чернівці, 2001, 20 с.

²⁵ Л. Б. Платаш, *Педагогічні ідеї та освітня діяльність Омеляна Поповича (1856-1930 рр.)* [Pedagogical Ideas and Educational Activities of Omelyan Popovich (1856-1930), Івано-Франківськ, 2009, 20 с.

²⁶ Т. В. Шоліна, *Педагогічні ідеї та освітньо-громадська діяльність Степана Смально-Стоцького (1859-1938 рр.)* [Pedagogical Ideas and Educational and Public Activities of Stepan Smal-Stotsky (1859-1938)], Тернопіль, 2011, 22 с.

²⁷ В. Г. Звоздецька, *Просвітницька діяльність українських товариств Буковини як детермінанта розвитку освіти дорослих (кінець XIX - початок XX ст.)* [Educational activity of Ukrainian societies of Bukovina as a determinant of the development of adult education (late 19th and early 20th centuries)], in "Вісник Черкаського університету, серія «Педагогічні науки», 2010, вип. 183, ч. 1, с. 97-102.

Hungarian authority, and 1918-1940 – when it was under Romanian rule.

METHODS AND SOURCES

To judge the validity of our study we would rather provide a clear and precise description of the pedagogical, empirical, comparative-historical and theoretical methods, as follows: specific philosophical, psychological, educational, scientific and methodical literature analysis and study of research issues on adult education; analysis of methodical documentation; general theoretical methods of analysis; synthesis; chronological (the study of certain stages of adult education development in the region during the period under study); historical (analysis of preconditions and tendencies of the development of the Ukrainian adult education in Bukovina); and content analysis of periodicals and archival data.

Together, these studies provide important insights into the problem and rely on the documents and materials of the funds of The State Archive of Chernivtsi Oblast, Department of Rare and Valuable Books of Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University; Department of Funds of Chernivtsi Regional Museum of Local Lore; Exposition materials of Chernivtsi Yuriy Fedkovych Literary Memorial Museum, laws and statistical data collections; socio-political and pedagogical press; historical and pedagogical researches.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIANS' ADULT LEARNING AND EDUCATION IN BUKOVINA

Traditionally, historical research techniques and approaches can improve the knowledge of the most appropriate methods to compare data and test theories to forecast the possibilities of their development. Consequently, in our case study, periodization is critical in comprehending the historical process, which facilitates the identification of its internal patterns. It also highlights the role and particular importance of the history of Bukovinian Ukrainians' adult education in examining the various stages of its formation.

We wanted to find out which factors contributed to the continuation of learning, prevailing in public education policy and in the public sphere in Bukovina between 1861 and 1940. Research findings showed that investment in adult literacy programs was an effective method for creating tangible, sustainable and long-term changes. Consequently, within the above-mentioned chronological framework, *we have divided the process of adult learning and education development in Bukovina into 5 distinct periods. The first period (1861-1894) is*

determined by favourable prerequisites for adult education formation, significantly influenced by political factors, and the socio-economic and cultural transformations in Bukovina. *The second period* (1894-1905) is characterized by educational and economic advancement; establishment of adult rudimentary education within the compulsory school. *The third period* (1905-1914) witnessed intensive quantitative enrichment and qualitative improvement of organizational forms of adult education, modification of their content, development of secondary, vocational and higher education of adults. *The fourth period* (1914–1928) encompasses the development of adult education slowed down because of the First World War and the ‘under siege’ regime. *The fifth period* (1928-1940) testifies to an upsurge of interest in methodological innovation and innovative methodologies in adult learning and education. We consider it to be particularly evident to define and highlight all the periods.

THE FIRST PERIOD (1861-1894)

From the historical perspective, it is worth mentioning that the development of adult learning and education in Bukovina predetermined the social processes that took place in the Austrian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. It should be articulated that of all Ukrainian-inhabited territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bukovina was the last to experience intensive social and economic changes, but large-scale industrial production, crucial shifts in firm organization; the co-evolution of social and physical technology caused a contradiction between the needs of society and the actual willingness of the population to live in new conditions. From the viewpoint of the economic transformations, it was concluded that the major problem was the non-educated, unqualified workers amongst the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) in Bukovina, and, what is more important, their poor education (according to the 1880 Census, only 9.2% of the Bukovinian Ukrainians could read and write; 1.1% could read, and 89.7% were illiterate)²⁸.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire authorities, having approved the laws on the state (in 1868-1869) and the regional school (1873), established a structural system of education, which facilitated and promoted the rapid development of a society. The Ukrainian schooling was intensively developed (according to the terminology of that time, Ukrainian narodna (people’s) school is a compulsory public school for 6-14-year-olds (whilst in Bukovina, according to the law on the regional school (1873) it enrolled from 7 up to 13-year-olds. Various types of schools for adult

²⁸ *Österreichische Statistik*, Wien, 1882, Bd.1, H2, s.184-185

education were also on the agenda, by setting up such path-breaking establishments, where illiterate people could get elementary education, their children were raised and taught morally and spiritually, to cultivate their minds and provide them with the necessary knowledge and skills for further life and study²⁹. Noteworthy, on the one hand, the secondary school could not absolutely solve the problems of adult illiteracy; such objective and subjective barriers to the efficient functioning of educational institutions (supply-side concerns such as poor funding, lack of teaching material and methodology, shortage of teaching staff, low teaching methodology; illiterate parents or family poverty, etc.), became increasingly more permeable, influenced by effective ways of implementing extracurricular education. At the same time, as local authority budgets were constantly squeezed, the adult education sector had become more impoverished. Consequently, the massive promotion of adult education was meant to help them gain or upgrade their qualifications to obtain, or sustain, employment in any kind of job, to adapt to new social and political and economic conditions in the best possible way.

Another major milestone in the development of adult education in the province during a certain period was the activity of Ukrainian public organizations and societies, facilitated and promoted by the Austrian constitutional freedoms, law and legal system in general. After the adoption of the Austrian law 'On Social Law' in 1867, which guaranteed every citizen the freedom to form societies and participate freely in their activities, several Ukrainian associations were founded in Bukovina: 'Ruska (Ruthen) Besida', 'Ruska Rada', 'People's House', 'Union', 'Myronosytsi' (women who brought anointments to Christ's tomb), 'Ruska School', attributed to the learning undertaken in Bukovina, taking into account other factors such as prior educational level and the social background that could also have influenced them. The same positive tendency was evident, including various economic and educational organizations, which were founded to involve peasants in vigorous social life that led to positive outcomes, while moderated in some cases by problematic consequences and making them economically independent and politically conscious.

Such findings, thus, point to significant gains from participation in adult education classes in a number of established and widely spread reading clubs that have become the first canters for adult learning and education. Their activities were aimed at facilitating people's perception of reality and helping everyone become the true masters of their lives, in order to actively and consciously evaluate ongoing processes in the society, varying from civic engagement and social

²⁹ *Reichsgesetzblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich*, Jahrgang, Wien, 1869, s.277-288

cohesion to stimulation of the civil stance, and the sense of national unity³⁰. Moreover, the latter appears to be most strongly boosted by leisure classes, the traditional matrix of adult education provision; by reading books, periodicals, journals; and participation in entertainment events (choirs, recitation, games and agile games, humorous performances, folk performances, festivals (holidays), etc.). Traditionally, reading was associated with the synergy of education and economic and social affairs (almost all rural reading clubs were governed by societies, set up in many communities to train adults in agriculture, industry and crafts as well as Raiffeisen credit unions or savings and loan associations, stores).

THE SECOND PERIOD (1894-1905)

A growing body of literature review illustrates that the German rigor and the relatively complied legislation within the Empire were meant to modernize the economy and the society as a whole, including public education. Piloting a new initiative of re-education became an important ground-breaking solution to the development of the concept of adult learning and the rationales in the region. In 1894 a regional law on re-education was adopted in Bukovina, which stipulated the opening of a two-year retraining course as mandatory at village schools³¹. According to the law, students of a public school (13-14-year-olds) were obliged to attend re-training courses until they turned 16. Meanwhile, another Order (September 25, 1894) of the Provincial School Council of Bukovina allowed young people to attend the courses up to their 20ies³², and it supports our assumption that the re-training courses were the core constructs of the system of adult education. It has been investigated that local teachers held such courses from November till April each academic year. Accordingly, men and women attended the schools separately at different time, coordinated by the local council. The Provincial

³⁰ *Кілька думок про виклади і відчити для селян* [Several thoughts about lectures and talks for peasants], «Промінь», 1907, січень, ч.1, с.11-12.

³¹ *Статистичні дані про стан відвідування народних шкіл. Закон про впровадження курсів повторного навчання в державних загальних початкових школах* [Statistics on the state of attendance at popular schools. Law on the introduction of re-training courses in public general secondary schools], 1894, Державний архів Чернівецької області, ф.211, оп.1, спр.3606, арк.19-20.

³² І. Герасимович, *Підручник в справах шкільних: Збірка шкільних законів і розпорядків враз із взірцями урядового діловодства і кореспонденції* [Textbook on School Matters': Collection of school laws and regulations with samples of government record keeping and correspondence], Заставна, Руська Рада, 1914, с.193.

(Crownland) School Council supervised and financed the courses. Finally, the students were given the certificate of completion, which recorded their academic achievements, behaviour and diligence.

Based on the analysis of the primary sources, it has been established that a significant number of shortcomings and inconsistencies accompanied the functioning of the re-training courses during the first ten years. The content of the retraining course was eventually tailored to meet the characteristics and needs of illiterate adults. Teachers, from their own experience, recommended the introduction of optional continuing education courses for Ukrainian public-school dropouts. They reported that in order to strengthen the system of adult education, it was essential to introduce the so-called 'town continuing education course' that could go beyond a 6-year elementary school curriculum,; and respectively, for uneducated adults – a course of elementary literacy to meet the complex demands of encouraging literacy learning in community sites. However, officially at the regional level, re-training courses were not reorganized, since Bukovinian teachers, applied differentiated approaches to certain target groups, tailoring curricula-to the demands and level of the adult students. Significantly, the Bukovinian teachers developed their own synopses and programs correlated with the continuing education course.

Notably, in 1894 the statute of the society 'Ruska Besida' was amended by some regulations that facilitated the extension of its educational and financially viable activities, in particular, its ultimate goal was 'to enlighten and educate, while securing the wellbeing of the Ruthenians'³³. Such activities of 'Ruska Besida' and other proactive societies resulted in a considerable increase of Reading clubs. Statistically speaking, in 1894 there were 46, and in 1897 – 50, and in 1902, respectively, 64 reading clubs³⁴. Interestingly, according to the amended statute, the society 'Ruska Besida' was empowered to launch new reading clubs, that stipulated arranging up-to-that-date methods and approaches to adult learning and education developing – provide courses for illiterates (analphabets); lectures; synopses; vechornytsi (traditional gatherings with music, songs, jokes and rituals); amateur theatrical performances; establishing agricultural and industrial units; as well as giving people the opportunity to evolve financially (retail stores and loan shops).

³³ *Статут товариства "Руська Бесіда" в Чернівцях* [Statute of the Society 'Ruska Besida], Державний архів Чернівецької області, 1894, ф.3, оп.1, спр.6223, арк.2.

³⁴ В. М. Ботушанський, *Виникнення і діяльність українських сільських читалень на Буковині (80-ті роки XIX – поч. XX ст.)* [The emergence and activity of Ukrainian rural readers in Bukovina (80's of the 19th and early 20th centuries)], in *3 історичного мінута Буковини, збірник наукових статей*, Чернівці, 1996, с.96-106.

For the most part, the main objective of the courses, provided for illiterate peasants and lower middle class (petty bourgeoisie), was to cultivate and develop their elementary skills of reading, writing and counting. Correspondingly, such courses served as guiding principles and practices to meet the needs of adult learners. The component skills of reading and writing, and the practices were considered effective tools for encouraging and developing 'people's literacy awareness'. In reality, the courses became the initial and crucial step of designing adult elementary literacy education. It was highly valued by analphabets, who were taught reading and writing in their native language and the basics of arithmetic. In addition, the courses taught the Law of God, Ukrainian, German (Romanian), women's handicraft, natural (physical) sciences (geography, geometry, physics, natural history), literature (scientific survey), drawing, music and singing³⁵.

An increasing number of studies have determined that the courses fighting illiteracy were socially-grounded and state-run. In other words, their establishment was initiated by community societies, whilst school authorities regulated and controlled the pedagogical process. Although literacy courses were initiated as a form of adult-elementary education, practically they functioned as intensive (up to 3 months) courses, aimed at peasants' acquiring elementary literacy (basic knowledge and practical skills) and their becoming nationally conscious. Classes were held at a school, in reading clubs during three months – from January till March, sometimes March-May: on Sundays and holidays for three-four hours, on weekdays – three times a week for two hours. Thus, the dynamics of literacy acquisition stipulated widespread mass literacy, where young people and adults were examined by school managers and the local inspectors and, eventually, given the relevant certificates after completion of the course. It should be mentioned that the courses were funded and financed by the Regional School Fund and public associations.

THE THIRD PERIOD (1905-1914)

The single most significant factor influencing the spread of literacy and expansion of learning and education of adult Bukovinians influenced the recognition of their social and civil stance. Most ethnographic studies of literacy published

³⁵ *Листування з Вашківською повітовою радою з приводу клопотання товариства "Січ" громади Карапчів про видачу дозволу на організацію курсів для неграмотних* [Correspondence with Vashkivtsi District Council on the request of Karapchiv community 'Sich' for Permission to Organize the Courses for Illiterates], Державний архів Чернівецької області, 1905, ф.211, оп.1, спр.7879, 9 арк.

over the past centuries highlight how the practice of literacy affects the whole human life, especially their sense of self- and social identity. Along with the existing societies, the new ones sprang up: a professional association of school teachers called 'Mutual Aid to Galician and Bukovinian Teachers' was founded in 1905, the 'Independent Organization of Ukrainian Schooling in Bukovina' in 1908, 'The Women's Hromada' in 1906, and the 'Society of Orthodox Ukrainian Women' appeared in 1908. Not surprisingly, adult literacy rates have increased.

Overall, the historical record (the then-named periodical 'Bukovina') suggests that on the eve of the First World War in Bukovina the emergence, consolidation and expansion of various Ukrainian associations and societies (political, cultural, educational, economic-and professional etc.) became the motor for the rising of adult literacy. The studies of literacy transitions using multivariate models conclude that educational expansion has been one of the most important determinants of historical rises in literacy and it can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1, Ukrainian Associations and Communities in Bukovina

Year	Reading club	Cossack host	Cashier's office	Other	Unions
Late 1905	101	98	123	32	14
Early 1910	122	105	127	41	23
Late 1913	154	117	169	79	23

Mass literacy campaigns sought to produce broad-based improvements in the literacy skills of adults for whom literacy had previously been inaccessible or unattainable. Furthermore, many societies contributed to the emergence of qualitatively new forms of adult education. One of the most significant events in the pre-war period in Bukovina was the establishing of such institutions of higher education for adults as modelling European folk high schools and Volkshochschule. In 1905, by mutual efforts of the 'Ruska School', 'Ruska Besida' and the 'Students' Union', the *Folkuniversitet* was founded, which provided lectures and speeches on a regular basis for the open public to disseminate information in different domains³⁶.

The idea of introducing a 'Folkuniversitet' became the crux of the matter in discussion of wide circle of public figures and scholars of Bukovina after Mayer Benediktsen's visit (a Danish lecturer at the Folkuniversitet in Charlottenglund) to Chernivtsi in September 1904. Communicating with the Bukovinian intellectuals, the Danish professor proved the effectiveness of Folkuniversitet, that

³⁶ I. I. Карбулицький, *Розвій народного шкільництва на Буковині* [The Rise of the Ukrainian Schooling in Bukovina], Вашківці, Руська Рада, 1905, с.144.

facilitated establishing and broadening of adult learning opportunities and complemented awareness of mass campaigns in raising literacy and culture³⁷.

Founded in 1905, the Folkuniversitet Committee organized lectures in various science domains on a regular basis in different Bukovina settlements. These programs constituted one part of broader provincial policies to address multiple objectives, including training skilled lecturers, supplying them with the necessary educational materials. By their very nature, the small-scale programs reached out to targeted segments of the adult population and therefore played a crucial role in reducing illiteracy, combined with the expansion of formal schooling and other public policies, that broadened access to literacy on a more voluntary and self-motivated basis. According to the Bukovinian scholars-educators Teofil Bryndzan, Ivan Herasymovych, Ilariy Karbulickiy, Constantin Malytsky, Yerotey Pigulyak, Omelyan Popovich and Stepan Smal-Stotsky, the criteria for the lecturers and educators' professionalism and skilfulness were determined as follows: meeting the needs and requirements of illiterate adults; sticking to the principles of systematicity; continuity and consistency; accessible learning content; scientificness; objectivity and reliability of information; as well as taking into account existing difficulties and obstacles, harmful effects on the quality of adult education and access to schooling (social, psychological and pedagogical, socio-psychological, psychophysiological background). In practice, lecturers' interpersonal skills and competencies were largely determined by a complex interplay between their own motivations and the available teaching capacities³⁸.

Analyses of literacy practices and the social contexts in which they were embedded have emphasized the increased participation of learners and their final successful outcomes. Markedly, in 1910 in reading clubs of the village of Davydeny-Zrub, many literacy course participants received a school-like education, with its accompanying benefits, and the importance of such schooling was their enrolment at the course – primarily, 34 peasants were enrolled and later, in two weeks, an overall number of 78 adults were studying there. The adult students were encouraged by captivating teaching methods and lectures of the local teacher Valery Chesnikivskyi. Among the participants there were even 60-year-olds³⁹.

³⁷ Т. Бриндзан, *Дещо про людові університети* [Some ideas on Folkuniversitet], in "Промінь", 1905, липень, №14-15, с.157-159.

³⁸ *Кілька думок про виклади і відчити для селян* [Some ideas about lectures and lessons for peasants], in "Промінь", 1907, січень, № 2, с.28-29.

³⁹ *Дописи. З Давиден-Зруб* [Correspondence. From Davydeny-Zrub], in "Народний голос", 1910, лютий, №13, с.8.

It is worth mentioning that the regional periodicals traditionally highlighted different important events such as arranging lectures, and further giving reviews and feedbacks. Thus, according to the 'Bukovina newspaper', there was a series of lectures and classes on various topics in various communities throughout 1905-1910. For example, P. Kateryniuk delivered his speech on 'The problem of the Ukrainian people in their state of serfdom', O. Makovey 'On Khotyn War of 1621', D. Vesolovskiy 'On Zemstvo (Self-governing) in Russia', O. Makovey 'On the Ancient Literary Movement in Bukovina', 'Poetry of Danylo Mlaka', I. Halushchynskiy on 'What is the Purpose of Nature', I. Golubovych 'About Kolijivshchina', Yu. Godiychuk on 'The Importance of a Reading Club in Remote Rural Communities', M. Borovskiy 'On the Benefits of Reading', I. Kudrynskiy 'About Cattle Farming' and others⁴⁰.

Broadly speaking, we found data about the valuable experience for Chernivtsi residents from attending public lectures at the People's House, launched in April 9, 1906. As it was reported, each Sunday afternoons different speeches and lectures on the history of Ukraine were delivered by M. Korduba; O. Mytsak talked about 'economy and finance, literacy with house holding, harvesting and manufacturing', O. Makovey spoke about Yuriy Fedkovych; P. Klym delivered a lecture 'On the Significance of Organization and Enlightenment', M. Korduba 'On Self-Consciousness', and V. Huzar 'On Death'⁴¹.

As we have already mentioned, systematically organized public lectures and speeches laid the foundations for the establishment of adult higher education institutions – Folkuniversitet (People's University) in Chernivtsi. An interesting fact in this context: is that in 1906, in order to embrace the concept of European folk universities, Stepan Smal-Stotsky paid an official visit to Germany, aiming at getting acquainted with proponents and stakeholders of adult education in European countries, and has studied the literature on the activities of popular universities in Denmark and Sweden⁴².

In 1909, the political society 'Ruska Besida' initiated the foundation of the 'Folkuniversitet', and in 1911-1912 the 'Historical Society' sustained the

⁴⁰ Новинки [News], in "Буковина", 1905, 28 січня (10 лютого), №12; 1907, 17 (30) січня, №7; 1910, 12 січня, №292, с.3.

⁴¹ Новинки [News], in "Буковина", 1906, 23 квітня (6 травня), № 48; 1907, 17(30) січня, №7; 1909, 17 грудня, №273.

⁴² В. Даниленко, О. Добржанський, *Академік Степан Смаль-Стоцький. Життя і діяльність [Academician Stepan Smal-Stotsky. Life and activities]*, Київ – Чернівці, Інститут історії України НАН України, 1996, 232 с.

initiative⁴³. Folkuniversitet's activities and functions have increased opportunities for adult learning and education, aimed at cultural and educational development, raising the professional level and promoting self-education of citizens regardless of their age, place of work and background⁴⁴. The first year of higher education lasted for a month and a half (1910), the second year (1911) and the third (1912) lasted for two months. Classes took place during the winter period: between February and March. A University student could be aged 18 or over and had a certificate of graduation from a public school. In the first year of study, 38 people were enrolled⁴⁵ and the next year, more than 70 students attended the course⁴⁶.

There was a steady rise in the emergence of public schools. The curriculum included the study of World History, the History of Ukrainian people and Austria, the Austrian Legal System and Law, General Geography and Astronomy, Geography of Ukrainian lands, Physics, Anthropology and Ethnography, Basics of Hygiene, Ukrainian Language and Literature, History of Schooling, History of Religious Studies-etc., as well as practical courses of Business Language and Accounting, Gymnastics and Fire Fighting, vocal and instrumental singing. There was a wide cultural program aimed at organizing leisure activities⁴⁷. The lectures were delivered by outstanding public figures such as Dmytro Bazhaluk, Yevhen Bura-chynsky, Theodore Gallip, Ivan Herasymovych, Volodymyr Husar, Lev Kohut, Myron Korduba, Zenon Kuzelia, Ostap Lutsky, Omelian Popovych, Vasyl Simovych, Stepan Smal-Stotsky, Roman Tsehelskyi and others.

This section has highlighted the importance of the Chernivtsi Folkuniversitet, which was widely recognized beyond the boundaries of both the city and the region. Several studies suggest that the idea of introducing courses for adult learning and education was implemented in the villages of Bukovina: in 1910, adult literacy courses were organized in Hlyboka and Davydeny-Zrub, and respectively, in 1912 in Kitsman. The origins of literacy can be traced back to 1912, when adult

⁴³ Новини. "Історичне товариство" організовує третій курс висшої народної освіти [News. Historical Society' Organizes the Third Course of Higher Education], in "Народний голос", 1911, 2 лютого, №5, с. 5.

⁴⁴ С. Смаль-Стоцький, *Перший курс для висшої освіти народної* [The First Course for the Higher People's Education], in "Буковина", 1909, 31 грудня, №284, с. 1.

⁴⁵ О. Луцкий, *Святочне отворенє курсу висшої народної освіти* [The Ceremonial opening of the course of Higher People's Education], in "Народний голос", 1910, лютий, №12, с. 6-7.

⁴⁶ *Витайте!* [Congratulations!] in "Народний голос", 1911, 2 лютого, №5, с. 1.

⁴⁷ С. Смаль-Стоцький, *Перший курс для висшої освіти народної* [The First Course for the Higher People's Education], in "Буковина", 1909, 31 грудня, №284, с. 1.

literacy courses in Chernivtsi were reported to have achieved high records and served as a model to be emulated by other People's Universities of Galicia, as evidenced by the materials set by the Educational and Institutional Commission 'Prosvita' (Enlightenment) dated 1912⁴⁸.

An important feature of the third period of adult education development in the province was also the establishing of a chain of vocational education courses aimed at providing the adults with financial and economic knowledge. The most proactive and vigorous organization of professional courses were the Ukrainian women's societies 'Society of Ruthenian Women', 'Women's Hromada', Society of Orthodox Ukrainian Women'. The pace of change in literacy in Bukovina between the late nineteenth century and before the beginning of the First World War was generally extended to launching specific sewing classes, courses for 'sophisticated artworks' (cotton and satin embroidery); handicraft of folk motifs; winter house holding courses for farmers, courses for accountants and stenographers⁴⁹.

Evidence of the strong association between craftsmanship and manufacturing and commercial activities was suggested by several sources. In the pre-war period, 'Women's Hromada' developed and administered societies of decorative, applied and folk art (embroidery, weaving, production of national clothes and pysankas (painted eggs)) and domestic women's handicrafts and production (harvesting and handling vegetables: pickled cabbage and cucumbers, dried vegetables and spring crops and baking for sale) etc.⁵⁰. The national costumes manufactured by Vyzhnytsia and Vashkivtsi embroiderers were in great demand in the region. As it was reported, women were the first to embroider at home, and later in 1909 a studio-embroidery was established. In January 1910, the organizing committee of the 'Women's Hromada' in Chernivtsi carried out a huge work to collect embroideries and further promoted their sales. It should be noted that as a result of Women's Hromada's endeavours in April 1910, artistic products were exhibited in the premises of the People's House, which later were showcased in Vienna and The Hague. The handicraft embroidery of Bukovinian craftswomen was rated with the highest

⁴⁸ *Курси вищої освіти народної* [Course of adult education], in "Діло", 1912, 25 серпня, №182, с. 2.

⁴⁹ *Новини* [News], "Народний голос", 1911, 25 серпня, № 42, с. 4.

⁵⁰ І. Герасимович, *Подрібний розклад праці українського народного учительства по громадах, одобрений краєвим з'їздом повітових комісій "Вільної організації українського вчительства на Буковині" дня 21 і 22 листопада 1908 р. в Чернівцях* [Detailed Schedule Ukrainian Schooling in Communities, approved by Provincial Congress of district commissions of Independent Organization of Ukrainian Schooling in Bukovina], Чернівці, Руська Рада, 1909, с. 12.

award in Vienna – the gold medal. Furthermore, the Ukrainians were invited to the Vienna Ball, held by the ‘Viennese Society for cherishing domestic art crafts’⁵¹.

Thus, these observations demonstrate that the third period (1905-1914) was favourable for the development of adult education in Bukovina. The quick pace of economic, political and cultural development of the region, and the rise of the Ukrainians’ national self-awareness led to the gradual expansion of adult access to learning opportunities, within the context of various development plans, cultural policies, showing the dominance of education, that contributed to the adults’ personal enrichment and growth and positively influenced the level of their cultural intelligence.

THE FOURTH PERIOD (1914–1928)

All things considered, literacy-supporting policies or projects during the fourth period (1914-1928) were introduced on a much smaller scale. Moreover, the speed of literacy transitions slowed the development of adult education considerably due to a societal factor such as the onset of World War I in 1914. Bukovina became the ground of fierce battles and, simultaneously, of a diplomatic struggle over the neighbouring states of Austria-Hungary, Russia and Romania, whose borders converged on the territory of Bukovina. Undoubtedly, the war crucially affected all walks of life in the region, including culture and education. Most schools were destroyed, while armies requisitioned schools for hospitals, or even sometimes for stables.⁵² Since the warfare slowed the progress of acquired literacy and contributed to illiteracy, the situation at the time posed the threat of persistent illiteracy. Significantly, in 1916 the Bukovinian Provincial School Board made great efforts to prevent the recurrence of illiteracy, by adopting several orders on the organization of courses for illiterates in existing schools⁵³. Not surprisingly, under such conditions, the people's access to educational services was severely diminished.

As expected, the war aftermaths had such a negative impact on adult learning and education development that it could barely catch up the level of 1914. In

⁵¹ *Звіт з діяльності товариства “Жіноча громада” на Буковині за рр. 1906 до 1912* [Report on the activities of the ‘Women’s Hromada’ Society in Bukovina between 1906 and 1912], Чернівці, 1913, с. 6.

⁵² *Справа народної освіти на Буковині* [The Situation of public education in Bukovina], in “Буковина”, 1917, 15 грудня, №22-23, с. 3.

⁵³ *Листування Крайової шкільної ради з повітами про організацію курсів для неграмотних при школах* [Correspondence of the Crownland School Board with the districts on the problem of launching literacy courses at schools], Державний архів Чернівецької області, 1915-1916, ф.211, оп.1, спр.14168, арк. 2.

fact, as Myron Korduba noted, while describing the 1918 realities of Chernivtsi: ‘...mentioning any social or cultural life of the capital of Bukovina is worthless, since it cannot be seen, or even could be hardly imagined’⁵⁴. In the autumn of 1918, Bukovina was incorporated into Romania, and since the 1919 the state of siege was introduced in Kitsman, Zastavna, Vashkivtsi, Storozhynets, Seret, Chernivtsi districts and Chernivtsi city⁵⁵. The siege methods included strict control and strengthening of police supervision over residents, restriction of citizens’ movement and restriction on holding meetings, etc.

Of all the societies and associations that used to function before the WWI, only women’s societies proceeded with their activities. Throughout 1919-1921 in Bukovina, the ‘Society of Orthodox Ukrainian Women’ was actively engaged in resolving the problems (assistance to refugees, displaced persons, orphans and widows) caused by the WWI consequences and the aftermath⁵⁶.

Notably, in 1918 a new ‘Ukrainian Public Library’ association was founded. Its primary goal was to establish in Chernivtsi the first public library and a reading club. However, due to several shifts of political regimes, the rise of its activities occurred only after 1920⁵⁷. In this respect, of particular interest were the reminiscences of Vasyl Rusnak, who used to be the long-standing Head of the society: “between 1922 and 1938 our strategy for supporting the Ukrainian public library was working quite well... At the beginning a small library collection housed ... several fictional books, soon this library was recognized... as a major institution whose stock enumerated more than 10,000 books of a diverse content, many of scientific literature and few foreign literature books’⁵⁸. In addition, the library attracted lots of high school students, university students, professors and regional intellectuals.

In the light of the discontinuity and diversity of the political, economic and cultural situation in Chernivtsi, it should be mentioned that after the WWI, due to the national awakening, other Ukrainian societies were restored – ‘The Petty Bourgeoisie Reading Club’, ‘The Ukrainian People’s House’, ‘Ruska Besida’, ‘The

⁵⁴ М. Кордуба, *Українське життя в Чернівцях* [Ukrainian Cultural Life of Chernivtsi], in “Буковина”, 1918, 23 серпня, №27, с. 3.

⁵⁵ *Буковина: історичний нарис* [Bukovina: Historical Essay], ред. кол. С. С. Костишин, В. М. Ботушанський (відп. ред.) та ін., Чернівці, Зелена Буковина, 1998, с. 227.

⁵⁶ О. С. Гнатчук, *Українські жіночі організації на Буковині (80-ті рр. XIX – 30-ті рр. XX ст.)* [Ukrainian Women’s Organizations in Bukovina (80’s of the 19th and 20th Centuries)], Чернівці, 2002, с. 12.

⁵⁷ О. В. Добжанський, В. П. Старик, *Бажано до України!* [We Long for Ukraine!] Одеса, Маяк, 2008, с. 316.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, с. 317.

Ukrainian School', 'The Union', 'Zaporozha'. Gradually, the so-called Ukrainian Revival of the national, cultural and educational traditions received a crushing blow. According to the contemporaries, 'the societies arranged different lectures at least once a week to discuss various scientific or political issues in the context of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their independent state. Even more frequent 'speaking clubs' were held debating similar topics'⁵⁹, evening art classes were organized. The key advantage of that period was the activity of the Ukrainian Theatre, which staged plays and performances about the historical past of the Ukrainians, promoting national traditions and the Ukrainian national clothes, glorifying the heroism of Zaporozha Cossacks during the inter-war periods, when they were struggling for Ukraine with the Turks, the Tatars, and the Poles, simultaneously disgracing traitors of the nation, etc⁶⁰.

THE FIFTH PERIOD (1928-1940)

From the short review we made, the key findings acknowledge the state's main responsibility for the provision of adult learning and education, but we would also like to properly acknowledge as well the value and usefulness of the contributions of the civil society, the private sector and other stakeholders. Guided by the framework, the paper relies on research, widely using the 1914-1928 studies data. By the end of the 'siege' in 1928, thanks to strenuous efforts of 'Ruska Besida', 'The Ukrainian School', and the 'Women's Hromada', the literacy gap was bridged by the growing popular demand for cultural and educational revival in the villages of the crownland, where there was a quick-paced spread to establish reading clubs, cooperative societies, amateur choruses and theatres. Take the case of the newspaper 'Chas' (The Time), which highlighted that since 1929, '...21 Ukrainian reading-clubs were restored'⁶¹.

First and foremost, the post-war society faced the problem of fighting adult illiteracy. By 1928-1929, the aspirations of 'Women's Hromada', 'Zaporozha' and 'Chornomore' had stipulated and facilitated the launch of the Ukrainian language⁶² and literacy⁶³ courses for children and youngsters. These extracts provide a glimpse

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, c.323-324.

⁶⁰ Ștefan Purici, *Aspecte ale problemei minorităților naționale în Bucovina istorică între anii 1918 și 1940 (II)*, in "Analele Bucovinei", IV, 1997, nr. 2, p. 415-416.

⁶¹ *Віснi* [News], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1929, 9 серпня, №109, с. 2.

⁶² *Курси української мови* [The course of the Ukrainian Language], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1929, 9 серпня, № 109, с. 3.

⁶³ *Новини. Відкриття курсів для неписьменних* [News. Launching the Course for

of the substance and scope of adult learning, expressing the complementary facets of the learning experience that could be applied at 1930's in Bukovina, since the crownland adult learning and education was undergoing drastic innovative transformations. Starting from 1932, a new format of educational work was actively spread in Bukovina – in the format of the so-called '*living newspaper*'. The peculiar characteristics of a 'living newspaper' as it appeared, illustrated some of the techniques employed in the forms of traditional lectures, synopses, literary and theatrical performances, etc. Innovation consisted in their integration as a holistic organization of adult education. An outstanding public figure, Daryna Makohon (her literary pseudonym was Iryna Vilde), described the methodology of issuing and promoting a 'living newspaper'. Iryna Vilde disclosed in detail the functioning of the venture: an editorial board was elected '...to meet the certain circle's taste and cultural needs', being predominantly focused on the content of the next issue of the newspaper. The typical sections of the 'living newspaper' were carrying a popular science content, developing historical, literature and literary criticism issues, as well as providing informative reference, methodological and advisory survey'⁶⁴.

Reaffirming the core of the right to basic education and skills for all, with adult literacy as the cornerstone of commitment, adult learning and education in Bukovina was further developed, since during that period the authorities and various societies promoted starting up economic (household budgeting) courses for peasants and petty bourgeoisie to get them ready and educate/instruct them for further cooperative activities. It should be emphasized that it was the 'Women's Hromada' that initiated cooperative courses in budgeting and money education in 1931, and practically implemented their ambitions in 1932. Significantly, 34 men and 3 women, mostly peasants, of different background and age – comprising 17-43-year-olds were enrolled in the course. The courses lasted for 6 weeks with a 28-hour academic week. The course program comprised the following subjects: 'The Essence of Cooperative Principles' (L. Kogut); 'Principles and Laws of Agricultural Cooperatives in Romania' (L. Kogut); 'Book Accounting' (Zelena Knyha); 'Business Correspondence'; 'Arithmetic'; 'Advertising' (Tymchuk); 'Commodity Studies' (Pumnul); 'Farmers & Merchants' Code of Ethics' (Pihulyak); 'Basic Hygiene & Safety Practices in Retail' (V. Huzar). The venue of instruction was the People's House; and what is more important, the courses were free of charge. The participants donated only a tiny sum of money to cover the cost for heating and lighting, consequently,

Illiterate Adults], in "Рідний край" (Чернівці). 1929. 18 серпня, с. 5.

⁶⁴ Дара Макогон, *Жива газета* [The Living Newspaper], in "Самостійна думка української матері", 1932, 29 березня, №4, с. 3.

accommodation was provided by the 'Women's Hromada'⁶⁵.

Absolutely essential was the Women's Hromada's vision of adult learning and education, since its activists' drew peculiar attention to the necessity of setting up medical training courses. In 1935, from February 28 till April 8, Chernivtsi hosted 'Hygiene and First Aid' courses, organized by the 'Women's Hromada', supported by the 'Medical Consultation' (a policlinic founded in 1932). The courses included lectures, readings, and practical classes to provide the adult population with the necessary knowledge and skills of hygiene and emergency care. Courses were held every Monday and Thursday from 18.00 till 19.00 at the People's House. It is notable that the courses were held by renowned Bukovina doctors; V. Husar delivered lectures on 'Life and death'; O. Shevchukevych on the 'Basics of Hygiene', E. Omelsky 'On Tuberculosis', E. Kobrynsky 'On Contagious Diseases', I. Filypovych lectured 'About the Wounding, Lining and Transportation of the Patient', I. Kvastynskyi delivered lectures on the 'Chemical War' and V. Husar on 'How to care for a sick person'. Noteworthy, the money raised from the courses was donated to the Medical Consultation⁶⁶. It is important to mention that the courses of medical training-organized by the 'Women's Hromada' gained great popularity in Bukovina. Starting from November 9, 1935, the theoretical and practical course 'How to take care of a sick person' was provided for six weeks. The course included the study of the foundations of human anatomy, physiology, pathology and proper child nutrition. Classes were held 4 times a week for an hour⁶⁷.

As mentioned above, it is an important finding where and how learning occurs, and appreciating the full spectrum of learning processes and outcomes, that are fundamental for developing the potential of adult education. There are concrete examples of integrated trusted societies and associations (such as 'Women's Hromada', 'Zaporozha', 'Ruska Besida', 'The Ukrainian School' and others) that gave equal visibility to initial and continuing education for young people and adults.

CONCLUSION

This study has gone the way towards enhancing our understanding of the

⁶⁵ *Кооперативні курси в Чернівцях* [Courses on Cooperative Literacy in Chernivtsi], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1932, 21 січня, № 969, с. 1.

⁶⁶ *Курси гігієни й першої помочи в наглих випадках* [Course on Basic Hygiene & Safety Practices in Emergency], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1935, 17 березня, № 1817, с. 4.

⁶⁷ *Вісті з "Жіночої громади"* [News from 'Women's Community'], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1935, 4 листопада, с. 2.

nature and social functions of literacy that have changed dramatically in less than two centuries. We now have a landscape of adult education and lifelong learning where mixed principles, policies and practices co-exist, with the evolution of open and flexible systems of provision capable of adapting to social and economic change. Repositioning adult education within lifelong learning therefore requires a shared philosophy of the purposes and benefits of adult learning. However, still missing in the adult education literature are histories that include a review of the education of adults as it was practiced in Bukovina throughout 1861-1940.

Consequently, within the above-mentioned chronological framework, we have divided the process of adult learning and education development in Bukovina into 5 distinct periods. The results of this investigation show that the first period (1861-1894) produced favourable prerequisites for adult education formation, and was significantly influenced by political factors, socio-economic and cultural transformations in Bukovina. The analysis of the second period (1894-1905) reveals considerable educational and economic advancement, and the establishment of adult rudimentary education within the compulsory school. The study contributes to our understanding of the third period (1905-1914) as a phase of intensive quantitative enrichment and qualitative improvement of organizational forms of adult education, modification of their content, development of secondary, vocational and higher education of adults. This research has provided a deeper insight into the fourth period (1914-1928) as an obstacle to the development of adult education, caused by the First World War and the regime of 'siege'. Finally, this study has found that the fifth period (1928-1940) proves an upsurge of interest in methodological innovation and innovative methodologies in adult learning and education.

One of the more significant findings that emerge from this study is that adult learning and education are located at the heart of a necessary paradigm shift towards lifelong learning for all as a coherent and meaningful framework for education and training provision and practice. On the basis of the carried out retrospective analysis, we can state that during the investigated period a peculiar organizational structure of the Ukrainian adult education functioned in Bukovina; adult education and learning were represented by institutions of formal adult education (courses of re-training, continuing education) and non-formal modes (reading, non-literate courses, lectures, professional courses, Folkuniversitet). The development of organizational forms of adult education and their integration into the system is considered an important proof of the evolutionary processes of the education of adults of Bukovina during the period under study, denoting the enrichment of its quantitative and qualitative indicators. Altogether, the findings of this study have a number of important implications for future practice.