

**The development of community universities in Taiwan and their roles in
social capital accumulation**

Te-Yung Chang

Associate Professor, National Taiwan Normal University

Jessie J. Hsieh

Assistant Professor, National Taiwan University of Arts

Abstract

With the aims of offering easier access to education and promoting the development of civil society in Taiwan, community universities were initiated in 1998 by a group of education reformers. Since then, the universities have become the nation's most structured channels for lifelong education and more than 80 universities have been founded and operated under non-profit/non-governmental organization management. The universities are often regarded as part of a social movement that seeks to extend the benefits of education to all, thus constructing course programs with three main focuses, namely, academic, lifestyle and community activities. Today, local research has shown that community universities make positive impacts on the society in aspects such as democratization, equal distribution of social resources, and improvement of quality of life within communities. Recently, more and more local scholars start to pay attention to the universities' engagement and contribution in accumulating social capital.

Using in-depth interviews, this paper will investigate the roles community universities in Taiwan play in regard to social capital accumulation. Through examining learners' motivation of learning and participation in courses, three dimensions of social capital were closely looked at: social networking, trust building, and mutually beneficial relationship establishment. The finding will

illustrate how community universities have effects on the social capital accumulation of both the communities and the learners.

Introduction

In the very beginning, Community university was only a personal idea of Professor Huang, Wu-hsiung, a retired professor from National Taiwan University, to call for education reform. But within decades, it has gradually developed as a civil Community university Movement all over Taiwan.

If we take a closer look, we can see the development of Community university has its unique political and social contexts and learn how Community university bring forth locally-rooted cultural vitality and community change mobility through community networks and civil knowledge and innovation force.

Huang, Wu-hsiung proposed in 1994 to make Community university as an education ideal to fulfill the “knowledge liberalization and society reforms.” This ideal suggests his concerns about the increasingly distorted social systems and his insistence on the education reforms. First of all, feeling that Taiwan was in a seemingly democratic status after the lifting of martial law, but in reality, the manipulation of the two major political parties and ideologies, has torn apart the society and made the civil society disappear, Huang (1997) pointed out that the social power must be rebuilt through the democracy learning of all the people and the unbound involvement in the public domain. And all the people must play the key role as a participant and supervisor in the modern democratic society. Huang pointed out in a commemorative paper for the tenth anniversary of the Community university, “The original aspiration to initiate the Community university”, that democracy can be intensified and the

society can be bettered only through the triple multiplied enhancement from the referendum, social learning and public discourse. Thus, Community university should play a crucial role to promote the community education, lifelong learning, and to unfold the public domain.

The focus of this research is to explore the role of the Community university as the promoter of the community education and lifelong learning. And this research aims to investigate how the Community university enables adult learners to grow and change through the learning, participation and interaction within the courses and activities offered by the Community university.

Based on the analysis of the above background, the purposes of this study are as following:

First, to understand the adult learners' motivations and learning contents in the community university.

Second, to explore the adult learners' community learning and network links in the community university.

Third, to explore the adult learners in the community learning and mutually beneficial relationship in the community university .

Fourth, to explore the adult learners' community learning and trust relationship in the community university.

Literature Review

I. The development of community university and its core values

Huang, Wu-hsiung opposed the elitism and packaged knowledge and advocated civilian and experiential knowledge. Huang pointed out in “The Packaged and Experiential Knowledge” that the study of knowledge should not be monopolized by a few elites. The access to knowledge should be civilianized. Everyone should have an equal opportunity to the acquisition of academic knowledge. Besides, he also redefined the knowledge. He claimed that schools today did not relate their teaching contents to students’ life experience. What is taught within campuses is packaged knowledge which has been categorized, standardized, objectified, and abstracted. This kind of knowledge can not help students get the real understanding of themselves and know the bond between the world and themselves. The true knowledge should be the experiential knowledge acquired through the interaction between man and the world(Huang, 1999).

Ku Chung-hua (2001) summarized three points as the social contexts for the development of the Community university and the following are the analyses.

First, the education reform:

From 1980s to 1994, there were several waves of calling for the education reform among folks in Taiwan. For example, before the lifting of martial law,

students fought for the democracy in campus and freedom of speech. After the lifting of martial law, the Humanist Education Foundation, Teachers' Association for Human Rights and some other civilian education reform groups have been established and thus set off the debates and challenges about the subjects of education and the redistribution of power. In 1994, some education reform policies were implemented like the set-up of a Committee of Education Reform and the practice of the University Law(Xiao-hua Xue, 2012). In April, 1994, a large-scale movement "the Alliance of 410 Education Reform", which was organized by education reformers Wu-hsiung Huang, Chung-hua Ku, Wan-sheng Hong, Chu-joe Hsia, Ding-tzann Lii, Ming-hwei Perng etc., pushed the wave of education reform to its peak. The Ministry of Education thus established "the Executive Yuan Committee of Education Reform" and published "the Education Reform Policy Advisory Report" (Te-Yung Chang, 2001) . The Community university could be considered one of the important programs to promote Education Reform.

Second, the development of lifelong learning:

In early 90's, the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century of the UNESCO proposed the idea of "Learning throughout Life" and thus inaugurated the development of lifelong learning globally. Influenced by this international trend, there was a surge of lifelong learning development in Taiwan. In 1998, Ministry of Education issued the important document "Towards a Learning Society White Paper" and at about the same time

Community university has also become an emerging educational field where all kinds of learning needs of the community people could be met.

Third, movements promoting integrated community development:

The integrated community empowerment development is different from the traditional community development. It focuses on three domains as humanities, landscapes, and industry. It is expected to empower the community through the developments in the three domains and thus promotes the sustainable development of the community and brings the community to a brand new status. In 1994, the Executive Yuan Council for Cultural Affairs advocated the project of “Community Integrated Empowerment Development” and this project has its influence on the development and cohesion of the sense of community. Its common goal to promote community participation also serves as the incentive to expand the Community university (Min-hsiu Chiang, Ting-Ming Chen, 2001) and as one of the important ideas to support the development of Community university.

On September 28th, 1988, the first Community university in Taiwan (Te-Yung Chang, 2001) was set up in Taipei Municipal Mu Zha Junior High School by Ying Shih, founder of Humanistic Education Foundation, and other propagandists of Education Reform. On September 19th, 1999, National Association for the Promotion of Community Universities , NAPCU, was set up and a wave of setting up Community Universities was also set off. For the past decade, there have been 87 Community Universities set up, including 18 branches of Community university

and 14 Aborigines Community Universities (NAPCU, 2012). Through the cooperation of local governments and non-profit organizations, Community Universities not only build up a lifelong education system with the characteristics of a civil society but construct a unique “localology” knowledge system grounded on the local culture features and regional endeavors.

The courses in Community Universities advocated by Wu-hsiung Huang consist of three types: One is academic, which is a kind of liberal education focusing on the logical reasoning and the holistic knowledge learning. Another is community activities, which emphasize civil practice and care-oriented autonomous learning activities within the community. The other is courses about life skills, which focus on learners’ own DIY creations and the pursuit of life understanding, hoping to enhance the quality of life.

And all these three types of courses attach great importance to the process of empowerment and the practice within the community. Learning can be experiential and action-oriented via the investigation and involvement of the community. Through in-depth discourses and reflections, these learning processes can be regarded as “learning together,” which is the autonomous learning process of adult learners in the Community Universities. The autonomous learning process is based on the ideas of humanities and equal opportunities and obtained through the participation and action.

According to Wu-hsiung Huang(1997; 2000), the main ideas of Community Universities are the liberalization of knowledge and the

construction of a civil society. Hence, there are two foremost missions of Community Universities. One is as the leader to civilianize the academic knowledge and to make packaged knowledge connected to live experience. Then the elitism can be deconstructed and the true knowledge can be liberated from the academies. Through this, citizens can be cultivated to identify, to analyze, and to participate in the public affairs within the community. The other is as the propagator to form the public domain and to create the civic connections through the inquiry, discourse, reflection, criticism and practice. Through this, citizens can be cultivated to introspect, to think critically and then to cohere the sense of community. Thus citizens can work together to better the community and the society. These two major ideas foster the core philosophical value of the establishment and development of Community Universities. At the same time they also serve as the guidelines to design the curricula and operate the organization of Community Universities.

In summary, Community Universities adopt the systematic and organizational multi-strategy to reach the goal of constructing a civil society. First, the teaching methods accepted in Community Universities emphasize the inquiry, discourse, reflection, criticism and practice. Secondly, in community practice strategies, the Community Universities cultivate the sense of community through the design of academic and community curricula. And Community Universities try to enhance the participants' enthusiasm and ability to get involved in community affairs through public forums. Community Universities even create an equal dialogue and communication mechanisms

through community participation and strategic alliance with local or national non-profit organizations and adult community, and thus integrate the community resources to promote community development. On the nature of adult learning within communities, these well designed learning activities, which aim to construct a civil society, realize individuals' growth, organizational empowerment and contribute to the overall development of the community.

II. The meaning and theory of social capital

The definitions of social capital from the literature are quite diverse and pretty flexible (Schuller et al. 2000: 24; Snijders 1999: 28). Social capital is generally referred to “social network, social support, trust, and reciprocity” (Yang-chih Fu, 2005). The researcher thinks that a synthesized theoretical framework provides the basis of the definitions of social capital. This theory comprises three interrelated and interactive elements, which are social networks and support, social trust, and norms of reciprocity. Although social networks, support and trust are all the elements of the social capital, however, social networks and support are considered to be the foundations of social capital. Trust is regarded as a resource or emergent feature of social networks and social support (Ferlander, 2003).

First, social networks and support

Putnam (1993) considers associations life as the main source of social capital and the involvement in these associations helps people in the resolution

of dilemmas of collective action and smooth economic and political negotiations. Many scholars also point out that social networks which is constructed through the involvement in the associations life can influence the public life and make the information transfer and coordination easier; thus enhance the mutual and collective benefits(Booth and Richard, 1998: 782; Ikeda et al., 2003: 2) .

Social networks are formed through the connections of all kinds of social relationship. All the members within can communicate with one another, directly or indirectly, and share the norms and values together. Social networks are generally constructed by an individual's participation in the formal or informal organizations. Formal organizations have clear boundaries such as membership, etc., but informal organizations can just be linked by some informal connections like friendship, interests or the relationship of relatives or neighbors (Coleman, 1990; Newton, 1999; Putnam, 1993). In the past, there were many researches about social capital targeted at the formal organizations because their clear definition of membership and hence more precise measurement. Lately, however, the influence of informal organizations is getting more and more attention. Researches show that people actually tend to spend more time on the informal organizations and informal organizations are often the main source of all kinds of information (Oberschall, 1993:24). Besides, informal networks play the role as the habits of the heart during every person's socialization process. The psychological needs of a person are met more easily while this person is within an informal

organization and a harmonious relationship among members can also be developed. Accordingly, informal organizations are a major field to accumulate social capital (Newton, 1993:3).

Coleman (1990), on the other hand, connects social capital to social networks. He thinks that traditional closed networks facilitate a rigid link among people within the networks and further generate obligations and identity of the community (Kay, 2006:162). And this benefits the accumulation of social capital. However, along with the social changes, traditional family and community structures have declined and closed networks have been replaced by open networks. Lack of the compulsory mechanism of obligations and identity, the community cannot build up as much social trust within the community as it used to do to help accumulation of social capital.(Molenaers, 2003; 122)

Lin (1999) also takes social supports as a kind of process to accumulate social capital and to acquire resources. Social capital has the concept of social supports and at the same time provides the transaction and operation mechanism of social support psychology.

Second, trust

Trust refers to an individual's psychological state and is the core components of social capital (Putnam, 1993a). Barber (1983) defines trust as mutual expectation among people. Yamagishi and Yamagishi (1994) regards trust as friendly expectations and kind intentions. Fukuyama (1995) points out

that trust can be generated from a group which consists of behavioral norms, honesty and cooperative members. The subsistence of trust depends on the regulations which people abide by and the quality of group members. Paxton (1999) emphasizes that trust is a real and necessary relationship for an individual. In summary, trust is an important premise of all the activities in people's daily life (Ikeda et al., 2003:2; Putnam, 1993:170; Newton, 2001:202). Trust comprises equality, mutual confidence, and reciprocity. Only the social relationship based on trust can facilitate people's cooperation and further exchange resources with one another. So, trust is an integral part of social capital (Norris, 2002).

Putnam (1993a; 167) defines social capital as "features of social organization such as social trust, norms and networks that facilitate coordination to enhance efficiency." In fact, his concepts of social capital can be divided into three main components: moral obligations and norms, social values (trust in particular), and social networks (especially voluntary associations). Trust is indispensable to social capital (Siisiäinen, 2000: 2). Putnam also thinks that social trust societies come from two related sources: norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement.

To Putnam, what he concerns is how social capital can promote mutual cooperation and thus reach mutual benefits, and explain what contributions trust can make on cooperation (Putnam, 1993b:163-169). Putnam concludes that trust can lubricate the cooperative behaviors and the higher the level of trust of the community is, the greater of the possibility of cooperation among

community residents is (1993b:171). In addition, Putnam (1993b) indicates that trust must be established on the foundation of mutual understanding. That is to say, individuals can predict what actions and choices the other party will take. In other words, trust can be generated from mutual understanding and identity and further accumulate through continual use. He even distinguishes trust into “thick trust” and “thin trust.” The former means the trust among individuals within close networks interaction and the latter means the trust assets generally toward community or non-individual units (Office for National Statistics, 2001: 10 adapted from Xin-ting Lin, 2009).

Third, Reciprocity

Social capital will form a very close link among the networks. Without trust and interactions of reciprocity, these networks will gradually disintegrate. Therefore, reciprocity is a positive behavior generated from the interaction among one another and the expectation to share with one another. Reciprocal actions are demonstrated in daily life. Just as a traditional Chinese community saying goes, residents in a community should “be friendly to one another inside or outside the community, help one another, and support one another in joy and care.” All these dribs and drabs in the daily life will gradually form a kind of value or norm among the community members and it cannot be replaced by any legal contracts.

Research Design and Implementation

I. Research methods and research tools

This research adopts the qualitative approach and is conducted through the interviews. The interview contents distinguish the adult learning participation in the community universities into four dimensions as motivations of participation, networks, trust, and reciprocity. A community university in Taipei City was chosen as the case study and five adult learners in the community university were randomly selected as the interviewees to collect the empirical data. This research argues that there are three implications of the social capital in the community universities:

(1) Network relationship: including information accesses, association involvement, influence from important persons, and so on.

(2) Reciprocity: including the way to show concern, the fact or frequency of mutual help, and the sharing of experience, and so on.

(3) Trust level: including conflict resolution or communication, trust to the organization members and trust and expectation to the organization, and so on.

Based on the establishment of the research topic and the definitions of social capital, this study thus develops the "interview guidelines on community universities adult learners' social capital" as a research tool. And the details are as follows:

Table1: Interview guidelines on community universities adult learners' social capital:

1. Why do you come to register in the community university courses or

participate in the activities?

2. What courses or activities have you ever got involved with in the community university?
3. Among those courses or activities, what is the most impressive and why?
4. How do you get accessed to the courses or activities in the community university?
5. After you attend the community university, are there more associations or activities that you take part in? What are they?
6. After you attend the community university, how many times a week do you take part in the activities?
7. After you attend the community university, do you know more people accordingly? And please give some examples, like the backgrounds or positions of these people.
8. Do you think that members in the community university will concern or help one another on their initiative?
9. Have you ever helped or been helped by the members in the community university?
10. Have you ever been the volunteer in the community university? How is it going?
11. Do you often discuss public affairs or share experience with members in the community university? Can you give some examples?
12. If there are different opinions or conflictions in the community university, how do you get along with the situations?

13. Broadly speaking, how do you think of the teachers, administrations, and faculty in the community university?
14. How do you feel about the solidarity or cohesion of the members in the community university to their organization?
15. Do you feel the progress and change of yourself after attending the community university?
16. As far as you know, what kind of progress or change do other members in the community university have? Please give some examples.
17. Overall, what basic values and ideas of community university do you think are worth cherishing and promotion?
18. What are your expectations and suggestions to the community university?

II. Coding and analysis of the data

The interview contents were first transcribed into written forms. And the transcripts were categorized, coded, and analytic interpreted. And then the integration of the concepts and ideas was conducted and established the relationship statement between the relevant concepts and categories. Hence the saturation and explanation of the original data was enhanced.

Data Analysis and Discussion

I. Adult learners' motivations for going to community universities and the content of their learning in community universities.

1. Major participation motivations include social relations, cognitive interests, escaping from something and stimulation.

Mostain & Smart (1974) pointed out that in general adult learners' motivations for learning include social relations, external expectation, social service, work promotion, escaping from something, stimulation, and cognitive interests. Community university statistics show that the average age of community university participants is around 40 and 50. And there are many retirees who are between the age of 50 and 70. Therefore, their motivations are nothing more than broadening of their social ties, cognitive interests, escaping from something, or stimulation. The following are comments from the respondents.

Hoping to participate in some classes and not to become completely detached from the society after retirement was my initial motivation.

Mainly because of retirement, (I have) more time after retirement and want to pass time.

Judging from the respondents' comments, we can see that the common reason for participating in community activities and learning seems to be having more time after retirement. Therefore, their major motivation for participating in community activities and learning is to pass time and to avoid physical and mental symptoms such as "bored to tears." In fact, this is the

so-called "escaping or stimulation" in the adult learning motivation theory. In addition, attending a local community university may be able to provide them with opportunities to participate in community activities, to meet new friends, and not to become a social outcast. In fact, they can empower themselves to learn new knowledge through "social relations" and the power of their friends. This kind of knowledge is consistent with their needs and becomes their learning enjoyment. It can be said, indeed, that it is a "cognitive interest" in learning.

2.Learning contents include three types of courses: practical, daily-life related and experiential.

As for the courses and activities offered by community universities, they include three major categories, namely academic courses, extracurricular activities, and life-skill courses. Most community university students don't pay much attention to the differences between these three categories. For them, courses that emphasize practicality, life, experiences, as well as content integration are most suited to their studies. The following are comments from the respondents.

Dynamic courses include sports, swimming, and yoga; there are also skill-related courses such as haircutting; spiritual courses are courses on spiritual growth; movie aesthetics is a leisure course.

(I have taken) some network computing courses and courses on volunteer work. Later I became a volunteer at the community university...and participated in a lot of school activities, such as expos and photo exhibitions, mainly to have more school volunteer activities.

In general, community university students are more interested in courses that are practical and daily-life related. Therefore, they like courses related to physical and mental health, arts and leisure, and life and wealth management. In addition, computer courses, volunteer services, and environmental protection programs are also important life experience courses for them. Through these courses, they can turn their learning experience into "personal experience" and get a sense of accomplishment by observing, working with their hands, and participating.

3. Learners' roles are diverse; learners are impressed by association, volunteer, community development courses.

The contents of community university learners' courses are diverse. Students take courses ranging from physical health to spiritual growth, leisure, and knowledge-based. Obviously, these adult learners also actively try to understand all kinds of learning information. Therefore, free or discounted computer courses and even volunteer training courses can attract their participation. Through the studying of computers, image processing, community development courses, they seemed to have broadened their vision

and begun to understand that community university learning is not just a study of one single course but is a connected learning process and a process of joint discussion, sharing, and showing concern over community environmental issues. Therefore, for them, every course offered by the community university is very meaningful and valuable. The following are comments from the respondents.

The most rewarding courses are some of the networking courses. In the beginning, I took an online auction class, and later I learned how to blog. Blogging can be used widely. You can record what is happening in your life in a blog. Later, a citizen reporter course was offered. I could film things happening around me at anytime. I recorded these things as a citizen reporter. I found the course very rewarding. Then a course on volunteer work was offered. Volunteer workers offered their services voluntarily and came here to work without any compensation. Of course, their state of mind is very important.

The most impressive courses are river patrol courses and film editing courses. River patrol involves not just a section of the river; you have to see upstream, midstream, and downstream and start from the source. The fundamental problem is the environment. In the beginning, I just took some classes, and then I joined a society to get a sense of the power of water. I have also inspired people, saying that one must first learn about this river

before one can protect it. After having some awareness, one can try to get close to the river. If you dare not to be close to the river you will never really understand it. The final step is to protect it. Our teacher said that I have done all of the above. I will be happier if I can apply what I have learned to life.

From the way the respondents described their learning experiences, we can tell that they have expanded their vision and knowledge about the outside world through computer information courses such internet blogging. In the beginning they may have signed up the course just to get more knowledge and to learn, but gradually they realized the role of a citizen. Therefore, they played the volunteer "reporter" role and became partners of volunteer services. Many of the issues they were concerned about were public issues, such as environmental protection and river patrol. One of them even learned from a film editing class the importance of participation in "associations". Therefore, he joined a river patrol group and patrolled the Tamsui River. He learned about the river, got close to the river, protected the river, and eventually joined an environmental movement to protect the river. The course of study has demonstrated the power of community action and the power of change.

II. Community university adult learners' community learning and network links

1. Conventional publications and exhibits at public places are the main channels for learners to get learning information.

Learning information channels for community university learners are diverse, including conventional publications and exhibits at public places. Obviously information and human interaction are closely related. The following are comments from the respondents.

Nowadays information is transparent. I received DMs distributed by community universities in my email box.

In the beginning, I got most of the information from DMs and I rarely browsed the internet. Ten years ago, no information could be found online. Most of the information came from DMs and newspaper inserts. We live in this neighborhood, so we get them all. I came here mainly because one day when I accompanied my wife to the City Government we saw a joint exhibit of community universities at the City Hall. She was curious, and we chatted and strolled into there to listen to the teachers' introduction to the courses. We got the information from DMs and exhibits.

To attract more community adult learners, community universities usually promote their courses via multiple channels. In addition to conventionally distributed materials (DM), community universities also hold achievement exhibitions in communities and public places to attract the

attention of community residents. However, a large part of the current community universities' campaigns to promote courses focus on online marketing. This is probably because community universities have already had a certain reputation and have taken the lead in enhancing community residents' information literacy.

2. Community universities have become an important medium for learners to participate in other community organizations.

After attending a community university, community university students usually will participate in activities held by associations or organizations and the frequency of their participation also increases. We can clearly see in social capital network relations that their connecting points in various organizations have gradually expanded. The following are comments from the respondents.

I took a haircut training course. Our teacher organized a charity haircut club. We joined the club and went to many institutions and nursing homes to offer free haircuts to the hearing impaired, lonely elderly, and elderly people living alone. We volunteered in school activities to give free haircuts. For retirees [like us], we have not only learned a new skill but also given something back to the society.

Sometimes I attended classes in the evening and participated in activities during daytime. It all depends. I have joined two clubs and have joined other volunteer clubs outside the school. All cities and counties encourage volunteers to go out and participate in activities.

Community university learners were affected by other learners after they have taken community university courses and became more interested in group activities. Some of the respondents have joined professional organizations outside the university. Inspired by the ideal of volunteer services, some of the enthusiastic learners have participated in charitable organizations to actively engage in volunteer work. Some of them even participated in government organized volunteer work and became members of several volunteer organizations.

3. Participation in community university courses can expand learners' interpersonal relations inside and outside organizations and is conducive to learning.

Asked whether they have met many leaders of other industries through participation in community university courses, the adult learners were very proud to say that the experience was very meaningful interaction, stressing that the professional leaders have become their models in learning and have inspired them to learn. The following are comments from the respondents.

Of course, we met people from all walks of life. Members of the clubs are from all levels of the society. Some of them used to be teachers, public servants, or big bosses. Others were insurance agents, securities salespersons, importers, exporters, union workers, retirees, and people from all walks of life.

Of course, usually the community university needed volunteer workers for a long period of time. Therefore, I knew more than 200 people at once. Participation in the Citizen Reporters' Club has broadened our connections even more, because members of the club are from the school and outside the school. At the Public Television Service, people from schools and citizen reporters all go there to exchange views, and, therefore, we met more people there, even people from central and southern Taiwan. Most of the volunteers are retirees. Most citizen reporters are retirees too...They seldom talked about their careers.

Although the main reason for the adult learners to attend community universities was not to meet people from all walks of life or to meet important people, the participation process has made their learning more colorful, because they have played many different roles in the classrooms, in clubs, and in organizations (they have played the role of teacher, student, or volunteer). They learned interpersonal skills through

interaction with other students and teachers and interaction with people from all walks of life with different experiences and backgrounds. Their room to grow professionally has been enhanced.

III. Community learning and mutually beneficial relations of adult learners at community universities.

1. Learners who help each other can promote human touch and enhance learning effectiveness.

Community university courses basically attach importance to the peer relationship of the learning community. Therefore, if community university learners care about each other and help each other, they can not only promote human touch but also enhance learning effectiveness. The following are comments from the respondents.

Today, I went with my classmates to visit another classmate who was hospitalized for surgery. We wanted to show that we care about each other. Because we are in the business of giving care, we naturally wanted show a little more care for each other.

Community universities are community oriented, and some of us become good friends because we can talk to each other. We keep in touch with each other and would discuss and learn from each other.

Learning communities in a community university are formed either intentionally or unintentionally. Since most of the learners were retirees and have shown some concerns over community affairs, they cared about their friends, helped them, guided them, supported them, and even guided students who were younger and junior to them so that the students could smoothly participate in the learning community.

2. Learners' volunteer services: from participating and organizing clubs to showing concerns over public issues.

Mutually beneficial relations can be seen in many places. In addition to helping and showing concerns over their friends, adult learners also think it is important to help and guide new students in community university classes to adapt faster and better. In addition, working as volunteers at a community university is a way to enhance mutual benefits and to help each other. Students can heighten the spirit of helping people through volunteer work and can even share their views on public issues in various activities. The following are comments from the respondents.

Actually, in the beginning I just signed up for a volunteer learning course...I have worked as a volunteer for only three years. The second year, I was head of the club for about one year. The office term of the head of the club is two years. Therefore, there is one more year to go.

Of course, I will participate in more volunteer work, and this is also because the school has offered a lot of information on volunteer work and has added more volunteer positions. If we want to post an introduction to a course on a website, we need to make a video of the teacher's presentation. My major was a computer major and therefore I can start the process faster. I often helped them. This is probably why they chose me to be president of the club. Mainly because the school needs more and more information technology related work to be done.

We liked to talk about river patrol. I talked with my classmates about how it can be done and about how to promote river patrol to non-members. So we introduced the idea, and even the Department of Environmental Protection noticed us. However, they couldn't tell if the condition of the river has improved, because we only patrolled a small downstream section of the river. How much can it be improved? We could only inform against [violators].

Reciprocal behavior occurs in all types of learning in community universities. Because there are no large groups and not all members are familiar with each other, members in different age groups and groups formed because of familiarity and similar level interaction would help each other, including helping each other through illness, assisting each other in learning, participating in volunteer work. Volunteer groups

actually play a very important role in community universities. Their work includes training volunteers, volunteer management, volunteer services, and community caring. Community universities attach great importance to how they can raise the spirit of helping each other and showing concerns over public issues, so that reciprocal care and reciprocal help can be expanded from human-to-human to human-to-organizations and even bring the spirit of mutual support into play in all community universities.

IV. Adult learners' community learning and trust relations.

1. Learners use harmonious communication to resolve conflict or public issues.

Trust is the basis of communication. In general, community university adult learners are very tolerant when communicating and trying to resolve community university problems and will adopt the principle of harmony to handle problems. They will communicate, engage in discussions, hold meetings, or conduct surveys. The following are comments from the respondents.

We communicated with each other and held meetings. Most of the problems were resolved smoothly. We are adults, and although we are very strong-minded we can be very tolerant. We seldom have

disagreements or conflicts. Of course there are some, but nothing serious. Usually discussions were made to get everyone's opinions. The volunteer club holds meetings regularly. If we really cannot reach an agreement, we will put the issue to a vote. The volunteer meetings are held once every month, and the volunteer cadre meetings are held once every three months.

Conflicts of interest do occur. As long as it does not involve each other's interest, it is easy to resolve. If I don't have losses and you don't have losses, I'll take a step back and you'll take a step back too. If it involves public interest, we will let the system resolve it. If the matter does not affect anyone's interest and even though it does not meet the requirements, we will do our best to accommodate it. Thus, the problem is resolved; no major interest is affected.

2. Learners are impressed by organization leaders and members; organization cohesion is strong.

Community university respondents have made very good comments on organization leaders, community university teachers, administrators, and senior volunteer coworkers. According to the respondents, these people are open-minded and have professional knowledge and admirable leadership. It shows that there is strong cohesion among community university members. The following are comments of the respondents.

Everyone is enthusiastic and caring at the community university.

There the number of administrative staff is small. Therefore, the first person getting there will mop and clean the floor. We feel comfortable if the classroom is clean. We have been with the teacher for a long time, and it seems that we have affections for the teacher.

Most respondents were impressed by community university personnel and had a high level of satisfaction. They made comments such as: teacher-student interaction is good; administrative staff is dedicated to their work; volunteer workers are very caring; it is easy to communicate with community university members. Community university solidarity and cohesion are very important. On the one hand, there is the natural atmosphere, and, on the other hand, there are enthusiastic people participating in the operation of community universities. Community universities have conducted their own surveys which confirm that their overall satisfaction level is around 80% to 90%.

3. Community universities can help learners enhance knowledge and ability and to gain empowerment opportunities.

What do learners in community universities say about what they have learned? They pointed out that community universities have helped them gain knowledge, enhance professional abilities, and get a chance to

empower themselves on community issues and issues related to the disadvantaged. The following are comments of the respondents.

Learning things that I have never learned before is growth. I have taken some haircutting lessons and passed a license test. I will not open a shop, but the license is an affirmation of my skills.

There are some changes. The courses we took were not advanced studies but courses on growth. For example, Yoga lessons are not advanced courses, and improvement relies on the students' own efforts. Advanced studies, such as computers and languages, stimulate growth. I took an English lesson, and I realized that I did not study well when I was in school. There was room for improvement.

Basically, the growth I experienced in volunteer work was related to services. Some of the volunteers used to be big bosses, but now they are retired and are volunteer workers. They have experienced a lot of growth. Perhaps they used to be very powerful, but now they serve others. This is a kind of growth, spiritual growth. They are different now. They used to manage people, or were temperamental. Doing volunteer work has changed them. They are more relaxed and have changed for the better. They have grown a little in spirit.

It is obvious that community university learners have grown and changed after studying there. In addition to learning from general courses, they also experience growth in their knowledge and abilities, including computer skills, the ability to pass license tests, being able to better manage clubs and groups, and changes in life. As for housewives and volunteers, they obviously have gained empowerment opportunities in areas such as self-growth, volunteer participation and community participation.

4. Learners affirm community universities' role in humanities, ecological and civic education.

Most community university learners have shown positive views and expectations toward community universities. They believe community universities have played a very important role in promoting community arts and humanities and lifelong learning. In addition, community universities attach great importance to environmental and ecological protection and public space and also play the role of civic education in the community. The following are comments from the respondents.

I think there should be more classes on confidence building to enhance learners' self confidence and self affirmation. If more people affirm themselves, the atmosphere of the society will be more harmonious. If people are confident about themselves, they will not

complain so much. Therefore, the atmosphere of the entire environment will improve.

The greatest advantage of community universities is that they can fully utilize social resources, for example, retirees' time. There are a lot of good courses, such as leisure, singing and dancing, skill-related, and computer courses. Take painting classes for example, at least now I can understand an oil painting. There are a lot of courses; you can learn slowly if you have time. There are a lot of advantages. For retirees, they can have something to do and will not become depressed. They can also become volunteer workers. Then they will have even broader room for development. Therefore, promoting community universities is a very good cause.

Community university respondents greatly affirmed community universities' role in knowledge-building and lifelong learning and their role of providing learning space in the community and developing humanities, ecology, and civic education. However, the respondents also hoped community universities can provide more pragmatic courses, be more flexible when hiring teachers, improve school facilities and equipment, and actively implement civic education to allow community universities to continue to develop sustainably.

Conclusion

Knowledge emancipation and constructing a civic society is the core concept of building community universities. Therefore, the development of community universities extends from individuals and organizations to public issues, and it is surrounded by layers of social capital contents. Community universities have gradually developed a sphere of influence. Therefore, community university teachers, administrators, and senior volunteers are actually all standing on the same axis with the learners. They all need to awaken the spirit of community universities and practice community university ideas through organizational management, curriculum planning, and community-building activities.

This study has reached the following three conclusions with regard to adult learners' participation motivations and the contents of their learning in community universities.

1. Major participation motivations include social relations, cognitive interests, escaping from something or stimulation.

2. Learning contents include three types of courses: practical, daily-life related and experiential.

3. Learners' roles are diverse; learners are impressed by the courses designed for the development of associations, communities and volunteers.

The design of the three major community university courses is the best model for implementing core ideas of community universities. Community university learners do not focus their learning on getting formal education credits or degree programs. They attach importance to practical, daily-life, and experience-oriented learning. Diverse arts curriculums can stimulate adult learners' curiosity about the world they live in; interdisciplinary, knowledge-based and logic courses can help them think about problems in depth; independent study courses can inspire them to care about things happening in the public sphere. This research's results indicate that community university learners' main participation motivations include social relations, cognitive interests, escaping from something or stimulation, and that these are in line with the general adult learners' learning motivations. In addition, the respondents were impressed by the courses designed for volunteer participation, organizational management, and community development. This also fully demonstrates that building a civic society is the core value of community universities.

This study has reached the following three conclusions with regard to community learning and network connection.

1. Conventional publications and exhibitions at public places are the main channels for learners to get learning information.

2. Community universities have become a medium for learners to participate in other community organizations.

3. Participation in community university courses can expand learners' interpersonal relations inside and outside their organizations and is conducive to learning.

In terms of social capital network links, community university learners can get learning information through interpersonal connection and participation in public places. Their knowledge, connection, and participation in community organizations are enhanced through related community university courses and activities. Their interpersonal network and relations are expanded, so that community university learners can build more interpersonal and organizational networks.

With regard to community university learners' community learning and reciprocal relations, this study has reached the following two conclusions.

1. Learners who help each other can promote human touch and enhance learning effectiveness.

2. Learners' volunteer services: from participating and organizing clubs to expressing concerns over public issues.

From the social capital reciprocal relation's point of view, community university learners' helping each other fully demonstrates the warmth of human touch and the action enhances and encourages learning effectiveness. In addition, community university learners' reciprocal behavior has also shown up in volunteer services, community participation, and actions to show concern over public issues. Community university learners' frequency and quality of public participation have improved.

This study has reached the following four conclusions with regard to community university learners' community learning and trust relations.

1. Learners use harmonious communication to resolve conflict or public issues.

2. Learners are impressed by organization leaders and members; organizational cohesion is strong.

3. Community universities can help learners enhance knowledge and ability and gain empowerment opportunities.

4. Learners affirm the community universities' role in humanities, ecology, and civic education.

From the social capital trust relation's point of view, most community university learners can communicate with each other harmoniously to resolve problems, have a positive impression toward related organization staff, and can strengthen organization identity and cohesion. Because of this trust relationship, community university learners get the opportunity to empower their knowledge and capabilities, and they affirm the community universities' role in humanities, ecology, and civic education. Furthermore, the conclusions reached by this study with regard to social capital, community participation and learning effectiveness are consistent with the results of the following two studies. According to the study by Te-Yung Chang, Fang-ming Huang, and Yi-jung Chen (2008), community university learners' social capital has a positive effect on both self-learning and classroom learning. Pao-feng Li's (2012) study also shows that community universities' social capital and social participation are reciprocal causation. In other words, community university learners' social capital can be predicted by their participation, and their participation can contribute to the accumulation of social capital. On the other hand, community university learners' social capital can enhance their community participation energy.

In summary, the results of this study also confirm the arguments made by Field & Schuller (1997), Smith (2011), and Balatti & Falk (2002) on social capital and adult learning. They believed that social capital can promote adult learning and that adult learning can enhance social capital; adult learning and social capital can develop at the same time.

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