Recurrent Education — Concepts and Policies for Lifelong Education

Containing the papers read before the Society at its Sixth General Meeting, Frascati 1973

Edited on behalf of the Society by Raymond Ryba and Brian Holmes
PREFACE

The Comparative Education Society in Europe suffered a grievous blow when in 1972 its President, Professor Saul B. Robinson, died suddenly in his home in Berlin. As Director of the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg, he had, with Professor Joseph A. Lauwerys at the University of London Institute of Education, sponsored a meeting of educationalists in London in May 1961 out of which the Comparative Education Society in Europe emerged. He was at the long meeting at Sèvres in 1962, when a Constitution was drawn up, and served continuously on the Committee as a member, Vice President and finally as President after his election to that office in Stockholm in 1971. Saul Robinson devoted much of his abundant energy and talent to the work of preparing material for the Society’s Conference held that year in Amsterdam. In 1965 he was able to gain the support of the Berlin authorities in order to hold the Society’s general meeting in that city. For this and subsequent conferences Robinson prepared papers which broke new ground in the theory of education and its study in comparative perspective. He encouraged his colleagues in Berlin to participate in the preparation of these conferences and to present papers on the themes.

As President of the Society, Saul Robinson’s influence on its affairs would surely have increased. He was full of ideas holding I believe that a small independent Society such as ours, drawing as it does scholars from all parts of Europe and the world, could complement the work of international governmental agencies or play a role as easily performed by them. Among the tasks he hoped the Society could undertake were the deepening of international understanding, the strengthening of education theory and the application of it to the reform of education in industrialised countries and in the Third World.

It was with these commitments in mind that the Committee under his Chairmanship decided to take life-long or recurrent education as its theme and to explore with our Italian friends the possibilities of holding the Society’s Sixth General Meeting in the European Centre in Frascati. He did not live to see his plans for this conference brought into fruition. This volume nevertheless will remain a witness of the many contributions made by Professor Saul Robinson to Comparative Education and the work of the Comparative Education Society in Europe.

Brian Holmes
Secretary/Treasurer 1961-73
President 1973
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I. The Comparative Education Society in Europe.
NOTE
THE GROTTFERRATA-FRASCATI PROCEEDINGS

The publication of these Proceedings of the Sixth General Meeting of the Society was made possible by generous grants from the European Cultural Foundation, The Hague, The Netherlands and from a member of the Society who wishes to remain anonymous.

On this occasion the Committee decided to retain the main features of previous Proceedings but to arrange, and edit the material in a way that would make it possible to present what is basically a Conference Report in a way that would give it wide appeal. For this reason some of the papers presented at the Conference are not included while others, articles such as those by Joseph Lauwers, Philip Idenburg and Friedrich Edding, are included although they were not presented or discussed at the Conference. Some of the major points raised in discussion groups have been incorporated in the Introduction rather than presented in separate summaries.*

The Editors and Committee wish to thank the Italian authorities who made the conference possible, and those members who prepared and presented papers at the Conference, as well as others who have allowed us to publish specially commissioned or previously prepared articles.

Finally the Society wishes to acknowledge and thank the following international agencies for co-operating in the preparation of the Conference and for granting permission to publish modified versions of articles prepared in the first instance for them Unesco: (Parkyn), OECD (Bengtsson and Kallen), Council of Europe (Lauwers), the Unesco Institute for Education (Dave).

*The Society is indebted to Kenneth Smart (Reading) and Marcel de Grandpré (Montreal) for their reports on the work of two of the discussion groups.
THE COMPARATIVE EDUCATION SOCIETY IN EUROPE: TEN YEARS OF MEETINGS*

by R. L. Plancke, (Ghent)

The Comparative Education Society in Europe was founded in May 1961 at a meeting organized by Professor J. A. Lauwerys and which took place at the University of London Institute of Education. At the end of this conference, which had been held in close co-operation with leading members of the International Bureau of Education at Geneva, Unesco in Paris, and the Unesco Institute for Education at Hamburg, it was decided to create a European association which should organize, among other things, international conferences of researchers in comparative education. The need for such an association had already been making itself felt for some time: in 1955 the Unesco Institute for Education at Hamburg had convened a meeting of experts in comparative education¹ and the 1959 congress on research in education held in Tokyo,² and to which some European professors had been invited, stressed the need for the creation of a separate society for Europe, with a view to «encourag[ing] comparative and international studies in education» in that part of the world.³

At the meeting in London, which was attended by all the then European pioneers of comparative education, a provisional board was elected, which was composed of Professor J. A. Lauwerys, president, and Professors Ph. J. Idenburg and Pedro Rosselló, vice-presidents. The present secretary of the Society, Dr. Brian Holmes, was already at that time appointed secretary-treasurer. They were assisted by a provisional committee of ten members, whose task consisted in, among other things, drawing up the Society’s statutes.

A first draft by Professor Joseph Katz, of the University of British Columbia, which was based on the statutes of the Comparative Education Society of America, was amended by the members of the Board. It was afterwards discussed at Sèvres in May 1962 and submitted to the general assembly at the first general meeting, which was convened by Professor Idenburg at Amsterdam from June 4-8, 1963, and presided over by Professor Lauwerys. The provisional committee found it desirable to propose a general theme on which to focus special attention. The theme originally chosen was «The Organisation and Structure of Secondary Education» and it was proposed to ask the participants to deal with their various subjects in such a way as to throw light upon the methodological problems of research in comparative education and to suggest ways and means of solving them. It was eventually decided to formulate the theme as follows: «Comparative Education Research and the Determinants of Educational Policy».

*This survey is based on the opening address given by the author at the sixth general meeting of the Comparative Education Society in Europe, which was held at Frascati and Grottaferrata, Italy, from June 3-9, 1973. It is reprinted from Paedagogia Historica, XIII, 2, 1973.
Within this framework, papers were read on the methods of identifying and classifying data, and special emphasis was placed on the difficulties inherent in research and on the collecting of educational data. The discussions showed that the problems of comparative education had become too complex and vast to be tackled by a single individual and that an intensification of interdisciplinary and team work was highly desirable.

The proceedings of the Amsterdam Conference were first published in volume IX of the *International Review of Education* and were later issued — together with the reports on the discussions — in a separate volume, published with the aid of the Fondation Européenne de la Culture.

The second general meeting took place in Berlin from June 8-12, 1965. It was organized by the late Professor Saul B. Robinson, and the chairmanship was again entrusted to Professor Lauwerys. The theme of the conference, viz. «General Education in a Changing World», had been chosen because the problems of general education had, during the previous conference, been brought up several times.

Whereas the first day of the Berlin Conference proper was devoted to an examination of the general theme chosen, the second day was given over to a symposium during which several professors described their universities’ approach to the study of comparative education. During the third day, devoted to interdisciplinary collaboration, several specialists dealt with, among other subjects, the use of statistics, economics, and anthropology, and their importance for comparative education.

The president concluded the conference with the remark that the discussions had made it clear that there was now an agreement on the questions regarding the aims, the scope, and the methodology of comparative education, and that the time had come to tackle more serious problems. This conference also revealed that two tendencies could be distinguished in the teaching of comparative education, one concerning itself chiefly with the study of the systems of education in the various countries, and the other having a more analytical bent. Also, the conference stressed once more the need for interdisciplinary research.

The proceedings of this conference were published with the financial aid of the Berlin authorities and the Institut für Bildungsforschung in der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft.

The third general meeting of the Society took place at Ghent from June 6-10, 1967, and was organized by the author of the present survey. Professor Lauwerys, who was to have chaired the conference, was unable to attend and it was the first vice-president, Professor Idenburg, who opened the inaugural session. During this session and in response to a wish expressed at the previous conference that a critical survey be given of the education system of the country in which the conference took place, my Belgian colleague Marion Coulon gave a critical outline of the Belgian education system.
The theme of the conference, viz. «The University within the Education System», had been selected on account of the fact that at the time the extension of higher education and the creation of new universities were being enthusiastically discussed in almost all European countries.

It had been decided that when examining the theme of the conference, attention should be given to the whole compass of tertiary education, including the relations of tertiary education with the other aspects of the education system. The subject, however, soon proved too vast for discussion in so short a time and attention was accordingly focused on some major aspects of the problem of higher education. The first day of the conference was devoted to a general analysis of the problems connected with the admission to, and the first years of study of, university life. On the second day the functions of the university as a community were discussed and on the third day papers were presented on the new universities and the contemporary reform movements in higher education.

The proceedings of this meeting were published with the financial support of the Belgian Government and the University of Ghent.7

The fourth general meeting was held at Prague from June 3-7, 1969. It was organized by Professor F. Singule and presided over by Professor Idenburg.

The central theme of this conference was «Curriculum Development at the Second Level of Education». The theme was here to some extent being resumed which had originally been proposed for the first general meeting but which had had to be partly abandoned on account of the fact that at the time the methodological problems of research in comparative education had called for immediate attention. This time the theme of secondary education had been selected because, on the one hand, secondary education in Europe was rapidly expanding and modernizing and, on the other hand, the need for the democratization of secondary education made itself more and more felt on that continent.

After a report on European curriculum developments at the second level of education, the Prague Conference successively examined the following subjects: curriculum theories and practices (design techniques for current curricula and research in the field); curriculum organization, integration, and sequences; materials and methods of implementation in the development of the curriculum; and, finally, social and political factors and the curriculum.

The proceedings of this conference were published thanks to another grant from the Fondation Européenne de la Culture. Owing to a variety of reasons, however, they did not appear until the end of 1972, almost at the same time as those of the fifth general meeting, which took place at Stockholm from June 14-19, 1971, and whose theme was «Teacher Education». The importance of the role played by the teacher being almost universally recognized, it is small wonder that this theme met with great success.
A survey of the organization of higher education in Sweden, given by the Minister of Education himself during the first day of the conference, was followed on the same day by a discussion of the characteristics of teachers in big cities. The aims and objectives of teacher education, especially with respect to tradition and innovation in the teacher's role, were considered on the second day. The third day was given over to a discussion of the politics of teacher education. As to the fourth day, it was devoted to such problems as the effects of teacher training on school development and the role of research in teacher education.

The reports presented on each of these themes were discussed by discussion groups divided into three sections, viz. a German-speaking, an English-speaking, and a French-speaking section. The division into sections made it possible to find a solution for the language problem arising at almost every international conference. At the closing session each discussion group presented its own report, which was afterwards discussed in a plenary session.

The proceedings of the Stockholm Conference appeared, as already mentioned above, at the end of last year and were published with the financial aid of the Swedish authorities.

With the sixth general meeting of the Society, finally, which was held at Frascati and Grottaferrata, Italy, from June 3-9, 1973, and which was devoted to «Recurrent Education», the conferences organized by the Comparative Education Society in Europe entered upon their tenth year of existence.

REFERENCES

3) This is the purpose as defined in article 2 of the statutes of the Society. The text of the statutes adopted at Amsterdam may be found on pages 127-138 of the proceedings of the conference held in that city (cf. *infra, page 554, note 1). The above-given quotation occurs on page 127.
7) *The University within the Education System, [London], The Comparative Education Society in Europe, [1968], 300 pp.
II. Recurrent Education — Concepts and Policies for Lifelong Education
Introduction

RECURRENT AND LIFE-LONG EDUCATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Brian Holmes and Raymond Ryba

At each of its General Meetings the Comparative Education Society in Europe has selected a theme of contemporary interest for analysis and discussion. On the occasion of its Sixth general meeting in Grottaferrata and Frascati it seemed fitting to take recurrent, life-long and permanent education as the theme because of the attention shown in these types of education by international agencies and indeed by many national ministries of education.

This interest is not difficult to explain. It is a reflection of a continuing commitment by governments to the principle of providing education as a human right, to be freely available to all regardless of age, sex, race or socio-economic position. On the other hand, interest in forms of recurrent and life-long education should be seen against the failure of educational policies throughout the world to achieve the high hopes entertained for them after the Second World War. In other words by the early Seventies a search for alternatives to the policies pursued since 1945 was well under way. A brief review of them will help to place our analysis of recurrent and life-long education in perspective.

For some thirty years, partly as a result of the clause about education in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, educational policy has been based upon the principle that schooling should be extended to everyone as a matter of right. At the primary level it should be free, universal and compulsory and at the second and third stages it should be provided on the basis of ability to benefit rather than ability to pay. This principle has justified post-war attempts to universalise primary schooling in those countries, many of which gained independence after the war, where it did not exist already. It justified attempts to provide "secondary school education for all" and to raise the age of compulsory attendance in those countries which by 1939 had effectively universalised primary schooling. If these policies dominated the scene in the Forties and Fifties the expansion of universities and other institutions of higher education dominated almost the whole of the Sixties. By their end a sense of disillusionment was already apparent.

It is doubtful whether the human right argument alone would have persuaded governments to raise the level of spending on schools. Support for expansion, however, came from several quarters. At meetings in 1946, when Unesco was established, claims were made that schools were vital to the peace and prosperity of the world. Some educationalists held even at that time that the simple expansion and universalisation of provision would raise standards of living and
promote a more just society. The support given by sociologists and economists to these claims is now part of the history of education and indeed of comparative education.

If the motivation for policies to provide primary school places for all young children in newly independent countries was in the first instance political, by the late Fifties the economists of education were attempting to show how dependent economic prosperity and growth were on educational provision. During the early Fifties sociologists argued in favour of re-organising secondary school systems along comprehensive lines and postponing selection by abolishing it when primary school pupils transferred to secondary schools. Japan moved quickly towards a USA-type of non-selective school system. Western European nations moved in the same direction at varying rates. It was hoped that these moves would not only provide greater equality of educational opportunity but would help to reduce class differences and privileges.

The Sixties were dominated by the expansion of higher education. At first, in many countries, demand far outpaced the supply of places. Most governments expanded provision, during the first half of the decade, although in the Federal Republic of Germany, USA and Japan the boom was over by then. It was to hit France, Sweden, Canada and many other countries to a greater or lesser extent. Policies varied too. Initially, except in Great Britain, expansion took place largely in the University sector, so that the direction it took was largely determined by student preferences and faculty interests. By the mid-Sixties new institutions such as the Polytechnics in Britain, the University Institutes of Technology in France and Regional Colleges in Norway, were being set up to bring expansion more directly under the control of government.

By the end of the Sixties the sanguine hopes of those who had advocated expansion on the grounds of the social benefits it would confer had been dashed. Worldwide peace had not been secured. Standards of living had been raised but most noticeably in those countries which were already rich or in those possessing exploitable resources such as oil. The gap between the wealthy and the poor nations had widened rather than narrowed in spite of the efforts made in the latter to provide primary school places for all children of primary school age. Again in most countries, in spite of the expansion of school education, the disadvantaged and under privileged were still disadvantaged and under-privileged. The privileged still seemed able to gain more easy access to good schools and consequently were able to benefit most from formal education. Moreover, attempts to reduce these gaps appeared to have failed. At the international level technical assistance, in the form of the Peace Corps, Voluntary Service Overseas, expert advice and the rest, had encountered serious difficulties. Compensatory education, though judged somewhat hastily in the USA, seemed to have done little to reduce the gap in terms of achievements in school between the children of affluent and poor parents.
Then the university students (and some faculty members) rebelled. Some rejected established society and the universities as the guardians of it. Others directed their attack on the government of universities. Violence occurred on many campuses which astounded administrators and in many cases caught them unprepared to deal with it. Nowhere was the possibility of political revolution entirely absent. In France an alliance between students and workers might have plunged de Gaulle’s France into something approaching civil war. Pompidou claimed it threatened civilisation itself. In Japan universities were forced to close for long periods of time in the face of student demonstrations. Perhaps in the Republic of China the official closure of universities for one year was less a matter of deliberate policy than an ad hoc reaction to events. Students in India boycotted examinations in some universities. In Berlin and Kent State, USA, students were killed. Student reaction to policies in Vietnam undoubtedly influenced government policy. These, and many other well-known and less well documented incidents may seem at one level to be peripheral to the main flow of world events. At another level the cumulative effect probably induced governments to reconsider policies of expansion even before economic recessions forced retrenchment on them in many countries.

Certainly university expansion failed in many countries to increase the proportion of university trained scientists and technologists. Given freedom of choice, students in England and France, for example, had chosen to study the humanities or social sciences. Indeed only in those countries where the government, as in the USSR, has a considerable measure of control over the economy does it seem possible indirectly to control education in a way which will make it possible for schools and institutions of higher education to meet manpower needs. Be this as it may, the emphasis given to expansion has changed in many countries. Diversification of post-compulsory schooling has taken place and institutions of short-cycle higher education have been introduced. Both policies appear generally to be designed, at least in part, to reduce costs while allowing for expansion. It seems likely that their aim is to increase the amount of initial vocational training. Certainly in France and Norway short cycle higher education seems principally directed towards manpower needs. At the same time, however, the model frequently followed is that of the Junior Colleges in the USA in which two year terminal vocational courses are provided as well as first and second year courses of a four year liberal arts degree. The diversification of upper secondary (post compulsory) schooling and the introduction of short cycle higher education can therefore be seen as policy responses to the problems created by the expansion of school systems over a period of some twenty-five years.

More radical solutions have been offered by critics who consider that the schools have utterly failed to live up to what was promised. For deschoolers, such as Ivan Illich and Paul Goodman, the schools have not contributed to social justice. They have perpetuated privilege, exacted conformity from pupils and thus reinforced the power of the groups who already hold power. Far from
emancipating man they have enslaved in a web of false consciousness those who remain willingly within the system up to and beyond the age of compulsory attendance. The deschoolers represent the polar extreme of educators from those who placed their faith in schools as the most important agency of education and social betterment. From this movement alternative forms of education and ways of acquiring it on the basis of choice have been proposed. These proposals deserve serious attention, if only because the analysis from which they arise is difficult to refute. On most accepted criteria their product cannot be called schools, much less a system of compulsory schooling.

Life-long, recurrent and permanent education represent more conventional alternative responses to the problems described. Their theoretical models, in their most generalised forms, differ, though perhaps only in emphasis. Their advocates re-iterate many of the principles on which post-war policies have been based, generally taking as axiomatic that everyone has a right to education, that education should be democratised by providing equality of opportunity for all social groups, and that it should offer general and professional training. These advocates however go beyond such principles by emphasizing that concepts of life-long and recurrent and permanent education involved breaking the quasi-monopoly of education exercised by the school. Schools, universities, and other training institutions are only some of the agencies which provide education. The community has a part to play. So has industry and commerce, youth activities, and various media at home. There is agreement that education should not terminate at the end of formal schooling. The amount of education which should be made available to all may be a matter of dispute but its quality should be such as to enrich the lives of its recipients, and to make them capable of meeting the demands of life. Since the society in which they live is bound to be a changing one, this means that individuals must be adaptable and able to innovate. Education must therefore be flexible and the system should allow for alternative patterns. The resultant pattern of education are seen not as distinct from formal schooling but in interaction with it. Their comprehensive character should enable them to take care of the shortcomings of the existing system of schools and higher institutions of education, and it should be possible to move into and out of the latter by taking advantage of various forms of post-school education.

Within this background it is not without significance that major international agencies — Unesco, OECD, the Council of Europe, among others — have been particularly influential in stimulating and developing thinking about new approaches to the organisation and phasing of educational provision. The papers collected here offer in one volume a comprehensive survey of the models which have been developed for, and in cooperation with, these agencies, together with a critical review of the forces which have led to their development and an analysis of their major implications. They are undoubtedly extremely significant, suggesting as they do that a considerable amount of conceptual analysis has preceded the introduction of policies based upon them.
The two papers in the first section of the volume set the scene. Sixten Marklund considers the present situation in recurrent education within a 'growing realization throughout the world of the importance of adult education' and points to the need for a critical appraisal of the effects of post-war educational reforms which have been dominated by the expansion and prolongation of youth education. His concept of the 'educational train' which the individual through his life should be able to 'board or alight ... when he feels the need to do so' provides a vivid image of the concept of recurrent education. Philip Idenburg's paper on *Education and Utopia* — his brilliant farewell lecture to the University of Amsterdam in 1972 — is more general in concept. Nevertheless, in the course of his discussion of the influence on educational policy of different concepts of utopia, he shows quite clearly how the roots of thinking about life-long education are closely intertwined with their educational implications. Although, for him, recurrent and life-long education are most closely related to ideal notions of leisure and its use, his paper also makes clear inextricable connections with notions in four other areas: the relationship between the State and the educational system; the notion of equality, and its relevance to educational structures and the content of education; the link between education and work; and the appropriateness of schools as we know them to the purposes of education as they are now being redefined.

The second part of the volume is more directly concerned with the elaboration and consideration of the conceptual models of the three related concepts of permanent education, lifelong education and recurrent education. Joseph Lauwerys's paper, based on a study originally prepared for the Council for Culture Cooperation of the Council of Europe, examines the first of these concepts. He reminds us that a second 'parallel' non-formal education system always exists and has always existed beside the formal education system. For him, therefore, 'there is nothing new in the notion of "permanent education" or "life-long continuing education"'. What is new, however, is the 'explicit realisation that it does exist'. In Lauwerys's view, where, in the past, the formal and non-formal systems 'fitted fairly well', the pace of development in modern technological society has led to changes in both systems. His paper therefore examines the nature of the changes required and suggests how new media of communication might play an important part.

George Parkyn's contribution elucidates the model of life-long education prepared by him for Unesco. It examines the model's underlying assumptions, its implications for the organisation of education, and problems relating to its administration. Within the model Parkyn lays emphasis on the education system as 'an organising centre for lifelong learning' in which education is seen not simply as 'a preparation for life that will be lived after education is completed', but rather as 'an essential element in living throughout the whole length of life'. Finally, R.H. Dave, in a paper originally given to the German section of the Comparative Education Society in Europe, considers recurrent education from a conceptual point of view. He points to its universal character as post-basic education and considers various characteristics which appear to him to be logically implied by it.
The final section of the volume looks more closely at policies and policy implications. In the first paper in this section, Denis Kallen, reflecting on his work for OECD in the development of the concept of recurrent education, stresses that it 'is not a new concept, on a par with éducation permanente'. For him, and for OECD, recurrent education is essentially 'a planning strategy for implementing lifelong or permanent education'. Moreover, it is a strategy which 'includes the present education system' and 'is part of a package of social labour market, cultural and financial policies'. Within this definition, Kallen's important paper develops a consistent and comprehensive argument which places recurrent education in the context in which it was developed by OECD and in its member countries, and relates it to important general concerns of the educational world.

In the paper which follows, Jarl Bengtsson develops one part of Kallen’s argument — the relationship between recurrent education and the world of work — in much greater detail. In particular, Bengtsson’s paper stresses 'the comprehensive nature of the educational, social, and economic implications' entailed by the notion of recurrent education in the economic and industrial environment of the present day. He invites us to consider, among other things, 'whether the education system should continue to be looked upon as the basis of the selection process for occupation ... between the ages of 10 and 25.' An important issue raised in Bengtsson's paper — the question of financing educational leave — is taken up in the next paper by Friedrich Edding. This closely-argued contribution stresses the importance of educational leave as an operational instrument in the realization of recurrent education. It considers the cost implications of alternative kinds of leave, and examines alternative sources of funding which might enable the concept of general educational leave to become a reality.

The four remaining papers offer case studies of policy and policy implications relating to Italy (Saverio Avveduto and Giuliana Limiti) and Spain (José Benavent), and an interesting comparative analysis of expectations and realities in recurrent and adult education (Raymond Jackson).

Taken together, the papers collected in this volume indicate differences of emphasis both between the models outlined and between the interpretations put upon them. Life-long models tend to stress the individual and the provision of education as a human right. Naturally, therefore, life-long education is regarded as a process which begins at birth and ends at death. It is thus more than formal schooling and adult education. Recurrent education models pay more attention to relationships between education and work while viewing both in broad and generous terms. Emphasis too is on relationships between formal schooling at the second and third stages of education and forms of education which fall under the heading recurrent education. Again, the latter is seen as providing workers with opportunities for further education so that the process may be life-long. Of course most countries have, in some form or other, types of education which could be described in part as life-long or recurrent education. The extent of formal provision has often in the past influenced the provision of education in institutions
other than the school. Thus, where, as in England, little specific technical training is provided in schools, much has to be given by industry and commerce. Post-compulsory schooling or adult education tends to be heavily vocational. On the other hand this is less true of the USSR where an extensive range of technical secondary schools provide specific job-training. Consequently a thorough comparative study would involve an analysis of school provisions in various countries in order to detect gaps in it which are filled by other forms of education and training. Concepts of education would help to determine these patterns and the problems which have recently become apparent. Further research would show how under various circumstances the models described in the volume are being translated into practical policies and into the institutions through which it is hoped to achieve the goals of life-long and recurrent education.

Much discussion has already been generated both by the conceptual analysis reported in this volume and by growing attempts at national levels to build recurrent and life-long education programmes, either on the basis of existing institutions or through the establishment of new ones.

The Grottaferrata/Frascati Meeting of the Comparative Education Society in Europe itself presented a unique opportunity for such discussion between educationalists from most European countries as well as experts on European education from the USA, Canada, South America and elsewhere. The range of this discussion certainly suggested that life-long and recurrent education were avenues worth pursuing in the search for ways of further extending educational opportunity. They offered, for example, ways of catering for inter-generational inequalities in education, and for the education of women. They promised more successful alternatives to the extending of availability of education than are offered by continued prolongation of formal education. They permitted vocational re-training in the light of technological development. Nevertheless there remain many issues, both conceptual and practical which need to be clarified.

The main areas for discussion at the CESE meeting resolved themselves into three main areas. These were a further consideration of the nature of recurrent and life-long education, an examination of their relationship to existing educational structures, and an evaluation of their potential contribution to societal development in different contexts, with particular reference to their relationship with the world of work.

At the general conceptual level it quickly emerged that there was as yet little unanimity on terminological definition. Despite Dennis Kallen's persuasive attempts to insist on distinctions between the concepts of recurrent education and life-long education, and to define the former as a strategy for implementing the latter, it was apparent that some participants were content to use these terms and others e.g. permanent education, continuing education, and even adult education, as interchangeable. Some clearly felt that distinctions between these terms lacked the reality which their proponents implied. Nor was there any clear consensus about the applicability of OECD's proposals for a recurrent education strategy as a comprehensive programme.
National differences of interpretation emerged in an interesting way. Thus, some French-speaking discussants were more predisposed to consider recurrent education as essentially vocationally oriented, as opposed to the more general orientation of éducation permanente. In their view, its main function was to offer opportunities for retraining in order to adapt to changes taking place in society. Its role was therefore an essentially ‘instructional’ one, as opposed to the more generally ‘educational’ one of life-long education. This view certainly did not accord with the strategy outlined by Kallen. For a German contributor, the rather different distinction between Bildung, implying personal development, and Erziehung, implying a process of training for a purpose beyond or outside the self, was important to bear in mind. English-speaking discussants, on the other hand, were more directly concerned to consider ways in which different aspects of life-long education might be organised; whether for example, part-time education, concurrent to working life, might not be more relevant in certain circumstances than a recurrent pattern.

Notions of the relationship between permanent, recurrent, and life-long education, on the one hand, and the existing educational system, on the other, are obviously of importance. Implementing new policies which seek to replace existing consecutive relationships between formal educational provision and post-educational life by less rigid, more flexible, arrangements could hardly occur without some re-adjustment of the existing arrangements, particularly at the margin between the last years of schooling and the first years of working life. Changes in the balance of latent functions attributable to existing school systems — for example, relating to the importance of their role as rationing devices as between the continuation of education at tertiary level and entry into various kinds or grades of working life — would make possible a redefinition of manifest objectives. This, in turn, must lead to a reconsideration of curricula and of educational structures.

As might be expected at a conference of comparative educationalists, generalisations about the likely nature of consequent changes were realistically hedged with cautious caveats relating to the very different societal contexts existing in different countries. However, three major areas of relationship with existing educational structures were distinguished and felt to need further clarification. The first of these relationships — between the new concepts and pre-tertiary education — focussed particularly on the potential release of compulsory schooling from some of its implied obligations in current single-chance educational situations. Paramount among these is the notion of equipping its pupils educationally, during initial compulsory schooling, as completely as possible for the whole of the rest of their lives. Some participants felt that a complete rethinking and restructuring of initial formal education was essential. Others, however, stressed the need to preserve those aspects of present compulsory schooling which help to ensure continued movement towards equality of access to tertiary education for underprivileged groups. For some participants, recurrent education
patterns offered a preferable alternative route in the expansion of educational opportunity to extensions in compulsory schooling which in their view had already gone too far. For them, recurrent education offered a welcome opportunity to halt or even reverse the trend towards raising legal school leaving ages, so riddling secondary schools of their present obligations to cater for unwilling pupils. For others, however, the removal, presumably into the world of work, of those elements whose presence in schools appears to be becoming increasingly disruptive was more an evasion of than a solution to the problems which they represent.

The second major area of concern lay in the relationships with existing post-school facilities, both formal and informal, for what in Britain is referred to as further, as opposed to higher, education, i.e. to adult education not of university level. The main emphasis in this area of discussion lay in the importance of identifying and harnessing existing institutions and less formal groups which provide opportunities in this field, not only for upgrading basic formal education but also for providing preparation for leisure activities and for general cultural development. One problem which seemed to loom particularly large in the construction of comprehensive life-long education systems related to the need to supplement and re-direct existing provision in order to obtain a better balance between, for example, educational, cultural, and practical aspects of what is available. Equally important was the question of redressing the present balance of customers for this kind of education. Students in post-school education in most countries are often virtually restricted to three groups: young adults who have only recently left school; married women — particularly middle class ones — who are not at work; and retired people. Two factors which seemed particularly important to discussants in this regard were the introduction of a realistic level of paid leave to enable other groups to make use of available facilities; and the establishment of educational counselling services for adults.

Finally, the role of higher education was considered. Three particular facets generating most discussion related to (1) direct involvement in the provision of appropriate courses; (2) the provision of appropriate training for the teachers who would be needed within a life-long educational system, and (3) the development of research into the particular problems relating to the provision of education in such a system. How far universities and related institutions in some countries would be willing to accept these roles and to adapt to the changed situation which a life-long or recurrent educational system would imply was a matter for intense speculation. Some fear clearly existed that universities might not wish to, or might not be able to, contribute to a redefined education system in these ways. However, case studies of the incipient development of educational systems in the direction of life-long principles, for example in the Canadian Provinces of Alberta and Quebec, suggested to some participants that, while problems certainly existed in this area, there were also grounds for cautious optimism.

Problems relating to these relationships between existing educational institutions and developing life-long systems of education are essentially operational
ones. To that extent, important as they are, they remain less fundamental than those which relate notions of the appropriateness of a particular way of organising the educational system of a country to the needs and demands of its societal context. Discussion in this area concentrated most on consideration of whether any alternatives existed to a future policy of recurrent or life-long education. While some discussants felt that caution was desirable before jumping to conclusions on the basis of what might well be superficial evidence, there was general agreement that in modern Western societies, at least, the pace of technological advance required movement in this direction for productive reasons. And the general increase in leisure and affluence presented a complementary pressure on a consumption criterion: the need to provide, through education, a constantly available opportunity for increasing the fullness and richness of people’s lives. In this context, changing notions of work and leisure might well be important in different societies in influencing the manner in which a recurrent or life-long education system actually develops.

Reference has already been made to the role of comparative research in the translation of the models presented in this volume into practical policies applicable to particular countries. The potential importance of research of this nature was generally recognised to be particularly great at a time when so many countries are struggling with societal problems which seem to be pointing in the direction of educational reorganisation of a broadly similar kind. The value of work already done under the auspices of Unesco and OECD was clearly recognised, but many participants felt that more was needed. Areas of possible enquiry included, in their view, a further expansion of work already done on case studies of developments in the direction of recurrent education in particular countries, the development of more specific hypotheses as a foundation for national researches, and continued work on the identification and examination of problems, e.g. concerning relations between educational sectors, barriers between parents and schools, problems relating to the motivation of teachers, and so on. In all these areas, it was felt, further research which went beyond the present level of conceptual discussion and towards hypotheses based on the careful collection and analysis of empirical data was what was now required.

What emerges, both from the papers collected in this volume and from the discussion of its theme which took place during the Society’s conference at Grottaferrata and Frascati, is that life-long and recurrent education may well offer ways of meeting some of the problems which have recently become obvious within education and in its relationship to societal demands. Each country will doubtless adapt concepts of life-long education to meet its particular needs. However, sufficient unanimity exists among contributors and participants to suggest that the way ahead in education will not be simply by increasing the provision of formal schooling at all levels and that more account will have to be taken of non-formal ways of educating young people and adults. At the same time there is a danger that life-long and recurrent education may be seen as a panacea
capable of doing in the Seventies and Eighties what it was hoped universal primary and secondary education could achieve in the Fifties and Sixties. The contribution which these Proceedings can make to the discussion should not be insignificant, particularly in the light of the careful analyses presented in the theoretical articles.
Section I — Background

RECURRENT EDUCATION: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

by S. Marklund (Stockholm)

The growing realization throughout the world of the importance of adult education is reflected by the work of international institutions and bodies. In 1971 the World Bank adopted a programme giving high priority to adult education. A recent example is also the UNESCO world conference of adult education, held in Tokyo in 1972, which showed quite clearly that governments today are assuming and can be expected in future to assume still greater responsibility for adult education than was formerly the case. Formerly adult education was viewed as a parallel education system to youth education. The 1960s witnessed a successive integration of the two. This is to be seen in terms of the new attitude to formal and real education now emerging, an attitude in which the gap between the two is steadily narrowing.

An analysis of the development of adult education during the 1960s reveals that there has been a considerable quantitative expansion of the number of people taking part in adult education programmes. The question which therefore arises is whether this has resulted in a more equitable allocation of education between different groups in society. Participation studies reveal that many of those who have derived the greatest benefit from the expansion of adult education are already privileged in terms of education. This results in a widening of the education gap within and between generations, so that the answer to our question is — No. So far, increased adult education commitment has not resulted in a social equalization.

The Tokyo conference minted the expression “the forgotten people” with reference to the unemployed, those who left school too early in the developing countries, the rural population of many countries, immigrant workers and the aged. One of the foremost tasks of adult education must be to provide for the needs of these groups. In the case of the developing countries, great emphasis has been placed on the establishment of literacy, which is a precondition of other forms of adult education and of greater social activity on the part of the population. UNESCO’s calculations show that the proportion of illiterates in the population of the world has fallen during the last two decades from 44 per cent to 34 per cent. In absolute figures, however, there has been a rise from 700 million to almost 800 million owing to population increase.

Understandably, attitudes to adult education differ as between developing and affluent countries. The affluent countries have tended to emphasize recurrent education more. There are many reasons for this, among them the following:
social change;  
the increasingly rapid growth and transformation of knowledge;  
higher living standards;  
more leisure;  
a more mobile labour market;  
a shortage of skilled labour;  
differences between the generations.

Post-war educational reforms have been dominated by the expansion and prolongation of youth education. This development is rooted in the conviction that longer schooling will ease the processes of adjustment and democratization in a changing society. The time has now come for a critical appraisal of the effects of these reforms. As we all know, schools today are characterized by grave internal problems, as witness, for example, high rates of discontinued studies and absenteeism, and dissatisfaction among students and teachers alike. In many cases, moreover, there is cause to query the efficacy of the last stage of youth education. To this should be added the testimony of a great many studies showing that schools in their present form have only limited prospects of achieving social equality. It is not enough to establish formal equality by giving everybody free access to school education. True equality requires supplementary measures. It also requires an investigation of the results of the measures that have been taken so far.

Post-secondary education has also expanded heavily. Here it has been possible in recent years to discern a lack of congruence between demand in the labour market and educational output, with the result that there has been a high level of unemployment among graduates. More and more of us are now beginning to realize that the individual's total education should be divided up throughout the life cycle and not confined to the first stages of life, as is done at present. Once education is viewed in these terms it becomes less satisfactory to talk of adult education, for this implies a distinction between youth and adult education. It is more apt to talk of recurrent education throughout the entire life cycle of the individual.

An attempt is made in the OECD Clarifying Report\textsuperscript{1} to profile the concept of recurrent education. Since Denis Kallen's contribution relates directly to this report, only a couple of its basic ideas will be touched on here. The main implication of the report is that a strategy must be explicitly drawn up. Moreover this strategy must be related to economic, social and employment policies. Another important requirement is that youth education must be changed and integrated with education at later stages of life in order that the principle of recurrent education be susceptible of realization.

From the point of view of the individual this means that studies are to be integrated with work and leisure on a recurrent basis. One strategic question here
will concern the best way of planning and administering such an educational system and the effect of the system on the present structure of post-secondary and adult education. A system of recurrent education will require the co-ordination of post-compulsory education, on-the-job training and other adult education. At present these forms of education often exist as independent units apart from the regular education system. It cannot be overemphasized that such co-ordination must not be allowed to result in rigid central direction. Regional and local planning are a necessary means of realizing the aims in view. It is of the utmost importance to harness the motivation and spontaneity which often characterize adult education today.

The central idea is that the individual should be able throughout the life cycle to board and alight from the "educational train" when he feels the need to do so. This presupposes, firstly, a different admissions procedure in which greater store will have to be set by real competence. Secondly, education must not be arranged in such a way that it invariably leads up to a diploma or degree. There should be more facilities for arranging individual courses designed to suit the needs of persons who are already vocationally active.

In addition to organizational changes, supporting measures are needed to activate those groups in society which at present are excluded from adult education. In order to realize the principle of recurrent education, educational reforms must be followed up in the labour market. Everybody seeking information must be able to consult a study counsellor and receive help. The Employment Service must operate more in terms of the needs and aptitudes of the individual and not merely according to the needs of the labour market and industry. A further need is for information to employers concerning the educational background and vocational plans of new categories of applicants for employment. The question will arise of absence or temporary release with full pay for purposes of study. Some form of study support must be made available to those who are not gainfully employed.

New channels will also have to be found for information on educational opportunities, for example, catchment activities at work places and among households. In this way, help could be given to categories in society who at present, for psychological reasons, such as fear of studies, lack of self-confidence, or negative attitudes towards education, do not avail themselves of the study opportunities that are open to them. Apart from the psychological portion of the obstacle syndrome, the other portion, i.e. environmental obstacles, must be eliminated.

As the Tokyo conference strongly emphasized, funds will have to be invested in research and development if the idea of a system of recurrent education is to be realized. Sectors coming high on the list of priorities include the following:
study needs and obstacles to study among adults;
adult psychology, with particular emphasis on learning and methodological adaptation;
various means of utilizing educational technology at reasonable cost;
the utilization of mass media;
socio-cultural and socio-economic factors influencing the study situation.

The programmes which are now being started must be provided with the requisite built-in evaluation mechanisms, as well as facilitating analyses and comparisons, in order for it to be possible to draw conclusions from them. As we now approach a new phase in the history of education, close co-operation across frontiers is urgently needed. In this way we can prevent the mistakes of one country being repeated by another. It is also important for us to pool our experience of successful methods and relevant research findings. In this way we can derive the greatest possible effect from the limited economic resources we have at our disposal.

If recurrent education can thus be seen as one of the standing topics of debate in present day education policy, mention should also be made of another topic which is no less inflammable, namely the idea of deschooling. Equality and social justice, the argument goes, are not promoted by schools and education. On the contrary, schools help to perpetuate the existing social hierarchy and with it existing social injustice.

The idea of deschooling has at times been put forward as an antithesis of the idea of recurrent education. The former is thought to aim at a reduction of the role of schooling, the latter at an increase thereof. Limitations of time and space preclude any detailed comparison of these ideas in the present context, but it would seem clear that, in spite of their different premises, the ideas of deschooling and recurrent education have certain definite features in common. Both set out to change the role of schools, de-institutionalize schooling, bring schools and society closer together, integrate both schooling and working life and schooling and leisure. Both ideas demand sweeping changes in institutionalized schooling.

What can comparative educational research do to establish greater clarity on these issues? What kinds of problems should be raised by comparative educational research? What part can and should be played by universities and other institutions of higher education in promoting recurrent education? And how can the individual country benefit from the experiences and knowledge of other countries? These are the sort of questions which bulk largest on the agenda of the C.E.S.E. conference which has now begun. Two years ago, when C.E.S.E. decided to devote the 1973 conference to adult education, it was already obvious that the subject should be given the broader content implied by the term recurrent education. As has already been indicated, studies in this sector have been conducted by the international bodies UNESCO and OECD. In view of the comprehensive work which is thus in progress and also in view of the fairly
limited resources available to C.E.S.E. for studies of its own, the committee of the
Society has found the most practical and economic course to be for the material
already compiled by UNESCO and OECD to form the basis of our discussions
here. The OECD Clarifying Report, which will be presented more exhaustively
during the conference by experts concerned with this reporting work, has been
taken as the central document. Its character of general problem inventory and
critical analysis should make this report of central interest to comparative
educational research generally, regardless of the research tradition and the
education system within which that research is being conducted.

Even the summary indications I have given here of the problems of recurrent
education are enough to show that we may have to widen our field of research to
include larger areas than we are accustomed to associate with educational
research. To strictly institutional and didactic matters must be added a long series
of political, economic and social issues. The assortment of variables must be
enlarged, techniques of data collection, data analysis, reporting, synthesis and
evaluation must be tailored to the scope and nature of the problems of recurrent
education. This can lead to considerable changes in comparative educational
research.

REFERENCE

EDUCATION AND UTOPIA*

by Ph. J. Idenburg (Amsterdam)

1. Introduction: the concept of utopia

Among the testimonies to mankind’s hopes and expectations for the future of human society, the concept of utopia occupies a position apart by reason of its tangibility. In describing a different way of living, it embodies something to which we can direct our desires and actions. History teaches us that the intention behind the presentation of utopian models can be widely different. Thomas More (1478-1535) published, at the beginning of the 16th century, his book on the ‘New Island of Utopia’ by way of moralizing precept, as a call to conversion. In the age of Enlightenment, utopia was an instrument of information about the natural order of things, in which human welfare was embodied. It pointed the way. The utopian socialists Robert Owen (1771-1858) and Charles Fourier (1772-1837), and also the anarchist Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), all of them active in the first half of the 19th century, appealed to men of good will to help create a heaven on earth here and now. They sought participants. Karl Marx (1818-1883) saw the ideal society as the result of a determined development. In the middle of the 19th century he called upon the working class to take an active and conscious part in the historic-immanent process of revolution.

The ideas which the utopians held about the future of society were no less divergent. Their projects may be roughly divided into a number of categories. There are democratic types of various purport. In Thomas More we find a democracy with general elections and room for diversity, constructed on the socio-economic foundation of communism. M.J.A.N. Caritat de Condorcet (1743-1794), one of the major figures of the French Revolution, gives a blueprint of a democracy on the basis of socio-economic liberalism. Proudhon advocated a democracy based on anarchistic assumptions.

Set against this democratic category we have the totalitarian thinkers. Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), a Renaissance philosopher, depicts a form of communism with a strictly hierarchial structure of authoritarian government. In his Cittas Solis (1623), the Sun State, there is no recognition of freedom. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) outlines in his Contrat Social (1762) a totalitarian system of government by the people. Marx presents absolutism as the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the understanding that behind this there awaits the classless society, which Frederick Engels (1820-1895) characterized as the ‘realm of freedom’?

Between these two extremes the Utopian Socialists form a category that sought the answer in the idea of co-operation or association, which was also very much.

* This paper is based on Professor Idenburg’s farewell Lecture delivered in 1972 at the University of Amsterdam.
in Proudhon's mind. What they wanted were new forms of community living, limited in size.

The Utopias differ just as widely in the comprehensiveness of their models. The protagonists of the ideal state aim at regenerating society as a whole. Their authors are integralists. Marx continued this tradition to the extent that he designed a socio-economic system aimed at the total conversion of society. This was also what the Utopian Socialists and anarchists aimed at, but their method was different: in the spirit of Romanticism, they sought to give society a new structure by growth from cells.

Since the age of Enlightenment we have had, in addition to these integral utopias, the partial utopias that concentrate on sectors of society. Utopia no longer manifests itself solely in projects for an all-embracing change of the social system but also finds a place in bills for parliament, white papers and manifestoes of more limited purport. This is the cue to an interpretation of the concept of utopia which discards the characteristic of all-embracing application. Georg Picht, writing some years ago on 'Prognose, Utopie, Planung', called utopias 'those anticipations of the future that must precede any purposive action'.

2. Education in Utopia

The utopians wrote a great deal about education, and this obviously played an important part in their picture of future society. In this context we shall first turn our attention to the liberal democrat Condorcet. He was an educationist of exceptional stature, and merits the name of the father of educational science. In his Report to the National Assembly, Condorcet outlines an educational system which is a coherent entity, and thus represents an ideal that has never yet been realized in full. The manner in which he built up his proposed school system has much in common with educational thinking today. It resembles the school system in the Netherlands if one adds the intermediate (secondary) school and university of Posthumus. Using a mathematical system, Condorcet indicated the way in which the schools he had designed ought to be distributed around France. It was typical of the man, who was a renowned mathematician, typical of the Enlightenment, which held mathematics in high esteem, and typical too of all utopian thinkers, who like to arrange their system in neat mathematical order. Freedom was to be a dominant feature of Condorcet's system. The author envisaged in particular special safeguards against any form of political influence in the school. 'No public body', he wrote, 'shall have the power to obstruct the development of new truths or of educational theories that differ from its own or are in conflict with its interests'. The constitution of the State was solely to be presented as an historically given fact but never as the final verity and possibility. Under Condorcet's system, therefore, education was to be controlled by representatives of the people, a form which, in his optimistic view, was least subject to corruption and least influenced by personal interests, which was most open to the influence of enlightened men and least averse to progress. Under this
supreme control, however, the educational system would be autonomous and
governed entirely by the body of teachers themselves.

Diametrically opposed to the ideal of freedom is the notion that the school
system exists in order to educate the population in the spirit of a religious, moral
or social ideology. To this end Campanella devised a rigorous system of
education for the entire population. He was probably the first ever to have
envisaged the appointment of a minister of education: that office went to minister
Sin (standing for wisdom). However, the competence of minister Mor (standing
for love) extended not only to the love life of the Solarian population (which he
regulated on eugenic principles) but also to education. Campanella’s educational
system was dominated by an elaborate religious order with astrological features.
Jean Jacques Rousseau, in his *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne*
(1772), exalted the idea of education for patriotic ends.\(^5\) C. H. Saint Simon (1760-
1825) championed a strictly uniform system of education, in which all citizens
would be instructed in a standard syllabus of principles and knowledge. A
national catechism was to be drawn up, and no Frenchman would be allowed to
exercise his civic rights without first having been examined on his knowledge of
those rights. In all these cases the State has a message to communicate through
the intermediary of the school. The advocates of State education in this category
are committed in one way or another to a State system of teaching which they
want to use in order to preserve or reform society.

The Utopian Socialists link the school with an association. The association
would, in the view of this group of thinkers, imbue mankind with a social religion
that would place the emphasis on human solidarity and mutual aid, on love and
mercy, on self-confidence and happiness. This religion would find its highest
expression in the behaviour of its adherents, which would be directed towards
bettering the lot of their fellow men. In his *Phalanstère*, Fourier described with
lively imagination the process of education from earliest infancy to adulthood, in
which connection I should mention, because of its topicality, that the description
includes crèches for infants up to 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) years of age and gives an account of the
appropriate methods of education. It is strange that Owen, although a devotee of
the association idea, nevertheless advocated for England a neutral national
system of education under the direction of a minister of education. Proudhon was
not interested in any such compromise. He sought the dissolution of the State and
believed that the State would soon have to make way for the association, in
education as in other matters. The industrial system, as established by free
agreement among citizens, would reunite the schooling and apprenticeship
systems, scientific training and vocational education. The teacher, if not already
the ‘foreman’, must above all be the industrial or agricultural association’s man,
whose services are used by the association. In his belief it is quite wrong that the
school should be separated from the place of work and that, on the pretext of
improving society, it should be under the influence of an outside power.\(^6\)
All utopians aspire towards the realization of egalitarianism in the educational system. Condorcet interpreted this idea most fluently in the preamble to his project of 1792. Let us give him the first word. As the prerequisites of a national system he lays down that "All individuals of the human species shall be given the means to satisfy their needs, to secure their welfare, to know their rights and to understand and fulfill their obligations; each shall be given the opportunity to improve his skills and enabled to fulfill his social functions which he is entitled to be called upon to do, to develop to the utmost those talents with which nature has endowed him, thereby ensuring among all citizens a true equality which makes a reality of the political equality recognized by the law".

A traditional characteristic of the utopians is the position they assign to work in their educational schemes. This aspect is already to be found in the writings of Thomas More and Campanella. Robert Owen elaborated upon it. In his view an all-round education implies the linking of schooling with productive work. In his design for an industrial system, people are brought up and educated mainly in places of work. From their twelfth year children work in the factory, in agriculture, in the mine, etc. After work they go to evening classes. Fourier makes an even stronger connection between education and productive work. In his system children start work at the age of three. "Education in the new society aims at making possible the full development of physical and intellectual endowments and at combining all activities, even pleasures, with productive work". Fourier believed that only this kind of education was consonant with the nature of man, the aim being to make working processes deliberate and voluntary.

From here the line of development runs via Proudhon, whose plan I have already mentioned, to Karl Marx. In the "Communist Manifesto" a plea is made for "combining education with material production". Marx believed that education for the future as well as in the future made this combination necessary. Only in this way could man become wholly man, someone who consciously took up his place in the historical evolution of society. Child labour in factories in the form then existing, and known to Marx and Engels, was to be abolished. It was no more or less than exploitation. The principle of setting children to work from their ninth year, however, was to be maintained subject to strict supervision of both the duration of the work and the working conditions, even though under capitalism it could not bear the fruit that was to be expected from it in the socialist society. For, of course, education was only possible through work and in work.

It is particularly interesting to note the status allotted to leisure in the ideal societies. If everybody works — in Utopia six hours a day, in the Sun State only four hours — everyone will be left with a lot of free time. This is to the benefit of intellectual and physical development and recreation. In this context Thomas More introduced the idea of 'education permanente' (lifelong education). "Many of the people, men and women alike, devote their labour-free hours throughout their whole lives to study". In the Sun State continued education during adulthood is even made compulsory. The Solarians are not allowed recreation,
unless it is such that will contribute towards the improvement of their knowledge and skills. Campanella was a Dominican monk who must have been aware of the moral dangers of idleness. Etienne Cabet (1788–1856) in his *Voyage en Icarie* (1842), a late emanation of state communism, allows no amusements other than those which all inhabitants alike are able to enjoy, and pleasure is only justified after all matters which are necessary and useful to everyone have been attended to. In other ideal states leisure time is more of a festive business, which Robert Louis Stevenson noted when he remarked that the utopians 'make nothing so much their business as their amusement'. They showed, in a manner that can be a lesson to us in our age, how to make their copious free time into something of a life's fulfilment.

Meanwhile the notion of *lifelong education* had not disappeared. It was again Condorcet who made a positive contribution in this context. He urged that education should not stop when a person leaves school. There is no age at which it is no longer possible and no longer useful to learn. Continued education is all the more necessary to people who had limited schooling in their youth. What is more, knowledge once learnt is so easily forgotten. He pointed out also that the division of labour entailed by the perfecting of industrial production will lead to the stultification of a large section of the human race. Condorcet therefore designed a model of perpetual education in which schools of all grades would cooperate by giving public lessons and instruction on Sundays. Everyone would be free to participate.

To conclude this outline of education in utopian thinking, let us again go back to Condorcet. He ended his Report with a remarkable prophecy. 'A time will undoubtedly come', he predicted, 'when State-sponsored establishments of learning will become superfluous and therefore dangerous; a time when every public institution of education will be useless'. He then outlines in eschatological terms the era in which enlightenment will be spread uniformly over all parts of the country and among all classes of society. 'We shall then', concluded Condorcet, 'by working on the creation of these new institutions, at the same time hasten the advent of the blessed moment when they will become superfluous'.

3. **Contemporary utopianism**

Many lines prominent in the work of the utopians run right through to the present time. Their searching and striving have had a future that none of them can have guessed at. Put in another way: our present has a past which the diligent workers on the innovation front are seldom aware of. Let us examine this statement in the light of various themes.

The problems connected with the relationship between the State and the educational system — the theme from the utopias which I shall deal with first — are among the burning questions of today. The solutions proposed show differences similar to those found in the utopian models.
Condorcet's aversion to state intervention is manifested today in the voucher system. This is based on the view that the great political and pedagogic problem of the school system is a problem of distribution. Why should the answer not be found in the free market mechanism operated by the forces of supply and demand? Leave it to the consumer to decide what kind of education he desires and in what period of his life he wishes to have it! All that matters is that he is guaranteed sufficient financial manoeuvrability, that his claims will remain valid throughout his life, and that a strict separation is made between the places where the teaching is given and between the bodies that are responsible for selection and the award of diplomas or degrees that give access to positions in society. In this line of thought, then, the money no longer goes to the institutions but to the individuals.\textsuperscript{11} In the United States there is considerable interest in this idea. It promises a variety of advantages. It leaves the citizen a free choice in the matter of his education. Each individual can set his own educational targets. It increases the participation of users in the organization of teaching in the separate establishments of learning. It promises a solution to the problem of recurrent (lifelong) education, to which we shall return presently. Various systems are envisaged for giving effect to the main idea of this system. Each pupil who completes basic schooling might be granted an allowance from a sinking fund, that could be taken up in annual instalments. A system of loans might be conceived which could also be made available in annual instalments, but that would later have to be repaid. The latter case brings us close to the proposals made by the Andriessen Committee with regard to the financial allowances to students in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{12}

The absolutist approach is sufficiently familiar from the communist countries. Polyvalence there has had to give way to the ideologically loaded power of State and party. The school has to co-operate in the cultivation of a new type of person, indoctrinated with the principles on which the political system is based.

As regards the middle path of the association, the following is of interest. Shortly after the Second World War, Martin Duber in his 'Pfade in Utopia' wrote enthusiastically about Proudhon.\textsuperscript{13} Proudhon was the man who had taken a stand against the hierarchial centralization of authorities and institutions and pleaded the cause for straightforward communities of citizens. Human encounter and cooperation could find their place here. At the present time the American Paul Goodman is fighting a modern version of the cause of anarchism for small units. Large bodies, he believes, lose sight of human objectives. They begin to dominate people instead of serving them. They grow and grow and ultimately grow out of all control. Man, on the other hand, by his very nature is oriented towards and dependent on living in community with others. In rejecting the State the anarchists have the conviction that decisions should not be imposed from above downward but that decision-making should begin at the bottom. Higher powers must answer for their policy to lower ones. Goodman applies the principle to the school system.\textsuperscript{14} In our own environment we hear the plea for the autonomous
school, in the form of an association of pupils and teachers with the power of
deciding independently on the operation of the school. It would in particular be
able to pursue its own course in the matter of the subjects taught. J. M. G. Leune
set forth the ideas in an article entitled ‘Funkties en disfunkties van de autonome
school’ (Functions and disfunctions of the autonomous school) which appeared in
Pedagogische Studiën.\textsuperscript{15} I would simply remark that our present task is to find
forms of school government by which the responsibility of the State for a
constructive educational policy can be combined on the one hand with the
religious, political and educational freedom of those involved, and on the other
hand with the participation of pupils, teachers and parents in the management of
the school with which they are specifically concerned.

The second theme is equality. In this regard the utopians gave Western
mankind food for thought and a blueprint for action. Its first fruit was the
realization that equality can scarcely mean that all citizens have to be treated in
the same way. Equal appears to have to be unequal. Equality came to mean ‘the
absence of morally inadmissible differences between people in regard to status
and treatment’. It evolved from ‘to everyone the same’ into ‘to each his own’. In
this way it became a concept that requires to be recognized in the school system.
This is in spite of the fancy that in Soviet Russia there is still a school of thought
that rejects differentiation even in the higher classes of the ten-year school,
adhering to the rudimentary view that equal remains equal.\textsuperscript{16} From liberal
democratic schools of thought, followed all too unreflectingly by the socialist
movement, the educational system was required on the basis of this view of
equality to guarantee ‘equality of opportunities’. We have here a typical concept
from the \textit{competitive society}, in which each person must conquer his place in the
sun in competition with others. It is a concept also that places the centre of action
with the growing human being and its parents and not with the school and
society. Their task is merely to allow full scope to the capabilities and
perseverance in those who come to them. This is the form in which the idea of
equality is entertained everywhere at the present time. The Universal Declaration
of the Rights of Man, ratified in 1948 by the United Nations, contains in Article
26 a clear rejection of all morally unacceptable differences in the enjoyment of
education. The provision proceeds, however, from an existing hierarchy of types
of school which, depending on the different levels of capability and performance,
are intended for different categories of pupils.

The second paragraph of the article referred to reveals a better conceived
interpretation of the concept of equality. It states that ‘education shall aim at the
full development of the human personality’. Competition is ruled out here. The
waiting attitude of the school makes way for a well defined task. There is room for
the pedagogic ideal of service to the growing human being, aimed at bringing him
to his highest personal destination. From the point of view of educational science,
positive discrimination is demanded, which leads to the ‘optimum development of
talents’. This outlines a utopian picture, towards which educational policy today
is beginning to turn. It will be the point of orientation for centuries of educational
reform. The educational structure of the school system in all European countries today is beginning to be directed towards this ideal. In secondary and presently also in tertiary education, forms of school are being sought which, by bringing together different study disciplines and taking due account of postponed differentiation, will be better able to guide pupils and students to the best possible realization of their capabilities than the traditionally separated types of school with their system of early selection have hitherto been able to do. However, with the revision of the external educational structure of the school system we shall still be a long way from realizing the new ideal. We are only just beginning to guess what it could mean to the internal educative structure of the schools — to the curriculum, for example. It will certainly mean taking leave of the traditional curricula used in our establishments of higher education. In addition to cognitive performance, the performance of other aspects of the human mind will have to receive recognition in the principles of performance rating. People will start wondering why, in addition to many and various study activities, manifestations of the personality in the social and artistic areas cannot be introduced. In human and social terms they are at least as important as those aspects to which schools today attach most weight. Would it not moreover be of decisive significance if young people, exercising their own critical judgment, were enabled to find their own way in life and take the responsibility for their choice?

The third theme is the link between education and work. Here a straight line runs from Marx to Lenin (1870-1924) and to his wife Krupskaya (1869-1939). In Soviet Russia the theme has led to the extreme theory that the school is on the way out. The protagonists of this theory believe, like the Utopian Socialists, that the school will be absorbed in the production process. Factories would be changed into factory universities, factory research institutions and factory schools. Mean while this utopian aim has not touched reality. The desire for polytechnic education, on the other hand, is still a permanent feature of Marxist-Leninist ideology. It manifests itself in Soviet Russia and in its satellite countries in varying forms. The objective is to introduce all young people to life in the world of industrialism: the theory is taught in the classroom, the practice in school workshops and in special departments of instruction set up in factories, while moreover pupils in the highest classes of the ten-year school are given work in the actual production process. Sometimes longer periods of instruction alternate with longer periods of work.

The idea of education in and through work is penetrating to the West. In particular, educationalists in the Federal German Republic are not unaffected by education in East Germany. The Deutsche Ausschuss für das Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen (German Committee for the educational system) recommended in 1965 that 'the theory of work' be introduced into the curriculum of the Hauptschule (German high school). By being taught the theory of work and given their own work to do in the school workshop together with practical courses in firms, pupils would be given a basic understanding of the rational and technical working process of modern society. These manifestations of a rapprochement
between school and work are more realistic than Goodman's nostalgia for the medieval apprenticeship system. For that to be possible, the clock of industrial development would have to be turned back to small production units.

The coming together of school and industry is stimulated by the conviction that the structure of our school system, with its plans for ever increasing variety of facilities and more and more sophisticated equipment for more and more pupils, will cease in the long run to be feasible. Torsten Husén, writing on *Education in the year 2000*, refers to the Russian example in connection with the concern, shared incidentally in all countries, about the rising budget for education. 'It cannot be denied', he writes, 'that education in the macro-economic short term would be easier to maintain if young people were to work part of the time instead of going to school. This consideration acquires extra significance in a time when the number of young people wanting full-time education is increasing at an explosive rate'. But there are other considerations involved as well. In the United States, for example, it is becoming increasingly evident that many young people are simply not willing to utilize during a growing number of years the constructions which the adults have set up for them. They lack the motivation. The opposition encountered in New York lectures is sometimes intolerable. The value of the long period of compulsory full-time education is becoming more than dubious. The ship is beginning to be turned away from the land.

The fourth theme from the utopian store concerns the use of leisure and recurrent or lifelong education. One subject is as topical as the other. I shall confine myself to lifelong education ('education permanente'). In its latest form its starting premise is that not all education should be concentrated in the period of youth. It presupposes that a deliberate brake will be put on the increase of education given to adolescents, or even that it will be cut down in favour of the institution of educational facilities for adults. There are pedagogic grounds for this transformation. If young people of 16 or older have had enough of school, let them go. They can find themselves a job to become more mature and more experienced. Their return to school will then make more sense. Again, however, these educational considerations are affected by financial ones. Substantial savings could be achieved by shifting parts of higher education to a time after the student has reached the age of 20. There is an economic model which shows that in a time when science and technology are developing as fast as ours, the educational effort in the first 25 years of life could better be reduced, since it is not worth spending too much time on the details of a subject which is changing very rapidly, details which will soon be forgotten in any case. On the other hand, it would be worth while if people, after their first school years, could spend an average of 15% of their time up to the age of 50 on continued education. Others, arguing along the same lines, add that older persons are able with very much less instruction and in a much shorter time to acquire knowledge and skills which are now time-consuming being thrust upon often unmotivated young people. Older persons can more easily understand the significance of what they are learning,
they can plan their studies better and they are much more able to work without supervision. For these reasons, says Husén, the old antithesis between school and work is ripe for revision.\textsuperscript{23} One need not think here only of \textit{full-time} study as against \textit{full-time} work; one can equally well combine part-time study with part-time work. This would reduce the costs of the loss of working time. In Sweden, where the government is very worried about the development gap between the generations, serious consideration is being given to a shift of government expenditure on secondary and tertiary education to recurrent or lifelong education. You will of course have realized that the credit-points system could be extremely useful in this connection. It is equally clear that any transformation of this kind could only be brought about with individualizing teaching methods. One might envisage a national or perhaps even an international system of standard knowledge units for which credit points would be granted, and which could be earned whenever it would be most convenient.\textsuperscript{24} For this purpose the schools would form themselves into learning centres for young and old alike. This would imply sweeping changes in the atmosphere of existing schools. For instead of providing the last chance of teaching and learning a particular subject and of acquiring specific skills, the school would provide the second to last opportunity. Measures like these would take a great deal of tension out of the educational process. They would make it easier for teachers to depart from the fixed programme which has to be completed in time. There would be latitude for adapting the syllabus to subjects which are of particular interest to the growing awareness of youth. Measures of the kind referred to here are indispensable in an educational system that aspires towards the optimum development of talents.

The fifth and last theme is the projected superfluity of the school. The end of the school is being proclaimed by a small but vociferous group of ‘deschoolers’.\textsuperscript{25} Not, however, because of the perfection attained by the human race, as envisaged by Condorcet, but because of the imperfection of the school, which is regarded as a tool of conformity and coercion which is damaging in a pluriform society. In this view, schools are prisons and concentration camps. They perpetuate the existing order. They must be replaced by more dynamic organizations. Society as a whole must do the educating. There must be no more compulsory education, only free participation. It is incredible — so the argument goes — that an industrialized country has to spoon-feed its young people for twelve to twenty years before they can embark upon life. Curricula must be scrapped. It is sometimes difficult to establish whether these authors are perhaps still prepared to leave a modest place to the school; at all events, they are not so clear on alternatives as they are in their criticism.\textsuperscript{26} Even so, the deschoolers deserve attention. This is primarily the case in the developing countries for which Ivan Illich\textsuperscript{27} is the spokesman in Mexico. As things stand, it is inconceivable that these countries could ever complete a school system, which even the most prosperous countries have recently found they can no longer pay for and staff. As far as the economically more developed countries are concerned, the latest views about lifelong education contain some features of the deschooling idea. This is evident
from the ‘self-determination model’ inherent in these views, and from the
individualization of study which the model implies.

4. The realization of utopia

The value of the concept of utopia for our age resides in the fact that it
dissuades us from preparing for the future solely by forecasting and planning. It
invites us to form a picture first of all of what man and human society ought to
be. The strategy should then be designed with that picture in mind. Utopia is
oriented towards reality but it has no room for compromise. It stands with its
norm above the question of feasibility here and now. The intermediation between
the ultimate goal and the reality of today is effected by strategic concepts, which
translate the ultimate hope and expectations into policy guidelines. All this applies
equally to the school system. We must know what it really ought to be like in
order to decide how we ought to act today and tomorrow. It is in the transition to
reality that utopian thinking is confronted with opposition. Opposition in public
opinion, which especially in the area of educational policy holds firmly to well-
worn, and often outworn, ideas: Opposition no less in the structure of society, for
this above all threatens to reduce utopias to illusions. It prompts us to moderate
the idea of freedom, because the demands of society are inescapable. It waters
down the aspiration towards equality, because complete equality of opportunities
is illusory in a society that maintains differences in status and incomes.28 If
society accords the highest esteem and rewards to the powers of the intellect, the
optimum development of other talents is likely to be sidetracked. The fre-
enterprise system of production, in which profit is the criterion by which work is
evaluated, makes the induction of apprentices to productive life a dubious matter.
Finally, if the interests and possibilities of the employer are to be the criteria for
deciding whether someone who has already been absorbed into industrial life will
have the opportunity to further develop his skills, lifelong education will be
difficult to get off the ground.

See here the weak side of the partial utopia. The school can never be radically
different from the society in which it exists. Fundamental renewal of the structure
of the educational system is only possible on the basis of a radical transformation
of all social institutions in their mutual context. That is what we can learn from
the utopias. They were designed as integrated social entities. They can only be
realized in their totality. Marx set this conviction against all aspirations towards
partial improvement. Does this mean that we have to aim at the abrupt overthrow
of established authority in order to bring about a fundamental change in the
existing social order?29 For the situation in which we live in my country I reject
this idea. In our case I believe in the dynamics of gradual change. There is in fact
a process of transformation taking place in our own times that is significant as
regards both the institutional structures and the standards and convictions by
which people live. We shall have to determine our position in this process and
seize our opportunities. There are forces at work both for good and for evil. The
latter have been portrayed in a drastic way in anti-utopias. The most relevant to
the area of education is Michael Young’s ‘The Rise of the Meritocracy’. We should realize that positive and negative tendencies have exerted their influence at all times. No period of history has been completely black or completely white. And there is certainly no reason for us to paint ourselves only in the darker colour. What is essential is that we, who have to work in this world, should try to analyse critically the complex interplay of factors that determines our present era — and that we assist the younger generation to do likewise. On that basis we shall have to determine the strategy for the future. It will have to be one of offensive. But knowledge of history and understanding of people and society teach us that we must be content with an attack that goes forward step by step. This demands from us modesty and patience, virtues which are spurned by radicalism. But perseverance that does not allow itself to be discouraged because everything takes longer than we mean it to, will get us further than the unrestrained preaching of total revolution. Observing responsibility for what comes our way, and tackling very seriously everything that falls within our competence, will bear more fruit than if we were to involve the whole world in our everyday concerns, only to learn that it is beyond our powers to cure its ailments.

But let us preserve utopia as the vehicle to carry our deepest desires and to guide our policy. It is the driving force of all progress, and not the least among the expressions of a wise humanity.

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17) This is difficult to prove. H. Gintis concluded from a variety of sources that non-cognitive performances could well be more important than cognitive for professional success and level of income. Production functions in the economies of education and the characteristics of worker productivity, unpublished diss., Harvard University, 1969; quoted in H.M Levin, et al, School Achievement and Post-School Success, a Review. Rev. of Ed. Res. vol. 41, no. 1, Feb. 1971, p. 7

18) See, for example, V. N. Sul’gin. See also O. Anweiler, Geschichte der Schule und Pedagogik in Rusland, Berlin 1964 p. 419 ff.


21) See Goodman’s works, note 14.


23) Husen, loc cit., p. 44.


Section II — Models
PERMANENT EDUCATION: A GENERAL COMMENTARY*
by Joseph A. Lauwerys (Halifax, Canada)

There is nothing strange or new about the notion of continuing life-long education. Human beings react continually with their physical and social environment. They adapt to it by modifying their actions and changing their thinking: that is, by learning. This is true even when physical and mental erosion takes its toll: an old man may acquire new skills in husbanding bodily effort and grow in wisdom, though his strength and memory grow less.

"Education" of this sort, though guided by tradition, is mostly quite informal and non-structured. Children watch, imitate and practise the behaviour of adults. The latter reinforce some of the developing habits of the young by praise and reward. They discourage other habits by scolding and punishment. And thus the children master the basic skills and knowledge that will enable them to get food and shelter; to protect themselves from enemies and danger; to communicate and co-operate with other members of the group to which they belong.

Under simple rural conditions, whether in the villages of medieval Europe or among the tribes of Africa, there was in fact no other way by which knowledge could be shared and handed on. Girls learned from their mothers and from female relatives how to look after babies, how to prepare food, how to raise crops. Boys learned from the men how to hunt or herd cattle, how to fight, how to behave as grown ups. The teaching consisted of demonstration and exhortation. The learning came from acceptance and repetition. And the informal education was life-long: it was carried on by endless gossip, chattering, talking, quarrelling among the groups of men and of women: continually explaining how to do things, discussing what should be done, or considering meticulously the rights and wrongs in particular disputes.

When cities are built, however, new demands and new possibilities arise. The needs of government call for the keeping of records and accounts: writing and reckoning become important. Complex skills of this kind cannot easily be taught informally by parents. The services of specialists are essential. In the temples, the first teachers gather a few boys and schools begin to be established. In a word, the seeds of a formal, institutional educational system are sown. Then as the cities grow larger, as civilisation becomes more complex, this system develops enormously and its structure becomes even more bureaucratic and ordered. In time, when the word "education" is mentioned, the ideas evoked refer to schools and colleges, teachers and professors, classrooms and blackboards, books and laboratories — in short, to institutions maintained and staffed for the specific purpose of instructing pupils, usually children and young people.

* This paper is based on a study originally prepared for the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe.
Yet, even in advanced industrial countries, human beings learn most of what they need to know outside schools, away from the formal system. When young, they are taught as they always have been — by their parents, their brothers and sisters, their relatives in the home, in the family. They are taught by their workmates on the farm or in the factory, in the office and in the store. They pick up political and social ideas in the tavern, on the street, from newspapers or advertising hoardings. They learn in the church and from ritual about man’s place in the universe and about the spiritual life.

Thus, and today more so than ever, we should note that the education of man is provided along two different channels, by two very different kinds of agencies. First, of course, the structured, formal system of schools and colleges, growing fast in size, cost and complexity. Secondly, an even larger educational world, largely unco-ordinated and even incoherent, affecting human beings from birth till death, teaching, exhorting, modifying behaviour, changing attitudes. This parallel world uses agencies of increasing power: newspapers, radio, cinema, TV; churches, clubs, societies; advertising agencies and hoardings, all of them planned to achieve particular results often in opposition to one another. It is not a system, but only a vast collection of pieces: the bits of the mosaic are not arranged into a pattern, still less into a picture. And an extremely important point: the formal system has only tenuous links with the parallel education. Frequently, the two pursue antagonistic, irreconcilable aims. The school may try to promote sobriety, economy, reason, tolerance: advertisers, wittingly or unwittingly, may encourage extravagance, passion, materialism and snobbery.

Twentieth century changes

In the villages and on the farms of the pre-industrial age, the formal school system mattered very little to the masses of the people. It scarcely existed and in any case, literacy was not functional. The peasants and craftsmen learned how to till the soil and how to shape wood, metal and leather by watching and copying their elders. In church and family, they learned the social skills they needed and the legendary stories of their tribe or nation.

But in the market towns and in the capitals, schools and colleges existed. Here rather small numbers learned the clerical, legal, medical and commercial skills needed by the societies of the time. In addition, there was, particularly in Europe, another section of the formal system: apprenticeship, supervised and regulated by the Guilds. To be sure, there was also a vigorous parallel education offering. At the court of the ruler and in the salons, philosophy, art, literature, politics were discussed — and taught informally. In the monasteries and colleges, philosophy, theology, history, ancient languages were studied. In the clubs and taverns, tales of far-off countries, of battles and military campaigns, of new explorations were told. Let it be stressed and noted that, far more than today, there was concordance between what was taught in the formal system and in the informal.
The same values and attitudes were transmitted, the same kinds of assumptions were accepted by all in those societies which Henri Janne calls "Epimethean".

Harmony such as this can exist and persist only when the underlying technology of production and distribution remains fairly stable; that is when the changes that occur are not felt or considered to be drastic and revolutionary by the old; when the ideas of the man of fifty are not despised as out-of-date by those of twenty or thirty; when change and novelty are not considered as in themselves better than stability and tradition. Only under such conditions can the two systems adjust slowly to each other; only then will, so to speak, the gears of the one mesh into those of the other.

This situation has changed profoundly with the development of industry and with the growth of large cities. All children now spend eight or even ten years in schools where they learn far more than simple reading, writing and arithmetic. Efforts are made to build social attitudes into them: Loyalty to their government, State and nation; to the ideals of democracy or of communism; to their class or race. They are taught all sorts of facts about the geography of the world and about life in other lands — usually with political and cultural implications. They pick up ideas about economics and about the importance of money and so on.

A large proportion of the young, especially those of middle and upper class parents, stay at school until the age of 18 and these are even more affected by the formal system: they gather notions about art and culture, science and society, religion and humanism, the relations between social classes, about politics and administration — all at a fairly sophisticated, explicit, verbalised level.

Then, after the secondary school, many more — a rapidly growing proportion of each age-group — move on to the universities and to colleges usually concerned with professionalised studies and with the applications of science and technology. These students are made uneasy by the rapidity of the social changes now going on and they are disorientated partly because many different and contradictory codes of conduct are put before them. They are influenced by their companions, some of whom have rejected the ideals and mores of their teachers, most of whom belong — so these students think — to an outdated older generation which cannot understand, still less sympathise, with what is going on. In spite of their disquiet and agitation, most of the students work hard and study seriously — though often with an uneasy feeling that the subjects and topics with which they deal are already or soon will be out-of-date and in any case have little reference to the profession they hope to practise.

To sum up: the formal system is now much larger, more extensive, more bureaucratic, better structured, more rigid than it was. Because of its size, it has inertia — it changes only rather slowly — and it has great momentum — it does not easily alter its direction of movement. So it tends to get out of step with society as a whole when the latter changes as fast as it is changing; and perhaps it should.
The parallel system in modern societies

The parallel system — if that term can be applied to an unstructured collection of agencies — has changed enormously in size, complexity and sophistication. Take any major industry, say the making of automobiles or of chemicals. Within each, very complicated educational arrangements have been set up. The firm or enterprise uses the formal system where it can. It recruits personnel from primary or secondary schools, from technical colleges or universities expecting them to possess certain skills and knowledge. Where the formal system proves inadequate, the enterprise establishes its own special courses — on scientific or technological subjects, on modern management methods, on computer programming and so on. It has been estimated that the total educational expenditure of this sort incurred by major enterprises in highly industrialised countries like the USA approaches the total cost of all higher education in universities and technological colleges.

In addition to training in skill, great efforts are also made to promote in the working force, attitudes favourable to the good management of the enterprise. Personnel departments function actively and expensively. Men and women, often trained in social psychology, try to influence and guide the workers — much in the way that school counsellors and guidance officers do within the formal system.

And yet all this is only a part, perhaps a minor part, of the total amount of money and effort expended by industry on attempting to influence feelings, modify attitudes, develop demands and wishes — all of which are aspects of education — among the population at large. Think for a moment of modern advertising, one of the links between industry and society. Already in Britain half as much is spent on advertising as on national education, health or the armed forces.

Evidently, many other groupings — institutionalised or not — in all modern societies are as busy “educating” their members and the “grand public” either by direct educational devices, or by advertising, or by propaganda of all sorts. There are the trade unions and syndicates, the professions like that of medicine, the church and religious denominations, the political parties, all kinds of societies for the promotion of this and that, from vegetarian to golf.

So we have this immense, muddled, complex, parallel lifelong education. It does not cohere nearly to the degree that the formal system does: the messages it transmits are often incoherent and contradictory. But it is very vigorously pushed and usually attractively presented. Because it is at the service of particular interests, because it is only very weakly controlled by national and governmental authorities, because there is never the kind of hesitation about replacing personnel which one meets in the formal system, the parallel system can reform itself very quickly indeed, adapting itself to new conditions and to the changing moods of society at large.

The power and influence of the parallel system has increased immensely during the last fifty years, partly because of the growing size and wealth of industrial
enterprises but mainly because of new technological developments. The chief of these are: photography, colour printing, cinema, radio and TV. We now have hundreds of beautifully produced and illustrated colour magazines of the type of Life; thousands of cheap and attractive books; transistors; numberless programmes on the movies and TV; all of them aiming at the great masses, at the millions, and consumed by them in vast amounts. Here are new channels through which the groups, particularly the commercial and industrial enterprises, can and do influence, educate and mis-educate the people of modern nations.

On the one hand, what is going on is regrettable. Wealthy and powerful groups and enterprises fill the communication channels with messages that encourage citizens not merely to waste their time and resources but often to do so in a manner that degrades them and which is harmful to their physical, moral and spiritual health.

Yet there are compensations. Some of the material offered by the mass media is of a kind that would be approved by a stern and moralising pedagogue. Plays by great authors; music by real masters; histories of art; information about foreign lands; popular science. And at a more humble and modest level, much has been done to raise the level of popular taste in such matters as cooking or dressmaking in the home. Even the advertising of the firms may do good; it helps to standardise popular taste thereby making mass production possible but it usually standardises it upwards — well above the old averages.

Certainly the parallel system, employing all the new communication channels, plays an essential role in modern societies, so complex, so puzzling to ordinary people. The old village store, with its small stock, was an easy and comfortable place. Any countryman could see what there was to buy and knew what he wanted. But modern society is like an enormous, gigantic supermarket, brightly lit and noisy, with thousands of shelves loaded with well-packaged goods, many quite unknown, coming from all parts of the world, from Hong Kong to Brazil. What is best? What should one buy? What should one do? Though the parallel system is chiefly guided by particularist and selfish interests it does offer some sort of guidance to ordinary men and women. It teaches them, for example, how to make good use of new products, like plastics and nylon. Two hundred and fifty years ago, only ingenuity and trickery enabled Parmentier to persuade a few French peasants to begin cultivating and eating potatoes. The job could now be done quicker and better through the parallel system.

**Education and social needs**

In a brilliant and perceptive paper, Henri Janne examines the way in which the transformation of what he calls Epimethean societies into Promethean affects education. He points out that schools must now, as a matter of duty, accept new responsibilities and modify their structure, their mode of teaching, the aims they pursue. He identifies significant new problems; for example, the fact that industrial processes now become obsolete very quickly and are replaced by others
so that workers have to change the jobs they do several times during their working life and in consequence need continuous re-training. In addition, Janne makes it abundantly clear that free societies, encouraging the participation of all in political and social life, can endure only if all citizens are educated to a much higher level than they are at present. He then considers in a general way what reforms should be undertaken and puts forward audacious suggestions.

Four conclusions can immediately be drawn from sociological analyses such as Janne's:

(i) The tasks that education has to accomplish, in advanced industrial societies, are now too vast and complex to be left to a formalised system recruiting pupils at the age of 5 or 6 and releasing them to the world of work at 16 or 18 or 22. An education relevant to the world of today must be a life-long process, not one completed at the beginning of adulthood.

(ii) Only integral education, the education of the whole person, of the head, heart and hand, is relevant and valuable. The job to be done is not simply to provide technical instruction and know-how. Social education is equally important since, often, it is attachment to outworn social beliefs and myths rather than ignorance of techniques that prevents progress. Also the morale of industrial populations cannot be maintained if their spiritual and cultural needs are ignored: they have to be thought of as human beings rather than as robot-like accessories to computers and machines.

(iii) Education is too serious a business to be left to school teachers and professors. All the resources both of the formal and informal systems must be mobilised. But if they are to be harnessed successfully they will have to be related and brought together.

(iv) Such harmonisation and integration, however, implies bringing about changes and reforms in both systems. Somehow the work to be done will have to be distributed. Somehow both will have to accept common values and ideals, relevant to the new society that is coming into being. There should be no question of competition between them, only of co-operation and complementation.

Relations between the two systems

As a matter of fact, such co-operation and integration has sometimes been achieved in the past. Two examples may be given. First, in the days before the Eighteenth Century Revolution, boys and girls learned handwork know-how, learned trades and crafts by the apprenticeship system. The master accepted the responsibility of teaching the youngster how to make furniture or shoes or clothes, how to shoe a horse or how to shape metal. The teaching process was regulated and controlled by the Trade Guild. Success was tested by an examination and celebrated by a ritual admission into the Guild: the parallels with and relation to the formal (clerical) education system are obvious.
Apprenticeship is now obsolescent everywhere: the teaching process and the content of instruction do not fit the new technology of production. The skilled craftsman today is seldom called on to use skills of hand nor to use simple tools. But he does have to understand — and ever more and more — fundamental principles of mechanical and electrical science. To master these, he has to study books, attend classes, do experiments in laboratories. So he attends the technical college. And this change-over from learning in the workshop to studying in a school clearly suits a productive system in which techniques change very quickly. Since they do, it is obviously better to learn about laws and principles which last longer: it is more useful to learn the Laws of Ohm, Ampere and Faraday than details about the mending of television sets that will be out of date in five years' time.

Here, then, is an example of the way in which a whole sector of education passes into the formal educational system and changes the nature of the latter as a result. Another equally important example may be cited: adult education. Before the year 1800, the expression was seldom used even though seventeenth century reformers went so far as to propose plans for universal adult education, which were not realised. Rapid industrialisation at the end of the eighteenth century gave fresh life to the idea. In Scotland, for instance, Professor John Anderson at Glasgow University, realising that an expanding industry needed an educated working class, offered lectures in the evening which were open to anyone. He left his fortune for the establishment of a new college for adults. One outcome of such activities was the foundation of a large number of what were called "Mechanics Institutes" — in course of time the new technical colleges gradually took over much of the work they did.

The paramount aim in providing instruction of this kind was evidently the improvement of efficiency at work and adaptation to the newly emerging industrial-factory mode of production. Other objectives, however, were also envisaged; such as moral instruction and education for citizenship. In 1792. Condorcet, basing himself on traditions already old, proposed that every teacher (instituteur) should give, each Sunday morning, a lecture open to all, young or old. He thought that this would be a means of providing knowledge not acquired at the elementary school, such as the legal rights and obligations of free citizens. He believed also that the principles of morality should be taught at the same time. And he went on:—

En continuant ainsi l'instruction pendant toute la durée de la vie, on empêchera les connaissances acquises dans les écoles de s'effacer trop promptement de la mémoire... On pourra montrer l'art de s'instruire par soi-même, comme à chercher des mots dans un dictionnaire, à se servir de la table d'un livre, à suivre sur une carte, sur un plan, sur un dessin, des narrations ou des descriptions, à faire des notes ou des extraits...

Ideas not unlike Condorcet's were proposed in many other countries during the course of the nineteenth century. In Denmark, for example, Grundtvig and Kold,
successfully promoted people’s high schools which had purely cultural and national aims and which attempted to develop in a generous way the personality of the students, all of them workers.

For the most part activities like these remained apart from the formal educational system, though they were sometimes supported by grants of money from public sources. It was not until the middle of the century that deliberate attempts were made to bring the two into closer and more organic relationship. In England, Lord Arthur Harvey, of Cambridge, proposed the creation of four rural or circuit professors to be nominated by the University, and to give courses open to all adults in science and the humanities. By the 1870’s Cambridge University was organising courses, of university level, in many centres. At the end of the century, this “university extension” movement entered into close alliance with the Workers Educational Association. The Education Act of 1902 allowed local education authorities to organise or assist evening courses for adults in any subject whatever. As a result, university extension and WEA courses could be subsidised out of public funds. In a word, a partnership had been established between universities, working class movements and public authorities: in a particular area, formal and non-formal education had been integrated. The two sets of gears meshed into each other. But it should be noted that this result could not be achieved until something like a formalised system of “adult education” had been given a structure.¹

**Structuring the non-formal system**

1. Human beings of like tastes and purposes come together to discuss affairs of common interest. Usually such congeniality groups tend to institutionalise themselves into clubs, societies, associations or unions: the chess club, the philosophical society, the farmers’ association, the trade union or syndicate. Nearly always these formal groupings then get interested in education, for mutual improvement or for the initiation of new members. If these educational activities seem important to the political and governmental authorities they receive official financial support. Thus, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the meetings of scientists and philosophers received royal patronage and the French Academy, the Royal Society of England and so on were established.

Today an enormous amount of permanent education is provided by such bodies in all countries, and much of it is carefully structured. Immediate and local needs are met. Women in English-speaking countries come together at their institutes and discuss not only domestic matters but world problems, in an easy, familiar atmosphere. Lovers of music meet to sing and to prepare concerts. Those who like to watch birds or butterflies meet one another to compare their collections or to arrange country walks. If, at any time, the formal education system takes over part of their activities, the vigour of such groups wanes. Since music has been taught in schools, the great musical societies of the nineteenth century have decayed.
But if the work of such societies is thought to have public and social value, governmental authorities become interested, provide support and control policy, attempting to relate it to that of the formal education system. Thus, a Ministry of Agriculture may interest itself in Young Farmers’ Clubs and a Ministry of Education in Youth Clubs.

2. Industrial and commercial enterprises have always been interested in the education of their workers. This was true in the old days when apprentices were trained in the workshop by three or four skilled men and it is just as true today when vast enterprises are concerned with tens of thousands. The 1968 World Year Book of Education explored the theme of “Education within Industry”. The general conclusions of this comparative survey brought out clearly the fact that the problems of industrial training and education can be solved only by some kind of partnership between educationalists, employers, workers and public authorities. What is needed is a co-ordinated system of policies at a national level which will deal with vocational guidance, methods of recruitment, the content of pre-occupational training, in-service training, and the examination systems — taking into account all the time that education is a life-long process and that it concerns the whole person.

An important remark may be added: in highly industrialised economies, there may well be a reversal of Adam Smith’s principle of the division of labour — which permanent education will have to take into account. Mechanisation and automation will demand high intellectual and moral qualifications as well as the ability among the leaders of industry to see the *Gestalt* of highly complicated and interacting processes. Demands of this sort can be met only by those who have the qualities of intellect and character that pick them out as potential university graduates and doctoral or post-doctoral research workers. The expense of training such persons is considerable and there is little doubt that the burden of doing so will not be shouldered exclusively by industry. It is a form of public investment in which governments are increasingly interested. To the commitment to support a national system of universities has been added the need, in the interests of economic efficiency and development, to build up higher technological education.

*Mutatis mutandis*: precisely the same kind of thing can be said regarding the continuous re-training of the working force, skilled and semi-skilled, which has become imperative because of the very rapidly changing technology, including the organisation of work.

The general conclusions are obvious: here too the need for integrating what is done by industry with the offerings of the formal education system. And this co-ordination of effort is made easier because industry is quite deliberately structuring more and more its own training and education programmes.

Industrial and commercial enterprises are also interested in what may loosely be called the education of customers: that is, informing them about the properties
of the products offered and, of course, in developing attitudes favourable to the purchase of such commodities. In a word, they advertise them chiefly with the help of media of mass communication: the press TV, radio, posters, etc.

3. Media capable of reaching and affecting the whole mass of the population did not exist before the beginning of this century: they are a new development. So far they have been used recklessly and with an astonishing disregard of the impact of what has been presented and disseminated upon the moral and political attitudes of the people. Brutality and violence have been presented as ordinary ways of behaving; extravagance and materialism as desirable; sexual perversions as normal. Social and international problems of great complexity have been discussed at a level of total banality; splendid works of art and literature reduced to vulgarity by the mode of handling. Culture has been cheapened and often degraded: moral values lowered; social mores shaken. It could well be argued that the crisis through which the world is passing has been made worse than it need have been and that the total effect of mass media is an increase of anxiety, fear, insecurity and aggressiveness as well as a promotion of warlike belligerence, of social envy, class warfare and inner tension.

None of this need cause surprise when account is taken of the speed with which the new media have grown and of the complete lack of experience in the control of the abuses to which they lend themselves so readily. Consider the economic base of their organisation. Number and quantity rule. Advertisers pay in proportion to the number of readers or the size of the audience. Success is therefore judged always by quantity, seldom by quality.

It is generally believed that a mass audience wants only to be amused and titillated, that its interests are never deep, its desires always transient. Thus, to attract numbers, only superficial snippets should be offered and no intellectual challenges presented: bits of mosaic, never to be shaped into a pattern. Then come the demands of advertisers who realise that the money spent by ignorant fools is as good in the market place as that of wise men who discriminate. Hence the notion that levels should fall to the lowest, so that none be turned away.

And yet, the directors and managers know that minority groups and vocal intellectuals have an influence much greater than their numbers indicate and that it is unwise to arouse their hostility. Furthermore, many — and this applies particularly to the professional staffs of newspapers, radio and television — have a social conscience and worthwhile ideals. So there is a resistance movement, if one may call it that, within the institutions that control mass media.

One result has been the growth and development of nuclei of true “education”. Newspapers and magazines appoint “science editors”, “education correspondents”, “literary editors” and so on. These then develop policies and use their opportunities: they begin to establish structures which co-operate with and complement the offerings of the formal education system. The possibilities of integration exist because the same values and norms are accepted by both sides.
It must be stressed that the above discussion has taken into account only institutions aiming at the masses and using the new media as their channel; that is, publishing companies, newspaper owners, radio corporations. But printing, broadcasting, television are also simply means by which one "teacher" can make contact and communicate with a great number of scattered "pupils". These new inventions can and should be used much more effectively than they usually are. They are capable of transforming and modernising the whole of formal education and they offer tools of immense value in the support and promotion of permanent education.

Until fifty years ago, the means used to transmit knowledge were few: teachers, talking and acting; books, often dull; blackboards and coloured chalk; a few geometrical models made of plaster; perhaps a few jars; hand tools. Some schools had gymnasia, workshops and simple laboratories. Now, however, developments in electronics have put at our disposal language laboratories and tape recorders, sound radio and television, video-tape, movies, colour slides and colour printing. Then, too, there are new ways of assisting self-instruction through what is called "programmed learning", presented through textbooks or learning machines. There is, in fact, such an embarras de richesses that there is talk of a new branch of the pedagogical sciences — the technology of teaching.

From the point of view of life-long continuing education, it seems that the most useful of the new devices will prove to be the programmed textbooks, used perhaps in connection with correspondence courses, radio and television. It seems worthwhile here to consider a little more closely the contribution which the latter can make.

**Television and radio in relation to permanent education**

First, a few preliminary remarks. There are no essential pedagogical differences between television and the use of sound films. In both cases, images (cartoons, diagrams or photographs) are projected upon a screen. It is sometimes thought that the fact that the images move is an advantage, but this is not so. Granted, they are more life-like. On the other hand, the presentations may succeed one another so fast, that each wipes out the effects of the previous one. It may be noted too that the static nature of a map makes it more usable and that contemplating a still photograph may be more rewarding than glancing at an exciting movie.

Similarly, the phonograph may be grouped with the tape recorder and sound radio. In each case, words or sounds impinge upon the ear: only the means used to transmit differ.

But with radio and television, anyone can look and listen in his own home: there is no need to go to the trouble or expense of buying or hiring records or films. Unfortunately the programmes are transmitted at fixed times and only once. This drawback will be overcome when tape and video recorders become part of the equipment of the ordinary dwelling — which will not take many years.
The advantages of TV and radio are obvious: specialised and up-to-the-minute knowledge and information can be made universally available; world famous scholars and scientists can be heard and seen in every home. The age-long limitations set by the scarcity of top-grade teaching personnel can be to some degree overcome. Furthermore, the presentations are often particularly good precisely in the areas where ordinary teachers are at their weakest: the really stimulating and interest-provoking introductions to a new field of knowledge; the synoptic drawing together of diverse threads; the establishment of links between science and society, research and progress, theory and practice. The new media of communication do make an essential contribution: without them many of the aims summarised by the phrase "life-long continuing education" would remain unrealisable ideals.

A cautionary note, however, should be sounded. A clear distinction must be drawn between the techniques of presentation and the pedagogical value of the content of a programme. Often, when watching, observers are charmed by the excitement and vividness of the series of pictures as well as by the eloquence and simplicity of the accompanying commentary. Yet, afterwards, when reflecting upon what has actually been taught disappointment may come. All too frequently, time and money are freely spent upon getting first-rate picture material, upon staging elaborate experiments, upon exact timing or exactness of detail — and yet effort and cost may be skimped on the quite essential pedagogical treatment which would ensure effective learning.

At present, everywhere, those in charge of radio and television services, whether public or commercial, offer a large number of programmes which have real educational value. True, as was said earlier, most of the time is given to the presentation of material that serves only to pass the time and to pander to animal impulses of violence and sex. But a significant part is also allotted to art, drama, literature, philosophy, science and technology. The question arises of integrating such material into the general system of permanent education.

The example of Britain, in this connection, is instructive. The British Broadcasting Corporation offers a public service, both TV and sound radio. Its costs of operation are met chiefly from the licences which must be purchased by all who own TV sets. There are also commercial companies ("Independent TV") who get their income from advertising. Both the BBC and the independents offer numerous programmes properly called "educational", in the narrower sense of the word. Of these the most carefully organised are aimed at schools and colleges. This service is intended to complement the instruction provided in the classroom and, usually, consists of regular, graded courses of ten or twelve programmes. It may also, especially in the case of foreign languages, take account of levels of attainment. The preparation of the broadcasts is growingly expensive. It is felt that the cost should be borne directly out of public funds perhaps on the budget of the Department of Education and Science (that is, the Ministry of Education). The BBC, in fact, asked in 1970 for a grant of nearly £4 million a year, stating
that the quality of educational radio and television must fall if this money is not provided. The Independents who provide their own extensive service for students in schools and colleges argue that they, too, should receive special grants. It seems likely that both the BBC and the Independents will get extra funds to develop educational broadcasting, but that they will be required to work closer together to avoid wasting resources.

In addition to the offering to schools and colleges, both the public service and the independents have set up departments concerned with adult and further education. Quite frequently, series are provided of special interest to workers or to teachers and others concerned with education or to parents; that is, series which provide in-service training of workers and which are part of total permanent education.

A new development deserves special attention: an "Open University" or "University of the Air" has recently been established, supported by a substantial government grant. Since 1971, it has been providing courses for students working at home. No special qualifications are demanded before registration. The students are helped by television, radio and correspondence courses. If successful in the examinations, they are granted degrees equivalent to those granted by the ordinary universities: passing a final examination earns one credit. Six credits earn a degree.

The Open University uses the technical facilities of the BBC but is independently administered. The BBC has also recently established eight local (sound only) stations, with considerable autonomy, and it is likely that about 30 more will operate before 1975. Each takes into account both formal and non-formal education, gearing its offerings very closely to local conditions and concerns. Much attention is paid, of course, to the needs of schools: local history, environmental studies, choice of career, etc. But many of the programmes are intended for adults listening at home: talks about children and schools; leisure time activities; serious study in subject areas. There have been discussions between parents, teachers and administrators: the "new mathematics" have been explained to parents. There have been talks about "Music in our City" and about "The Industrial Development of our Town".

The extra-mural departments of the universities and the Workers' Educational Association have made special efforts to explore the resources of local radio, particularly in the case of local history and of local industrial relations. Some of the programmes provided are intended to promote group discussion or have included meetings with tutors whilst the programme was running. "Shop Stewards in Industry" was a composite course including radio broadcasts, group discussions, a course-book and follow-up exercises for the student.

Surveying what is going on and considering the needs for continuing education, John Scuphan, a former head of educational broadcasting for the BBC and a member of the Senate of the Open University, has written of "a need to make
provision for the planned and orderly growth of the total educational broadcasting service; a need to achieve a still closer working partnership between broadcasters and the rest of the educational world; a need, with that end in view, to involve the Department (Ministry) of Education and Science deeply in the operation and a need to evolve a pattern or organisation ... which provides the optimum conditions for planners and producers”.

An interesting suggestion is now being discussed in Britain — in line with similar proposals elsewhere — namely that a special broadcasting channel be set apart and reserved for an education service. If this idea were to be realised, evidently it would become much easier to achieve real integration of the total offering and to pay attention to the needs of permanent education.

To achieve total integration between the broadcasting and the educational services, so that both were put at the service of continuing life-long education is probably impossible. Only a totalitarian régime, controlling and censoring everything, might succeed. The price would be too high: paying it would destroy the very values and ideals that permanent education is intended to defend and promote. Nevertheless, a great deal can be hoped for in countries of liberal tradition; for example:—

(i) As in the USA and UK, radio and TV producers can be forced to pay attention to the public interest and to the demands of education — this as a condition of being allowed to operate. Similar requirements could be laid upon the press and periodicals without danger to the fundamental freedoms.

(ii) Those in charge of the mass media are already beginning to show signs of developing a proper social and professional responsibility. Just as medical men can be trusted not to misuse their control of drugs and poisons, but always to use them for good, so too will the time come when the controllers of press, radio and TV, subscribing to a new kind of hippocratic oath, will learn not to pervert and prostitute their powers and talents.

(iii) Gradually, as the masses become better educated and as their aspirations rise, a public opinion will form that will reject the spurious, false, banal and harmful.

Reforming the formal system; inner structure

The non-formal system then, quite evidently, is responsive to consumer demand and hence adapts quickly to the present. The chief criticism that can be made of it is lack of sensitivity to high ideals and to long range considerations. It is also far too ready to pander to the unworthy and banal demands of the public and is much under the influence of selfish commercial or industrial interests. Before it can be usefully integrated into a total system of life-long continuing education much will have to change.

But the formal system, too, needs re-shaping if it is to adapt itself to the human and cultural needs of the last quarter of the twentieth century. The first, perhaps
the most difficult reform, essential to progress, is a change in accepted notions. We, all of us, teachers, administrators, parents, citizens must stop thinking of education as a process which begins at 5 or 6 years of age and is completed at 16 or 18 or 22 years of age. It is, in fact, life-long and continues throughout life.

If it were possible truly to build this notion into the normal way of thinking, the consequences that would follow would be obvious to all:—

(i) First, if education, including vocational and professional training, is available to adults of any age, no selection process can ever be final. There will always be not only a second, but a third and fourth chance of securing admission. The lad of sixteen or eighteen who is not accepted into a university because his attainments are too low can try again at 20 or at 30 or, indeed, at 50. The young woman of 20 who is offered a place in a course leading only to a qualification as a medical technician or nurse, though her hopes were set on the full medical course, need not despair. She can try again after the completion of the technician training — or at any later date.

The opportunity of “trying again” makes it much easier for individuals to accept rejection by a selection process. And it also lays weight on self-selection — always preferable to selection by others. Those who are sure of the wisdom of their hopeful choice will try more than once.

(ii) Adults who are earning their living and perhaps shouldering family responsibilities often hesitate to register for full-time courses. This is natural since such courses normally cost a great deal — that is, loss of earnings — and may involve an interruption of the career. What such adults need are part-time and evening courses; or perhaps weekend and sandwich courses.

At present, almost everywhere, full-time courses carry prestige. They seem to be thought of as somehow more respectable or even better educationally. There is no reason for accepting such strange ideas: they are not backed by solid evidence. It would indeed, be wise if all universities, technical colleges and other institutions at the third level ordered their administration and the organisation of their work so as to cater properly both for full-time and for part-time students and if moreover, they accepted the responsibility of arranging more special courses lasting a week, a month or a term. Is there any good reason why a four-year university course, leading to a degree, should not be taken in two or three or four slices, if the student so desires?

Incidentally, the presence of a large proportion of mature adults in a college would help to steady the student body: it would be easier, thanks to their influence, to establish healthy discipline.

(iii) Reforms of the kind envisaged would be facilitated by the more general adoption of the system of assessment and evaluation called “points” or course units or “credits”, a system familiar to Americans and sometimes, not quite correctly, spoken of as “continuous assessment”. The students are examined, by written papers or by an oral or on the presentation of a short dissertation or by a
combination of all these, at the end of each of the courses they take. The, those who prove that they have really learned what has been taught are credited with so many points. For example, a course to which three hours a week (of teaching) are devoted for a semester may carry three points; if one hour a week, one point. When the student has accumulated say 120 points he qualifies for the award of the Bachelor's degree. Variations, of course, are possible: one course-unit may represent notionally a course equivalent to full-time study lasting three months. In that case, the student might qualify by gaining, say, 12 course-units.

The students need not be allowed a completely free choice of subjects: they can be restricted to certain combinations. They may be tested either at the end of the course they have taken or allowance can be made for their contributions during the course itself (continuous assessment).

But, in any case, this system of evaluation evidently fits in much better with the ideals of permanent life-long education than does the practice, still common in Britain, for instance, of setting an examination, covering a whole range of courses and subjects, at the end of the year or of the period of study (three or four years) at the University. Students should be allowed to accumulate the points they gain over as many fields as they like.

(iv) In making choices between careers, fields of study, kind of college best suited to needs, young people at school have the advantage of advice given by their teachers and sometimes by vocational guidance agencies. But if men and women of all ages are to move in and out of colleges, trying to extend their skill and knowledge or simply seeking enlightenment and cultural enrichment, much not now available will have to be done to provide adequate information and guidance; something like a life-long counselling service will be needed to help adults to find their way amongst the multitude of possibilities, towards what is best for them.

(v) Turning now to the inner structure of educational institutions, that is to what goes on inside schools and colleges, it is evident that changes are called for if the ideal of permanent education is to be really accepted.

The first result would be that the pressure, now felt by pupil and teacher, to deal with particular subjects or to cover parts of them before a certain age is reached will be lifted. All too often, children are forced to learn things in which they are in no way interested or asked to concentrate on topics for which they are not mature, because teachers believe that the only chance of bringing the young into contact with those subjects or topics is while they are captive in school.

But when education is thought of as a life-long continuing process, this argument loses all validity. There will be no need to cover so-and-so by the age of 12 because if it is not it will be impossible to deal with something else before the boy or girl leaves school. It will be possible at last to adjust the curriculum to the abilities and aptitudes of individual pupils. Nor will there be any need, apart from mere convenience, to group them into "classes" or "forms" according to their age.
Developments of this kind are already taking place in forward looking primary schools. Many of them no longer put the children into one room in groups of 30 or 40, looked after by a single teacher. Instead, there is a large hall, equipped with all necessary aids and furniture, with a group of teachers available as helpers and resource persons. The children move about or sit at tables; the instruction is completely individualised.  

At the first cycle of the second level, this sort of learning and teaching involves two chief consequences: (a) a move away from formal "subjects" and (b) a much fuller use of aids to communication or, in other words, of the modern technology of teaching:—

(a) The notion of dividing the whole of human knowledge into separate and autonomous areas; and then of teaching in schools those sub-areas which are fundamental, was the outcome of an outworn epistemology propped up by psychological theories which have been disproved. Today "subjects" are thought of as no more than portions of a total field drawn together into small networks, rather like village telephone exchanges, by logical and theoretical threads. But all such local centres are necessarily connected into vaster systems and gain power and significance thereby: because each single instrument can be connected to every other in the universal system. Evidently to draw boundaries round a number of these instruments, connecting them to a particular exchange, is convenient but arbitrary. Subscribers need to learn how to establish contact with other exchanges. So, too, learners in schools need to know much that goes beyond specific subjects: and they are not well served if the instruction they receive is restricted to them.

It was thought, a century ago, that the human mind was made up of a number of separate faculties — reasoning, memory, observation and so on. These faculties it was argued could be exercised and strengthened (separately) by the right kind of exercise — and the value of a "subject" was to be measured by the power it had to train these faculties. No one now naively accepts this argument. As a result, the reasons formerly put forward to justify the traditional curriculum can no longer be accepted. The argument of social relevance carries more weight and educators are more prepared to judge the worth of what is taught in terms of the value of content. Curricula are planned in broader, looser and less structured ways than they were: projects, the study of problems, topic teaching and so on are readily accepted. Only seldom, nowadays, is there a talk of "basic" or "fundamental" subjects or of "gaps in knowledge". All kinds of new, practical, realistic studies can now be respectably accommodated within the curriculum even of fairly traditional schools.

(b) So the content of teaching is broadening and becoming more concrete, closer to experience. But to make the presentation effective and meaningful, use has to be made of the modern technology of teaching.

Furthermore, the new aids make it possible truly to individualise learning by
providing alternative paths and by allowing more self-teaching (for example through the use of teaching machines or of single cells in a language laboratory).

Reform of the formal system: outer structure

It is mainly at the higher levels that changes in systems are needed if the formal and the parallel offerings are to be brought together. Up to the age of 15 or 16, all boys and girls go to schools — to an increasing extent of the comprehensive, local community type — and attend full-time. What after that?

Traditionally, a fraction remained in the schools for another two or three years, taught in much the same way as before and a fraction of this fraction then proceeded to university and college. There has been, however, during the present century, a great development of institutions catering for young people between the ages of 16 and 21 — the sector called in Britain "further education". There are schools of music, of art, of drama; there are colleges in which part-time general education is offered; technical schools and colleges of technology; commercial and business schools; language instruction centres — all these leading up to and overlapping with the universities and the teachers' colleges. Quite obviously, there will have to be rationalisation and co-ordination. A real system of tertiary education will have to be constructed, with clear lines of connection between the institutions and with a code of rules regulating the passage of staff and students between them.

Two trends deserve notice and both are significant. First, attempts are being made here and there to introduce between school and university a new type of institution: a sort of local or community college discharging multiple functions, something not unlike the American junior college. In Europe, the prototype is possibly the Village College of Cambridgeshire, promoted by Henry Morris nearly 40 years ago. Morris thought of an institution in which full-time courses of general and technical education would be provided for young people who had left school as well as part-time day and evening courses for anyone who wanted to come. In the same building there would also be a public library; rooms for meetings and debates; club rooms, offering refreshments; possibly a cinema. That is, the Village College would be a true cultural centre for a whole community: an adaptation to liberal traditions of the Russian houses of culture, but even wider in scope.

Only a few such colleges were built in the 1930's: the times were not ripe. Yet surely the idea should now be revived and additions made: in the community college there should be available also a guidance and counselling centre; a language laboratory; a library of records, film strips and colour slides; and educational museum.

A second general trend is that which supports the transformation of the teachers' training colleges into colleges of education, providing courses broader and more general than was the custom in the past. Increasingly, too, arguments
are being advanced that they should broaden and diversify both their intake and their aims, educating not only future teachers but social workers of all kinds, probation officers, librarians and so on. In a word, that they should evolve gradually into professionally orientated colleges of general education which would take into account the needs of all those who are in some way intending to deal with children, young people and adults who are seeking either cultural enrichment or social or professional adjustment to the changing society. It need scarcely be pointed out that such a development of the teachers' colleges would admirably fit the ideals of permanent education.

Conclusion

The general argument presented in this paper is, in reality, simple and straightforward: there have long existed two ways by which human beings have been taught and helped, namely the formal educational system and the parallel non-formal. Formerly, before say about 1900, the two fitted together fairly well. But with the advent of modern science-based technology, say after the 1930's, the disjunction between the two “systems” has become quite dangerous. Special attention needs to be paid to all possible ways of harmonising and integrating them, each strengthening and enriching the other. This cannot be achieved without real reforms in the formal system nor without structuring the non-formal parallel system much more than it is.

The situation is complicated by the vast development of mass media, which creates or at least aggravates political, social and individual troubles and diseases. But in fact these new inventions, by their inner dialectic, also offer means to deal constructively with the problem they create or help to worsen.

There is nothing new in the notion of “permanent education” or “life-long continuing education”. But what is new is the explicit realisation that it does exist. What is exciting is the realisation that the exploration of educational theories that take it fully into account may show us how to handle the problems we face. “Permanent education” is a compass which can guide us in the construction of a total, integral education that will help the development of a society more stable, more efficient and more just than that of today. In such a society modern man may find it possible to realise his ideals of dignity, justice and happiness.

NOTES

1) “Community Development” grows out of adult education and in many ways is an adaptation of adult education to present-day conditions. The community development worker — “animateur” — helps a group to identify the problems which that group faces and then helps them to deal with those problems. The solutions may involve both study and action.

2) Brian MacArthur (Times, April 1970) describes one of the new schools which he has visited in Leicestershire.

Countesthorpe College is perhaps the most revolutionary comprehensive school being built in Britain. Built on a circular pattern, it opens in September and will eventually provide for 1,400 students of 14 to 18.

There will be no classrooms at Countesthorpe. Instead there are open spaces for science, design, engineering and arts and crafts.
The complex will house a big library area, areas subdivided loosely for 90 students and three staff, tutorial and seminar rooms as well as big lecture rooms, quiet study booths, staff workrooms and a large carpeted area with a coffee bar.

The college is deliberately opting for participation by students, staff and the community instead of what it describes as the authoritarian approach.

There will be directors of studies instead of heads of departments; and the early students, who will be younger, are to be given two half-days a week free of any timetabled activity to spend on their own pursuits.

What the concept behind Countesthorpe represents, in fact, is an extension into the upper end of secondary education, and in a building specially designed for it, of the activity methods of the primary school.

3) It is clear that reforms are needed both in the content and method of teacher education, if teachers are to be prepared for "permanent education".
A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF LIFELONG EDUCATION

by G. W. Parkyn (London)

To stimulate constructive thinking about the ways in which education systems could be transformed in order to make available the opportunity for lifelong education, Unesco has been sponsoring the development of imaginative "models" of lifelong education. One that I have developed is shortly to be published,¹ and by courtesy of Unesco I am able to present to this Conference extracts from the study, to give members an idea of the essential features of the model. This is, indeed, a very good occasion to do so, since we have before us at the same time the constructive OECD study by Denis Kallen and Jarl Bengtsson on the implementation of a programme for recurrent education.² My model and their proposals can be seen to be complementary exercises, not only because the long-term aims are very similar, but also because while they are most concerned to illustrate the possibilities and needs at the late adolescent and adult levels, I have devoted more attention to the educational infrastructure in childhood and early adolescence.

I. Assumptions underlying the model

An important aspect of my particular model is its attempt to mediate between two extremes: between viewing an educational system as a closed system shut off from formal relationships with other institutions in society, and on the other hand envisaging the virtual abolition of school systems. My model sees the education system as an organising centre for lifelong learning, with the school bringing society to its pupils in the earlier years of their lives and taking them out into society as they mature.

At the outset I want to emphasize that this model is only one of several that could be constructed. It should not be thought of as an organizational plan to be adopted as it stands, but rather as a generalized indication of one way in which such a plan could be constructed.

The concept of lifelong education

We are familiar now with the fact that in the modern world new knowledge and new conditions of existence are coming into being so fast that no one can go through his life without having to learn much that is new. It is clear that we cannot learn during childhood and adolescence all that we shall need throughout life. Nor can we acquire in a casual way, without deliberate educational provision, the complex new forms of knowledge and skill that we shall need at various points in our lives. In an age of complex living conditions and rapid change, the need for continuing educational provision can readily be seen. The 'lifelong' component of the term, then, is easily understood.
The other component, 'education', presents greater difficulty, for this takes on a different aspect when it is a lifelong process rather than a child-centred and adolescent-centred one. To understand the concept of lifelong education we must examine the basic concept of education itself, and the success of any reorganization of education in the perspective of lifelong education will require a radical change in the traditional view of education. The essential difference is between the view that education is a preparation for a life that will be lived after education is completed, and the view that education is an essential element in living throughout the whole length of life. It is easy to make a verbal resolution of the contradiction by saying that education is at one and the same time a process of living in the present and a process of preparation for further living. The problem is what kind of education can do both.

Lifelong learning and education

Life is a process of development, and this process is not simply a spontaneous unfolding of latent potentialities, nor is it simply a shaping by external stimuli. At all stages it is a transaction between a living being and its surroundings, a transaction in which the living being reconstructs mentally or physically those parts of its environment that are relevant to its life; and, in so doing, it transforms itself and enhances the quality of its living. Human beings are essentially social beings, and the environmental conditions within which they develop are in the main socially created. These include all aspects of man's culture, his knowledge, skills, attitudes, customs, laws, beliefs, and values. Their transformation takes place not by mere physical ingestion and digestion as in the intake of food, but by perceiving, conceiving, enlarging the range of meaning of experience by learning.

Human beings have ideals that lead them to hope that they will develop in one way rather than another. In consequence, they do not leave their learning to a spontaneous interaction with the environment. They seek to influence the development of their fellows typically by influencing the process of learning, of reconstructing their experience. The term 'education' is commonly used for this deliberate influencing of learning. Moreover, knowing that different kinds of environment have different effects upon people, they influence the development of their fellows by providing environments in which desired learning is facilitated.

The environment for learning

Educative environments range all the way from informal situations in which the learner simply accompanies other people as they go about their daily work, and learns by play-like participation in and imitation of their activities, to the deliberately structured situations provided by agencies such as schools and universities specifically designed for helping people to learn.

Lifelong education, then, implies the deliberate provision of educational environments for people at any stage of their development. In the modern world,
the institutionalizing of lifelong education will be a very complex thing. The essential elements for such provision are already present in some degree in most societies. There are some facilities for adult education in every country. There are school and university systems for children and adolescents in every country, with a more or less comprehensive coverage of the relevant age-groups. There is a variety of pre-school and out-of-school arrangements for child-care, agencies for community development, facilities for on-the-job training in vocational skills, and there are libraries, galleries, museums and so on.

However, the task is not merely one of extending such facilities so that there are enough of them for all people. It is rather that of constructing systematic relationships between them, so that they complement one another and comprise an integrated whole with inter-related parts. In such a system, to give an example of what is implied, adult education would not be a separate entity, poorly financed, intended merely to compensate for deficiencies in the earlier stages of the educational process; it would be the crowning phase of a continuous, integrated series of provisions. Institutionalizing the concept of lifelong education, then, implies a systematic organization of all levels of formal schooling and non-formal out-of-school educational activities in such a way that they provide an environment for learning throughout the life of man.

*Education in a changing society*

Mankind is being influenced by a unique combination of socio-cultural forces that are bringing about a radical revision of traditional ideas on education. The outstanding feature of our times is the rapidity of change in almost all aspects of social life. The acceleration in science and technology, the great population increase, the improvements in the production of consumer goods, the enlarging network of communication, the drive towards social mobility and participation in political and cultural activities by sections of the population that in the past were relatively inactive in these respects — these are some of the main factors that make our era so different from any that have preceded it. They have shown us that most education systems have deficiencies so serious that they call for a thorough reshaping.

*Unstable assumptions underlying education systems*

The failure of so many nations to respond quickly to the need for lifelong education has been exacerbated by the very success of their efforts to establish school systems for young people, and by certain of the basic assumptions on which such systems were founded at the beginning of the industrial era in Europe. It is important to examine these assumptions now, not only because they have had an inhibiting effect upon adult education, but also because their influence is retarding the acceptance of the concept of lifelong education.
The first of these assumptions was that childhood is uniquely the time for education. Throughout the European tradition, under the influence of which the public education systems of the modern world have been built, runs the belief that a man can most easily be formed in early youth and cannot be formed properly except at that age. The assumption contains a partial truth. The conditions of learning and what is learned in early years do have a marked effect upon subsequent development. Yet we know now that the ability to learn continues with little diminution throughout the greater part of life, declining only gradually with advancing age. The second assumption was that children should be taught those things that they will need to know when they are adults. Again, there is a partial truth here. There are many basic things that can be learned in early childhood, that should be learned then, and that remain permanently valuable. There are, however, many things needed in adulthood that it would be a waste of time and a waste of life to teach in childhood. A third assumption was that of the primacy of school-teaching in the educative process. When teachers were regarded as the repositories of the body of knowledge that had to be passed on to the learners, the teaching aspect of education was emphasized to the detriment of the learning aspect, the heuristic or discovery method of learning was neglected, and mass instruction took precedence over individualized learning. The vast possibilities of self-education in informal out-of-school situations were often neglected and the schools and school-teachers were thought of as the major, if not the only, agencies of education. One unfortunate effect of this was a failure to develop the educational potentiality of other resources, such as libraries, museums, art galleries, and places of work where much of the education of young people in pre-industrial societies took place. A more fundamental error was that the school tended to isolate learning from the context of immediate action. When the school is mainly concerned to prepare children for their future lives, this makes for a divorce between theory and practice, between education and living, and between schooling and work.

This analysis leads to the basic principle that what is needed now is not merely more adult education added on to the existing provision for children and adolescents but rather a reconstruction of all the different parts of the whole system. It is necessary to construct an educational model built upon the sounder assumption that learning should be a lifelong process, culminating during the years of adulthood rather than ending at its threshold. Such a model will require radical changes in the structures, functions, methods, and content of education systems at all levels, and the implementation of a new model will almost inevitably call for new strategies on the part of administrators and new approaches to policy-making.

**Basic dimensions of lifelong education**

Such a model needs to start with two basic dimensions: first, the span of a human lifetime, and second, the range of human behaviour. Each of these
dimensions is a continuum; but, for simplicity in thinking, they can be divided into stages and categories when distinctive differences are perceptible within them. Different approaches to such categorizations exist, with different advantages and disadvantages for different times and situations. In many countries school curricula are already based on such schemata. All that is needed here is to point out the importance of developing these two basic dimensions of a model, and to give illustrative examples.

With respect to the first dimension, the commonly accepted stages of development of infancy, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood provide a starting point. Each can be sub-divided, but for our purposes it will be enough to leave the first three in their usual form. The complexity of the period of adulthood, however, has been insufficiently recognized. It is five or six times as long as any of the others, and can be usefully divided into phases based on distinctive developmental tasks.\(^3\)

With respect to the second dimension, we may note that there are various ways in which human activities can be categorized for educational purposes. From the point of view of the psychology of learning, a distinction is commonly made between cognitive learning, the acquisition of knowledge and skill, and affective learning, the acquisition of attitudes, interests, and values\(^4\). Such analyses are valuable at the level of micro-analysis of teaching methods and the learning process. However, when a general organizational model is being outlined, a macro-analysis is more relevant, using broader societal or cultural categories, such as the areas of economic, political, scientific, technical, social, aesthetic, and religious activities\(^5\). Such an analysis will be used for this model.

**Stages of development and developmental needs**

Most aspects of human development are present in some degree at every stage, but different emphases occur, and these give a certain distinctiveness to periods of growth. Some of these emphases are based on individual growth factors, such as the onset of puberty, but mainly they depend upon the kind of society that people grow up in.

The simpler the society the shorter the pre-adult period. Different societies, then, tend to have their own distinctive phases of development, and their education systems need to take account of this. For the purposes of this model we shall take a sequence that seems likely to be applicable to modern industrial societies and to societies that are entering the industrial era or are being modified by their contact with the industrial world. There are undoubtedly societies for which the stages outlined here are not valid.

**Infancy**

In infancy the basic control of bodily functions occurs, psychomotor skills required for immediate self-preservation develop, fundamental language patterns are acquired, basic perceptions of the external world are built up, social
relationships are established within the family or equivalent human group, and concepts, attitudes, and values come into being which will long continue to influence the individual’s view of man and society.

**Childhood**

In the period between infancy and puberty a wider socialization of the individual takes place as, with an increased ability to care for himself, he lives a large part of his life in the company of his peer group and of adults other than his parents. Cognitively, childhood is a period of rapid expansion of horizons of the external world, of active and imaginative play at all manner of adult occupations, and socially it is a period when friendships and group loyalties grow up within the circle of direct face-to-face contacts.

**Adolescence**

In adolescence, when physical maturity is being reached, but when the tendency in modern societies is to postpone the adult role, the search for personal identity and the perception of the necessity for developing one’s own life-style are distinguishing characteristics. This process involves the gradual specialization of interests, the formulation of personal ideals, the intensification of direct friendship and love among an intimate circle of people, and the expansion of indirect group sentiments to include a wider circle of community, the whole nation, humanity in general, even all living things.

**Early Adulthood**

Early adulthood, the period that starts when full-time employment begins, may be arbitrarily thought of as continuing throughout the decade of the 20’s. The major tasks are choosing a mate, making a home, raising children, and finding a satisfying and permanent vocation. One of the major educational aims in this period will be to obtain educational qualifications relating to the search for suitable employment. Depending upon the amount of formal education already completed, members of this age-group may require programmes ranging from functional literacy and occupational training, through preparation for elementary and secondary school qualifications, to advanced university degrees.

The period of the 30’s is the one in which the major educational interests relate to vocational improvement or the achievement of social mobility through vocational re-training and the finding of better employment, and to the improvement of the home and care of a growing family. Serious participation in community affairs commonly begins in this period.

**Middle adulthood**

Middle adulthood, the period of the 40’s and 50’s, sees the consolidation of the major life roles already developed. In occupations based on scientific knowledge and technology there will be continuing need of professional education for
workers at the higher levels and for the re-training of employees at lower levels. At the same time, especially among those people who have reached relatively advanced levels of general education, an increasing interest is shown in supplementary education for the personal cultivation of the arts, music, literature, philosophy, religion, public affairs, and many other fields not related to their vocations. With the advance of technology, too, the hours and years of work required from people at this stage of life will tend to be steadily reduced, and social and cultural activities increased. This is a field in which educational demands may be expected to grow rapidly in technologically advanced societies.

**Late adulthood**

In late adulthood, the 60's and beyond, we find a major concern for the ending of the working life and the cultivation of interests that will enhance the quality of life in the years of retirement and old age. This is a period for which increasing provision will be required in the future as scientific research and improved medical care permit an increasing proportion of people to live many years after their working lives are over. It is a period, too, which may begin earlier and earlier, as technological progress enables working lives to be shortened.

**II. The organisation of educational provision**

In its broadest sense, the purpose of educational organization for lifelong learning is to give every individual, irrespective of his age, his place of residence, his economic and social circumstances, and his race or ethnic group, access to facilities that will ensure his continuing development.

**Sequence of educational programmes**

In planning educational programmes for people throughout their lives certain general considerations need to be observed. The first is that there will be a progression from all-inclusive child care to almost complete adult autonomy in the educative process. The young child has to be protected, and taught all the things necessary for his self-preservation and physical well-being until the stage is reached when he can look after himself well enough to move about independently.

These two components, education and child-care, can be thought of independently in the organisation of education provision. The scope and sequence of the educative experiences most appropriately provided by schools will determine the minimum amount of time that the young person will need to attend school. This will probably be very much the same for most children in the earlier years, but it will certainly vary in late adolescence as some take up full-time employment and adult responsibilities earlier than others. On the other hand, the maximum time needed will vary for different children depending upon their circumstances. It may range from only a short period daily at school to full-time care in a boarding school. The difference between 'full-time schooling' and 'part-time schooling' is, indeed, a matter of degree. It is important to realize that the distinction is relative, for with the technological and social changes that are now
occurring, not only will ‘part-time’ education become normal throughout adulthood, but during childhood and adolescence ‘full-time’ schooling as it is now understood may take on more of a part-time character, as child-care needs are met in other ways and new agencies and media share the educational task.

**Range of educational programmes**

There are some general principles that can be helpful in considering the wide range of educative experience needed during childhood and adolescence. First, a gradual specialization of interests and abilities will emerge from all-inclusive provision of the earlier years. Secondly, the educative experience itself needs to be of such a nature that it will directly lead to an improvement in the quality of life of the children in their immediate environment. Thirdly, it should enable them to adjust themselves to changing environments and enlarging circles of community, and to play an active part in improving their conditions of life.

**The educative society**

The concept of the educative society parallels that of lifelong education. In some way or other the development of every individual, at any stage of his life, is affected by the society in which he lives. However, at some periods of life some social agencies are more important than others. For example, the school is more important in the life of a child than the trade union or professional association that may be a powerful factor in the continuing education of the adult worker. In organizing the educative facilities of a society the potentiality of all agencies must be taken into account, as well as their particular relevance at the various stages of development of the members of that society.

**Formal education systems and non-formal agencies**

It is usual to distinguish between the formal education system and a wide variety of peripheral schools and other educative agencies. The formal education system is usually defined as comprising those schools maintained and controlled by specifically educational associations, whether public or private, which between them provide a coordinated progression of teaching and learning experiences, of instruction and studies, conducted by qualified members of a teaching profession, and preparing their students to receive a sequence of certified qualifications for further education or for the practice of occupations requiring accepted levels of knowledge and skill. Commonly, the sequence of elementary and secondary schools, vocational schools, and institutions of higher learning, such as universities, has been thought of as comprising the formal education system. The concept of lifelong education, however, requires us to recognise the complementary functions of all educational agencies as part of a total system, coordinated both vertically and horizontally.

While both formal and non-formal agencies must be included in a comprehensive model, they do have distinctive functions. The formal school
system is specifically designed to provide a continuous, integrated sequence of education leading from infancy to adulthood, and, because of the complex organisation required for carrying out this responsibility, the formal system provides the most powerful machinery for bringing about a closer relationship between itself and all the other educative agencies of society.

**Transition from formal to non-formal agencies**

The nature of the relationship between the formal school system and non-formal agencies will vary at different points in the life cycle, and there are certain general considerations that can be used as guidelines when such relationships are being brought about. In the first place, during the course of a lifetime there will be a gradual transition from the earlier years, during which the formal school system will carry most of the responsibility for the child's education, to the later years when the adult will be himself responsible for continuing his education and will do this mainly through the various non-formal agencies and media. It will be one of the important functions of the schools, in the context of lifelong education, to provide such guidance as will enable young people to learn how best to use the resources of the community to further their own development.

In the early stages, the formal schools should themselves be idealized epitomes of the society in which they are found. They should have their own miniature versions of the main non-formal educative resources of the community, such as libraries, museums, art collections, music collections, workshops, and so on. At a later stage students should progressively be taken out of the confines of the school to learn how to use the community's wider resources, which should then be increasingly used for self-education. Close cooperation is needed between the staffs of the schools and the staffs of all the cultural agencies of the community. In the vocational sphere, in particular, the major part of education and training should take place in close association with the productive enterprises and service organizations of society.

**From full-time to part-time schooling**

Parallel with the gradual change in emphasis from schools to the non-formal agencies, there will be a transition from the period of full-time schooling to the period of full-time employment. Schooling and work have been sharply separated in the past century of public education. In the new perspective this sharp separation is being abolished. During the later years of formal schooling a practical induction into the world of work is desirable, and a continuation of some formal schooling and much non-formal education during the working life is a necessity. How to achieve this transition in practice is one of the major problems of vocational education.

**III. An organization model**

Following from the principles set out above, I have developed an illustrative model for the organization of educational facilities. I would emphasize that this is only one of many possible models that could be developed for the same purposes.
Infant-care centres

There will be two main types of centres for the care of infants during the period before regular schooling normally begins at the age of six years: infant health centres, which provide pre-natal and post-natal advice and care till the age of 3 years; infant educational centres, which may be attended full-time or part-time, for a varying number of hours a week depending on the needs of the infants and on whether the mothers are in full-time employment. The programmes will aim at the development of the physical and mental capacities of the infants, their gradual socialization through play activities, and their preparation for the more systematic learning activities of the primary school.

A close relationship must be developed between the work of the medical and educational staffs of the health and educational centres and the parents of the infants so that the two environments complement each other harmoniously. Participation by mothers and fathers in the daily activities of the centres, under the guidance of the professional staff, will ease the children's transition from the home to the school, and it can be a fruitful means of helping the parents themselves to gain a deeper knowledge of developing children and thus to become better educators of their children.

Primary education centres

Primary education centres will provide for the years from six till fifteen, which have traditionally been the years of primary and junior secondary schooling. The basic function of the primary education centres will be to provide a general education for all children up to the point at which they make a provisional choice of future vocation and embark upon specific vocational education and training.

The period of primary education can be divided into various cycles, related to biological or social phases of development. Such phases are somewhat arbitrary, for individuals show a wide range of differences in biological and psychological growth, and societies differ in the opportunities and responsibilities they provide for young people at various ages. Different countries will find different divisions suit their conditions. For that reason, the present model simply divides the period into two cycles: basic general education and transitional general education. The two phases may be carried out in the same physical facilities, or separate schools may be preferred. The important thing is the different educational emphasis appropriate to each cycle.

The cycle of basic education

The basic education cycle will normally be five years long. Its essential purpose will be to introduce the child to the universe of space and time in which he and his community are located, to open up to him through his own activities the wide range of interests and potentialities that human beings can develop, and to lay the foundations of those learning skills and interests on which subsequent development will depend.
The main organizational characteristic of the basic school will be its responsibility for the care and education of children for a large part of the day while they are too young to take full advantage of the other educational facilities in the community. The school should be in effect a miniature community, providing in a selective, simplified, and idealized form the initial experiences that will later be provided by the wider resources of the community. For example, the schools will have libraries, art galleries, museums, gardens, laboratories, workshops, theatres, studios, music rooms, sports grounds, radios, television, as well as teaching and learning devices of many kinds. Its activities will simulate in many ways the activities of the world outside the school.

**Bringing the community into the school**

Although the school should be an idealized epitome of the wider community, it should not be isolated. Opportunities should be made to bring parents and other members of the community into the school where they can share relevant experience, demonstrate skills, help care for the children, and teach things they are specifically fitted to teach. Not only would this bring the school into closer contact with its community, but also it could, in developing countries, assist the professional teaching staff and help reduce the effects of the shortage of teachers.

**The cycle of transitional education**

The transitional cycle will normally occupy four years. While continuing the general education of the basic cycle, the distinctive aim of the transitional cycle is to initiate the process of educational and vocational choice that will lead to the tentative selection of a field of employment at the end of the cycle. In addition to the general cultural subjects, the school will provide optional studies and activities more closely related to particular fields of interest in the humanities, the arts, the sciences, technology, industry, commerce, agriculture, handicrafts, and whatever major activities are found in the various circles of community relevant to the lives of the young people.

One of the main functions of the school will be to provide educational and vocational guidance for the students in making their initial choices and in evaluating the results of their experience in the different fields they have chosen during the transitional cycle.

**Taking the school into the community**

During the transitional cycle of primary education the school will begin to prepare its students to be independent of it, by arranging for them to make systematic use of community facilities for supervised learning and for observing and participating in appropriate community activities.

There are various ways in which such a broadening of experience can be achieved. Supervised study in libraries, museums, art galleries and other agencies whose fundamental purpose is educative can be arranged with the assistance of the staffs of these agencies. Schools can organise visits to observe the operation of
community organs of government such as municipal councils and courts of justice, the work of services such as the railways, and the daily work in factories, offices, and other places of work. Participation in community service such as beautifying the environment, helping with the physical care of young or handicapped children and the aged, carrying out seasonal agricultural work, and a wide variety of other useful and educative experiences should be organized by the school in the transitional years. By such practical means, the young people will be helped to bridge the gap between school and community, between their own school lives and their later lives as adult members of their community. They will also have a sounder foundation on which later to make their choice of vocation.

Secondary education centres

The period of secondary education, comprising three years from fifteen to eighteen, corresponds to the final years in the traditional senior secondary schools for those students who will be entering universities or other post-secondary establishments, and to the period commonly spent in vocational secondary schools by those students who will be entering directly into skilled trades, technical employment, or commerce.

One of the major problems of all school systems is to find the best combination of general education and vocational training at this stage of life. In most countries this period has been marked by a rigid separation between those young people who went directly to work after or even before their general schooling was completed and those who remained in full-time schools. The former often suffered from prematurely terminating their general education while they learned specific vocational skills through on-the-job training. The latter suffered from prolonging a general education and a generalized vocational education that they often saw as remote from life and useless to them.

Many attempts have been made to devise a method that satisfactorily combines general education, vocational education, and specific vocational training during this period, and for some occupations considerable success has been achieved in some countries. So far, however, no complete system satisfactorily meeting the needs of all young people has been established. The proposed model presents a marked departure from traditional practice in an attempt to solve the problem.

Integration of schooling and vocation

The essential feature of secondary education in this model is that it will comprise part schooling and part working. The schools, while continuing to provide a general education and continuing to use community resources for this purpose will relate their vocational education directly to those occupational fields in which their students are receiving initial on-the-job training.

The concurrent school courses would be of two kinds: general education, and vocational education relevant to the chosen field of employment. The relationship of the vocational studies to the on-the-job experience will present crucial problems
of curriculum design, for these studies need to provide the rationale for the on-the-job tasks and at the same time to develop in the young workers the capacity to progress to more complex tasks and responsibilities.

To illustrate the possibilities and difficulties of this approach to the integration of school and work an example may be given. The field of health services is illuminating because of the variety of services required and because the way in which, traditionally, there have been sharp divisions because the kinds of training for the various levels of professional competence, from diagnosticians, physicians and surgeons at one level to hospital attendants at the other, with many intermediate workers such as physicians, assistants, nurses, dietitians, laboratory technicians, and secretaries.

During the period of initial vocational education, all young people who intended to work in health services, no matter at what level, would begin by working part time in hospitals and medical clinics, carrying out simple tasks necessary for the effective operation of the enterprise. Their work would be combined with supervised on-the-job training, and a progressive series of skills and responsibilities for the care of the sick should be developed throughout the period. At school, as well as continuing their general cultural and civic education, the young people would study the scientific subjects fundamental to health care and medical practice.

Differences in interests and abilities would be evaluated during the course of this cycle, and on the basis of these differences it would become evident which students should continue with higher studies leading to medical and surgical practice and medical research and which would be more suited to intermediate occupations in the health services. Admission to higher specialized education and permanent employment in the intermediate areas would in general be subject to assessments of manpower requirements, and, in the individual case, admission would be based upon the level of knowledge, and competence demonstrated by a student during the initial vocational cycle, or, in the case of adults, upon equivalent qualifications gained later in life.

Similar examples could readily be outlined in other major vocational fields such as the care and education of children in infant-care centres, and the general school system, the practice of commerce in offices and shops, trade and industries in workshop and factory, agricultural and horticultural work in the fields, orchards, experimental stations, and laboratories, and in the provision and administration of government services, public utilities, and cultural amenities. In all of these activities, young people could be receiving a realistic and personally satisfying introduction to socially useful work, on a part-time basis, with proper supervision and on-the-job training, while simultaneously continuing their general education and their study of subjects and skills related to the chosen vocational field.

Centres of tertiary education

After completing the period of initial vocational education, young people will make a definitive choice of their field of vocation. For the majority of occupations
this will mean that the young adults will be entering full-time employment, with on-the-job training providing for whatever specialized skills are needed to keep up with new knowledge and procedures applied to their occupations. For some occupations, however, those that require advanced theoretical knowledge and practical skills before they can be practised, sequential schooling needs to be continued at the tertiary level, the level traditionally defined by the universities and the specialized higher schools of technology, medicine, law, commerce, administration, teaching, and so on. Such schools of advanced vocational training will generally use selective entrance procedures based upon the satisfactory completion of secondary education, or its adult equivalent, and the ability of the students to learn subjects with a high level of conceptual difficulty.

During the advanced stage of vocational education the young adults should be definitively associated with the occupational field for which they are preparing. They should be working part-time in establishments such as hospitals, laboratories, engineering works, law offices, school, libraries, museums, and so on, thus continuing to learn on-the-job skills at higher and higher levels. At the same time, in part-time attendance at the advanced schools and universities, they should be studying fundamental theoretical subjects and developing more generally applicable skills.

Advanced vocational education at the tertiary stage will comprise two cycles. The first, training for practitionership, may occupy three to six years according to the requirements of different professions. It will usually culminate in the granting of a diploma of licence to practise the profession concerned — law, medicine, teaching, architecture, engineering, and so on—or to work as para-professionals or middle-level technicians in the same general fields. The second cycle will prepare specialists for research and teaching in the institutions of higher education themselves and in institutions of research and development.

In the perspective of lifelong education, the centres of training for practitionership will also be responsible for providing continuing in-service education for members of their respective professions, for the upgrading of qualifications throughout their professional careers, and for the retraining made necessary by the emergence of new fields of specialization.

**Centres of adult education**

Besides sequential vocational education at the tertiary level for those people who have just completed their studies at the primary and secondary levels or have obtained equivalent qualifications later in life, opportunities are needed for adults to develop a wide range of cultural and vocational interests. Firstly, provision should be made for the wide range of studies that have no formal entrance requirements and whose fundamental purpose is to enable adults to take up effective and satisfying activities in all the domains of human culture in which they are interested. Secondly, provision should be made for primary and secondary education for these persons who wish to complete these either for direct vocational purposes or to enable them to continue their education at the tertiary level. The establishing of a regular institutional base for such a wide
variety of services for adults is one of the crucial problems in the effective provision of facilities for lifelong learning.

For the first kind of studies, the demand for which will steadily increase in the future with the rising level of schooling in childhood and adolescence, a distinctive kind of establishment is needed, centres of adult education or community colleges. These will need to be widely established for adults who want to have opportunities for continued learning not directly related to the acquiring or maintaining of professional qualifications. Such institutions for the continuing general education of adults will need to be available in all communities, whereas the specialized institutions of tertiary education, providing advanced courses for selected students, will necessarily be fewer in number. In many countries university extension departments have tried to meet the general needs of adults, but their essential responsibility is towards advanced studies for persons entering the tertiary period of education at a later stage than usual. They are unlikely to be able to cope with the popularization of lifelong education and provide adequately for the varied needs of the whole adult population without having their specific responsibility for advanced education deleteriously affected.

Providing for the second kind of need, basic and secondary education for adults who were unable to complete these at the normal time, presents some specific difficulties. It is desirable, in general, that adults be educated in establishments specifically intended for adults, and by teachers trained to work with adults. The centres of adult education should therefore have departments that specialize in this field.

In developing countries, however, functional literacy and basic education programmes cannot await the establishment of the institutions most appropriate within the framework of an ideal system. As a transitional measure, the facilities of primary and secondary schools and other agencies should be used for evening classes conducted by primary and secondary school teachers, and other suitable people, including young people training to become teachers.

IV. The administration of lifelong education

The organization of facilities for lifelong education will present not only greater opportunities but also greater difficulties in administration than have any of the more narrowly conceived education systems of the past. It requires vertical coordination between parts of the education sector that have often functioned in virtual independence, and also horizontal coordination among all the educative agencies of the community, the regular school system being simply one of these.

In this paper it is not possible to set out in any detail, the nature of the administrative model that I developed to support the foregoing organizational model. The most I can do is to say that any model of an administrative structure appropriate for the control of a country's educational services will be based upon certain assumptions, and my main assumptions have been explicitly, though briefly, set out in the full text. They were not arbitrarily adopted, but arose out of an examination of world-wide trends in educational administration during the past
three or four decades. trends which indicated the general direction of changes that nations of the world have been making in their efforts to improve the education systems.

The essential administrative principles that arose out of these assumptions may be summarized as follows: central policy-making of a general nature, central financing, and central evaluation and supervision of local facilities to ensure an equitable allocation of educational resources throughout the nation; local policy-making of a detailed nature, local provision and operation of educational services in order to make best use of local knowledge of resources and needs; vertical and horizontal coordination of educational services to ensure the efficient use of resources for lifelong education; community participation in policy-making and control at each level of educational provision and administration, in order to achieve the ideal of an educative society responsible for shaping its own way of life. On those principles an administrative model was based.

V. Conclusion: the value of a conceptual model

The value of a conceptual model lies in the way it can be used as a guide in the drawing up of detailed specifications for a particular country. It is not itself a blueprint, but it can be of value to those charged with the drawing of blueprints. A generalized model is possible because all countries share to some degree certain needs. The concrete expression of the needs may differ, and the emphasis to be placed on different needs will also differ from country to country and from time to time, and these are the kinds of considerations that will make one country’s system differ in practice from any other. Certain essentials will be common, however. An example will illustrate this point. Adult illiteracy is one of the most important elements of the educational situation of the developing countries, but adult illiteracy is also found is some degree in the more developed countries. Teaching illiterate adults is therefore needed in all countries, and for this reason provision is made for it in this general model.

At the present time the need for new conceptual models is urgent, and especially so for the developing countries. Most of these have been trying to expand education systems modelled on those that were established for the children of the industrializing countries of nineteenth century Europe. The inadequacies of such a model are now clear, and it is necessary for the developing countries to reshape their systems, rather than simply to struggle to universalize an inadequate model for the children, leaving the urgent needs of the adults relatively neglected. New models, based on the concept of lifelong education, will place emphasis on the neglected area of adult education, which, in the future, will occupy an increasingly important part of people’s lives.

With the guidance of a generalized model of a system of lifelong education, it will be possible to develop a strategy for re-ordering priorities, for immediately attending to those parts of a system most needing reform, without losing sight of its integral nature. The present model will be justified if, by outlining in a brief
compass the essential structure of a comprehensive system of lifelong educational provision, it helps the makers of educational and social policy in diverse countries to conceive of imaginative reconstructions of their own systems.

NOTES AND REFERENCES


SOME CONCEPTUAL ASPECTS OF RECURRENT EDUCATION*

by R. H. Dave (Unesco Institute of Education, Hamburg)

About the Concept

In educational parlance, the term recurrent education is of very recent origin. If we take an historical overview of major developments in education from the beginning of the twentieth century, we find that at one stage it appeared as though the overall structure of education was fully stabilized and that no further thinking in this domain was necessary. The structure of education was neatly divided into primary, secondary, university and adult stages, with pre-primary education conceived as an optional stage. But we now find that the stability of the educational structure is seriously threatened by the new educational needs that have recently been generated as a result of socio-economic, demographic, technological and occupational changes in society. The idea of recurrent education emerged during the late sixties as a positive response to the new educational needs of a fast-changing society. This idea, in one sense, questions the efficacy and viability of the prevalent stable structure of education and offers an alternative that implies fundamental reorganization of the existing educational pattern.

The notion of recurrent education is still very nascent. It has hardly become a well-rounded concept. At the same time, the idea appears to be so fundamental that it is bound to produce far-reaching consequences on the structure and programme of all education. Hence, it should be examined very carefully and critically from both conceptual as well as operational standpoints.

A few countries like Sweden and Norway¹ have given serious thought to this idea. Similar pioneering work is being done by the OECD.² Some educational thinkers and researchers have also devoted their efforts to the elucidation of this idea.³ However, recurrent education, as it is conceived, has not yet been put into practice anywhere. Even at the conceptual level, all elements of the idea are not yet fully clear. It is therefore essential to invest more effort and carry out extensive discussions to examine and evolve the concept. The present paper represents one such effort.

It is beyond the scope of this short paper to deal with all important aspects of the concept. It is also not possible to give exhaustive treatment to any of the aspects included here for want of space. Hence, it has been decided to briefly mention some conceptual aspects of recurrent education with a view to providing starting points for discussion and further work. Since the concept of recurrent education is linked in many ways with life-long education and adult education, the inter-relationship between these constructs is indicated under several conceptual aspects.

*This paper is based on a lecture first given to the German Section of the Comparative Education Society in Europe.
Dictionary Meaning

The technical meaning of the term 'recurrent education' is too new to be found in standard dictionaries like Oxford and Webster. But the meaning of the term 'recurrent' used here to qualify 'education' merits brief consideration at the outset. The term 'recurrent' has been in use in physiology and anatomy, but its use in education is new and is still gaining its technical connotation. However, according to its literal meaning, 'recurrent' means 'occurring or coming again periodically'. Here the words 'again' and 'periodically' are very significant. Thus, the meaning of recurrent education implies periodical intervals of systematic study during the lifetime of an individual. Also, recurrent education is distinct from initial education.

Basic and Recurrent Education

Recurrent education generally pre-supposes a certain quantum of basic education which should be attained during the pre-adult stage of life. It is in this context that recurrent education is distinct from initial education. How long this basic education should be and what its content should be are matters for specific decisions, but recurrent education is essentially post-basic in character. If basic education is similar to school education, then recurrent education takes the form of post-school education and interacts with the present forms of university and adult education, both of which will have to be changed drastically in the perspective of the new concept. If basic education does not cover the whole or a part of secondary education then obviously recurrent education, which is post-basic, overlaps with the present form of secondary education as well. In any case, the idea of recurrent education demands a substantial restructuring of secondary education and also of the present form of primary education.

While the practical details of the educational structure emerging from the idea of recurrent education will have to be worked out separately and with great care, from the conceptual standpoint it is clear that this idea implies a new design for education. According to this concept, the overall design for education consists of only two parts, namely, basic education and recurrent education. This element of the concept has many implications. For instance, that university education may be only one aspect of recurrent education and that alternatives to university education will be available to individuals at any time during their life-span as and when they are ready to take advantage of them. This, in turn, implies the democratization of university education without overcrowding the present universities. This arrangement will also influence the labour market and service conditions of the labour force. Many such implications are inherent in this deceptively simple structural design for education.
Universal Character of Recurrent Education

One of the mainsprings of recurrent education is the equality of access to education for all. This makes recurrent education universal in character. Those who obtain basic education can have recurrent spells of study periods during the rest of their lives. Those who have gone through higher studies beyond basic education without any break also have similar opportunities. They enter the stage of recurrent education at a different point in achievement and age. But there may also be some people who, for one reason or another, have failed to attain or complete basic education during their childhood and adolescence. Are these people out of the arena of recurrent education since it is supposed to be post-basic? If they are out, the plan of recurrent education is incomplete and undemocratic as it fails to fulfill one of its major goals. Hence special provision is necessary for those who do not possess formal basic education. In this sense, recurrent education is not always post-basic in terms of curriculum content, but is always post-basic in terms of the age of its participants. All those who pass the age of basic education are eligible for recurrent education having a multi-entry system. This is because recurrent education is designed for all.

Flexible and Open Education

On account of the inevitable variation in the initial education of the participants of recurrent education, the new programme should be highly flexible. Ideally, the prior educational experience and current learning needs of each individual should be taken into account when planning recurrent education. This element tends to establish horizontal integration and vertical articulation in education.

In order to make recurrent education both universal and flexible it is necessary to establish an open system of education. This implies the availability of multiple structures and programmes, as well as unrestricted mobility from one area of study to another. There will be a need to create new educational structures by breaking the exclusive monopoly of the existing ones. It will also be necessary to develop a variety of new programmes of study to meet individual as well as societal needs. And finally, it will have to be recognized that the most important criterion for providing learning opportunity is the individual's competence to profit from it. This, of course, can be done only within practical limitations.

Part of the Formal System of Education

Recurrent education is largely, if not wholly, conceived as a formal, planned and institutionalized type of education, like university education or most of adult education. Unlike university education, however, it is not a 'single-shot' or 'once-and-for-all' type of programme. The institutional arrangement for it will also not be monolithic in nature. The genesis of the idea of recurrent education explains
why it is conceived as a formal, systematic and preferably full-time type of programme.

As the programme of recurrent education should be flexible and unrestrictive but largely formal, it is very likely that in any particular cycle of study there will be a fairly good age-range represented by the participants as it often happens in the case of adult education. The psychological and sociological implications of this situation must be taken into account in order to optimize learning.

It may be noted that while recurrent education places a special stress on formal education during time intervals specifically set apart for this purpose in the post-basic stage, lifelong education encompasses both formal and non-formal education acquired during the entire life-span. In this sense, recurrent education becomes a part of the more comprehensive concept of lifelong learning. Of course, one might argue that learning that occurs in between the two consecutive periods of recurrent education is not necessarily excluded by the concept of recurrent education. If this is so, recurrent education becomes synonymous with lifelong education insofar as the post-basic stage of learning is concerned.

New Strategy for Educational Reform

From the foregoing discussion, one might form an impression that recurrent education is just a reorganized stage of post-school education in the total structure. This is only a partial truth for recurrent education is much more than a rung in the ladder. It has a deep-rooted philosophical and political basis. It also has a sound sociological and economic foundation. It has emerged as a synthesis of such foundations with a view to making the education of tomorrow more functional and efficient. Hence recurrent education is not just a stage of education, but it offers a new strategy for educational reform.

According to this strategy, education is no longer terminal but recurs periodically all through life; it is available to all according to their need and competence; it renders multiple functions for the individual and the society, and it alters and augments the present structures and programmes to become more efficacious and effective.

Multiple Functions

Viewed from the standpoint of individual and societal goals, recurrent education is expected to perform multiple functions. First, it has a compensatory function for those who fail to avail themselves of the learning opportunity during their childhood. Recurrent education provides a second chance to such people to make up their deficiencies and join the rest in accomplishing optimum progress.
Second, the need for replenishment of previous education will be fulfilled by recurrent education. The rate of obsolescence of knowledge and job skills is fast increasing. Education once acquired is therefore no longer adequate and functional for the rest of life. It has to be replenished and updated from time to time so that its efficiency is not lost. The programme of recurrent education appears to be most effective in this respect as it cuts both ways. On the one hand, periodic education according to the new needs of jobs and life retains the relevance and utility of what is learned. On the other hand, the experience of work in one’s own vocation enables the individual to identify his learning needs and profit maximally from a renewed learning opportunity provided to him. Such spirals of work and study during the lifetime seem to be very promising for making education meaningful, relevant and efficient.

The replenishment purpose of recurrent education is closely connected with the curriculum of basic education. In the new educational strategy, basic education is not a preparation for the rest of life but a preparation for further periodical learning. Hence, basic education should not be cluttered with a large number of facts susceptible to obsolescence and with those learning experiences that are beyond the comprehension of the young, but should be directed towards the development of educability which provides skill and competence for further learning.5

The third important function of recurrent education relates to the enrichment of what is learned. The enrichment function implies higher and deeper studies in a particular field and goes beyond the replenishment function. The former includes more of new learning whereas the latter is limited to renewal of what was learned earlier.

The fourth and final function of recurrent education is concerned with entirely new fields of study required to match new job requirements or new interests. For instance, when one changes a job for some reason, or plans to do so, one has to study a new field. Career change is on the increase on account of many factors and forces. The strategy of education according to the concept of recurrent education is expected to take care of this need of the individual and the labour market.

Conclusion

On account of the fact that the concept of recurrent education has to respond simultaneously to a large multitude of socio-economic, political and educational problems, it has become very complex and comprehensive. The concept is based on a variety of assumptions and antecedent factors which give multi-dimensional meaning to it. The present paper includes only some of its conceptual elements, which, admittedly, are not mutually exclusive. The inevitable overlap between different conceptual aspects analysed here is quite evident. But the overlap can be
tolerated as long as the methodology of identifying concept-characteristics, as followed here, though not rigorously, is helpful in clarifying the concept.

Obviously, further work is necessary to identify the conceptual elements more exhaustively and also to locate the assumptions underlying each element as well as their inter-connections. It is also essential to extend the conceptual discussion to the operational level by working out practical implications of the idea. Such a dialectic is very valuable not only in testing out the strength of the new idea but also in moving further towards a more effective system of education which, after all, is the ultimate purpose of all these efforts.

REFERENCES

1) Special commissions set up in Norway and Sweden have brought out valuable literature on recurrent education based on nationwide debates on the subject extended over several years.

2) The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, OECD, Paris has published several documents elucidating the idea of recurrent education and surveying the policy and development of recurrent education in some of the OECD countries.

3) The documents on the policy and development of recurrent education published by the OECD have been prepared by the individuals and institutions engaged in research in the countries concerned. Similarly, the Council of Europe has published articles in its Bulletin of December 1972 on Higher Education Reform and the Concept of Permanent Education which discuss the idea of recurrent education in varied respects.

4) A draft document on the Concept-Characteristics of Lifelong Education has been prepared by the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg. It sets out some twenty concept-elements of the idea of lifelong education which is clearly connected with that of recurrent education. Another document giving examples of the implications of lifelong education for school curricula has also been prepared by the UIE.

5) The concept of educability is briefly described in the document on the Concept-Characteristics of Lifelong Education prepared by the UIE. It is treated as one of the pre-requisites of lifelong education. Educability is also an important pre-requisite for successful recurrent education.
Section III — Policies

RECURRENT EDUCATION

by Denis Kallen (Amsterdam)*

Introduction

The OECD report on Recurrent Education which is soon to be published carries the subtitle “A Strategy for Lifelong Learning”. In the French version it will be called “L’Éducation Recurrente: Une Stratégie pour l’Éducation Permanente”.

This subtitle to a “Clarifying Report” attempts to clarify the relationship between “recurrent education” on the one hand and “lifelong”, “continuous” or “permanent” education on the other. Recurrent education is a rough sketch of a strategy. More precisely, it is a planning strategy for implementing lifelong or permanent learning. It is not yet a concrete plan ready for implementation. The role of international bodies such as OECD is not to provide such plans. OECD is in the comfortable position of the owl whom the squirrel asks for advice as to how to escape from his sad fate of having to run up a tree whenever a cat appears. The owl tells the squirrel to grow wings so that he can fly from tree to tree. At the squirrel’s question as to how he could grow wings, the owl replies that his job is to give advice as to general policy, and not as to the vulgarities of implementation.

The purpose of the above subtitle to the recurrent education report, then, is to assign to recurrent education a specific function in the mainstream of thinking as to lifelong learning and permanent education. It is not a new concept, on a par with that of éducation permanente, but it is complementary to the latter: recurrent education translates the cultural concept of permanent education into a policy and planning proposition.

It also embodies two other qualities on which permanent education has, on the whole, touched only in a marginal way. First it is a comprehensive planning strategy for all education and therefore includes the present educational system. Secondly, it is part of a package of social, labour market, cultural and financing policies.

As to this co-ordination with other policy sectors, this is advocated for two quite distinct reasons: first, recurrent education’s objectives, and notably that of providing equal educational opportunities, can be achieved only if the educational policies are coordinated with social, cultural and labour market policies and, secondly, it assigns to the organised acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes, which education represents, a key role in the pursuit of life chances, conceived of not only as concerned with distribution of life income, but also as a broader spectrum of aspects of “quality of life”, not least the freedom to choose one’s own style of life and to change it if one feels motivated to do so, and to participate effectively in the affairs of the community.

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In the following I shall try not to repeat what has already been said in the report, but on the one hand shall place recurrent education in the context in which it has been developed in the OECD and its member countries and, on the other, relate it to the concerns of the educational world. As to the latter, recurrent education will become history or even be soon forgotten as just one more utopian idea if it is not accepted by what is sometimes called the ‘educational establishment’ as the long-term planning strategy for its own future instead of a somewhat eccentric proposition which will be allowed to develop as a complement to the present educational endeavour or as a means of providing a poor second chance to those who did not make it in school or university.

It would be tempting to dwell at some length on the role of utopian thinking in educational policy as Professor Idenburg has so brilliantly done in his farewell lecture at the University of Amsterdam, reprinted in this volume.* I would venture to say that the promoters of permanent education have played the indispensable and inspiring role of the utopian thinkers concerning the future of education in a learning and knowledge society, whereas recurrent education is, in Idenburg’s terms, ‘a strategic concept which translates the hope and expectations to which the utopians aspire into guidelines for policy’. But the strategist will soon be discouraged by the obstacles that the complexities of modern society, established interest, and inability to change put in his way if he is not constantly enlightened by the anticipated futures of the utopian.

I. History, motives and objectives

(a) History

A very brief account of the history of the thinking around recurrent education is in order as it helps in understanding the present position.

In the OECD — and this applies largely also to its Member countries — the interest in a rather radical and comprehensive alternative educational strategy such as recurrent education stems from several origins:

(i) from concern about educational expansion, a concern which had, of course, economic and financial undertones, but which was also related to the awareness that quantitative educational growth was not matched by qualitative improvement. It was furthermore related to concerns about the relevance of education to both societal and individual needs. Social demand for more and more schooling seemed to a great extent to be generated not by genuine individual and social needs, but by irrelevant factors, both internal and external to education. Of the internal one the inbuilt selection and competition process must be mentioned, which with growing participation at the lower levels constitutes a powerful incentive for seeking to stay in school as long as possible in order to obtain access to those programmes that still carry the prestige of being reserved to the elected few. To the internal factors must also be reckoned the

* See page 6
postponement of professional training which encourages youngsters to stay on at school in order not to enter unprepared into the labour market. Of the external, the competitive nature of access to social positions which generates what has been called "credentialism", i.e. the request for academic credentials not because of the job qualification properly speaking that they represent, but because of the prestige that high academic entry requirements lend to professional groups.

(ii) from the rapidly accumulating evidence as to the poor performance of the schools in providing equal educational opportunities, to which must immediately be added that the notion of 'equality' has gradually shifted from equality of access to equality of achievement. Both this shift and the evidence as to the poor performance of education have been convincingly documented by Torsten Husén in his OECD monograph Social Background and Educational Career. The rapidly disseminated news about the so-called failure of the US Head Start programmes adds to the conviction that neither conventional nor new -- and expensive -- educational strategies are able to ensure equal access to and achievement in education irrespective of social background.

(iii) from the mismatch between educational output and the needs of the labour market. Whereas the support for the costs of the expansion had heavily relied precisely upon the argument of the insatiable need of the economy for qualified manpower, it now appeared that education not only risked producing more qualified people than needed, but also that the qualifications that it provided were not those that were needed, and that therefore industry had to rely more and more on its own training capacity.

(iv) a further incentive stems from a very different source. Publications such as Benjamin Bloom's Stability and Change in Human Characteristics has aroused much interest in the complementarity between educational strategies and in the specific role of each strategy at the various stages of human development. Bloom's work has given the impetus to a concentrated effort to improve learning in the early years of childhood. On the other hand, however, the experience obtained with adult education and literacy programmes for adults showed that adults' motivation could compensate for a possible decline in memorisation ability and that learning contents and skills that are relevant to their experience and their social and professional needs are often acquired more efficiently in adulthood than in childhood and adolescence.

The common denominator of these and other arguments for recurrent education is dissatisfaction with the performance of the present educational system, and low expectations as to its capacity to substantially improve its performance. Hence the search for alternative educational strategies as a result of which the concept of recurrent education has been conceived. The claim of these alternatives was in the first place that they would help to assure greater educational equality but, secondly, that they would contribute to increasing education's relevance to societal and individual needs and reduce the mismatch between education and the labour market.
The OECD's *Equal Educational Opportunity* discusses "recurrent education" on the basis of the above considerations, and in the perspective of reducing social disparities in educational opportunity. It distinguishes four strategies: generalised and improved pre-school education, compensatory education at the primary school level, comprehensive education at the secondary level and, finally, recurrent education. It stresses the complementarity between these four strategies, which "cover the entire educational system and, practically, a person's entire lifespan". (p. 27).

The report defines recurrent education as formal and preferably full-time education and draws a sharp dividing line with adult education that is informal and mainly part-time. It considers, however, the possibility of a comprehensive system, in which both adult and recurrent education would find their own places.

In the most recent years three features of a policy for recurrent education have been brought out more explicitly than was done in this early approach. These are:

(a) the need to make the complementarity between learning in educational situations and learning occurring in other life situations one of the key criteria for planning recurrent education.

(b) the need to review the structure and curriculum of basic education (here understood as the period of education preceding the first active involvement in social activity, roughly corresponding to compulsory education).

(c) the need to co-ordinate educational with socio-cultural and labour market policies.

(b) Recurrent education and equality of educational opportunity.

The equality issue runs like a clear thread through the recurrent education discussion. It is, however, extremely complex, as a great number of variables, many of them unknown, are involved. As a result it is impossible to say whether recurrent education will lead to greater educational and social equality or not. A few of the issues that are involved should be mentioned:

(1) the question as to equality is a question as to what equality and whose equality is involved or, in other words, what kind of society and what kind of culture one has in mind when one pleads for equal educational opportunities.

In an as yet unpublished paper for the CERI Governing Board, Kjell Eide argues that "progress towards a less ambitiously defined objective (such as equal educational attainment, as compared with the more ambitious goal of equal social positions) ... will also mean some progress towards the more ambitiously defined objectives ...". If one neglects the first, equality in the latter will only mean that the lower social groups will be given the right — and the means — to ascend to the standards of the higher group. The real issue is, who shall define the standards of success, and only if the "lower" groups have obtained influence on the value structure and performance criteria of society can one speak of greater equality in the real sense. This amounts to saying that the ultimate aim of recurrent
education is not to provide everybody with equal chances of access to the social goods as they are available in present society, but to provide everybody with the intellectual means to define and to attain "equality" in life according to his own wishes and needs.

Eide argues that it is neither necessary nor desirable that we move towards Daniel Bell's type of post-industrial society with its new type of meritocracy. His proposal is that while maintaining acceptable levels of economic performance, fundamentally different ways of organising work life should be considered. This would obviously require more pluralistic scales of performance on which to base the distribution of resources, ... "of which access to power may prove to be the most important, while income differentials may serve as compensation for low scores on other resource dimensions."

As for education, we should, in Eide's view, be more concerned about what possibilities and skills, in the above sense, education offers than with its effects on social mobility. Increased control over education should be given notably to disadvantaged groups. These changes in control over education should go hand in hand with changes in control over working life and social life altogether. In other terms, this means that priority be given to the internal democratisation of education and that one is less hypnotised by education's effects on external democratisation — not because the latter does not matter, but because the latter is (a) only to a small degree a function of education alone, and (b) because it is best served by significant progress and by a change in goal priorities in the first.

(2) Full equality being an unachievable aim, an acceptable operational goal is to define what amount of public resources should be spent on reducing the educational inequality of specific disadvantaged groups and, I would add, to enable and motivate them to spend an optimum amount of private resources for this purpose. Perhaps the best way to enable and motivate these groups is to place as much of the decision power as possible in their own hands.

(3) In the recurrent education discussion a large place has been given to two types of inequalities: that between generations and that between sexes. It seems likely that sufficient social pressure will build up in the near future for a shift in priorities to take place in favour of either of the two groups. Each of the two raises problems of scale which will, at least for a while, make it impossible to spend a significant amount of resources on other educational priorities. Therefore it will be necessary to set priorities, e.g. in favour of the lowest educated, or of those groups where investment will produce the best results — to name only two choices of a quite different order. One can, of course, also mention in this context the problem of immigrant workers, but one wonders where the pressure to give high priority to these groups is ever going to come from.

Recurrent education as a means of progressing towards equal educational attainment is directly related to the problem of cultural and ethnic identity. The experience with "Black Studies" in the United States seems, however, to show that a policy of "different but equal" is possible and that the dilemma of what and
whose equality can be solved. As is usually the case, the political situation develops in relation to recurrent education more rapidly than research, planning and rational policy-making. As far as priorities for special groups and special objectives in recurrent education are concerned, decisions will therefore soon have to be taken on an inadequate data and planning basis. In view of this there is an urgent need for pooling the available information on education of specific groups of adults and their “educability” under specific educational, economic and social circumstances. In this context, many lessons can be drawn from the experience obtained with education for literacy. Over the years a significant change of views has taken place as to its feasibility and the results that can be obtained even with very limited resources. No doubt adults’ willingness to spend time and money on education can contribute to their ability to learn and re-learn.

Parallel to investigating the social conditions under which specific adult groups are motivated and able to learn, evidence needs to be brought together as to the educational factors to be taken into account. One could identify those adults who did not even attain the minimum educational level corresponding to the present school leaving age — or what one could call the degree of “civic literacy” needed for survival as a citizen in modern society — and direct one’s attention to these severely handicapped groups. On the other hand those groups could be identified that, on account of their earlier education, age and motivation, could most easily profit from recurrent education. It is not by chance that in the above most attention has been given to recurrent education for “literacy”, understood in the sense of the basic skills required in order to function as a citizen in a technological age, and not, for example, to recurrent education at the post-graduate level.

In the discussion as it is taking place both in international organisations and in national context, priority is generally given to the equality objective over those of skill proficiency, updating of knowledge, etc. The main thrust in the foreseeable future is hence likely to be on programmes at the level of secondary or upper primary education and not on recurrent education at university or post-graduate level.

II. Educational Dimension

In the following I shall not attempt to systematically discuss the many problems of structure, curricula, evaluation, distribution of facilities, use of mass media, etc. which a policy for recurrent education will have to deal with. Only a few of the key issues will be raised.

1. *First, the problem of short-term priorities and long-term policy.* The rough sketch of a policy for recurrent education which has been outlined in the so-called Clarifying Report on Recurrent Education,¹ is a sketch for a long-term policy. Its implementation will require a full overhaul of both compulsory and post-compulsory education. “Recurrent” education in the proper sense will only set in after compulsory or basic education, but it cannot, in the view of the authors of the report, pursue its objective of offering additional educational opportunities if
basic education does not fulfil its proper function, that is to provide every child with the knowledge, skills and attitudes that he needs in order to:
(a) take up a social function in society;
(b) enable and motivate him to return to studies when he needs to do so.

This does not imply that the restructuring of post-compulsory education should wait until basic education has succeeded in procuring for everyone a satisfactory “take-off” level.

Both reforms, those of basic and post-basic education, will have to be carried out simultaneously. In particular, with regard to higher education, many of the decisions to be taken in the near future either preclude or open up possibilities for a recurrent education system. For example, setting up new accreditation systems is a complex and time-consuming process which, once completed, orientates future choices for a long time. Where intermediate degrees are introduced in post-secondary education, they should be both terminal, i.e. give access to jobs, and intermediary, in the sense that they confer on the graduate the right to continue his studies at the next higher level if and whenever he wishes. The establishment of new educational institutions takes many years and should be planned in such a way that they are easily accessible in terms of their location and their teaching facilities to adults as well as to young people.

That means probably that priority must be given to a widely spread network of multi-purpose small- and medium-size institutions. A decision to give priority to specific disadvantaged groups in the short-term may seem to necessitate setting up special courses or “non-traditional” studies outside the traditional educational system. In the long run, however, the educational system should offer sufficiently diversified programmes and opportunities to meet the full diversity of needs. In order to avoid the risk that a parallel, second-route and second-class system of non-traditional recurrent education courses might develop parallel to the traditional system, it is probably preferable to accommodate right from the outset these poorly educated groups in the traditional institutions. This will require on their behalf a major shift in priorities and a major revision of their methods and contents, a shift for which the European universities are at present neither ready nor motivated.

2. Secondly, the problem of the organisation of studies and of the structure of knowledge. What comes first to mind in this context is the need to fragment long courses of study into shorter units — unités capitalisables or Baukastensystem. But there is more to it than a fragmentation into cubes that can be put one upon another. Each “fragment” must be, so to speak, autonomous, i.e. provide a training that gives access to a job. Linked to this is the problem of “inversion”, meaning that the usual order from general to applied studies should be inverted in favour of a succession of mixed theory-practice or general-applied units. This issue has been raised notably in the context of short-cycle higher education, but it has not yet been tackled in the long-cycle studies. The greatest difficulties will probably arise in connection with the professional value of the credits that will
conclude each unit. Career structures will have to be adapted to such a *linear* structure of studies that will replace the present *tree-like* structure in which choices progressively narrow down through a process of elimination of what the university considers the least-fitted.

3. *The problem of a maximum availability in terms of time and place.* Adult education has built up a much better network of widely available courses than the formal educational system and the temptation to use and adapt this network for recurrent education purposes is great.

But if this is not done within a comprehensive policy for all post-compulsory education, a dual system is bound to emerge (or to persist). For tactical reasons, it may be wiser to break open the universities towards a greater variety of courses, to encourage them to disseminate their facilities in a tangential structure, than to attempt to break their monopoly by setting up competing parallel institutions.

The contradictions and risks, however, of "re recuperation" of new ideas and interests by the established institutions are many. One could on the other hand argue that the universities are the only strong institutions that are able to resist successfully a trend towards recuperation of recurrent education by economic interests. They are less submitted to market pressures and can guarantee, by means of their academic freedom, the interests of their students. The incompletely process of democratisation on which they have embarked since 1968 may, if well directed, make them into the new guarantors of the public interest, of the independence and the quality of scientific enquiry, and hence into an indispensable and central element of a system of recurrent education which, because of its diversity and of the many pressures to which it will be submitted, will perhaps be more amenable and vulnerable than the present system.

The history of the so-called "non-traditional patterns of study" in the United States shows how cumbersome is this process of adaptation to non-traditional students with non-traditional expectations and motivations. Gould in his Introductory Chapter to the *Explorations in Non-Traditional Patterns of Study* states that "much more than the shadow of doubt hovers over non-traditional forms of education ... The greatest doubt of all ... is centred on whether a set of patterns for non-traditional study can be created that will guarantee high quality in education rather than dilute it." Gould concludes that, among others, "new agencies will have to be created to deal with such matters as evaluation and guidance, accreditation of programs, and recognition of individual achievement". Similarly, in the United Kingdom, thought is being given to the establishment of a *National Award System* to accredit the courses of such non-traditional institutions as the Open University.

To a system of recurrent education, which is by definition a system of non-traditional, heterogeneous and decentralised studies, the reconciliation of a maximum availability of courses with guaranteeing a satisfactory public recognition of awarded degrees and diplomas is one of the main challenges. It
cannot conceivably be taken care of by the process of a liberal market-mechanism alone. This needs to be corrected and complemented by planned public policy, resulting from consultation and negotiation with the social partners. It has been suggested by Bertrand Schwartz, that at least in Europe the secondary schools provide a much better network as a basic for recurrent education than the universities. In other European countries, such as Yugoslavia and Norway, the distribution of institutions of post-secondary education over the country is such that one could consider making them into the main centres.

4. A final issue that deserves mentioning is that of the alternation of studies with work and other activities. At the age that corresponds to the present age for upper secondary and the first years of higher education, this mixture will probably have to be of quite another kind than as from, say, age 22 or 23.

In most advanced countries less and less meaningful jobs are available to young people – and even less and less jobs tout court. It seems therefore not realistic to plan for a recurrent education system in which every youngster would have to acquire a first work experience at, for example, age 16 or 17, before being allowed to continue studying. What should be feasible is to provide everybody with both an adequate general education and with a basic technical and social training between ages 16 and 19. The professional or social part should, as age advances, probably shift from being school-based to being out-of-school-based, but at the end of the period each pupil should have a real free choice to resume, for a while, full-time studies or take up a job. But he could, as he would also be qualified for entering further studies, at any time interrupt his professional career and take up full- or part-time education again.

It is at present an unanswered question whether the ability to pursue simultaneously such a double-track course in upper secondary education is not connected with intellectual level; in other words, whether the more able youngsters would not end up being, so-to-say, perfectly “polyvalent” and the others unfit to either take up professional work or continue their studies.

The alternation between study and work or other activities will, on the other hand, not meet its objectives if the two are not closely interrelated, i.e. study preparing for work and allowing the deepening of experience, work allowing the practice of what has been learnt. This implies that work experience is evaluated and taken into account in designing courses and in setting criteria for admissions and that the non-educational experience is planned so as to offer opportunities for application of what has been previously learned.

However, this does not mean a narrow interaction between skill-learning and skill-practising. It must be seen in a much broader context of periods of reflection alternating with periods of action and confrontation. The right to study – and to take time off for it while being guaranteed a reasonable income – should become a social right on the same footing as other rights, and this implies that no strings — or at least no strictly professional strings — shall be attached to it.
All this may to many still sound utopian in the present situation where adult education is a second-rate pre-occupation of governments, where the continuous expansion of youth education continues to absorb all public educational resources and where these resources seem to have to compete severely with other priorities.

It may, as far as political and social awareness and readiness is concerned, be less utopian than it might seem at first sight. In the space of a few years recurrent or permanent education has entered upon the social and political scene, not yet as a top priority, but as a concern that is taken seriously and which governments and social partners are prepared to give high priority in a near future.

The paradox which we may soon face is that everybody will be ready for recurrent education except the educational world itself. Large groups of employees, among them many with a poor previous education and no bent for academic studies, are obtaining periods of leave of absence and turning to education for suitable courses.

The universities are not able — and not too willing — to accommodate these unusual clients, the secondary schools with their rigid timetables still less so. A parallel market for education has long been developing, with its own criteria, its own resources and its own profits. The existence of this market has long been detected and exploited by private correspondence courses and it begins to be screened by mass media producers and radio and TV networks.

The purpose of the recurrent education proposition is precisely to offer a conceptual framework for a future policy in which all these developments find a place. It is a planning strategy and therefore by definition not compatible with the idea of education as a free market, governed by the laws of offer and demand.

It addresses itself to all parties concerned with policy-making in advanced, technological societies: the professional policy-makers, the organised interests of employers and employees and also the consumers and any other interest group. In this respect recurrent education clearly differs from traditional educational planning and policy-making which were carried out without consultation with these interest groups. The work carried out by CERI and under its auspices is no more than a very first stage in a process that will take many years and of which the major part must take place in national contexts. OECD hopes to play a modest role in encouraging further thinking in this direction and in exploring some of its implications.

With my colleagues, I have gladly accepted the invitation of the CESE to explain at this Conference what we mean by recurrent education. Its implications are not doubt of a comparative nature, not only because the conditions under which it is discussed and under which it operates are basically similar in all developed countries, but also because some of its major constraints result from international developments that can only be studied and controlled through comparative and international study and action.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2) OECD, Paris 1972, a second revised version is in print.


4) S. Gould (Ed), *Non-Traditional Patterns of Study*. 
RECURRENT EDUCATION AND THE WORLD OF WORK: SOME ISSUES

by J. Bengtsson (OECD, Paris)

1. The scope of Recurrent Education

A basic question underpinning discussion of recurrent education is whether education—in terms of quantity, quality and equality—has gone so far astray that a major and radical change is necessary. If so, can the concept of recurrent education—meaning a spreading of educational opportunities over the whole life cycle, with alternation of education, work and other social experiences—provide the guiding principle for a restructuring of education in the future?

What seems to be a fundamental issue is whether the education system, operating during a rather short period of an individual’s life cycle, should continue, say between the ages of ten and twenty five, to be looked upon as the basis of the occupational selection process, at a time of rapidly changing economic and labour market structures and techniques of production, as well as of changing working conditions involving more participation in decision making, new ways of organizing work at the enterprise level, and more flexible working times.

Furthermore, the high social prestige associated with general humanities or scientific studies on the one hand, and high rewards for professions such as medicine, the law, and engineering on the other, stimulate today a rigid pattern of private demand for education which hardly reflects the diversity of human abilities and motivation seen in a lifelong perspective; nor does it correspond to the nature of social and economic requirements. These features of the present system which result in a rapidly growing supply of generally-educated high-school and university graduates with decreasing employment prospects, and the contrary phenomenon of powerful professions with privileged employment, income, and social prospects, have obvious disadvantages for equality as well as for economic development. What is needed is a much more flexible educational system which is able to match the diversified individual demand throughout the individual’s entire life cycle and the diversified needs of a rapidly changing labour market.

Therefore, even if recurrent education has often been looked upon as an educational strategy or policy, it will certainly be effectively implemented only in conjunction with supporting and co-ordinated social and labour-market policies, concerning, in particular, the organization of labour, the structure of careers and the laws and rules regulating job security and social and retirement benefits.

Because of this relevance to social objectives, it follows that a policy of recurrent education must be put in a wider framework than that within which decisions of educational policy have usually been taken. At present, such a wider framework for discussions and decisions concerning educational policy does not really exist in most countries. In the recent debate and unrest around the objectives and functions of education in modern society arguments have often
been voiced in favour of enlarging the platform for the educational policy debate in terms of greater participation as a means of putting an end to the isolation of education from the wider socio-economic and political reality. However, because of the far-reaching social and political implications of such proposals and also as a result of the hostility with which they have been received in many educational and political quarters, the few attempts that have been undertaken by different interest groups to achieve a wider participation in educational policy making have been rather inconclusive.

In recent years, compensatory education policies have led to a kind of breakthrough of education into the field of social policy and useful experience has been gained in matching educational and social strategies. However, compensatory education policies have by and large been conceived and implemented by the educational world. They have rarely led to the setting up of new frameworks for planning and policy, involving a wider participation of social partners than is typical for educational policy as it is usually conceived.

Perhaps more promising and more instructive is the experience obtained with apprenticeship and industrial training schemes. The arrangements for such schemes have usually been worked out in consultation with the educational world and the world of work, meaning employers and trade unions. The party that has often not been consulted is the consumer. Nevertheless, experience with these schemes, and, more recently, and very important, with negotiations between employers and trade unions on educational leave of absence (carried out in a number of European countries), seems to be very promising in terms of creating a platform and dialogue for a better merging together of educational and social and labour-market policies, which is an indispensable element for the introduction of a policy of recurrent education.

II. Issues to be tackled in the future

Because of the novelty of the concept of recurrent education and the comprehensive nature of the educational, social and economic implications that it entails, a period of research and planning should precede, or at least go parallel with, the process of decision-making and implementation. The areas into which research and development work must be undertaken have begun to be identified over the past few years. Broadly speaking, it appears that future research and development work on recurrent education should be focussed on two major dimensions:

(a) the educational dimension in terms of curricula, certification, admissions, teachers, etc.;

(b) the socio-economic dimension, particularly in terms of financing and resources and the relationship of recurrent education to the labour market and social security systems.

There must of course be a close relation between these two major fields for future work, but, in this context, focussed on the world of work or industrial life, I
shall try to identify some problem areas especially related to the socio-economic dimension of the introduction of a system of recurrent education.

The socio-economic implications of a system of recurrent education are far more complex than those of youth education. With respect to the latter, it was to some extent possible to compare two quite neatly separated stages: the stage of learning and investment in learning and the stage of application and investment returns. Of course, the fact that education and learning are not identical was always a complicating factor, and the difficulties in calculating the part of education in explaining variance in income and the role of education in economic growth are well known. In a system of recurrent education which is intermingled with professional work and where educational institutions are much more closely integrated with social and economic institutions, and where the human and capital resources for education are provided from a great variety of sources, it will be much more difficult to determine the interaction between the various factors involved and in particular to calculate the relation between input and output of the system.

As for the economic aspects in general in a system of recurrent education, there is one important issue to which research and planning for recurrent education must be addressed: whether, if a system of recurrent education implies a change in societal priorities concerning the use of resources in line with a change in socio-political objectives, then the criteria for assessing the rate of return of recurrent education investments have to be related to these basic social objectives, and hence pure economic returns will also have to be related to these other benefits. In the past few years economic and social scientists have begun to explore how these non-economic goods can be defined and measured, and no doubt this is an area of research which should be highly supported in the near future.

As for the more traditional cost aspects, the first question that arises is whether the costs of recurrent education would be lower than for conventional education. In seeking an answer to this question it has first to be recognised that as a result of a further increase in enrolments, and in many cases of demographic growth, the cost of the conventional system will no doubt continue to increase. The chances that in the existing system the direct expenditures per student could be reduced is very small. On the contrary, they can be expected to rise considerably, due in some part to increased staff costs. Furthermore—and very important—recurrent education is a proposition encompassing the overall educational effort, formal as well as informal, public as well as private, and the relevant question is, therefore, how the total system's costs and benefits in relation to recurrent education compare with the total costs and benefits of the present provisions for education and training, wherever they are located.

This kind of comparison is difficult to undertake as relevant data are hard to obtain, but nevertheless any discussion as to the general costs and benefits of a system of recurrent education in comparison with the traditional system must be seen in this broad framework.

The costs for the individual are as important in this context as an issue of the financing of the system itself. The main question here is whether—and, if so, to
what extent—the recipient of recurrent education should contribute to its costs. It is obvious that people with low income will be both able and motivated to participate in recurrent education only if they are given a basic economic security.

In this respect a social policy of educational leave of absence is perhaps one of the foundations on which a policy for recurrent education should be based. If recurrent education is to become accessible to larger groups of people who are part of the active population, a significant effort will be needed to increase the possibilities for taking educational leave of absence. It will certainly be necessary to introduce, as a fundamental principle through legislation or through professional agreements between employers and trade unions, the right to interrupt work and resume education. The individual who wants to enrol in recurrent education must be given the possibility of becoming free from work while studying. He must also be assured of the right to return, on completing his studies, to his former job, or be provided other possibilities of similar work. If such a basic right of educational leave of absence is not provided to the large part of the active population, there is an obvious risk that a policy for recurrent education will increase the educational inequalities in our societies.

In many European countries the issue of educational leave of absence is now giving high priority to the discussion on recurrent education, and this is perhaps the most hopeful sign as to the possibilities of introducing a system of recurrent education to reach the large groups in society and not only those already well educated.

Closely related to this is the need for changes in social insurance systems which are today often based on income and employment. If the individual gives up his income in order to take part in educational programmes, his social rights and benefits are affected accordingly. It is therefore important that in a system of recurrent education social insurance protection is extended to periods of study also.

The amount and frequency of educational leave of absence as well as the way in which it will be introduced—through legislation or through negotiation between employers and trade unions—will no doubt vary between countries. But it must be stressed—and this is an important issue in present negotiations—that from the point of view both of the goal of equality and the individual’s specific educational interest, the right to educational leave of absence should not be tied only to education that is profitable from the firm’s point of view.

As for the relation between recurrent education and the labour market in general, a better and more flexible supply of manpower is one of the important arguments in favour of recurrent education, and a better adaptation of education to the needs of the labour market, taking into account also the changes in this market towards new ways of production, increased participation in decision-making, etc., would also be most welcome. One of the most important economic benefits that can reasonably be expected from a policy of recurrent education is a large increase in substitution possibilities of all kinds, on which the labour market is highly dependent. Recurrent education would also offer the possibility of shifting from those jobs that impose unusually hard working conditions, that are
dangerous to health, and that put heavy constraints on family life in general.

However, the effect of recurrent education on the functioning of enterprises and services is not easy to foresee. Small enterprises may face great difficulties in adapting to a situation where a certain percentage of their personnel is permanently engaged in full-time or part-time recurrent education. But apart from size, other facts will play an important role—for instance in those enterprises where, as a result of the type or organisation of work, or perhaps mainly as a result of tradition and inability to change, and where efficiency depends to a great extent on accumulated experience, the permanent rotation process resulting from recurrent education will cause great difficulties. This has to be carefully considered in the near future.

III Conclusion

These few short remarks on recurrent education and its relation to the world of work have indicated only some of the major problem areas into which a considerable amount of future research and planning must be put.

It is obvious that most of these problems cannot be tackled adequately within the traditional range of educational policy, research and development.

What is clear is that any realistic and progressive policy of recurrent education has to be co-ordinated by a carefully balanced policy in the fields of employment, conditions of work, and social security. It must involve different social partners who have often been kept out of traditional educational policy-making, notably trade unions, employers, and, of course, the consumers themselves.
FINANCING EDUCATIONAL LEAVE*

by Friedrich Edding (W. Berlin)

I. Educational leave from a cost-benefit point of view

Educational leave is one of the most important operational instruments for the realization of recurrent education concepts. For some young people it may mean leave of absence from school for periods of practical work, for participation in youth camps, or for a stay abroad. For others, it will mean periodic release from gainful occupation or from apprenticeship. For adults it can mean leave of absence from paid employment, from independent work, or from duties as a housewife. In all these cases there are costs involved, and the alternative ways of meeting these costs must be considered.

The different kinds of leave imply different mixes of cost elements. On the whole, net additions to present educational expenditures are to be expected. But the question is how these additions of expenditure compare with those that would follow from a further expansion of the traditional institutions. This question can be answered only by calculating the alternative costs of various concrete models. The result depends very much on the length and kind of leave periods assumed, on the quality of courses offered during leave, and on the assumptions for expansion of the traditional institutions.

At the level of the Secondary School gross additional costs would be caused mainly by additional facilities, personnel needed for guidance, training and supervision during leave, programmed media, and travelling. Net additional costs would be lower, other things being equal, because of slight reductions in some of the running costs of schools and in earnings resulting from gainful occupation. For those young people who go into full-time employment after compulsory school, educational leave can mean a reduction of wages and — at least in the short run — a loss of production. These reductions may then be offset by funds available for the purpose. The courses offered during release from gainful employment would in any case cause additional costs. Assuming that earnings and savings resulting from leave for young people enrolled in schools will be low, it is probable that the changes caused by the scheme of release outlined above will result in overall net additions to costs for this age group.

However, the alternative plan may be to prolong compulsory education or to make voluntary continuation of full-time schooling so attractive that enrolment increases. In this case the total costs at the secondary level of such a plan are likely to become higher than the costs of recurrent education. Furthermore, the

cost-benefit relations have to be considered. If we assume that in the traditional system motivation in this age group for learning and its results, as well as productivity in gainful employment are rather low, and would be greatly improved by the introduction of recurrent education, we may come to the conclusion that, in view of the general goal, the introduction of leave promises to improve cost-benefit relations. This reasoning may become even more convincing if other elements of the recurrent education concept are assumed to be implemented together with the release scheme.

At the level beyond the Secondary School, educational leave would mainly mean granting release from gainful occupation, providing compensation for loss of income, and offering full-time courses. The volume of gross costs to be expected depends on the length of leave, the percentage of income to be recompensated, the quality of courses offered, and, last but not least, the number and kind of participants. If we assume that everybody has a legal right to apply for educational leave but is not obliged to make use of this right, there are obvious interdependencies between the offer made and the number of participants who will accept.

Net additional costs on this level result from balancing the gross costs against the probably improved educational output and the possible saving on costs caused by integrating the existing post-secondary institutions into the system of recurrent education. Educational leave may be planned as an addition to the existing provisions, in particular to the present Higher Education institutions and to the expansion of these institutions already agreed upon or foreseen. Alternatively, the provisions for educational leave may be planned to substitute wholly or partly those now existing or planned in Higher Education and Adult Education. In the latter case the net additional costs of educational leave at this level would be considerably lower than the gross costs.

If it is accepted, for example, that everybody should have a legal right to periods of educational leave beyond the age of secondary school, amounting to a total of three years, the cost projections would differ greatly depending on whether these three years are planned as an addition to three years of Higher Education following the present pattern or as a substitution. The costs would differ again if it were decided either to offer the three years as intervals in a continued process of learning according to the open university pattern, for example, or to offer them on an intervals basis without such an offer of multimedia learning in the off-work hours and the preparation for education in the leave periods that it provides.

These alternatives have also to be borne in mind when thinking about cost-benefit relations of educational leave at this level. If the present institutions of Higher and Adult Education are considered satisfactory, the introduction of educational leave will perhaps be considered as a welcome addition. If, however,
the present institutions and enrolment patterns are regarded as highly problematic, the introduction of educational leave can be seen as a means of drastically reforming the present system.

In both cases it may be assumed that high growth rates of the material product have no absolute priority. The benefit should be seen not only in terms of impact on economically measurable productivity but also, and perhaps even more, in terms of its implications for the quality of life. If this is taken for granted, the possible losses of production as a result of large-scale educational leave can be assumed to be compensated by gains in general competence in all kinds of tasks and in the ability to enjoy a cultured life.

The author of this paper believes that the cost-benefit relation in introducing educational leave will be more favourable if the instrument of leave is used to reorganise the whole structure of educational institutions beyond the Primary School. This belief is based on the observed low effectiveness of the present institutions and the better results of institutions designed according to the concept of recurrent education. It is admitted that these observations cannot claim representative validity; but they are good enough to support belief and to justify formulating a hypothetical framework.

The political feasibility of introducing large-scale educational leave and a legal right to take such leave depends on the assumption that the prospective social benefits exceed or at least equal the social costs incurred. Neither the social costs nor the social benefits to be expected from one of the various possible models for recurrent education have been estimated up to now. It seems almost impossible at present to provide by means of such calculations an undisputable solid basis for political decision. However, decisions have already been taken. Educational leave was introduced as a legal right for the gainfully employed labour force in France in 1970. The Federal Republic of Germany has gone far in this direction by passing the Labour Promotion Act of 1969. More restricted legal provisions of this kind exist in several other countries. These political decisions as a rule introduce educational leave as an addition to the existing system of educational institutions, and they have a tendency to restrict leave to the purpose of vocational learning. It may be concluded from these facts that as far as these legal provisions go, the argument of a positive cost-benefit relation has been accepted. If this has been possible without proof by calculation, there is every hope that the arguments for a more comprehensive introduction of recurrent education will also be accepted in the not-too-distant future.

The following discussion of financial implications will concentrate on problems of immediate political importance, in particular the question of how to finance leave for people who depend on wages and salaries paid by private enterprises. It is assumed that leave for young people attending school and leave for housewives will be financed mainly from school budgets and various other public sources.
respectively. It is further assumed that the needs of public servants for educational leave will be financed from the budgets of their administrations, and that the self-employed will help themselves by saving, insurance schemes, paying membership dues to associations organising, inter alia, further education courses, and much of this would be covered by increased prices for their clients. The most difficult problem, politically, is seen in provisions for those who depend on low and medium incomes. Developments are necessary here (and anticipated) that may well shift the weight of organised learning in the next decades from the traditional patterns to realisations of the concept of recurrent education.

II. Alternative sources of funding

(1) General criteria

The complex problems associated with the financing of educational leave can be structured around the following three interdependent questions:

—Who pays the bill?
—Who ultimately bears the burden?
—Who decides on the allocation of the financial resources?

The question of who should pay depends on the social and political aims associated with educational leave. Bearing in mind the possibility of shifting, it is clear that the incidence theory must be applied in order to identify those who will ultimately carry the burden. Moreover, since financing has to do with providing the means for realizing specific targets, financial flows cannot be separated from the interests behind them. These interests are reflected not only in the amount of money spent, but also in the aims and content of the programmes offered, in the selection of personnel, and in the selection of participants. The character of the educational leave will thus be greatly influenced by the way in which it is financed.

In order to evaluate alternative ways of financing educational leave, a set of criteria is proposed that seems appropriate:

—integration of vocational and non-vocational education;
—optimal motivation to participate;
—'justice' of burdening;
—exclusion of domination by partial interests;
—democratic participation;
—promotion of innovation;
—efficiency.

These criteria are derived mainly from the general goals of recurrent education outlined above. Educational leave offering the possibility of alternation between
study and other work for young people who would otherwise attend school full time may be seized as an opportunity to hire pupils as cheap manpower, and in other cases seen as a chance to add to on-the-job training a few courses offering knowledge for immediate application only. It may also be misused as a means of giving more education only to those who have already had a good education. The ways of financing educational leave can encourage or prevent these and other possible misuses. Financial regulations can be a promising strategy to promote courses offering vocational subjects in such a way that a broader understanding of the sciences and more general mobility can be gained. It may favour the combination of vocational learning with a continued general education and thus enable people to reflect on their practical activities, human relations, civic duties, etc. Financial regulations can also increase the motivation to participate in educational leave by lowering the material and psychological barriers that often prevent people from volunteering for further education.

As financial power could be used to influence or even dominate aims and content of educational leave, preventive measures are necessary. In order to minimise undesirable partial influences, institutionalized forms of information before, and of democratic participation during, educational leave may be helpful. Democratic decision processes associated with educational leave could have positive transfer effects in other spheres of life. Moreover, democratic participation can increase the motivational and innovative effects of recurrent education.

As to the criterion of efficiency, its correlation with innovation is very high. Innovative educational programmes are normally more expensive than traditional ones. They are justified, however, by the higher quality of the results. Alternatively, efficiency could be interpreted as meaning the most economic realisation of all the aims of educational leave.

(2) Individual financing

When discussing financial contributions to the costs of educational leave by individual participants it must be borne in mind that the individual will contribute anyway: if the costs are mainly financed from public funds, he will contribute indirectly by paying taxes, if they are financed by private enterprises he will be affected by increased prices. The concept underlying the propositions for charging the participants directly is market-oriented. It reflects a fundamental belief in the adequacy of competition for securing socially acceptable quantities and qualities of education.

The argument runs as follows: the freedom of the potential participants to choose among the educational programmes offered promotes their individual autonomy and at the same time stimulates competition among the educational institutions. Moreover, it is supposed that the individuals are in a position that
does not only allow differentiated judgment but also gives them a fair chance of influencing the quality of the programmes. These assumptions will be critically discussed below. In the same context the question of whether individuals are materially in a position to pay for educational leave has to be considered. If participation in educational leave implies a loss of subsistence funds, the existence of either property income or savings is a necessary prerequisite. To solve this problem by publicly guaranteed credits earmarked for education has implications that we shall discuss from the point of view of our list of criteria.

How will the chances to broaden vocational education, in the sense of giving it more polyvalence and combining it with other subjects, be influenced by individual financing? Empirical evidence proves that participants as a rule do not look far ahead and prefer educational investments that are immediately capitalizable.* This tendency would probably be enforced if the funds contributed by individuals were credited, although much depends on the conditions for repayment.

It is often supposed that financial contributions of the participants promote their motivation for learning. In this context it is helpful to answer the following two questions:

– Are financial contributions likely to create motivation?
– Will existing motivation be sustained by paying fees and sacrificing income?

The first possibility is rather unlikely. The groups hitherto under-represented in educational activities are almost identical to those having had little education in their youth, who often found it an unpleasant experience, and consequently are poorly motivated to participate in educational leave. It is hardly to be expected that these people could be motivated by the prospect of financial sacrifices. On the contrary, since learning may seem to them a greater burden than working, they may rather ask for compensation over and above their normal remuneration as a condition of participation. The second possibility might well hold true since it is in line with the theory of consumer behaviour that people normally take the goods they have paid for and, moreover, that as a rule they associate high prices with high quality.

According to this reasoning, charging the participants would presumably motivate only those already motivated, and would not create new learning motivation. The negative effects to be expected are probably reinforced if the money payable (or foregone) by individual participants in educational leave is credited: they are probably weakened if the individuals are given non-repayable grants. This general conclusion holds true even taking into account that in certain

* Whether the dichotomy between vocational and non-vocational programmes would be eliminated if the participants were more problem oriented will be discussed in the context of the innovation criterion.
social groups financial sacrifices for educational leave are likely to have a motivational function.

It is often argued that financial contributions by the participants are justified, as it is mainly the individual who benefits from educational leave. There is, however, no positive proof for this argument. Quantifying benefits of educational leave in fact presupposes political decisions as to the weight of different effects. Individual financing would not provide justice or equal opportunity; it would rather result in selection of participants according to their financial means. Empirical data from the Federal Republic of Germany and France indicate that under the existing financial arrangements for educational leave, which make at least some monetary contribution by the participants obligatory, some social groups — especially low income groups, older people and women — are largely excluded from participation. These defects could hardly be remedied by credit or grant systems.

It can be expected that the dominance of particular interests is best prevented if the individuals decide upon the programmes to be realized through the allocation of their financial means. However, since the individuals as consumers do not represent an adequate counteracting power, it is an illusion to hope for decisive influence from their side.* Besides, the organizational and curricular structure of the educational system is an obstacle to rapid and frequent change.

A similar argumentation holds true with respect to the criterion of democratic participation. The individuals do not necessarily gain material participation rights in decision-making processes if they contribute to the financing. Democratic participation has its own legitimation. If it is blocked by strong interests, financial contributions by individuals will hardly change the situation.

Individual financing of educational leave is said to optimise didactic innovation by stimulating competition among the educational organisations. However, since innovation is risky, educational organisations may well form a cartel restricting their programmes to a medium level of quality. Insofar as competition works, it may centre around marginal points similar to product variations in the consumer goods market. The chances of such tactics being successful are quite good since it is extremely difficult for potential participants to evaluate different programmes. A public information system could probably somewhat change their situation, but consumer sovereignty seems on the whole rather far away.

As to the efficiency criterion, it must be recalled that the market mechanisms do not care about social needs, benefits and costs. Consequently, it is highly probable that a system of educational leave regulated by ‘offer’ and ‘demand’ only will result in social under-investment. In this perspective it is of little help that the short-term micro-economic efficiency of a competitive system might well be superior to alternative ways of regulation.

* The position of the participants in educational leave is further weakened by the fact that the relevant educational activities are of short duration.
(3) Financing by private enterprises

When private enterprises have to pay for educational leave, the burden normally does not fall on them, since as a rule they have a good chance of shifting it either forward (onto the consumers) or backward (onto their supplies). Whether and to what extent the incidence burdens the consumers depends mainly on the market condition, the amount of monopolistic concentration, the power of trade unions to shift the burden back to the enterprises by way of tariff negotiations, and the basis on which the payments are calculated.

Besides these uncontrolled shifting effects, financing of educational leave by private firms probably has another negative effect: the willingness of private entrepreneurs to invest in educational leave depends to a large degree on the aims and content of the programmes envisaged. According to their market situation, investments are made if an adequate pay-off can be expected. Consequently, they normally favour programmes with immediate or short term benefits measured on the basis of micro-economic cost-benefit analysis. Even if an entrepreneur is sufficiently farsighted to see the weaknesses in such a strategy, in a competitive system he cannot help but conform to the general practice, if he is not in an exceptionally good market position. Compared with a social optimum, this would mean an under-investment in educational activities.

The short-term perspective governing qualification planning in private enterprises cannot do justice to the criterion of the unity of vocational and non-vocational education. That professional roles do not consist of 'vocational' components only, and that qualifications are the less affected by technological change the broader the basis, are facts that are all too often ignored because of the overwhelming acute qualification demand and other more immediate needs in private enterprises.

Financing of educational leave by private enterprises, together with their possibilities of influencing aims, content, and participation, may have ambivalent consequences on the motivation of (possible) participants: on the one hand it could lead to positive reactions insofar as it is interpreted as a special engagement in favour of the employees; on the other hand, it may stress the consciousness of the dependence on the employer and thereby reduce learning motivation.

The criterion of justice in the allocation of burdens cannot be interpreted other than relatively: inequalities in income distribution should at least not be aggravated by the financial provisions.

Compared with alternative ways of funding, some arguments seem to support financing of educational leave by private enterprises:

- They are materially in a position to pay.
They benefit not only from the productive contributions of the working population but also from their educational activities. They normally can pass on at least part of the financial burden and thus should not be too opposed to the introduction of new levies.

The first of these arguments states ‘solvency’ as the main principle for the allocation of burdens, but it neglects the differences in solvency between firms and in changing market situations. The second argument, which may seem dubious since it refers to often misleading considerations of equivalence, is relevant only insofar as the first holds good. A warning must be given, however, as regards the shifting processes. It can hardly be anticipated who will ultimately be burdened and whether social and/or economic distortions will not ensue.

The financing of educational leave by private enterprises must be looked at critically from the criterion of the exclusion of the predominance of partial interests. As mentioned above, entrepreneurs are likely to concentrate on their short-term interests, with the consequence that those learning targets whose benefits are likely soon to be ‘internalised’ will be given preference.

The prospects for democratic participation in a concept of educational leave dependent on financing by private enterprises are rather weak. The organizational structures of educational activities of private enterprises tend to reflect the industrial hierarchy. Entrepreneurs will not as a rule favour other structures, because democratic decision-making processes in the educational sector could lead to a critical reappraisal of traditional practices in general.

Concerning the promotion of innovation, financing by private enterprises does not hold great promise. Even entrepreneurs who enjoy taking risks concerning capital investments might be reluctant to invest in unconventional educational measures that are not really their task. For this reason, this method of funding didactical innovation in educational leave programmes is likely to be restricted to a minimum (since motivation for innovation must be accompanied by the material possibility).

On the other hand, private enterprises as financiers of educational leave are well-prepared to meet the criterion of efficiency — at least if private cost-benefit analysis provides the terms of reference. Private enterprises should be well aware of the structure and amount of qualifications that they actually need. They may in many cases even have a good estimate of their medium-term manpower needs. But present practice shows that firms’ educational programmes intended to meet this demand all too often conflict with the interests of the participants, one of which is to promote at least their professional security by broadening their vocational flexibility. This finding supports the thesis that educational leave based exclusively on financing and allocation decisions of private enterprises is likely to result in quantitative and qualitative under-investment.
(4) Financing by the state

Considering the social and political aims associated with educational leave, it seems quite obvious that financing by the state would be the most effective way. The arguments in favour of state financing concentrate on two main points:

(i) as the state is assumed to be in a position to attain generally accepted aims for the benefit of society and to enforce public control, it can best secure educational leave for all employees;

(ii) consequently, financing by the state seems to be the most promising way of guaranteeing the correspondence between education activities (e.g. educational leave) and general political and social aims.

Whether state authorities really intend providing for long-term social needs is indicated by the allocation of their resources. Since integration of vocational and non-vocational education definitely corresponds to social needs, public financing of educational leave should promote the integration process. In reality, however, state decisions are to a large extent influenced by economically powerful groups, which might be afraid that their interests will be challenged by such integrated education. This thesis is confirmed, for example, by developments in the Federal Republic of Germany, and in France. In the Federal Republic of Germany the dichotomy between vocational and non-vocational education as it is contained in the Labour Promotion Act has recently become more noticeable. In France, although the system of ‘conventions’ includes specific forms of general education, the relevant participation quota is rather modest. It can be assumed that it is much harder to obtain public approval for integrated programmes for educational leave if, apart from institutional costs, wage payments or payments foregone are to be financed from state budgets.

Positive motivational consequences are to be expected from state financing because the participation in educational leave no longer depends on the financial capability of individuals. From the point of view of motivation, state financing through raising funds on the capital market is preferable to increasing taxes, because in the short term the income of employees is not curtailed by public loans.

Whether state financing of educational leave meets the criterion of ‘justice of burdening’ better than the alternatives mentioned above depends on the incidence of public funding. Although a theory of tax incidence exists, it is extremely difficult to empirically verify which group is ultimately burdened and to what extent. Nevertheless, there are strong indications that state financing burdens primarily the dependent labour force.

As already indicated when we discussed the ‘integration’ issue, the criterion of the exclusion of dominance of partial interests is not automatically met by state
financing of educational leave. There are good informal opportunities that vested interests can use to influence the public authorities, while the majority of the people generally have no possibility of articulating and expressing their needs.

Since a democratic community should be interested in making people familiar with adequate forms of political decision-making, it could be expected that state financing of educational leave would be accompanied by democratic participation models. In reality, however, educational leave financed by the state, for example that for civil servants in the Federal Republic of Germany, runs as traditionally as educational activities financed by other means.

Innovation could be promoted by state financing since it allows planned change and rests less on the willingness of third parties to implement new ideas. On the other hand, state administration is likely to restrain innovations that might challenge their traditional way of thinking. It is most probable that innovations will be blocked, since the benefits foregone are hardly measurable. In a system of state-financed educational leave, shortage of funds can easily be used as an excuse for delaying innovations. So-called 'objective' financial difficulties are in this case used to conceal substantial controversies about innovation.

As to the criterion of efficiency, state funding can compete adequately with financing by private enterprises. Educational leave programmes of equivalent qualitative and quantitative standards could be realized via either financial alternative in an economically satisfactory way. The difference between them lies in the likelihood of the aims set actually being achieved.

(5) Financing by collective funding

In examining the implications of different ways of funding specific deficiencies become apparent. As already indicated, the inadequacies centre around the following criteria:

- Individual financing is problematic, especially in view of the requirements of integrating vocational and non-vocational education (and in this context of innovation), of justice of burdening and, most of all, of motivation.

- Financing by private enterprises is not compatible with the criterion of integration.

- Financing from state budgets does not guarantee the curbing of the dominance of partial interest and seems unlikely to sufficiently further innovation.

Each of the methods of financing so far discussed has, if applied in isolation, distinct shortcomings. But certain advantages can also be presumed to be potentially available. Therefore, the aim should be to find a way that excludes
most disadvantages and has the greatest assets for meeting the set of evaluation criteria that we have formulated. This is called here 'collective funding under public responsibility', and a rough sketch of such a scheme is given in the following.

Since private enterprise is committed to prospering and using all its possibilities for solvency, it seems appropriate to make it the main source of funding. We propose to charge all private enterprises by law a levy according to their economic capability. The revenue from this levy would not form part of the state budget but be transferred to a national foundation for the promotion of educational leave. The state as a rule would pay into the fund only a small contribution, as a sign of interest. But in times of recession the state would be bound to compensate the revenue from the levy by amounts large enough to allow times of unemployment to be used as times of learning. In addition, the foundation may in times of depression raise funds on the capital market.

The methods of paying out from the fund should be differentiated according to the political objectives: as an outcome of public responsibility, minimum qualitative standards for educational leave programmes should be set. To the extent that firms and other organisations come up to this qualitative level, they get standardized costs refinanced out of the collective fund. Moreover, in order to give special incentives for innovation, additional subsidies can be given for educational leave with integrated programmes so as to reduce the additional burden and risk normally associated with innovative educational activities.

The continuation of wage payments during educational leave, one of the most important prerequisites for a socially acceptable concept, should also be guaranteed by the collective fund. This does not necessarily mean that the total former wage must be paid. Alternatively, the wage payments could be graded, ranging for example from a minimum (wage of unskilled workers) up to a maximum (following regulations in most social insurance systems). The lower limit should be high enough to give special encouragement for participation to the lower income groups. This proposal follows from the assumption mentioned above that participation in financing the costs may influence motivation favourably in income groups where subsistence is no pressing problem.

The foundation should be governed by a board in which representatives of the state, private enterprise, and trade unions, plus independent experts, have equal numbers of seats. The foundation would have to decide, within the limits set by law, on the amount of the levy, curricular targets, and other quality standards. It would have decentralised agencies for most of the curricular decisions, for information, administration, and control.

This set of arrangements would ensure a high degree of continuity and independence from partial economic and political interests. It would promote
motivation and innovation, in particular in the sense of integrating vocational and non-vocational education. By introducing democratic participation at all institutional levels, this organisation of funding may counteract bureaucratic sterility and stimulate local initiative. There is, of course, some danger that this may negatively affect efficiency. On the other hand, it has often been proved that adequate organizational forms of participation can enlarge the problem-solving capacities of social sub-systems.

Nobody can predict how the volume of finance needed for educational leave will develop. The figures we have for recent years are no adequate basis for projections. They show the strong increase of educational leave under present circumstances. Under the conditions here envisaged an even faster development could be expected. Our proposals for funding would ensure the flexibility needed to cope with a dynamic new dimension of organised learning.
THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE: PRESENT POSITION AND POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS

by Saverio Avveduto (Director General for Adult Education, Italy)

I would like to take this opportunity of presenting what I conceive to be the philosophy of this conference. By philosophy I do not mean the kind of thing we learned at school but philosophy in the Anglo-Saxon sense as a way of life: a mode of thought. That is to say I shall concentrate on the concrete, substantial concern of this conference, namely with the role of those whom I call "intermediary operators".

By "intermediary operators" I mean those, like you and I, who do not in the main intervene in the educative, formative process. We are not teachers in evening schools, nor do we work in classes for adults. In so far as we confine ourselves to organising the work of others we are the indirect operators who by long tradition are neutral. I shall explain why I do not accept this tradition which suggests that we simply apply the law just as the magistrate, a classical figure in our formal legal tradition, applies the law in his domain. He can indeed do no more than apply laws (which are above him) to the particular case in hand. By analogy, we the intermediary operators simply apply laws and hence are neutral agents. It is this neutrality which I cannot accept. Whatever we do at our desks we are not mechanically applying a law. In making a choice we reflect our own way of life, our own mode of thought in fulfilling ourselves through the exercise of choice. Consequently we are responsible for the action we take. But we are responsible, in our daily work, to the extent that a certain type of law is made effective by altering a situation, or by modifying a system of relationships, or by creating new relationships.

This ability to influence events constitutes a challenge. In interpersonal relationships are we still able to modify the parameters of our mind? Are we able to understand what is going on around us? It is a challenge which affects everyone. We must respond to it or be shut out, or else submit to a type of confrontation which is concerned with a new reality. So much for the philosophy of the conference.

Now allow me to deal briefly with the problems of the theme, the great theme of Permanent Education. Is it a new fashion or a real discovery? A new word as I have called it in a recent article or is it really old? Is it something of which we are only now taking account; something the enormous politico-social and educational implications of which we have not yet fully realised? The political implications are particularly important. As I see it, in order to get the concept of Permanent Education in focus we cannot speak of it in terms appropriate to a traditional educational reality. To speak of the problems of permanent education in terms of a master-pupil relationships, of adult and non-adult is a very serious error.
A new type of approach is needed. In the final analysis, to talk about Permanent Education is not to talk about school, though it may be schooling with a difference. What is that difference?

In the article previously mentioned, I referred to the basic dilemma we are in, when, with scientific rigour, we face the problem of education. One of two theses is true. One of these, namely that of Illich and Reimer, states: “The school is dead, de-school society”. It means that one horn of the dilemma is true, namely that the formative processes in autonomous centres, in places exclusively for the acquisition of knowledge are dead and that we must de-school society in the sense that every social group must itself put forward its own authentic method of education. Or the second thesis is true, and this is the one I favour, namely that the process of education takes place throughout our biological life-cycles — is lifelong. The elementary truth underlying what I am saying is that it would be folly, without social or political foundation, to maintain that education stops at a certain time of life. Who is to say that education ends at 14, or at 24 when schooling ends? If there is an imperative that is both logical and social it is the exact opposite namely that the educational process goes on from birth to death.

The simple fact of the matter is that someone’s rather banal intuition was needed for us to realise that as an institutional place of learning, school is not, and cannot, be restricted to a certain period of life. Some of you may remember in the novel Se questo è un nomo (If this is a man) the words of the Greek of Salonica when it was announced that the war was over. He says that there is always war. If I may make an analogy I would say there is always a school in the sense that we are always learning.

Consequently the concept of adult education has to be completely changed. Adult education cannot be referred to as a process of completing an education previously acquired. Or as an opportunity to go back to school to study one’s books. Or even as a way of compensating for injustice. Such a concept of adult education — an opportunity to return to school in payment of a debt by society — has no meaning. Rather, permanent education means the systematic organisation of all the formative processes acting on man during his whole-life. Systematic organisation implies that nothing in our lives should be conceived in a partial or segmented manner. Every concept which divides it up is not in reality an attempt to conquer the world but to betray the world. Indeed the industrial revolution in the end betrayed the needs for reality and for the conquest of the real world. I would indeed say that the scientific organisation of work, the specialisation and fragmentation of functions killed man. So the worker in an industrial complex who for eight hours a day makes bolts, minds a machine, makes out birth and death certificates or takes crash courses all his life is the product of an industrial revolution which because of the needs of production called for specialist skills. It is a product of the myth of specialisation; whoever invented this myth ought himself to have been killed. For in reality it has killed man and made him a machine.
In contrast we need a systematic vision which does not divide up our world. Dividing it up in order to 'know the tree', we lose sight of 'the wood'. The foundations of Permanent Education should depend upon a capacity to make syntheses, to systematise, to see the wood. This is increasingly difficult because the contemporary world has a million facets. It is also increasingly difficult because our ability to understand becomes less and we are daily confronted by a reality which is becoming greater. From this point of view it is clear that school in the traditional sense of a terminal educational institution of which we are all masters or victims between the ages of 5 and 24 is losing its privileged position. It is not correct to think of it as a special period in education. It should be seen as an initial rather than a privileged or exclusive period in education. To see it in these new terms constitutes a major problem.

The theme of this conference might be 'Has the concept of the primacy of the school any meaning in the socio-economic reality of the day?'; or rather, as I see it, 'Can the primacy of the school be seen as a phase in a complex of formative activities which contribute to maturity?'.

If my thesis is true — a thesis based on a human development concept of educational activities (i.e. as dimensions of the life of man) — then the consequences are extremely important. The main consequence arises from the fact that all the stages of education have to be revised. The first and most important change, from this point of view, is the re-organisation of the cultural content of the school, namely the traditional syllabuses.

What sense is there in packaging all knowledge in plastic bags? A boy in Italy leaving the liceo has to know everything, not only everything of "the now", but the whole history of everything. But is there any sense in filling young people, especially in an uncritical, authoritarian manner, over a short period of time, with this kind of knowledge when, during the whole of their lives, they will have to go on studying if they want to keep pace with the expansion of knowledge?

So to restructure syllabuses means to reduce them, but it may also mean limiting the years of schooling. The Swedish Board of Education has invented a system of sixteen educational "credits". A person must have sixteen years of study but it is not necessary that they should be taken from the age of 5 to the age of 21. Five years of study must be undertaken first of all. The other periods taken every three or four years. A person may use up his educational credits throughout his life. This is what is called Recurrent Education. It is one way of cutting into the traditional content and organisation of the school.

If a policy of Permanent Education is adopted, present patterns of education cannot be maintained. But the restructuring of education in the light of a theory of Permanent Education means an attack on politicians. That is the fundamental need.

The area with which we are concerned is the most schizoid of the schizoid areas of Public Instruction. I used this adjective in the last meeting of the
Administrative Council when we were discussing, for the purposes of legislation, the Budget of the Ministry of Public Instruction for 1974. The Minister worked out the budget and then called us together to approve it, reminding us that as there were only three days until it came up for adoption we had to accept it without modification. That gives you some idea of the conditions under which even the Director General works, through no fault of the Minister who is a very fair-minded man.

The conditions under which we work are schizoid because we still have a law which might have been passed eight thousand years ago concerning the education of the people. Consequently we work on the basis of a prehistoric law to cater for the needs of the modern world. We want to have, we need to have, we are trying to have permanent, adult education with an instrument that hardly permits us to appoint a teacher to teach illiterates in an evening class. So, in practice, we all suffer. We would like to work, we must work within an economic and social reality which has completely changed but with tools, or fetters, which are as they have always been. We are surgeons operating in a great modern complex with an operating theatre such as Galen might have had.

Can one possibly work in these conditions?

That is what we ask the politicians, that is the problem I have tried to put to politicians, to make them aware, to try to do a bit of Adult Education of adult politicians or political adults because the politician is responsible for the condition of life in society. By his zeal is measured the capacity to modify, to modernize the means by which today we may work in partnership.

I believe that this is the way to talk because it is currently my duty, not only as Director General but also as a man, to participate in the way I discussed at the beginning. I shall carry on, with great faith, even if without hope.

To know that we have little hope of convincing politicians about so fundamental a matter may mean that this becomes more widely known and that politicians may be thus induced to give the matter further thought. The politician reacts, more or less, in response to an expression of collective opinion and it is exactly that expression which I would like to encourage.

In conclusion, to repeat and to stress, talk today of Permanent Education has great political weight. I will say very briefly how I assess it.

We live in an extremely hierarchical society, in a Napoleonic society, if you like, founded on a hierarchy of values, of functions, in a society in which the exercise of power is delegated to a few people. There is no need for me to remind you what voting means. Voting means to divest oneself of power, delegating it to someone. It is just this concept of delegates that is beginning to be questioned.

Even though we do not notice it much, young people are beginning to refuse to accept talk of delegation. This is a reality we must take into account. They are beginning to say we want to exercise directly the power of the people, the
PERMANENT EDUCATION SEEN AS EDUCATIONAL NEO-HUMANISM
by Guiliana Limiti (Rome)

The Constitution of the Italian Republic lays down in art. 34 that 'school is open to all' and that 'the able and deserving, even though without means, have right of access to the highest stages of learning. The Republic gives effect to this right by the award of scholarships, grants to the families and other provision, made available through competitive examinations'.

The Constitution also lays down (art. 4) that 'it is the duty of every citizen, according to his own aptitudes and his personal choice, to engage in work or in an office contributing to the material and spiritual progress of society'.

Italian democracy, after 25 years, is still young, yet it weaves old-fashioned clothes. Our educational system, regulated by norms that do not correspond with the principles laid down in the Constitution, is out-dated in view of the phenomenon of a general demand for culture which has created great pressure on its receiving capacity and led to new and unforeseeable problems. These problems have turned the attention of educationists and legislators to the current social aspect rather than to the cultural one. Consequently the constitutional principles making it incumbent on citizens to choose their own line and reserving the highest forms of education exclusively for those with competence and deserving of them have been unheeded. But the political problems of the content of education come to the fore again, because experience has shown that the mere legalistic prolongation of studies and of attendance of school is not enough to guarantee a place in society corresponding with the qualification obtained. Qualification no longer ensures real preparation for life. The school, becoming 'a parking place' for social aspirations not otherwise attainable in any other way, has lost its cultural function and its credibility. The indiscriminate prolongation of schooling has, moreover, delayed young people from launching into working life, keeping them in a sort of socio-economic tutelage which has discouraged and frustrated them, quenching their enthusiasm and their readiness to seek out their own load which life's school, allied with work, might have stimulated.

There is, therefore, no cause for wonder at their disillusionment, their mistrust, frustration, and apathy, nor at the agitator's contestation. Modern society cannot condone this waste of spiritual energy, even less so can it be acceptable to a democratic order whose existence is based on the conscious participation of the citizens who make it up.

In this context permanent education offers a spring-board which allows the reform of school structures in relation to the function they have to perform, its service to the citizen guaranteeing him freedom to choose the part he will play in society.
The school, conceived of as a service rendered to man, lasts thus for the whole of life and changes according to the essential needs of man. I feel that we must reject the thesis that permanent education must be structured in relation to the results of economic or productivity planning. It must take that into account but what is of more concern is its function as an existentialist response, offering one way in which, through direct contact with the great cultural matrices, the school of today can, without any discrimination, continue to function. Otherwise those who deem a school structure useless, imparting information more incisively conveyed by television, by the cinema, by radio and so on, would be right.

The area of permanent education poses theoretical problems for educationists, therefore, as to the best form of education, the most suitable methods to achieve it; as to what is essential in the culture of the past and above all what is the forma mentis to which people should adapt themselves in order critically to evaluate their own opinions and their own purpose.

It is not by accident that workers ask for a school rooted in a deep culture and that they defend the disinterested aspect of a cultural and literary education. Nor is it without significance that the most neglected and disadvantaged (e.g. certain Italian emigrants to Germany) defend the value of classical studies of an 'aristocratic' school, in the humanistic sense, as opposed to the insistence of some employers on 'vocational quality' as the criterion of the school of tomorrow, vocation being taken to include training.

A neo-humanistic spirit is dawning in the revaluing of formal subjects like mathematics, philosophy, classical languages, literature, in so far as they give insight into how to think, in so far as they grip the emotions roused by contact with the great masters of human thought.

The perspective of permanent education restores value to the humanistic aspect because it seeks culture for man as such, so that he may be able to exalt, through usage, his inner dignity. It seeks a culture which arouses the creative faculties, without any utilitarian preoccupations. Civic and many sided duty consists in the use of those faculties.

Moreover, permanent education constitutes the most ideal stance from which to examine every cultural matrix, however varied and heterogeneous. In contrast with scholastic dogmatism and ideology is the method of readiness to understand the message, (even if only to discuss or reject it), even from the least familiar experiences and cultural traditions. Respect takes the place of suspicion and dogmatism. Everything educates, even error: whence the defence of freedom to teach and the need to exchange and compare different cultures. Permanent education has, on humanistic grounds, approved the inclusion within culture of matrices of experience, like folklore, sport, leisure time, political or local government activity, etc., which were once looked on as 'non-cultural'.
Controversy itself and contestation about the present educational structures correspond with the need to open doors and windows on reality and on society.

Yet under the shield of a fashionable word which has almost become a slogan, i.e. *permanent education*, we must avoid the urge to seek the lasting, the permanent, the illuministic universal, that is the state of mind of a *long view which*, seeing *too clearly future results*, is incapable of letting us get to the heart of effective reality. We must not undervalue the contribution of considerations about education in the future nor the value of utopias. It is good to reaffirm, especially in Italy, after so much cult of sociology, pedagogy and psychology (sometimes presumptuous), the opportuneness of a method of enquiry linked with history and with the ideological, economic and religious matrices most likely to permeate and influence it.³

Some thought needs to be given to the fact that latterly political and industrial circles (rather than educational ones) have discussed the theme of permanent education. Perhaps it is thanks to those circles and to their mentality that the demand for permanent education is loaded with argumentation, even of a very stormy kind, when faced with those who, as cultured people, formed the governing cadres of a society now threatened. The splintering of productive processes, specialisation in scientific and professional fields, the inhuman tempo imposed by industry and by the frenzied stimulation of productivity, the mental upset caused by advertising, by traffic, by the cement-encased homes of men, have led to a nostalgia for the balance which peasant life allowed at least on the biological and psychological plane.

The demand for permanent education bears the marks of that nostalgia: a society for the human being. I believe that Berenson was right when he said:

Yes, decidedly, what we now need as never before is not to work less, leaving far too much time for bored leisure, but work that is unproductive, leaves no results, leaves the morning as fresh as after the first dawn, and the evening as cool as when the Lord walked in the Garden. We produce more and more, more children, more machines, more goods, more printed matter, more painted canvases, more and more and more. Seeing that activity is as necessary to our health as breathing, we must study how to avoid transitive occupations and cultivate intransitive ones. I would encourage birth-control not only in family life but elsewhere. I would impose a strict *numerous clausus* on the amount to be sown,ex: to be manufactured, the amount to be built, to be printed, to be painted, to be composed, etc. etc. In short I would apply anti-conceptionalism to all energizing. Not that I would reduce if I could the quantity of this energizing but I would turn it into unproductive channels, the channels of play, of song, of dance, of sport in various phases, always with reference to what it did to educate the mind, build up the body and humanize the individual and his group.⁴

Permanent education constitutes, especially for those cut off from it, the underprivileged, those who have moved away from the life of the mind, the revival of the belief that ‘it is never too late’. And in some ways the new perspectives are in the best traditions of education: education is for each and for all, it is the
concern of each and all to educate and to be educated.

The sensitising to such a conception of institutions once indifferent to it constitutes the new and positive fact which leads to reflexion on the evolution, for example, of trade-union action.

I have tried, on another occasion, to show that, in Italy, it was only in working men's societies for mutual help, with their prevailing tendency to look back to Mazzini or to be utopian socialists, that it was stressed, from the Eighteenth Century onwards, that education was a political force capable of making working men aware of their rights and duties. The development of union organisation, especially since the Second World War has, however, taken to other lines of struggle, exclusively economic or power-seeking ones. But now it is not only through love of power that union members accept and bring up the humanistic theme of permanent education, when they ask to be able to participate as active agents in the educational process which calls on men to be active within the organisation in which he can realise himself and to which he belongs.

From these promises flow inevitable didactic conclusions. If education has as its main aim to give a taste for, and the means to go on learning in or out of school, it is clear that method should have an aesthetic dimension, one which is able to merge the distinction between classical education, judged to be divorced from life, and vocational education, seen as the acquisition of skills (do ut des for goals exclusively bound up with production).

This will further permit a reduction in hours of schooling for young people, which is absolutely necessary in a world of rapid change and one in which young people, rightly in my view, mean to play a leading part and not be protected. I realise that this runs counter to legislative reality and the tendency to prolong school life. But it is a prolongation which I regard as illusory and counterproductive. Full-time schooling (like being a full-time student and a full-time Professor) is a popular demand which hardens into an ascetic and artificial situation. The sclerosis of school structuring today bears the marks of being too much a political imposition in a formalistic sense, but not in a basic sense.

The Statute of Italian Workers which has recently come into force gives every worker the right to enjoy paid leave of absence to bring himself up-to-date culturally or to go on with interrupted education. The workers' representatives, by virtue of the recent legislative power in professional matters given to the Regions, have made it known that they want a school that educates, and that is qualitatively competent to do its work. These are demands for permanent education as the ultimate expression of so-called social rights. That constitutes, I think, confirmation of the basic need to recognise the creative capacity and the irreplaceable value of man.
REFERENCES


PERMANENT EDUCATION IN SPAIN: REALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES

by José A. Benavent (Valencia)

INTRODUCTION

Since 1970 the Spanish people have been committed to the arduous task of reforming the country's educational system which had maintained itself enclosed in, and faithful to, Nineteenth Century principles, as stated in the famous Moyano Law of 1857. The accelerated technical advance of the 20th Century has left the Moyano Law outdated despite the attention it received in 1945, and converted it into an anachronistic instrument, inefficient in controlling the educational needs of the Spanish people.

The new General Law of Education and Financing of Educational Reform of 4th August 1970, in accord with present day needs, assumes tasks and responsibilities of an unprecedented magnitude in answer to the universally felt need to democratize education. Among the objectives which the law proposes, the main ones are:

To make the entire Spanish population participate in education basing its orientation on the most genuine and traditional national virtues; to complement general education with a professional preparation which will allow the incorporation of the individual into the world of employment; to offer everyone equal educational opportunities, limited only by the ability to study; to establish an educational system which will be characterized by its unity, flexibility, and interrelationships, while maintaining a wide range of possibilities for permanent education and a close relationship with the necessities which spring from the dynamism of the country's economic and social evolution ... a permanent educative system not conceived as a selective filtering of students but capable of developing to a maximum the capacity of each and every Spaniard. ¹

This paper tries to present a critical analysis of permanent education in Spain, being based on the legal texts which regulate it and on other findings up to the present time.

THE CONCEPT OF PERMANENT EDUCATION

There is considerable disagreement among specialists trying to specify what they understand by permanent education. In principle, it seems, there is general agreement when it comes to deciding what it is not. Hence, permanent education is not simply adult education. Nor is it just professional preparation, nor the parallel and complementary education of an education system, nor continuous, nor recurrent education, which supposes a continuous professional formation and recyclage. For the purposes of this paper, the definition formulated at the
International Seminar on Educational Prospects, held in Madrid in April 1971, will be accepted. This was:

a new focus on the whole education system based on a change of attitude to the educative process, considering it as a co-ordinating system which attempts to care for man's development simultaneously in all his various dimensions ('homo faber', 'homo ludens', 'homo sapiens', 'homo agens') and levels professional, intellectual, and emotional.²

This position presupposes that the concept of permanent education is destined to inspire and modify the functions of the school, to determine the objectives of the educative systems, and to lay the basis for the planning of education in contemporary society,³ going as far as 'overturning the whole socio-cultural system, since it is the very concept of the school, and not just a transformation of it, that is undergoing revision'.⁴ However, being realistic, we must admit that the institutional changes that this new concept of education supposes will take several years to be realised, and perhaps are limited, as Schwartz says,⁵ to the legal formulation of the educational objectives which are generally forgotten or neglected to the field of pure theory.

In this sense permanent education is characterized by the elimination of limits, a 'permanent unfinished task', — a concept which is taken up in the Preamble to the Education Law and which not only determines the reform of the Spanish education system, but which goes beyond the limits of the school, having a place in any medium, using any methodology, embracing any type of education, and extending to the entire population without age limits, in a permanent educative process. As Vidal says: 'if, with an impressionist's touch, we wanted to mark out its boundaries, nothing would do it better than a paraphrase of the title of one of the ascetic works of Quevedo, and thus we would be able to state that permanent education is the process of development and structuring of integral, individual, and social personality, which progresses from the cradle to the grave, a definition which, on its own, highlights the importance of the concept which we are dealing with'.⁶

The right of every Spaniard to basic general education plus the right to the permanent education of adults in the strict sense, as a further link in our educative system, shapes this system in theory, as the instrument which 'assures the unity of the process of education and will facilitate the continuity of that unity throughout a man's life to satisfy the demands of permanent education which modern society makes'.⁷ This recognition of the right of every citizen to a permanent education and its progressive implementation is transforming not only the pedagogic establishment of our educative reform, but is, above all, promoting the alteration of the social, economic, and political structures of the country.

**LEGISLATIVE BASIS**

Having considered permanent education in its double guise, first as an integral
and unlimited (in its widest sense) education, and then, in the strict sense as 'recurrent education' or a 'sandwich' procedure permitting the alternation of work with education, let us now analyse the legal basis of permanent education in Spain. In as far as it is a permanent task of improvement, we have seen how it typifies the Reform, bestowing present day importance on our educative system and leading to adaptations, in keeping with the necessities of contemporary man, which place it in the van of the educative systems of today's world. In as far as it deals with permanent education of adults, this can be seen in the Law of Education (Preamble and articles 9, 12, 43, 44, 45, 91 & 136) and in the provisions which have progressively implemented since 1970 the principles laid down in the general law. The legal provisions summarized below are presented in chronological order. They give us an idea of the progressive evolution and implementation of permanent education for all, which really has crystallized fully and offers optimistic prospects. The intention in this section is not to offer a complete historical record of the subject's legislation, which in any case dates back to 1857, but simply (using the legal texts) to detect the degree of development which permanent education has achieved in Spain from 1970, in which year the reform was initiated, up to the present time.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL LAWS, DECREES, ORDERS AND RESOLUTIONS ON PERMANENT EDUCATION


Decree 2459/1970 of 22nd August, on the timetable for the application of the Educative Reform. (official State Bulletin 5.9.70)

Order of 23rd October 1970 by which the Commissions charged with the implementation of the plan for the realisation of intensive courses for the securing (by workers older than 14 years) of the Certificate of Primary Studies prepared by the Trade Union Organisation were set up. (official State Bulletin 11.9.70)

1971: Decree 147/1971 of 28th January which reorganises the Ministry of Education and Science (official State Bulletin 5.2.71)

Order of 13th February 1971 by which completion is given to what was established in the third last provision of the Decree 147/1971 of 28th January. (official State Bulletin 15.2.71)

Decree 1106/1971 of 6th May, by which a Directing Commission is established for the introduction of long distance university education. (official State Bulletin 1.6.71)

Order of 8th May 1971 by which the securing of the title of graduated scholar for those over 14 is regulated. (official State Bulletin 27.5.71)

Order of 26th May 1971 by which access to university studies by those over 25 years is regulated. (official State Bulletin 2.6.71)

Order of 26th May 1971 by which an assessment committee for the undertaking of necessary activities for the formation and improvement of teachers is set up. (official State Bulletin 26.6.71)
Resolution of 26th June 1971 on the norms for the securing of the title 'graduated scholar' or in other cases, the certificate of Scholarly. (official State Bulletin 13.7.71)

Order of 7th July 1971 by which Decree 147/1971 of 28th January where by the Ministry of Education and Science was reorganised is developed. (official State Bulletin 13.7.71)

Order of 31st August authorising, experimentally, the introduction of education for Professional Formation of 1st and 2nd levels for the following academic year. (official State Bulletin 16.9.71)

Order of 8th September 1971 providing the plan of action for evening studies towards the Bachillerato for workers in the academic year 1971-72. (official State Bulletin 18.10.71)


Order of 30th September 1971 regulating the organisation, composition, and functioning of the National Commission of Educative Promotion. (official State Bulletin 20.10.71)


Order of 29th February 1972 about the restructuring of capacitation courses in youth activities in free-time organised by the National Delegations of Youth and Feminine sections. (official State organised Bulletin 7.4.72)

Decree of 15th June 1972 on the reorganisation of the Ministry of Labour.

Order of 23rd June 1972 on the reorganisation of the Ministry of Labour.

Resolution of 25th June 1972 on the organisation of courses of professional formation for those over 40 years of age.

Resolution of 26th June 1972 on the organisation of courses for the professional promotion of workers.

Resolution of 26th June 1972 on the convoking of assistance for Superior Studies for workers over 25 years of age.

Order of 20th July 1972 whereby admission of 'Maestros' into any University faculty is established. (official State Bulletin 10.10.72)

Order of 4th August 1972 regulating permanent adult education equivalent to the first level of Professional Formation (official State Bulletin 14.8.72)

Decree 2310/1972 of 18th August creating the National University of long distance education (official State Bulletin 9.9.72)

Order of 11th September 1972 on the regulation of education of adults equivalent to the General Basic Education. (official State Bulletin 20.9.72)


**Decree 3090/1972** of 2nd November on the Politics of Employment, indicating the means of Professional promotion arranged by the General Direction of Social Promotion and applicable to workers lacking programmes.

**Order** of 13th December 1972 creating a Regional Centre dependent on the National long distance Education University in Barcelona. (official State Bulletin 13.3.73)

**Order** of 14th December 1972 approving the study plan of the National long distance Education University for the first year of it functioning. (official State Bulletin 26.12.72)

**Order** of 18th December 1972 regulating the courses of Pre-formation in general or specific culture and the complementary expenses of the courses of Professional Promotion for unemployed workers. (official State Bulletin 2.2.73)

**Order** of 21st December 1972 determining that the National Institute of long distance Intermediate Education should become dependent on the National University of long distance Education. (official State Bulletin 5.2.73)

**1973 Order** of 12th January 1973 creating a Regional Centre dependent on the National University of long distance education based on Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (official State Bulletin 6.2.73)

**Decree 222/1973** of 15th February on the Concession to certain courses of the programme for Workers' Professional Promotion of first level Professional Formation Status. (official State Bulletin 17.2.73)

**Order** of 20th February 1973 creating a Regional Centre dependent on the National University of long distance Education based on Pontevedra. (official State Bulletin 13.3.73)

**Order** of 21st February 1973 creating a Regional Centre dependent on the National University of long distance Education based on Cadiz. (official State Bulletin 13.3.73)

**Decree 507/1973** of 15th March on the concession to certain courses for adults offered in Trade Union Centres of Professional Formation of the Status of First Level Professional Formation. (official State Bulletin 26.3.73)

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**Tabular resume of permanent education provisions: 1970-1973**

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From a simple visual analysis of the table one clearly sees the progressive interest and importance which permanent education has for Spanish educational authorities, while it is introduced, developed and encouraged according to the guiding principles of the General Law of Education.

REALITIES

Thanks to the modern focus of the Spanish educative system on the conception of education as an integral and permanent whole, and on the adequate functioning of the legislative machinery, it has been possible to implement new investigations and experiments in the field of the permanent education of adults, some of which have already crystallized into fruitful realities. Among these, those worthy of mention for the importance they have had, or continue to have, in the social and educative context of the country, are examined below.

(A) Cultural Missions

These have a long tradition, having appeared for the first time in 1907 when the Junta for the Encouragement of National Education was created. They were revitalised and brought up to date by the Decree of 29th May, 1931 which instituted the sponsorship of the Pedagogic Missions. Subsequently, in 1942, the Missions were incorporated into the 'San Jose de Calasanz Institute' of Pedagogy, of which they formed part until 1954 when the Commissariat of Cultural Extension was constituted. This new organism, with its uncertain orientation, imposed on the Missions a complementary function in the cultural activity of the school and fundamental education. From that time the missions languished progressively. While the economic and cultural levels of the country have increased the missions eventually disappeared as such in 1960, being replaced by the Regional and Local Cultural Centres which have experienced difficulties due to inadequate financial support. Although they are not strictly cultural missions, we include the Mobile Cultural Extensions Units for Women, basically orientated towards raising the cultural level and domestic skills of the country woman, and the short courses organised by the agencies of the Service for Agrarian Extension of the Ministry of Agriculture to improve the technical farming ability of the men in the country.

(B) Cultural Institutes

By the decree of 10th February 1956 (official State Bulletin 29.2.56) Cultural Institutes were created in the Provincial capitals and by the decree of 8th March 1957 (official State Bulletin 25.3.57) the Municipal Culture Institutes were founded as institutions dependent on the Ministry of Education and Science, through the General Directory of Archives and Libraries, and the municipality in which they are situated.
Cultural Institutes are institutions whose principal aim is the cultural formation of the citizen. At the same time they facilitate the achievement of the specific objectives of the different cultural entities and associations they embrace. They undertake a task of cultural extension by means of conferences, courses, exhibitions, concerts, recitals, experimental theatre, educative film-shows, cultural publications, etc. They have as their fundamental nucleus the Municipal Public Libraries, sometimes complemented by the archives and the museum. These act as coordination centres for all those local cultural organisms and entities which seek and obtain permission to form part of them. The function and success of the institutes is variable and depends to a large extent on the Administrators. Recently they have been extended throughout the country up to the point where all provincial capitals and towns of a certain importance have one such institution of cultural diffusion. Finally in the small rural communities which depend on the Ministry of Information and Tourism, a valuable cultural function is performed by the Tele-clubs with their television sets and modest libraries.

(C) Permanent education of adults

The order of 11th September 1972 about the control of the permanent education of adults equivalent to the General Basic Education, and that of 4th August whereby the permanent education of adults equivalent to the First Level of Professional Formation is regulated, are still only at an early stage of implementation. Both these forms of education are being pursued in centres of permanent education of an experimental nature which were created for that purpose, and in some of the existing Centres of Intermediate and General Basic Education, and of Professional Formation which have obtained the authorisation of the Ministry. Courses are compatible with the working day of the pupils and are adapted to their needs, having a variable duration and content. As regards the plan of evening studies for the Bachillerato for the working population, this is offered in the majority of National Institutes of Intermediate Education and in many other previously authorised non-state centres.

(D) Rapid Professional Formation Courses (F.P.A.)

The Trade Union Organisation initiated, through the Centres of Rapid Professional Formation, the professional formation of adults, when, by the Decree of the 18th October 1957 the Trade Union office of F.P.A. was established. At the present time it is fulfilling an important job of social promotion in this field, not only in centres specified for F.P.A., but also in the remaining branches of the Trade Union Professional Formation foundation.

At present, and with prior agreement between the Ministries of Trade Union Relations and Education and Science, certain courses of F.P.A. enjoy the function of professional formation at the first level (Decree 507/1973, of 15th March). F.P.A. centres are scattered all over the country, the last one approved
being the Seville one with a grant of 50 million pesetas for its construction and establishment. The courses offered in these centres are of variable duration and they revolve around the most diverse labour specialities. They prepare the worker in a short period of time to find a job worthy of his vocation and aptitudes.

(E) Workers' Professional Promotion Courses (P.P.O)

The Ministry of Labour instituted the programme of P.P.O. within the General Direction of Social Promotion in 1964, in close relationship with the Labour Universities, to answer the challenge, in the fields of formation and professional renovation, brought about by economic and social development. The linking programme evolved, from the year 1969-70, towards a system of permanent education.

At present, the National Plan for the Professional Promotion of adult workers, in the hands of the Ministry of Labour, has as its objective the professional promotion of the adult worker by means of qualification, improvement, or professional reconversion, in line with an immediate policy of work and social promotion. To reach this stated objective, the Armed Forces, especially the Army, collaborate with the P.P.O. These collaborative courses are termed Professional Promotion of the Army (P.P.E.) and they guarantee the professional formation of more than 15,000 workers annually. Furthermore, in the National Plan for the Professional Promotion of adults nearly a thousand formation centres collaborate. These are distributed all over the country and depend on official bodies, Trade Union Organisations, the Church, and private companies. These courses are under the advice, coordination, and control of the P.P.O. and are known as P.P.T. courses (Professional Promotion of Workers).

P.P.O. courses are offered in two types of centre: (a) *Mobile* – composed of two monitors which are installed in an assigned provisional location and in their own mobile huts. These centres house a maximum of twenty students. (b) *Immobile* – due to the increase in technical level of the courses, a fixed system of professional formation has become necessary. Within the National Plan for the Professional Formation of Adults 125,075 workers received training in 1971. In 1972 the number rose to 176,377. Certain courses of the P.P.O. gave linked up with the First Level of Professional Formation, in line with the Decree number 222/1973 of the 15th February.

(F) Long-distance National Institute of Intermediate Education

The General Law of Education took up the possibility of long-distance education in a wide and forward-looking way, specifically in articles 47 and 90. Making use of the previous experience of the Radio Bachillerato, the long-distance National Institute of Intermediate Education was instituted with the aim
of linking, unifying, and controlling the student population who cannot attend
colleges although they wish to continue their Bachillerato studies. The teaching
and control of output is accomplished by the use of radio in conjunction with
postal communications. The programmes of Radio ECCA of Las Palmas de
Gran Canaria enjoy a merited prestige in the national territory.

With the aim of unifying efforts and most beneficially utilising the personnel
and technical means at its disposal, the long distance National Institute of
Intermediate Education has become dependent upon the long distance National
University with the Order of 21st December, 1972.

(G) Long-distance National University

This institution (UNED) was foreseen in the Third Plan of Development and
was founded by the Decree of 18th August, 1972 and completed by that of 26th
December, by which the study plan for the first year of operation was approved.
In principle UNED is limited to two specialities; Philosophy and Letters, and
Law.

UNED has its centre in Madrid but possesses various regional centres. The
creation of UNED answered the need for the democratisation of education at all
levels. The immediate aim of its establishment is to “facilitate access to higher
education for all those who, through reasons of residence, working obligations, or
any other, cannot attend the university site”.9

The high number of applications for matriculation received before January 1st
1973 (6,237 applicants for Philosophy and Letters, and 1922 applicants for Law)
from all parts of the country reveals the success achieved by UNED.

To satisfy the educational demands of such a dispersal of students five regional
centres have been installed up to the present time, in Las Palmas de Gran
Canaria, Barcelona, Pontevedra, Cadiz, and Cervera. In addition, there are ten
teaching teams (one for each subject taught) as well as another special team
whose task it is to prepare the texts for the following course. The academic year is
of nine months duration (January 1st - September 30th) and is divided into three
terms, the first two being theoretical, and the summer term practical.

At the time of writing (May 1973) the first tests of direct evolution are taking
place simultaneously in the central and regional areas, while the teachers and
pupils are holding parties to socialise and exchange impressions about the first
part of the course. For a fuller and more detailed report on UNED, the latest
institutional innovation of the Spanish education system, the reader who may be
interested is referred to Jaime Serremona’s documented work “Todo Sobre la
Universidad Nacional de Educacion a Distancia” (Everything about the long-
distance National University) which appeared in Didascalia, February 1973 (pp.
13-33).
In addition to the institutions briefly described which have a real existence and a specific mission in the permanent education of adults, the Spanish education system presents a wide band of equivalents, back-ups, and sandwich courses which give it a flexibility and unity proper to modern educative systems, inspired by a concept of orientation as a task of permanency for all.

**PROSPECTS**

Having seen the efforts made up to now in the field of permanent education, we can detect a definite willingness to put the principles into practice. The desire for improvement manifests itself not only in the success achieved in these three years of educational reform, but also in the anxiety of the authorities to obtain an educative system which would satisfy the demands of social promotion, technological progress and personal readaptation imposed by the accelerated changes in present day society. Such anxieties produced the International Seminar for Educational Prospects held in Madrid in April, 1971, and the Cuenca Meeting on "Special Permanent Education and Educative Modes", sponsored by the General Direction of Professional Formation and Educative Extension during the month of February 1972.

Taking the successes achieved and the new educational orientations resulting from the meetings in Madrid and Cuenca as a basis, we can observe the necessity of extending the educational system in time and place, moving beyond the limitations of formal institutes and the traditional chronological difficulties. However, despite the modernity of the Spanish Education System, the discrepancy between the educational needs of present day society and what the system can offer is manifest. To satisfy these needs, costly efforts at readaptation are needed, taking into account not only the present demand, but, with an eye on the future, the maintenance of an open system to face up successfully to the predictable, and not so predictable, transformations afoot.

A first step has been taken in the rational and effective application of the concept of permanent education, as defined at the beginning of this work, a step towards an objective much wider than the mere adaptation of the educative system to the immediate necessities, lending more attention and efforts to the improvement and control of adult education. The aim of the development of permanent education will be the integration of formal educational institutions already existing, with institutions which are not specifically educational, creating a continuous educational medium capable of harmonising educational, labour and recreational activities so that any individual, of any age, may undergo a permanent process of education.

This new focus gives a more dynamic and pluralist sense to the educative process, facilitating the adjustment of educational means to the most diverse of situations in which the learner can find himself. All this requires the mobilisation and coordination of multiple economic and human resources, bearing in mind the
relations which education is going to have with the work and recreation of the learners.

Up to the present in Spain, the state guarantees a standard of general basic education and professional formation at the first level, for all. It is within the bounds of reason to think that, with education evolving as it is, within a none-too-distant future the state will be depending on permanent education for all and at all levels, which would imply that we Spaniards would have the duty of improving ourselves consistently, throughout our lives. This is a social necessity that is beginning to assert itself and which will lead us progressively to the democratization, decentralization, and deconcentration of education.

CONCLUSION

The introduction of permanent education for all Spaniards is an urgent necessity. However, the installation of a system of permanent education demands, as we have seen, the conversion of the existing system, a transformation which ought to be achieved, for optimum efficiency at the same pace as social change and technological progress. This "counter reformation" ought to be progressive, seeking the maximum benefit from the available resources, in order to avoid the economic strangulation of the country. On the other hand, the tendency will be to reduce the number of pupils in the traditional sense of the term and to substitute for them a permanent education in answer to the needs of daily life.

So, an education structured in such a way that, on the one hand, it would be intimately linked to the discontinuous evolution of individuals, and, on the other, would be adequate for the imperative demands of the constant change we are submitted to, allows well for the introduction of appropriate systems of "recyclage" without undue difficulties. This presupposes, on the part of the individual, the early awakening of a personal and professional responsibility which, in organisational terms, would imply the abandonment of the old models of the protective, paternalistic, closed schools, centred on the schoolmaster and preparing the pupils for life, and their replacement by schools without walls; open, democratic, and motivational, centred on the pupil, and helping him to live every moment of his life to the full.

NOTES


3) T. Hüsén "Life-long learning in the educative society", International Review of Applied Psychology vol. 17, no. 2. p. 87 says: "In my opinion educative planning in modern society ought to be founded on the concept of permanent education".


9) Decree 2310/1972 18th August creating long-distance National University (official State Bulletin 9.9.72)
RECURRENT AND ADULT EDUCATION: EXPECTATIONS AND REALITIES

by R. Jackson (Schools Council, London)

Introduction

In recent times there have been many technological, economic, social and moral changes. Also the failure of attempts to ensure equality of educational opportunity for all pupils and the inability of traditional secondary school programmes to meet the needs of the mass of the pupils has been recognised. All these factors have led to demands for an abolition of educational institutions or at least a radical reform of both institutions and processes. One of the more radical themes of educational change is that of recurrent education.

The concept refers to the re-organisation of the traditional educational practices, processes, and curriculum content in a way which will allow the individual to select and distribute his educational experiences over key and appropriate stages of his life. Essentially the life stages of preparation, work and retirement should not be regarded as watertight compartments. Neither should the education of an individual be concentrated in the initial preparatory stage. Rather education, appropriate to the changing needs of the individual, should be available throughout the whole of his life.

One of the first references to this type of education was made in England as far back as 1919. Internationally, the concept of life-long integrated education was first expressed in the 1965 Conference of Ministers of Education of member-states of the Council of Europe. A resolution, accepted by the Conference, recommended that a study of education be made:

... with particular reference to the further education associated with the training of apprentices and young workers and to problems of lifelong education ...

The idea was also adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1966 and so became part of UNESCO’s educational and social policy. In June 1967 the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe issued a statement in which they stressed the need for member-states to give priority “to the implementation of the concept of life-long education in the forward-looking perspective of Europe 20 years ahead...”.

These ideas have their parallels in the field of adult education. The impact of recurrent education is however much greater, since it implies root and branch re-organisation of the various national educational systems with the result that individuals will find it easier to move vertically or laterally from one formal course
or level to another. Further, the concept entails the co-ordination of the work of formal and informal educational institutions (e.g., the Press and the television networks). Inevitably, recurrent education implies a radical reform of the organisation, structure and curriculum content of all forms of education within society.

The object would be to integrate the school and college into the life of the local community. Educational provision would be geared to leisure and working hours, to the trend and content of radio and television programmes and to the encouragement of study leave for workers.

An analysis will be made in Part 1 of recurrent and adult education in terms of enrolment figures in major regions of the world, in developing territories and in selected nations. In Part 2 national and group attitudes towards, and expectations of, recurrent and adult education will be examined.

1. The Logistics of Recurrent and Adult Education

a). Enrolments of all Levels of Education: Major World Regions

Table 1 compares enrolment figures for 1960/1 and 1967/8 broken down to show major regions of the world and educational level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Primary 1960/1</th>
<th>Index 1960/1</th>
<th>Secondary 1960/1</th>
<th>Index 1960/1</th>
<th>Tertiary 1960/1</th>
<th>Index 1960/1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World Total*</td>
<td>63% 68%</td>
<td>108 32%</td>
<td>39% 122</td>
<td>5.9% 10.1%</td>
<td>172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>34 40</td>
<td>118 12</td>
<td>15 125</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.3 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>98 98</td>
<td>100 90</td>
<td>92 102</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>44.5 187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>60 75</td>
<td>122 26</td>
<td>35 134</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.0 155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>50 55</td>
<td>110 22</td>
<td>30 136</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.7 182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe &amp; USSR</td>
<td>96 97</td>
<td>102 57</td>
<td>65 148</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>16.7 192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>95 95</td>
<td>100 50</td>
<td>60 120</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>15.0 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab States**</td>
<td>38 50</td>
<td>132 16</td>
<td>25 156</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.1 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Australian Federal Government 1973.4

* Not including mainland China, N. Korea or N. Vietnam.
** Arab States are also included in the figures for Asia and Africa.
It does not follow, of course, from the increases in the enrolments at each level that national governments have accepted the principle of recurrent education. Nevertheless it is interesting to note that the figures not only indicate a world wide expansion of education throughout the 1960's but that the expansion in the tertiary levels was proportionately greater than in the primary and secondary stages. The figures for tertiary levels are restricted to the 20-24 years age group but include both students in higher and adult education institutions. This development may be significant since the expansion of enrolments in the third level of education has been interpreted in one Council of Europe publication as ‘... helping, albeit modestly, to prepare the way for the larger concept of life-long education ...’ It may be noted that areas which were relatively undeveloped industrially (such as Africa, South America, Asia and the Arab States) have tended to expand at all levels of education. In North America, Europe, the USSR, and Oceania, the critical area for expansion was the tertiary sector. A number of these areas already have extensive and well-developed primary and secondary school systems and it may be that these will be the first to translate the principles of recurrent education into effective action.

b) Adult and Recurrent Education in Developing Territories

This does not mean that developing territories are unable or unwilling to think or act in terms of recurrent education. Perhaps the best expression of the commitment of developing territories to the theme of this paper is shown by their efforts to reduce illiteracy. Lengrand makes this point in the following quotation:

... Literacy teaching provides one of the best illustrations of the soundness of the concept of lifelong education ... an adult acquiring functional literacy is one called upon to take an active part in the transformations of the structures and living conditions of the world in which he has his place in terms of the general programmes of development of society and of the political objectives which are bound up with the building of the nation. He thus takes up a position within the collective reality of a collective evolution which both governs and sustains the demands of his own development as an individual ... The objectives of lifelong education accordingly have solid roots in all actions related to a functional view of literacy teaching, and this conclusion is highly favourable to the theses of life-long education ...

The changes in the literacy rates in various areas of the world are shown in Table 2 which indicates that one in every three adults (about two fifths of the women and one quarter of the men) in the world are illiterate. The 'rate of improvement' in literacy is greatest in areas where enrolments are lowest in the primary and secondary sectors and where as a consequence illiteracy rates are the highest. These areas are Latin America, Asia, the Arab States and Africa. It may be assumed that many of the individuals concerned will have achieved literacy by attending adult classes. Inevitably these classes will form a nucleus around which a more extensive system of recurrent education may be built. Lengrand puts it this way;

"... if literacy is to fulfil its role, fully and effectively, it appears inevitable that it will build up even close bonds and relations with the theory and practice of life-long education as applied to adults ..."
Table 2 Adult Literacy around 1960 and 1970 (in thousands).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adult Population 15 years +</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adult Population 15 years +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Total*</td>
<td>1,870,000</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>2,504,000</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>153,000</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>194,000</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>136,000</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>161,000</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>123,000</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>163,000</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>982,000</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>1,237,000</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe and USSR</td>
<td>464,000</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>521,000</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>10,600</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab States**</td>
<td>52,700</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>68,300</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Not including mainland China, N. Korea or N. Vietnam.
** The Arab States are also included in the figures for Asia and Africa.

c) Recurrent and Adult Education in Selected Countries

This section considers in more detail the rate of change of enrolments in secondary, university and adult education during the first part of the 1960's. This is done in table 3 which compares

(a) enrolments in secondary, university and adult education in 1961/2 and 1965/6

(b) percentage of total population in education of all kinds in 1961/2 and 1965/6 for eight countries taken from different world regions and set out according to their gross product (per capita).

Table 3 Changes in Enrolments and Percentage of Total Population in Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>GDP/Capita 1972</th>
<th>Secondary Level 61/2</th>
<th>Index 62/6</th>
<th>University 61/2</th>
<th>Index 62/6</th>
<th>Adult Education 61/2</th>
<th>Index 62/6</th>
<th>% of Total Population 61/2</th>
<th>65/6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>£1651</td>
<td>1411</td>
<td>1584</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>£1314</td>
<td>2600</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>£1174</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>£596</td>
<td>6700</td>
<td>8200</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>2639</td>
<td>3860</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>3274</td>
<td>4845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>£304</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>£66</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>9178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>£30</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all countries an expansion of enrolment figures was noted in all categories mentioned. Only in two countries of the eight selected (France and Argentina) did the expansion of adult education fail to outstrip the expansion of the provision of secondary education and in both cases the differences were minimal. However, the proportionate expansion of university was greater than that of adult education in a larger number of countries — namely, France, Argentina, Ethiopia and Ceylon. In countries where fairly large numbers are involved (e.g., France and Australia) it would appear that the rapid expansion of the university sector diverts resources from other sectors and adult education is likely to suffer most as a consequence of this. The converse applies to Turkey where a limited expansion of university entrants may have left a greater proportion of the nation's resources for use in the adult education sector.

The proportion of the total population following education courses in 1965/6 ranges from 3.5% (Ethiopia) to 33.0% (Canada). Not surprisingly Canada is one of the richest and Ethiopia one of the world's poorest nations in terms of gross national product (per capita). What is noteworthy is the proportions of the total populations following formal education courses. In six of the eight countries (Australia, USSR, France, Argentina, Turkey and Ceylon) the proportions are 17.4% to 28.2% a range of 11%. Four of the countries concerned (Australia, USSR, France, Argentina) fall within a range of 4%. Only at the opposite poles of the continuum of wealth does the proportion of the national population in receipt of education exceed 30% or fall below 15%.

2. National Attitudes to Recurrent Education

The previous discussion has been limited to an analysis of international aspirations in the field of recurrent education with an examination of the realities of the situation insomuch as these may be expressed (albeit crudely) in terms of enrolment figures. A study will now be made of three reports on adult education which will be used as an index of national aspirations in England, the USA and Canada. Then the expectations of secondary school students in one country (England) and the attitude of adults in another (USA) will be considered.

a) Recurrent Education in England

It is known that strenuous efforts have been made in England to introduce a common system of secondary education by means of the comprehensive school. Attempts have also been made to modify the curriculum in primary and secondary schools through the projects inspired by the Schools Council and the Nuffield Foundation. New and more flexible systems of assessing the work of secondary school pupils have been adopted (e.g. the Certificate of Secondary Education) and part-time study for young workers has been introduced on a large scale. At the tertiary level the new Open University has created opportunities for advanced studies for those adults who would not normally be eligible or able to
take the traditional full-time university degree course. Further in areas of relative deprivation special funds have been set aside so that children might reap the benefit of 'positive discrimination'. In such areas the idea of a community school has been mooted. Here the school staff would co-ordinate their activities with those of the parents, the factory, the public house and the bingo hall. Societal rather narrowly-based examination goals would be the objective of the school and the curriculum would be of necessity orientated to these. The teacher would be expected to act as an innovator and as a consultant rather than as a custodian of traditional values and as a censor of moral behaviour. Such a school would be ready to provide education for all the community — both children and adults. Another function of the school would be the promotion of community development based on community education and community participation. A number of experiments described are to be found operating in Canada, the USA and Europe, especially in the field of technical education. More germane to the theme of recurrent education has been the publication of the Russell Report in April 1973.

The Report investigated 'the provision of non-vocational education' and made recommendations for its future development in England and Wales. No specific definition of non-vocational education was forthcoming from the document though the Committee did stress that "...in practice there is a spectrum called further education which at one end is clearly vocational and at the other is personal, social, cultural and non-vocational ..." The difficulty faced by the Committee clearly underlined the problems of enumeration and evaluation in the field of recurrent education. The Report excluded, for example, the major areas of higher, technical and art education. Further it ignored the educational provision made by a vast range of agencies such as the mass media:

... the principal adult education force in Britain today may well be the general television output of the British Broadcasting Corporation and Independent Television (as distinct from their expressly educational work); yet we are able to do more than note this in passing ...

In brief the report recommended that the number of students in adult education should double (two to four million) over the next seven years, that full time staff should be increased from 800 to 4000 and part-time staff from 76,000 to 100,000 or 125,000 over the same period. Total spending on adult education would be increased by over 137% between 1969 and 1980

The significance of the report is the wholehearted acceptance of the principle of recurrent education — a theme which cannot be ignored by future official investigating commissions:

Our vision is of a comprehensive and flexible system of adult education, broad enough to meet the whole range of educational needs of the adult in our society. It must therefore be integrated with all other sectors of the educational system but at the same time firmly rooted in the active life of the communities; and it must be readily accessible to all who need it, whatever their means or circumstances. Only in such terms can we conceive of education as a process continuing throughout life ...
b) Recurrent Education in the United States

Recurrent education has been the theme of the first report of its kind to be issued in the USA. After two years' investigation The Commission on Strategies of Non-Traditional Education published its findings. The Gould Commission (for such was its name) stressed that the main recommendation they had to offer was that full educational opportunity should be made "realistically available and feasible" for all those who wanted and might benefit from it. From this 'social demand' position for educational provision the Gould Commission made 57 other specific proposals. These include a concentration on "service to the learner" rather than the provision of college courses specifically aimed at national diplomas and degrees. Further new teaching procedures, including a more sophisticated use of educational technology, the expansion of information and guidance services and the re-assessment of evaluation procedures were all recommended. Non-traditional programmes should thus be developed not to displace, but to supplement, existing and traditional approaches. The whole structure of the formal and informal education system should be integrated as far as possible and both should co-operate with the local and regional communities they serve. From such co-operation with the "alternate educational entities" ... new and more diverse educational possibilities in programme and structure may come into being."

In such ways, the report goes on:

... the entire span of years of an individual from completion of secondary school to death would be regarded as a single period of time. Every individual would receive as a right a pre-determined number of dollar-credits which he could use up immediately for college, could defer for later use, or could balance out as his needs required for initial and deferred education ...

Indeed the Gould Commission not only recommended the provision of a system of recurrent education but recognised that it is already manifest within the educational systems of the United States and that "... all signs indicate it will increase, and if developed wisely, will flourish ... (since) ... lifelong learning, continuing and concurrent, is a concept that has a new appropriateness today and that requires a new pattern of support ..."

Practical examples of institutions which are influenced by recurrent education principles are New York's Empire State College, the California extended university scheme and the 'University Without Walls' experiments which are being initiated throughout the country.

c) Recurrent Education in Ontario, Canada

Published about the same time as the English and American reports quoted was one by the Commission on Post-Secondary Education, Ontario. Here again the principle of recurrent education powerfully influenced the proposals for the
Commission reported:

... post-secondary education must be seen as a need of the people — of individuals, of groups, and of the entire community. The institutions, programmes, the formal and informal manifestations of the learning process have relevance only as they relate to and involve the members of the society that maintains them ...

Recurrent education was to become a reality. The Commission foresaw the need for the creation of a new government financed form of institution — one diverse in its functions and programmes, flexible in its modes and standards and subject to some type of public control. Such an institution would co-operate closely with museums, libraries and art galleries, all of which would act as participants in the educational process. Master-minding the whole system would be the Open Academy which would help create new courses, encourage the adoptions of new teaching techniques, co-operate with existing institutions of learning and make their resources available to the mass of adults. The Open Academy would also utilise opportunities for providing study groups in factories, clubs, school and village halls, hospitals, store fronts, libraries and the like.

3. Expectations

Some indications of the expectations of international and national bodies with regard to the objectives of recurrent education and the ways in which this is being implemented have been attempted above. If recurrent education means anything, however, it is concerned with the education of the mass of the populations of the countries concerned. What does the bulk of the population want of recurrent education? How congruent are these wants with what is recommended by the educational experts?

Two case studies will be cited. The first will be of secondary school pupils about to leave school in England and the second with American adults.

a) Expectations in England

A group of 15 year old school leavers were asked how school had helped them. From a large number of alternatives the boys thought the following the most important. (The girls had similar attitudes):

- the school helped them get a good job (86%)
- the school taught them things which would be useful in a job (81%)
- the school taught them about wages and taxes (78%)
- the school taught them about different jobs (74%)

During the same survey teachers were asked what they considered the purposes of the school to be. Prominence was given to the development of the children’s

- Personality and character (96%)
- general speech (90%)
independence (90%) and confidence (87%)

The pupils (and incidentally their parents) wanted different things compared with their teachers. The majority of pupils had vocational expectations of the work they did in school while the teachers thought the school served the function of assisting the personal development of the pupils.

What courses did these fifteen year old school leavers want to follow when they left school? Most of the boys (66%) and girls (70%) did not intend to follow a formal education course. The rest chose vocational courses (17% boys, 17% girls), or general education courses (15% boys, 9% girls) and recreational courses (2% boys, 4% girls).

b) Expectations in USA

In the United States the Gould Commission found that three quarters of these American adults who were not at university wanted to follow study courses of some kind. Of these, only 8.5% wanted to follow a four year university course. The rest wanted the courses indicated in Table 4 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. What Adults would like to study (USA, 1971)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational subjects (Agriculture and farming, engineering, teacher training, commercial skills, etc.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies and Recreation (sport, travel, craft etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home and Family (Home decorating, cooking, sewing, gardening).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal development (physical fitness, psychology, self-development etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General education (basic education, foreign languages, general and social sciences, humanities etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Affairs (citizenship, community problems, the environment).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Studies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gould Commission 1973.20

It is evident that governments who wish to expand the development of recurrent education must take account of the needs of the mass of the population. In this sense the importance of vocational, as compared with general and cultural
education, must not be underestimated. Both the surveys quoted underline the
importance of vocational education in the expectations of many adolescents and
adults.

CONCLUSION

Because recurrent education is concerned with the broad mass of the
population, and not with an intellectual elite, its advocation may be said to
represent a major advance in attempts to democratise national systems of
education.

The early aspirations of international organisations are now receiving
considerable support from the recommendations of official and semi-official
bodies in national systems of education.

The general expansion of the tertiary sector of education, particularly the
provision of non-university education, provides further evidence of the acceptance
of some aspects of recurrent education by national governments.

Recurrent education is probably manifest in the expansion of
literacy/vocational education in developing territories and of vocational/cultural
education in more developed areas.

There may be fundamental differences between the expectations of course
providers and course users.21 The former see the benefits mainly in socio-cultural
while the latter see them mainly in vocational terms.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

2) Recurrent Education is similar to 'life-long integrated education' or 'Permanent education' but differs by its
emphasis on alternation between education and other activities (see D. Kallen & J. Bengtsson (1973) Recurrent
Education: A Strategy for Lifelong Education (OECD) p.6. Recurrent Education differs from Adult Education
since the latter does not necessarily entail a radical change in the educational system or process. Similarly it
differs from Continued Education since the latter is considered «... a bridge between basic education and taking
up a job on one hand and adult education on the other ...» see E. W. Sudale (1969) Continued Education
(Council for Cultural Co-operation, Council of Europe, Strasbourg) p.7 in which he quotes the resolution of The
Third Conference of Ministers taken in Rome 1962.
3) Sudale op. cit. p.113.
quoting UNESCO figures. For a critical appraisal of adult education 'figures' see J. Lowe (1971) Continuing
Education in CESE Life & Work Reading Univ. p.36 ff.
5) Sudale op. cit. p.112 ff.
7) Australian Federal Government op. cit.
8) Lengrand op. cit. p.86.
September 25th 1972 p.XII.
11) For a comparative approach to 'positive discrimination' see A. Little & C. Smith (1972) Strategies of
Compensation (OECD).
12) E. Midwinter (1972) in Education and the Urban Crisis (London, Encyclopedia Britannica International)
p.1ff. and J. A. Simpson (1969) Permanent Education and Community Development (Strasbourg, Council of
Europe).
13) Examples include the ultimate or 'polytechnic' year in Austrian schools aimed at consolidating basic education and preparing the students for adult and occupational life, the Rodovre experiment in Denmark, the 'Werkjahr' experiment in Canton Bern, Switzerland, the releasing of students from general to vocational education in Hesse, West Germany, the day release provisions of the Industrial Training Act 1964 which allows young workers to continue their education in England and US experimental schools such as the 'Skyline Center', Dallas, Texas.

15) Russell op. cit. para. 5.
16) ibid. para. 3.
20) Gould op. cit.