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**CHANGES IN STRUCTURE
AND ACCESS TO
POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION
IN
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES**

**WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
SCOTLAND AND DENMARK**

TREVOR E. CORNER

**Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**University of Glasgow
November 1991**

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SECTION I

The research aims that guided this study's general development, and the limitations that these imposed, are given in chapter one. Some important changes in post-war European education are outlined and references made to the sections of the study where these perspective are amplified further. A short critical review is given of the contribution of comparative analysis in the study of educational systems and the use of case studies in the interpretation of general educational change.

SECTION II

Chapter two illustrates European cultural and social patterns and some implications that arise within education. It examines this cultural mosaic through linguistic and social variables because of the fundamental importance these have for learning and education. Other dimensions referred to are regionalism, centre-periphery models, cultural dominance, minority rights and mobility.

The Arfe Report and other analyses of the diversity of European culture and educational provisions set important trends. After a review of European cultural and regional minorities, it is proposed that educational change in contemporary Europe should recognise four dimensions: 1) contributions of small education systems, 2) indigenous regional minorities, 3) immigrant minorities from ex-colonised countries requiring new types of education, and 4) the fragile, but growing, perception of Europe as a holistic entity.

Chapter three illustrates the changing role of post-compulsory education by analysing the reorganisation of education systems in the Benelux countries and other small countries in Europe. The Benelux countries have established themselves as important actors in the development towards the European Single Market concept. At the same time, and despite highly complex educational systems, they have been in the forefront of changes in the 'privatisation' of education through market forces, which is interpreted in the study as a search for flexible responses to survival and change. It seems yet to be established whether the market-driven forces, operating at the upper-secondary and higher stages of a country's education system, can carry through permanent changes in European systems. Fundamental to

this is the question of whether mechanistic change entrenched through monetary policy can affect the deeper structures of learning and curricula in the longer term.

SECTION III

Chapter four discusses several themes in Scottish education, especially the historical case for maintaining the 'democratic intellect' as a response to the need for flexible general education. It is proposed that the concept of the 'democratic intellect', which parallels the democratising element of the Danish notion of 'peoples enlightenment', can be accommodated into contemporary education through merging the 'academic' universities and 'vocational' central institutions. The case for more open access is based on comparing developments of selection and choice in Scottish post-compulsory with that of European and American education systems; the evidence presented shows that restricted access is still a dominating force, exercised through the twin notions of 'discipline' and 'disciplines', and controlled through financial policies of centralised governance.

Chapter five introduces Danish education as a part of cultural and economic interchange within the Nordic region. Increasing educational mobility through the activities of the Nordic Council is described and related to the models of mobility established within the European Community.

Through changes in Danish educational policy dating from 1982, a description is given of the transition from education informed by social-democratic values to those of conservative-liberal ideals, dominated by quality in education and based on monetary control of education which has similarities to developments in the Benelux Countries and the United Kingdom.

One of the most important contributions to European education that Denmark has made is the concept of 'popular enlightenment'. The contribution of such a concept has in maintaining Danish educational traditions is discussed in the light of the contemporary policies of 'quality' and 'internationalism'. New routes to higher education through second chance programmes and the broad provision of adult education have maintained the traditions of Danish education, whilst absorbing the tendency to vocationalise and shorten higher education programmes. Overall, and in common with Scottish education, it is suggested that pressures of European market strategies have tended to produce quality control of education rather than quality in education.

SECTION IV

XI

Chapter six elaborates on national approaches to upper-secondary and higher education which differ from country to country, and equivalences, which proved to be a complex and unwieldy approach to international analysis of qualifications during the period 1945-80. After this point, the impetus from international educational change through formal education moved to economically driven reform, and fundamentally changed the approach to international mobility.

Methods that have been used to adjust the process of transfer from upper-secondary to higher education in European countries reveal ways in which the constant search for controls of this important stage of education have been modified over the past 40 years are presented in chapter seven. Further aspects of academic recognition of higher education qualifications, study periods, intermediate and final examinations are touched on. European and international legislation that has affected educational mobility over the past ten years, and is likely to have greater impact in the future, is summarised.

Chapter eight gives a critical review of the ERASMUS, COMETT and LINGUA educational mobility programmes of the European Commission. The chapter suggests that behind the rhetoric of official reports and journal articles, and notwithstanding the increase in mobility achieved, the success relative to educational networks in the New World still has some way to go. Some general and practical suggestions that affected the running of specific examples of ERASMUS and COMETT programmes during the period 1985-90 are given.

SECTION V

The final chapter reviews the main conclusions of the study through three headings: 1) European plurality and education, 2) complexity and educational change, and 3) mobility and European education. Themes of analysis taken from the case studies are the concepts of 'popular enlightenment' and its parallels of the 'democratic intellect' in Scotland and 'enlightenment work' in the Netherlands. Limitations of the application of the concept of quality in education, and its use as a controlling mechanism in European countries and possible centralising force, are proposed. Overall, the argument coming out of the study is not for a common European curriculum, but for the development of European issues that reflect the cultural, linguistic and educational diversity of the continent.

Covering a subject as vast as European education, even when limited to the upper-secondary and higher education sectors, cannot be attempted without help from experts in the field of international and comparative education. Much of the reading and many of the observations for this study have been done whilst at the Department of Education in the University of Glasgow working with the International and Multicultural Unit on European and international research and mobility programmes. Thanks are given to the many colleagues from European universities who participated in these programmes and helped to develop my ideas on international issues.

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Errors, distortions and omissions in interpretation and presentation are the responsibility of the writer.

Section I
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
The European Arena

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1	The Research Aims
1.2	Research Dimensions of the Study
1.3	Comparative Analysis and Research
1.4	Scientific and Humanistic Systems of Education
1.5	European Education: Concepts and Formation
1.6	Case Studies of Small and Medium-sized Countries
1.7	Mobility, Education and International Transfer
1.8	Action Research and European Mobility Programmes
1.9	From Ivory Tower to Market Place
1.10	Summary
Table 1.1	Summary of Research Dimensions
Table 1.2	Taxonomy of 'Strands of Study' in the field of Comparative and International Education
Table 1.3	The Market Economy and the 'Education Economy'

In the middle of the twentieth century, we saw our planet from space for the first time. Historians may eventually find that this vision had a greater impact on thought than did the Copernican revolution of the sixteenth century, which upset the human self-image by revealing that the Earth is not the centre of the universe. From space we see a small and fragile ball dominated not by human activity and edifice but by a pattern of clouds, oceans, greenery, and soils. Humanity's inability to fit its doings into that pattern is changing planetary systems fundamentally. This new reality, from which there is no escape, must be recognized - and managed.

Our Common Future: 1987: p. 1.

1.1 The Research Aims

Minorities in education exist in all forms and guises in the different regions and countries, languages and cultures, structure and curricula, rights and dependencies that exist in the world. The over-riding purpose of this study is to investigate educational change and development in the upper-secondary and higher education systems of western European countries with due regard to their context and cultural environment. This is done, not in a technical way, but through the view that change in education, at least for the foreseeable future, will come about through the balancing of the needs of minority interests in European education as a holistic entity. In the arena of modern Europe, the duality for all its peoples is that they are united by being European and divided by being a member of a nationality, region, language or culture. In few other aspects of life is this diversity in unity shown more clearly than in the process of education.

The study mainly - but not solely - focuses on the countries of the present European Community.⁽¹⁾ Some of the smaller to medium-sized

European countries, as judged by populations and territories, are given closer attention, especially Denmark and Scotland; the Benelux countries are also used to provide appropriate themes and arguments. In addition, comparisons are made with other northern and central European countries as well as North America because it is impossible to ignore the broad scope of international influences when considering change in contemporary education. The first aim of this research is therefore to highlight some international changes in education, with due recognition being given to the small and medium-sized countries of the European Community.

The second aim, within both theoretical and practical frameworks and the experience gained through action research on European educational programmes, is to indicate how educational mobility at the post-compulsory stages of education is capable of affecting, or even creating, an international framework.⁽²⁾ Therefore discussion centres on upper-secondary education, access to higher education, and the process of higher education itself. No section of educational provision stands alone, however, as each level of an educational structure is dependent on the expectations and achievements of those sectors lying before and after. These inter-relationships are important from the point of view of the continuity of learning and the formative development of an international curriculum.

Several different methods of comparative analysis are used in order to tease out some of the important directions of change that have occurred in international education. For example, economic change has profoundly affected public attitudes towards education, especially higher education, in the past ten years. This has, in turn, affected policies of selection, achievement and access at the upper levels of education. In European mobility programmes such as ERASMUS and COMETT, the evidence offered in section IV indicates that change - or resistance to it - is generated as much by vested interests, and outside organisations (enterprises or job opportunity programmes) as by student motivation and teaching organisations. As Gelpi has noted, comparative analyses will not always clarify the changes that occur because vested interests do not necessarily reveal themselves within the strict confines of education.⁽³⁾

In setting out a framework of curricula patterns which they label essentialism, encyclopaedism, polytechnicalism and pragmatism, Holmes

and McLean argue that different national systems exemplify elements of these curriculum theories which affect the transferability of knowledge and educational systems.(4) In addition, when commenting on the slow change of educational practice they suggest that a significant factor in the resistance to change in education is the role of the teachers and professional administrators within the system.

Comparative evidence ... demonstrates how difficult it is to formulate curriculum responses to societal change. Changes brought about in Europe after 1945 when party politicians initiated structural changes increased the need for radical curriculum change. It has not been forthcoming in Western Europe. Curriculum reform has been limited to 1) reordering subject priorities .. 2) reducing the syllabus ... 3) increasing the choices open to students. (5)

Structural changes are often politically motivated but are notoriously difficult to analyse because of the domino effect of change within formal schooling. Changes in teaching styles, syllabus content, options and choices in courses, and subsequently careers within a national framework cause in their turn a topological transformation at the borders of national educational systems.

Until the mid-nineteen eighties, transcultural and international education was rarely given much thought in the policies and curricula of most educational systems. Despite this, one of the proposals of this study is that international forces are important motivations for educational change and would come into clearer focus if a sufficiently broad perspective can be adopted. There are special problems attached to such an approach. It is difficult to clarify who, or what, controls any particular system, or section of a system, when considering education in an international context. Further, in comparison with other sectors of society - trade and commerce, the communications and informatics industries, transportation systems - general education has been left behind in the use of scientific methods, the application of technology and methods of social management. Much of the process of education is still carried forward through a hidden agenda buried deep within national and social interests, which require sensitive and reflective forms of analysis

to understand. (6)

Overall, the influence of education in social and international change has been severely limited by national political interests. The final aim of this research is to question the practical and theoretical limitations of modern education systems in their internationalising effects. This is attempted through the exploration of six research dimensions which are developed below.

1.2 Research Dimensions of the Study

This study has adopted six conceptual dimensions for research, summarised in Table 1.1. These are not necessarily the most important research dimensions in any analysis of international education, but they do throw light on the process of internationalism as it has affected education since the European and World war of 1939-45.

A considerable amount of direct observation and action has been used to inform the theoretical framework. (7) It was felt important in a study of this type to take as broad a view as possible within the confines imposed on the work of any individual researcher. Many theoretical texts in education are unreliable outside the institutional framework within which they have been written because they cannot be related with any degree of confidence to any other situation and context. The importance of empirical observation and experience is thus given its place, where appropriate.

Performance in examinations is generally taken to be an overall indication of educational progress, individually, and within and between systems. In any analysis of the methods of selection for higher education, it needs to be born in mind that examinations are not much better than chance in the selection process. Even within their own framework, examinations have a fragility not always given due credence and, with rare exceptions, there is no control group against which any selected cohort being analysed for educational achievement can be directly compared. Thus no technical sophistication or accurate measurement, predictive power and general validity are necessarily attributed or implied when using national examinations to make comparisons. (8)

1.3 Comparative Analysis and Research

Comparative studies of education systems existed as a recognisable

TABLE 1.1: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH DIMENSIONS

1. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH

- a. Scientific and pluralistic systems of education and their limitations
- b. New interpretations and suggestions for the development of comparative analyses.
- c. Complexity, holism and environmental analyses of educational development.
- d. From separate structures to the 'babushka doll' view of systems analysis

2. EUROPEAN EDUCATION: CONCEPTS AND FORMATION

- a. The complexity of Europe.
- b. Beyond national education systems.
- c. Special attention to ethnic and regional minorities.
- d. Prospects and changes towards a European framework of education.

3. CASE STUDIES - SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED COUNTRIES - SCOTLAND AND DENMARK

- a. Practical and structural changes in post-compulsory education
- b. Studies of the processes of upper secondary education and higher education in Scotland and Denmark.

4. MOBILITY, EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL TRANSFER

- a. Structural change in European higher education
- b. School influences on higher education
- c. Destinations, selection and choices
- d. The pressure points in educational systems where choices and options become acute

5. ACTION RESEARCH AND EUROPEAN MOBILITY PROGRAMMES

- a. Examples of practice in ERASMUS, COMETT and LINGUA programmes.
- b. Procedures of application, construction, coordination and experience of international programmes

6. FROM IVORY TOWER TO MARKET PLACE

- a. Economic accountability and its Limitations
 - b. Grants, loans and fees in post-compulsory education.
 - c. Ways in which systems and participants in education achieve financial sustainability.
-

discipline of study for about 200 years, having their origins in European education. Comparative education (and comparative analyses of other major characteristics of nineteenth century societies) was probably started in its present form by Marc Antoine Jullien de Paris who published a rather neglected treatise of research in 1817.⁽⁹⁾ From about 1930 to the present time, the subject has become an academic subject of study (debates continue as to whether the study is an art form or a discipline) within the universities and teachers' colleges, first in Europe and the United States, and then in two dozen or so countries around the world.⁽¹⁰⁾

The fundamental basis of the comparative analysis of educational systems conventionally assumes, in the first instance, that there are recognisable regional and national processes and boundaries that regulate education. It is certainly the case that national education systems exist, but how they came into being and developed into their modern forms needs interpretation as well as objective observation. Archer has described the cycles of structural conditioning, educational interaction and structural elaboration that seem necessary to describe the nature of centralised and decentralised systems of education. She suggests that all systems of state education develop through 1) a political centre, and 2) connections to many other institutions through the services they provide.

These two changes (political centres and institutional connections) are universal and they profoundly affect the subsequent social processes that produce stability and change in education. (11)

Many European educational administrators in the nineteenth century looked at other countries' practices and experiences in education and adopted or borrowed sections of foreign systems for the purpose of furthering educational development in their own countries. Analysis of educational transfer of this kind requires considerable observation and interpretation that inevitably incorporates values and judgments born out of experience. Bereday has summarised the approach of Kandel, an early writer on comparative studies, as follows:-

Kandel, like all educators of his time, of all times, was a moralist. He has been misjudged by later generations when they say that he advocated the view that comparative education should be the work of a philosopher or a historian rather than a social scientist. Actually he frequently advocated the use of sociology, of political science, of anthropology as basic approaches to comparative education - in his words, 'more relevant than a knowledge theory and practice in education'. But his personal style was that of a philosopher and a historian. He studied to teach. (12)

Kandel, like Hans, wrote a number of standard works on the comparative analysis of international educational change as it gradually developed into an area of specialist study. (13) Many educational writers and innovative thinkers from Plato through Comenius (who sought 'invariant rules of method' in education (14)), Rousseau and Grundtvig to Dewey, Montesorri, Freire and many others used their own international experiences in education to put into practice many ideas on formal and informal ways of teaching and learning. (15) All of these educational thinkers sought methods of comparative education that, in Spolton's phrase, 'do over space what historical studies do over time'. (16)

There are different views on both the basic philosophical approach to comparative studies in education, and how the impact of these studies can affect policy, administration and politics. Bereday distinguished between the 'internal' investigation into the nature of comparative process, and the 'external' distribution of responsibility for varying aspects of international education studies; applying juxtaposition and categorisation then led to a final hypothesis. (17) The change of emphasis from the descriptive, historical and philosophical approach to comparative studies towards one that is interpretive, aetiological and predictive has been traced by Halls. (18) In an attempt to make sense of this variety of proposed methods, King has suggested four recognisable phases:-

1. The use of comparative studies in the nineteenth century for the establishment of particular institutions, like selective schools, universities, and technical training.

2. The early twentieth century attempt to guide universalisation of particular institutions, such as elementary and secondary education.
3. Post 1945 attempts to guide national appraisal of formal education and its development, but with growing international and comparative awareness of major educational trends.
4. Post 1960 attempts to guide what are essentially political, economic and social decisions in international perspective, by using educational insights and researches as a mainspring, but with insights from 1) the other social sciences, 2) computable models of national socioeconomic development, and 3) empirical studies and experiments. (19)

Perhaps some of the most convincing discussions on why the comparative study of education should be an obligatory part of teacher education have been presented by both Stenhouse and Grant. (20) Which methods of comparison, and the choice of the nature and type of research to be carried out, are a constant source of discussion and debate. Because of this reliance on both the humanistic and the scientific fields, comparative analysis of international education requires special study in university and college courses. (21)

From a contemporary perspective, it is not only how the structures of educational systems are compared, borrowed, transferred or 'internationalised', but also how technologies and information systems effect such phenomena in countries across the globe. It is likely, therefore, that comparative studies will add new 'strands' of interest in the years to come to incorporate studies of the environment and information technologies which are becoming increasingly important within the mainstream of education, whilst at the same time retaining its important humanistic foundations (see Table 1.2).

1.4 Scientific and Humanistic Systems of Education

Just as humanist studies have been attacked for being out of touch with the needs of the commercial and business worlds, so scientific studies have been going through a philosophical and sociological critique which has undermined their status (to a certain degree) as

TABLE 1.2: TAXONOMY OF 'STRANDS' OF STUDY
IN THE FIELD OF COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

PHASE I 1800 to 1960

- A. Methods of analysis
- B. Case studies: systems and structures in education
- C. Historical, political and linguistic studies

PHASE II 1960 to 1990

- D. Sociological, psychological and thematic studies
- E. Anthropological and multicultural studies
- F. Equal opportunities and achievement in education
- G. Studies of management and administration of education.
- H. Third world and development studies

PHASE III 1990 onwards (proposed)

- I. Comparative studies of the environment
 - J. International scientific technology
 - K. Information technology and the spread of knowledge
 - L. Global and 'glocal' issues,
 - M. Change in education: its control and management.
-

'hard', factual and truthful. It is the move from objectivity to subjectivity, and which emphasis to adopt as a scientific viewpoint, that now concerns scientists, particularly those who have confronted the need to teach, as well as practise, science. Ogborn comments:-

We cannot make real futures, in all their complexity. What we can do is to make 'model' futures, more or less simplified and idealized. This may be a good device, to make it possible to think fast enough to anticipate the future before it arrives. Somewhere here, I think, are the sources of our puzzlement as to whether truth is to be identified with impersonality or with personal commitment. (22)

Transferring this problem to the practice of teaching, Ogborn later quotes Oakeshott indicating that a teacher can overcome the suspicion of whether truth is to be found in knowledge. (23)

. . . like many of us, he may be expected to have a superstitious prejudice against the human race and to be satisfied only when he can feel himself anchored to something for which human beings are not responsible. But he must have the courage of his circumstances. This man-made inheritance contains everything to which value may be attributed; it is the ground and context of every judgment of better and worse. (24)

Because pedagogical theory has gleaned ideas from science (through psychology) and the arts (through philosophy) there is a considerable problem in trying to apply conflicting theories to the human conditions of learning. Much teaching and curriculum theory assumes that knowledge is both logical and sequential, though a moment's reflection will quickly raise doubts as to how well-founded this is. The pedagogical and philosophical questions raised by comparative analysis are thus considerable.

Using the example of Prigogine's *From Being to Becoming* (25), Doll has described the complexity that becomes apparent in the study of human affairs as follows:-

Complexity assumes reality to be web-like with multiple interacting forces. We, as observers, are inside, not outside, the

web. Thus knower and known are interactively entwined. There is no God's-eye view here, and objectivity takes on a new subjective dimension. We are limited in our perceptions and evaluations by our own places in space and time, trapped, as it were, by our own historicity. (26)

The post-modernist route suggested by Doll is fascinating, and one which is mindful of the complexities of international study. Similarly the acute observations of those writers who explored the process of experience-led theory are attractive to educationists interested in the learning processes of the human mind. (27) Further comment on models of analysis in comparative studies, both from a theoretical and practical point of view, are developed in the conclusions.

1.5 European Education: Concepts and Formation

Pluralistic views of education are now much more widespread, so that the rights of minorities in education and their languages, cultures and traditions have become more a part of the everyday curriculum. The closer one gets to a country, the greater the variety of peoples, cultures, language and dialects that can be perceived. It is quite possible (but not inevitable) that international education helps to give a better appreciation and value to the diversity of world cultures. Thus a special theme of this research is to consider the European dimension in historical and cultural contexts that lead to a more holistic view of the European system of systems of education in chapter two.

Movements or pressures towards European unity show the diversity that Europe contains in sharper relief and raise a host of further questions. Should there be a greater move towards European co-operation in education and by which means should this be achieved? Just how different, in historical and identity terms, is eastern Europe from its western counterpart and to what extent is there a 'common European home'? Would there be greater educational and cultural exchange with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe if there was a stronger Western European political and cultural identity? Given the movements and changes in the Soviet system, and the reforms in both structure and content of its education structure, how much greater are the educational bonds than they were in the period

1945-85. Is there an unavoidable federation of European countries (vis-à-vis Asian countries) evolving as a result of rapid communications.

It is impossible to ignore the consequences of economic development on educational change. *Perestroika* and *glasnost* (which all societies need) create the need for economic reforms which, in their turn, change the perceptions and the identities of the peoples within the common European home. Some of these changing patterns of educational alliances and allegiances, and the consequences of recognising regional and ethnic minorities in Europe, are discussed in section II.

1.6 Case Studies of Small and Medium-sized Countries

The case studies of education in Scotland and Denmark are an important aspect of the study. They are just two of the small-to-medium sized countries with populations of around five to fifteen millions, such as Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal. Other, much smaller, educational systems - Andorra (population 50,000), the Vatican (population 800), San Marino (population 23,000), Monaco and Liechtenstein (population 27,700) - can be considered as 'microstates' of Europe. Many of the islands systems, such as the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands, the Scillies, Balearic Isles, Elba, the Faroes and hundreds of others that are scattered around Europe have small populations and correspondingly small, partial, often semi-dependent education systems.⁽²⁸⁾ Compared with Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Spain these countries and regions attract less attention and exert less influence in the international educational world.

International bodies such as the World Bank, UNESCO and OECD mainly base their educational analytical models on the major systems, and their predictions of educational or economic growth on these larger and more dominant regions. In the nature of things, middle-sized countries are less researched than their dominant neighbours and, to this extent, have been excluded from consideration of theories of European development. The regions of many countries, distinguished by language and culture from their surrounding neighbours, scattered minorities that have no identifiable homeland, and international minorities such as the Rom or gypsies have been almost totally

excluded from international analyses of change, more usually being regarded as problems or aberrations to mainstream development. In practice, however, small educational systems, or regions of large ones, may actually be quite sensitive indicators of social or economic change, anticipating trends that are missed by macro-analyses.

The two countries chosen for special analysis, Scotland and Denmark, are complete and coherent systems of education in themselves. They differ to a considerable extent, however, in their relationship with their 'federal' partners of the United Kingdom and the Nordic Union. Scottish education is evidently a system which has vital elements - administration, elements of political control, curricula, examinations, ages of transfer, higher education, monotechnic and polytechnic sectors - which are different from England, Wales and Northern Ireland, themselves each having elements of distinctive education. Many of the educational debates in Scotland concern the extent to which the Scottish education service retains control over these major elements of the system. The merging of linguistic, cultural and commercial elements across the United Kingdom have traditionally placed enormous strains on the educational relationships between England and other parts of the British Isles and Ireland.

Denmark is surrounded by the major economic, linguistic and culturally dominant systems of Germany, Sweden and, to a lesser extent, Norway. It has, to a large degree, absorbed many of these influences to create a distinctive identity and need the education system as a means to achieve this. Being a member of two major European commercial and cultural blocs, the Nordic Union and the European Community, is not always a happy combination for the Danes, but it illustrates the transitional nature of Denmark in geopolitical terms. From this viewpoint, Denmark has been one of the most flexible of countries in absorbing both economic and cultural influences yet retaining a coherent society. These methods by which this has been achieved could prove to be instructive.

Expansion of secondary and higher education has gained ground in both Denmark and Scotland since 1945, though at different rates. Both countries have made attempts to reorganise their higher education systems to introduce a more comprehensive structure and to

vocationalise large sections of the universities. Short-cycle forms of higher education have also been introduced as a further means of introducing vocational and mid-professional courses. The requirements for entrance to higher education have, on the whole, shifted from linguistic and literary qualifications to scientific and vocational ones. The transfer of these examples of educational change and practice are examined in the section on case studies.

1.7 Mobility, Education and International Transfer

Section IV of this thesis discusses the processes of harmonisation, equivalences, recognition of qualifications and educational mobility as a response to educational and labour migrations. The European Community is first and foremost a trading partnership and much of the incentive for international movement is dictated by the market economy. This market economy is not confined to Europe, however, as most countries considered within this study are global import-exporting nations. European multinationals rarely exist in themselves: they respond to a form of supply and demand that tend towards a global basis. The influence of other regions of the world, such as North America, Japan or the Middle East, affects the sighting and growth of multinational corporations.

European education systems after 1945 were subject to influences of internationalism which contributed to the growth of UNESCO, Council of Europe, OECD, the European Commission and many other international organisations. If we accept Archer's thesis education systems are motivated by nationalism and sovereignty and varying degrees of centralised control have persisted to this day. It is necessary to add to this, however, that large scale labour migrations which cross national boundaries have always posed a challenge for such nationalised education systems, particularly on the landmass of continental Europe.

Mass transport and media systems have increased the permeability of national boundaries. Any estimation of the potential for international educational mobility in the future necessarily involves examining the extent of harmonisation of educational experiences in Western European countries that presently exist. Such comparisons include curricula and examinations, quotas and mobility programmes that are offered to students in formal education, as well as the

educational frameworks in which they are structured.

1.8 Action Research and European Mobility Programmes

Educational transfers, that is the movement of students and teachers, educational ideas and practices across national boundaries, have many imperatives pushing them from the country of source and pulling them into the host country. The extent to which educational transfers occur - the level of student mobility, the acceptance of foreign curricula, the restructuring of policy based on other countries' experiences - can increase the degree of educational harmony between countries. Though educational harmonisation is a process that is neither permanent nor inevitable, European policies (especially those of the European Communities) presumably seek to create successful methods of internationalisation, and to avoid the incongruities that political or economic dominance could eschew.

The European programmes examined in chapter eight are used to illustrate action research and development in international change. Important ingredients of empirical, participatory research can be summarised as:-

1. Developing a process of action within a continuous framework seen to be along a stream of change which is longterm.
2. Creating self-reflective spirals of planning, acting, observing and reflection.
3. Working in a team and elaborating collective ideas from process to procedure.
4. Evaluating educational action and its effect on individual and group learning. (29)

For this section of the research cosmopolitan educational situations were created which tried to accommodate the ideas of participants taking part in the educational exchanges. In the case of higher education, ERASMUS, COMETT and LINGUA programmes were used to examine the reality of educational experience across national boundaries. It was necessary to experience other educational practices within schools, colleges and universities at first hand to examine the learning processes effectively. To invoke the view of Stenhouse:-

In its essence, comparative education is less concerned with predictions and possibilities than with that which is accepted as actually occurring within time and space. Its happenings are located within the co-ordinates of living than within the co-ordinates of theory. It is descriptive rather than experimental. It deals in insight rather than law as a basis for understanding. (30)

1.9 From Ivory Tower to Market Place

As with the exchange of goods, the logic goes, so with people. The demand for a mobile labour force accrues to it the need for an international education programme which can supply the skills needed by multinational enterprises. Early twentieth century Europe normally supplied this type of labour force through the relatively small section of the educated population that had qualified through the *gymnasium, lycée, grammar school, liceo*, and so forth, which gave access to higher education and thence the professions, diplomatic service and government, as well as major positions in corporate management. These circles of privilege (or the process Bourdieu and Passeron refer to as 'reproduction in education' (31)) remain embedded in the fabric national to this day.

The conventional argument proposes that skills demand, particularly in the scientific and engineering sectors, expanded in the first half of the twentieth century. From about 1920 onwards, higher education systems in Europe expanded to fulfil this demand, in its turn requiring the upper-secondary schools (and post compulsory education generally) to open up to a more meritocratic process, thus selecting students by 'abilities'. This particular role for education in modern society, and whether it has had a great impact on change is questioned by some writers. (32) Others raise serious doubts on the power of mass public education to fundamentally improve society, proposing a kind of 'conscription of the mind' rather than enlightenment. (33)

Application of market forces to educational growth (and decay) in nineteen eighties Europe paralleled similar theories of the market economy and social change of the nineteenth century. There are, however, some obvious points that differentiate a trade economy from an 'educational economy' which are briefly set out in Table 1.3. The

TABLE 1.3: THE MARKET ECONOMY AND THE 'EDUCATION ECONOMY'

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1. Education is not a conservable commodity, but is tied inextricably to the human condition. Education is only as good as the use it is put to, and human activity is an integral part of that process.
 2. Educational demand could be conceived to be infinite. Attempts to create mass education to satisfy the demand for education in any given society have so far proved economically impossible.
 3. The transfer of knowledge to work - vocational education - is an extremely complex process which differs between people, skills, industrial systems and even political philosophies.
 4. Although there may seem a parallel at first sight between investment in the manufacturing process and capital investment in education, there is also an essential difference in the free will of the persons in which the educational investment has been made and an (inanimate) product. Thus capital investment in industrial development means, for the most part, a tangible asset with mass-produced items. Educational investment, however, may well produce an aversion to the intended field of development, as witnessed by the continuing shortage of engineers and scientific personnel in many developed societies despite the massive investment in scientific and engineering education and the evidence, too, that a technological society is often a wealthy one.
 5. A fifth point relates to the structures of education and industry, viz. they are mostly separate. Although linking the two together may define the relevance of learning more precisely, it often makes the two processes themselves less efficient. This seems to apply for both socialist and capitalist based economies.
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five points are developed further when considering the structural changes that have occurred in higher education in chapter three and in the discussions of Scottish and Danish education in chapters four and five.

1.10 Summary

The research aims that have guided the general development of this study, and the limitations that these necessarily impose, have been set out in the beginning of this chapter. Changes in post-war European education were briefly outlined and references made to the sections of the study where these perspectives, or dimensions, are further amplified.

It is suggested that a pluralistic view of European cultures, taking regional and ethnic minorities into consideration as well as national states and systems, raises the complexity of the issues relating to change in European education and the process by which such a concept can be formed in the coming decades. It is proposed, nonetheless, as an important dimension of future change.

The role that post-compulsory education can play in the formulation and manifestation of a European educational curriculum is critically reviewed in the light of the restraining forces of professional interests and circles of privilege. In the final section, the limitations of cosmopolitan education driven only by an international market economy are discussed.

Notes and References.

1. The countries are the Federal Republic of Germany (now Germany), France, Italy Luxembourg, Belgium, Netherlands (1958: the six), United Kingdom, Republic of Ireland, Denmark (1973: the nine) Greece (1981: the ten) Spain and Portugal (1986: the twelve). The Single European Act was signed in February 1986 by the twelve. In 1990, East Germany was incorporated into West Germany. Sweden has applied for membership, Norway and Austria are likely to follow and others, such as Turkey, have had intentions to join for some time. In 1991 the European Free Trade Association agreed trading rules with the European Commission which, in time, will give the largest free trading area in the world comprising 380 million people.
2. For the purposes of much of this work the term 'post compulsory' refers to education received beyond the age of 16 years. The term 'post-compulsory'

strictly refers to that section of education that follows the period of education prescribed by law in any given country. This varies by country, but 16 years can now be effectively regarded as the accepted level at which compulsory education ends, for legal purposes and for most developed countries.

3. Gelpi, E., *Lifelong Education and International Relations*. Croom Helm, London, 1985. Chapter 1.
 4. Holmes, B. and McLean, M., *The Curriculum: A Comparative Perspective*. Unwin Hyman, London, 1989. pp. 8-16.
 5. Holmes, B and McLean, M., *ibid.* p. 21.
 6. There are alternatives to simple national control of education where, for example, federal systems (e.g. Canada; Australia; U.S.S.R.; U.S.A;) and regional systems (such as Switzerland; perhaps the U.K.), and culturally united systems (e.g. Norden; formerly East and Federal Germany - since 1990 Germany) geographical island systems (e.g. the Caribbean islands) transcend the normal borders of national education.
 7. These include visits and discussions in schools, colleges and higher education institutes in the case study countries, and the coordination and direction of the European mobility programmes.
 8. This means that examinations at university entrance give a roughly even chance of predicting success in higher education. It should be remembered however that this is from the cohort that actually took the examination - approximately 32% in Scotland and 45% in Denmark of the 18-20 year-old cohort. Later chapters deal with this point in more detail
 9. Fraser, S. E., *Julien's Plan for Comparative Education 1816-17*. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1964. For a review of comparative educational studies see, for example:- Haussman, G.A., *A Century of Comparative Education: 1785 - 1885. Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, February 1967. pp. 1-21'; Brickman, W.W., *The Prehistory of Comparative Education to the end of the Eighteenth Century. Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, February 1966. pp. 30-47.
- A fairly thorough treatment of the early and contemporary writers in comparative education has been done by Brock, C., *Comparative Education: What do we think of it so far?* in Corner, T. E. (Ed) *Learning Opportunities in Adult Education*, University of Glasgow, 1988. pp. 16-42.
10. Publications which exemplify these phases are:
 - A. Holmes, B., *Problems in Education: A Comparative Approach*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965.

- B. King, E. J. *Other Schools and Ours*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 5th edition, 1979.
- C. Bereday, G. Z. F. *Comparative Method in Education*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1964.
- D. King, E. J., Moor, C. H., Mundy, J. A., *Post-Compulsory Education I: A New Analysis in Western Europe and Post-Compulsory Education II: The Way Ahead*, Sage, London, 1975.
- E. Grant, N.D.C. and Bell, R. E., *Patterns of Education in the British Isles*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1977.
- F. Neave, G., *Patterns of Equality*, N.F.E.R. 1976.
- G. Beattie, N., *Professional Parents: Parent Participation in Four Western European Countries*, Falmer Press, London, 1985.
- H. Altbach, P. G. and Kelly, G. P., *Education and Colonialism*, Longman, London, 1978.
11. Archer, M. S., *Social Origins of Educational Systems*. Sage, London, 1984. pp. 10-11.
12. Bereday, G.Z.F., Memorial to Isaac Kandel. *Comparative Education*. Vol. 2, 1966. pp. 148-149.
13. Kandel, I.I., *Studies in Comparative Education*. Houghton Mifflin, 1933; Kandel, I.I., *The Methodology of Comparative Education. Thoughts on Comparative Education: Festschrift for Pedro Rosello*, Martinus Nijhoff, 1959; Hans, N., *Principles of Educational Policy*, P.S. King, 1929; Hans, N., *Comparative Education: A Study of Educational Factors and Traditions*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1949.
14. King, E.J., *Comparative Studies: an Evolving Commitment, a Fresh Realism. Comparative Education*. Vol. 13, 1977. p. 101
15. Winther-Jensen, T., *Undervisning og Menneskesyn*. Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 1989. Reviews the thoughts and ideas of Plato, Comenius, Rousseau and Dewey within a comparative educational framework.
16. Spolton, L., *Methodology in Comparative Education. Comparative Education*. Vol. 4, 1968. p. 109.
17. Bereday, G.F.Z., *Reflections on Comparative Methodology in Education. Comparative Education*. Vol. 3, 1966. p. 169.
18. Halls, W.D., *Comparative Studies in Education 1964-1977: a Personal View. Comparative Education*. Vol. 3, 1977. Halls, W.D., *Comparative Studies: Contemporary Issues and Trends*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers/UNESCO, London, 1990.
19. King, E.J., *Comparative Studies and Policy Decisions. Comparative Education*.

Vol. 4, 1967. p. 51.

20. Stenhouse, L., *Case Study in Comparative Education: Particularity and Generalization*. Mimeo. University of East Anglia 1977. Grant, N., *Aims and Methods in Comparative Education*. Mimeo, University of Glasgow, Department of Education, 1988.
21. Some good arguments can be found in Hicks, D., (ed), *Education for Peace*, Routledge, London, 1988. Chapter 1.
22. Ogborn, J. *Voices of Science*. Inaugural Lecture, Bedford Way Series, University of London, 1985. p. 9.
23. Oakeshott, M., *Learning and Teaching*. Peters, R.S., (ed), *The Concept of Education*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1967.
24. Ogborn, J., *Op. Cit.* p. 10.
25. Prigogine, I., *From Being to Becoming*, Freeman, San Francisco, 1980.
26. Doll, W., Foundations for a post-modern curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1989. p. 247.
27. Post-modernism has had a great affect on the thinking of teachers, though not especially directly through their academic training. The work of writers like Jack London and Jack Kerouac are truly educational texts and have an important bearing on the interpretation of action research. Some ideas exploring experience and quality in *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* by Pirsig are referred to in chapter nine.
28. For a discussion of the educational problems of small countries see Brock, C., *Educational Issues in Small Countries*. B.C.I.E.S. Occasional Paper 1984. See also the Commonwealth Secretariat Report, *Scale, Isolation and Dependence: Educational Development in Island, Developing and Other Specially Disadvantaged States*, London, 1984, by the same author.
29. See Carr, W. and Kemmis, S., *Becoming Critical*. Falmer Press, London, 1986 for an analysis of the concept of action research. Capra, F., *The Turning Point*. Fontana, London, 1982, discusses the role of interactive learning across disciplines in an interesting, if idiosyncratic, way. See also Bartalesi, D., *Vocationalism and Professionalism: An Analysis of Needs and Uncertainty in Post-Industrialised Society*. Mimeo, University of Florence, 1990.
30. Stenhouse, L., *Case Study in Comparative Education: Particularity and Generalisation*. University of East Anglia, 1977. pp. 1-2.
31. Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J-C., *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Sage, London, 1977.
32. King, E. J., Moor, C. H. and Mundy, J. A., *Post-Compulsory Education I: A New*

- Analysis in Western Europe and Post-Compulsory Education II: The Way Ahead.* Sage, London, 1975. Husén, T., *The School in Question; a Comparative Study of the School and its Future in Western Societies,* Oxford University Press, 1979.
33. Bloom, A., *The Closing of the American Mind.* Simon and Schuster, New York, 1987.

Section II: EUROPEAN PATTERNS
Some Cultural, Political, Social and Structural
Characteristics of Change in European Education

CHAPTER TWO

EUROPEAN PATTERNS

Some Cultural, Political and Social Context
of European Education

- 2.1 Introduction
 - 2.2 The Cultural Boundaries of Europe
 - 2.3 The Unity of Europe: Historical and Political Concepts
 - 2.4 Regional and Linguistic Minorities
 - 2.5 Lesser-used European Languages
 - 2.6 Language Hierarchies and Social Change
 - 2.7 Language Rights for Minorities
 - 2.8 Minority Rights in Education
 - 2.9 Summary
-
- Table 2.1 Language Variables in Regional Development
 - Table 2.2 European Minorities as Social and Linguistic Communities
 - Table 2.3 Emigration from Portugal, The Azores and Madeira
 - Table 2.4 Some European Minorities

There are those who would include in the idea of education all the influences which shape the growing individual. For them, as for John Stuart Mill, education 'comprehends even the indirect effects on character and on human faculties by things of which the direct purposes are different by modes of social life; nay, even by physical facts not dependent on human will, by climate, soil and local position.

Stenhouse, L.: *Culture and Education*: p. 59.

2.1 Introduction

Europe has an enormous complexity of languages and cultures compared with many other geographical regions of its size such as the United States, Brazil or Australia. If regional and twentieth century immigration is included the number of identified (but not necessarily recognised) minorities exceeds those within the present Soviet Union. Its pattern of nation states, superimposed over old feifdoms and kingdoms of previous centuries has made the phrases 'cultural mosaic' or 'salad bowl' as appropriate to Europe as they are to Canada, the country which normally claims those descriptions. But, perhaps more so than any other region, radical social and educational change in Europe has come about either through war, such as the 1914-18 and 1939-45 periods, or through great social and population pressures such as the periods of 1840-60 when mass migrations occurred from Europe to the New World, of 1920-35 when spreading urban development signalled the change from rural to metropolitan living, and of 1965-1973 when Europe started to experiment with idea of mass

lifelong education.

This chapter concentrates primarily on cultural and social conditions that have existed in Western Europe, though it has now become impossible to ignore developments within Central and Eastern Europe and the integration of these countries within a framework of a common Europe in the future.⁽¹⁾ Through a brief summary of European regions and cultures, questions are raised about the extent to which education recognises the diversity and plurality of Europe's population and the degree to which it has been an agent for change, or for conservatism.

Dominant strands of educational forces can be seen through the growth of national languages at the expense of regional ones. The rise of scientific knowledge to the exclusion of humanism in scientific research (and scientific thinking in humanistic research) is particularly evident in the higher reaches of education. Geographic, social and academic distribution of education has continued the process of denuding the rural and peripheral regions, and concentrating knowledge and power to the metropolitan centres. Institutes of higher education are based primarily in urban environments and reflect the thinking and knowledge frameworks of that environment. This has led to the exclusion of a host of regional languages, methods, traditions and knowledge deemed by governments and teachers to be only minor elements within the mainstream of education, and to be contingent upon it.

2.2 The Cultural Boundaries of Europe

Europe is a careful continent; flying over the land shows the patterns and arrangements of humans closely packed together, with the feeling of an intensive amount of organised social activity. The character of Europe is expressed in its ever-changing shape, its types of food and its cafés and restaurants. In the rather damp climate people who live more than 500 miles from the sea; there are just five countries, Luxembourg, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Andorra, which have no sea coast.

Europe is not a continent in itself, but the seaboard of a continent - *un petit cap d'Asie*. The Gulf Stream flowing up from the Caribbean affects the climate making communication and exchange through seafaring an early European way of life. There are many

different European communities; now more racially diverse than Africa or North America and more linguistically disparate than probably all other continents, it is a melting pot of tribes and races. At least 30 different racial groups have helped to make up the Europeans' physical and mental composition, and, in the twentieth century, the plurality of Europeans has increased several times further. Despite this diversity, however, there has also been an inter-mingling of peoples through labour movements, war and forced emigrations which have all made their contributions towards the slow evolution of what is, imaginatively, 'Homo europens'. The idea of linking of Britain and France with the Channel tunnel dates back at least as far as 1802 when it was proposed by the French engineer Albert Matthieu. Even monetary union has a respectable historic tradition as the silver French franc was a common currency in use in certain European states (France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Italy) between 1867 and 1914.(2)

Full of natural enclaves where communities can form, people have been inclined to feel at home in the regions of Europe long before nationalism came into being; it is these regional communities that could become more important again in the future. Assimilation, in combination with the discarding of tradition and cultural inheritance, taboos and prejudices, created an intellectual freedom within the universities. European Jews, moving out of the ghetto, contributed intellectual and spiritual wealth, and participated in the exodus to the new world. Land reform slowly enabled the transition from crofter to farmer, and hurried the change from education as high culture to a source of popular enlightenment. The colonial inheritance, seen formerly as a source of freedom and liberty, also led many young people later to turn to communism or the endorsement of Third World views in preference, and in opposition to, European ideas.

There have been three great influences on European cultural development. The first, from ancient Greece, mathematics and geometrical techniques that also introduced proofs leading to the ability to deal with abstract entities. The second influence was Roman which gave instruments of law and metallurgical techniques. Thirdly, Christianity contributed the concepts of universality and equality of all human individuals and equal value in the face of a god. Such values of culture are found in other civilisations, along

with parallels with other values such as Nazism and communism, both of which originated within Europe. It is certainly the case that such values, if that they be, and their assumed universal validity have fuelled European views of global development for several centuries. Hitler fought in the name of Europe, perhaps one of the reasons why, after 1945, the idea of Europe was discarded by many intellectuals as they associated it with war and imperialism.(3)

The *lingua franca* of the medieval universities had allowed seventeenth century Europeans such as Locke, Descartes and Comenius to converse together in Latin. Eighteenth century European cultural and intellectual life incorporating music, the enlightenment and sceptical rationalism was essentially European. On the other hand, the use of the vernacular and national rivalry became competitive leading to a ferment of ideas in literature and science. The proximity and diversity of religious and political views of peoples led to war, pogroms, anti-semitism, cruelty and caused mass migrations to found nations of the New World (though taking many of the European ideas with them).

European citizenship contains a paradox; two ideas of 'culture' and 'nation' can be discerned. The French idea of a sovereign people is somewhat different from the German Romantic ideal of *Volksgeist* which is unique spirit of the nation defined by its people, the soil and territory of the country, ethnicity and language. Europeans have worked out democracy to a degree greater than many other cultures, and there is a deep seated and characteristic attachment to individual rights and privileges. The autonomy of the spirit, the feeling of belonging to a political community, and the concept of a social contract that implies the idea of reciprocity of values (even if they are unequal) are elements of European justice.

According to the Nigerian author Akeono, the word 'Europe' in Kikuyu is *Rya* meaning 'far away'. The Tanzanian journalist, Mohammed Baboo, points out that, to the African mind, Europe was connected with advanced society and colonialism and therefore power. European science and technology has become globally accepted, whilst literature, philosophy, painting and furniture have not. The diversity of languages, cultures and education that exists across Europe is deep and genuine. The one thing that Europeans share is their diversity and their differences.

For 700 years, following the Battle of Tours in AD 732, there was a seesaw of territory between Christianity and Islam which had left an indelible imprint on the southern tracts of Spain, Portugal, Sicily, Iraq, Syria, North Africa, Palestine and North Egypt. Russia, too, had a long period of Islamic domination. The Danube and the Pyrenees were important boundaries and the southern borders of Europe were established as the extent to which the Christians were able to recover their lost territories. The Mediterranean, and its islands, is the southern boundary of Europe. In the east the cultural borders are much less clear; two thirds of the Soviet population live in the European part of the Soviet Union. The emergence of the Soviet Union as a dominant power made people in western Europe suspicious and contributed to the uncomfortable feeling of the Cold War. The predominant feeling was that the balance of power across Europe has been lost and the Soviet Union had become an alien civilisation.

Contemporary racism in France is as much against Moslems as Africans. The fact that there are four millions Moslems in France and three millions in Germany has brought new experience to Europeans. Islam creates a great sense of uneasiness in Christian communities, though the concept of *laïque* in France allows the allegiance of Catholics, Protestants, Moslems into the French nature of civilisation, and to be part of *culture générale* of the world. This is still the case, too, in the French islands of the Caribbean, which have close contacts with Europe, and show no major sign of wishing to sever this link. The British-dominated islands became independent, mostly breaking off contacts with Europe and aligning with the politics of Washington and the cultural artifacts of the United States.

During the twentieth century, the difference between the west and the east Europe has primarily been political rather than cultural. To a noticeable extent the education systems became 'Russified' and democratised, but the inner processes of education such as teaching, curriculum, examinations remained remarkably undeveloped; western observers were often struck by the pre-war atmosphere of many Eastern European schools. Poles and Czechs look westward where they see the 'lucky' part of Europe and regard themselves as part of it. *L'Europe Centrale* or *Mitteleuropa* refers to a Europe when Czechoslovakia was important within a group of states and nations where the German

language was, and still is, needed as a common language. German was spoken in central and Eastern Europe, and parts of France, Russia, Italy, Switzerland and Austria. From this view Germany is a cultural rather than a political concept; Dahrendorf has said that German *Mitteleuropa* has meant a turning away from Europe, a quest for identity that has always been part of an undefined concept.

Europe could come to offer a cloying, over-comfortable, humdrum life with no heroes and no heroism, becoming a manicured landscape breeding mediocrity. Sport, travel, mysticism, intellectual worry and drugs could become ways of coping with this mediocrity. The English Channel, a physical barrier from the 'other part' of Europe for the British can still make them consider themselves aloof and apart from sinful and corrupt Europeans. (4)

2.3 The Unity of Europe: Historical and Political Contexts

Europe as a whole is roughly the size of the United States, less than half the size of North America and a quarter of the size of Asia. With the Soviet Union included, the European population is about 500 millions, again about one-quarter of that of Asia. If the focus is put on the Western European continental peninsular and the Soviet and Eastern European countries excluded, it is then possible to see an agglomeration of nations and societies loosely held together within the catch-all identity of 'European'. No single entity or identity of 'Europe' exists, though there have been many attempts to create one.

There are some interesting parallels between European and Canadian identity, where provincial rivalry - especially in matters of education, is a continuing theme. When abroad Albertans, British Columbians and Québécois increasingly refer to themselves as Canadians (as opposed to the 'hyphenated Canadian' such as French-Canadian, Swedish-Canadian, and so on) whilst similarly French, English, or Italians, may regard themselves as 'French-, 'English- or 'Italo-European', and so on. However, the role of education in promoting a Canadian identity is overt and deliberate in its schools, which is not (as yet) the case in Europe.

Historically, Europe could be divided up in many ways; four outer regions can be picked out that have, at one time or another, formed allegiances (or enmities) including the British Isles and France, the Hanseatic League, the Danube Basin and the Mediterranean region. A

residual central region remains roughly enclosed by the Po-Soane-Rhone rivers complex on the one hand and the Moselle-Rhine-Scheldt boundary on the other. This territory developed its own political identity following the partitioning of Charlemagne's Empire by the Treaty of Verdun in AD 843. The equivalent region today would include Northern Italy, Switzerland, Franche-Comté, Provence, Savoy, Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace, Luxembourg, the Rhineland, Belgium and Holland. Rivalries between French, German and Dutch interests over the centuries have now reduced this region into four distinct national states; Switzerland, Luxembourg, Belgium and The Netherlands.

The 'low countries' of the middle kingdom of Europe developed a powerful mercantile base and became the crossroads of the separate Germanic culture to the north and Latin culture to the south. Flanders and Brabant became highly urbanised regions, exchanging goods between England, Germany and Russia. The merchant cities of Amsterdam, Liège, Ghent and Antwerp that grew from this flourishing trade developed their own foci of political power. Some 500 years later, they continue to be important European centres and to influence and shape a common European destiny (see chapter three)

The present ancient Benelux universities were founded over the period of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries and then provided courses appropriate to a prosperous merchant class, with a framework of community law and a hierarchy derived from the church which continued to hold sway until the Vatican Council of 1960. Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* (1745) sought to define a conjunction of these community laws that would allow individuals of one state to understand the opinions and customs of others and to create international harmony. Two and a half centuries, several minor and two major European wars later, this search for European harmony, not least through education, continues to fascinate Europeans in the low countries and elsewhere. The Benelux countries formed their current triple alliance through the London Convention of September 1944, immediately following the liberation of Brussels from German occupation. (5)

A whole range of external forces have also played their part in redefining intra-European relationships. Two principal influences of North American values, probably reaching their climax during the

nineteen sixties, and the independence movements in Africa from Algeria to Zimbabwe, hastened the realisation of a common European identity and the death of European colonialism. By the end of the nineteen sixties the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was in place, The Western European Union (WEU) had extended its influence through the 1954 Paris Agreement, and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) had established its headquarters in Paris. The Belgian, Paul-Henri Spaak, had provided the blueprint for the Treaties of Rome to form the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). When the NATO headquarters moved to Brussels and the European Communities established their Commission there, the European Court of Justice became established in Luxembourg and Rotterdam developed as the Europort on the northern side of the estuary of the Scheldt, the middle kingdom of Europe began replaying in earnest its unifying role that had first been envisaged in the Burgundian aspirations of the Convention of Augsburg in 1548.

COMECON (now defunct) in Eastern Europe had aims not vastly different from those of the European Community. Eastern Europe simply was not able to allow the free movement of capital, labour, and people, but gradually there arose transformations in civil liberties, free markets, free enterprise, pluralistic political systems rather than the subtraction out of the Soviet system. A stronger European community would more easily become open towards Eastern Europe and add to the richness of Europe as a whole, culturally and economically.

The policies which have consumed so much energy of the European bureaucracies have been too much about cushioning decline, rather than shaping the future. The cartel in steel, the Common Agricultural Policy and policies for the textile industries were all protectionist. Concerted monetary policy, with a common currency, would be needed, a defence policy, and a security policy. This would help to reduce the obligations of the Americans and thereby add to the diversity of outlook towards world affairs. The natural affinities of Europeans towards other parts of the world are enormous: in common with the Japanese, for example, there are many social, economic and cultural issues to discuss.

Jean Monnet was very much attracted to American ideals though his

driving interest was with the progress of Europe.

Europe was a way of creating change, not as an amalgamated nineteenth century state with increasing power. When nations and men accept the same rules and the same institutions to make sure they are applied, their behaviour toward each other changes. This is the process of civilisation itself. (5)

Frontiers are beginning to fade, and borders sometimes can have no importance. In the Rhine country people cross borders to visit friends for dinner, the staff of Tilburg University live in The Netherlands and Belgium in roughly equal numbers; in Scandinavia in 1960, the Swedish and Norwegian border was something you knew you had crossed because you had to change the side of the road you were driving on.

2.4 Ethnic and Regional Minorities

We raise the question here, in the context of Europe, how regional minorities have survived (and if they have) within the mould of a nation state. Hobsbaum has compared the idea of a nation to a mollusc; something which, when extracted from the hard shell of the nation-state emerges in distinctly wobbly shape. He saw the nation as shapeless, inconsistent and dishonest; it defies definition. It is something of an irony that regional minorities have spent a good deal of their recent history trying to become a nation (if only to defend themselves against those who already claim the right) when, if Hobsbawn is given any credence, they are adopting the devils clothes. Nairn has called this phenomenon the 'modern Janus', progressive and liberating on the one hand and backward looking and obscurantist on the other. (7)

The proto-nationalism of regional minorities is real enough. Behind the educational policies and school of minority cultures is the desire to become more independent, referring to the past or future (or both) as a condition to which they wish to aspire. Ethnic minorities too aspire to a unifying principle of culture. The problem is that, of any nation state that exists - small or large - it is impossible to find one that exhibits total unity of either language or culture. Hobsbaum asks "Why and how could a concept so remote from the real experience of most human beings as 'national patriotism'

become such a powerful political force so quickly?".⁽⁸⁾ In response to this question, Ascherson uses the 1320 Declaration of Arbroath as an example of the linking of individual freedom and freedom of the Kingdom, and thus illustrate that individual and state freedoms have a long historical association.⁽⁹⁾

Hobsbaum sees the inter-war period of 1922 to 1939 as a time when the European continent was a jigsaw puzzle of states defined both as nation states and bourgeois parliamentary democracies. Such a definition could also apply to Europe at the end of the nineteen eighties. There is now much debate on the notion of pooling nation state sovereignties which will enable the emergence of 'regional nationalities' rather, as happened with the rise of Nazism and Stalinism, obliterate them. A traveller in Eastern Europe at the end of the nineteen eighties could not help but notice the 'freezing in time' of some parts of these societies, whilst technology was embraced to a frightening (and devastatingly polluting) extent in the move towards the 'internationalisation of labour'.⁽¹⁰⁾

Two distinct attitudes exist towards how to cope with the complexity of the language situation in Europe. One view, often of those speaking a dominant European language such as English, German, French, Italian, argue that the large number of languages that exist deflect from European development or identity. Others, possibly from linguistic minorities such as Scots Gaels or Catalans, maintain the primacy of mother-tongue and its interrelationship with the local or regional culture. In a television series of the late nineteen eighties Levin visited the European Parliament and pointed out that in the early days of the Strasbourg building, 25 interpreters were needed to translate the business of the six national member states.⁽¹¹⁾ In some circumstances now, when eleven official languages are potentially in use (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Greek, Dutch, Flemish and Irish) then 11 x 11 interpreters, or 121, are required. If it is supposed that all those additional minority languages which the Arfe Report⁽¹²⁾ brought to the attention of the European Parliament in 1981 were also used, then 69 x 69 (or 4,761) interpreters would be required. If that were to be the case at least it could be said that the European Parliament was doing its share for the promotion of bilingualism! The whole resources of the new LINGUA Programme could probably be devoted to

the provision of interpreters for Eurocrats in Brussels, Paris and Strasbourg (see Chapter eight on European Programmes).

Lack of sovereignty or national status is not necessarily a problem for small and medium-sized countries, but dependency on larger countries through educational, demographic and strategic forces often is.⁽¹³⁾ The Arfe Report considered the concepts of 'minority', 'nation' and 'region', and in its review of regional minorities included populations of up to one million in its review of minority languages. Islands come in all shapes and sizes; Greenland is large with a small coastal population dependent, until recently, on Denmark and to some extent the United States for educational support. The Isle of Man prides itself on its independence from the British Isles and, by a number of innovative fiscal measures has ensured some independence and individual identity within its schooling system. Paradoxically though, this has sometimes been at the expense of Manx culture rather than in support of it as the crucial aspect of teacher training is mostly done in the English colleges.

2.5 Lesser-used European Languages

Of the official European languages that are recognised in mainstream education, perhaps two could be regarded as being 'peripheral', Irish certainly, and Danish possibly. It is not easy to determine which criteria are to be applied to 'peripheral' or 'lesser-used', but the Irish language would seem to satisfy both counts relatively easily. Danish, however, is not so straight forward. For example the *Spot* children's books are published in 53 languages, 28 of which are referred to as lesser-used languages, of which Danish is seen to be one. These particular books are exceptional in that they are also published in some dialects, for example Occitan, Gascon, Lengadocian and Lemosin, and five varieties of English; British, American, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand.⁽¹⁴⁾ Lesser-used is a label used to get over some of the objections raised against the term lesser known, one of which was the sense of inadequacy it implied.

The Danish language is certainly not peripheral in a minority sense as there are over five million speakers of Danish and 20 millions that can understand the language in northern Europe, and an unknown number of enclaves in North America. Nevertheless there are several

ways in which a language such as Danish can be thought of as peripheral. Geographically, Denmark is to the edge of Western Europe. From the point of view of Denmark, of course, the cultural centre is the country itself, and geographical position is of lesser importance in that sense. In terms of ease of access from other parts of Europe however, Denmark can be regarded as being towards the periphery of the European land-mass and will inevitably suffer some communication and trade disadvantages.

If it is possible to apply an economic peripherality to a language, it could be argued that Danish is not dominant. For example, as a language which non-Danes would choose to learn, it has a low priority (say compared with English, French, German, Spanish). The opportunities to use Danish (outside Denmark) are relatively few and are, for the most part, confined to international organisations, and higher education institutions. The interest in building the *Storebæltsbro* and *Øresundsbro* to link the island of Sjælland directly to Sweden and to Fyn thence Jutland is not only a testament to modern bridge technology, but indicates that the Nordic countries look to Germany and France for trade and, increasingly, cultural links.

The lexical creativeness of a language is another way of looking at its peripheral nature. It is difficult to find an evaluation of the rate of creation of new words, phrases, grammatical expressions or slang words that compares different languages. In scientific studies it would be true to say that new words are created in English at a very high rate (as well as now in mathematical and computing languages, if they can be called languages as such), though it would have to be added that many of the 'new' words are combinations of words that may be from other languages, for example campus, information technology, or yuppies.

The international impact of a language is another way in which its development, even chances of survival, can be estimated. Danish has had little impact on the Third World for example though this has more to do with its relatively insignificant imperial past than its current minority condition. Portuguese has about nine million native speakers in the home country, but has an enormous impact internationally because of Brazil, the fifth largest country in the world with a population of 122 millions.⁽¹⁵⁾ At the other extreme

there are small imperial enclaves, for example the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde Islands.

English is the classic example of language with an imperial legacy. As Robert McNeil has observed:-

As we approach the year 2000, English, the legacy of Europe, is the *de facto* international language of the Third World. In four continents, Asia, Africa and the Americas, and in the vast ocean basin of the Pacific, it is an official language in some thirty four countries, from islands as far apart as Jamaica and Singapore, to states ranging from Sierra Leone to the vast sub-continent of India. The Third World flowering of the language has now produced some exotic hybrids, among them Caribbean English, Indian English, various forms of African English and Singapore English, sometimes termed as 'Singlish'.(16)

2.6 Language Hierarchies and Social Change

It is partly within the dominance of global languages such as English, French, Chinese and Russian that the minority languages have to try to survive. Much has been made of the fact that international communication will favour dominant languages (English is the most commonly used) and that international travel will inevitably mean that this form of dominance will increase. People may be well aware of language genocide such as that attempted by the Soviet Union on Hebrew for Soviet Jews, or Hungarian in Transylvania by the Rumanian Government.

In May 1987 a military exercise with the theme 'Internal Security Operations against Breton Nationalist Insurgents' was staged by British Army Cadets in Brittany. Carn (17) asked what was the threat that trying to maintain and restore the Breton language can pose to French or British security and added:-

One may wonder if those who chose this theme were thinking that it would eventually apply to operations against the subjects of Her Majesty.(18)

Whilst the dominance proposition is seemingly almost inevitable, there are other possibilities or implications. Burchfield(19) argues that languages have a tendency to break-up or evolve into a different

form. For example, whilst English is the second language of many speakers throughout the world, it is quite likely that the English that different nationals speak will evolve into separate forms. The example of 'Singlish' has been mentioned, and Indian English American English, Australian English, etc., are others. Within Britain it is now recognised that Afro-Caribbeans speak a range of different forms of English depending on which of the Caribbean islands they, or their parents, originated from. (20)

In many bilingual communities, two basic levels of language exist side by side. Often radio, television and major newspapers will use Standard English (with inevitably local words included), whilst the second language is usually intelligible only to natives and is rich in local references, history and folk-lore. However, dialects have themselves some fascination for the media; 'soaps' in which Liverpudlian, 'Brumigum', central Lancastrian, East-End London (Cockney) are remarkably popular. Haugen has discussed these power relationships in the establishment of languages in another context. He refers to the fragmentation of Scandinavia in both political and then linguistic terms, but within a remarkable degree of overall cultural unity. In practice, as Haugen points out, Danish, Swedish, Nynorsk-Norwegian and Bokmål-Norwegian function as dialects of a common Scandinavian 'language'. (21) The more divergent Icelandic and Faeroese and (unrelated) Finnish languages have not prevented a concept of Norden being aspired to by many Scandinavians. (22)

There are many influences in this 'fragmentation' process: literature, poetry, popular lyrics all play an important part in the dynamic changes of a language. If these become part of community or national radio and television, then their influence broadens and deepens. Religions and 'charismatic movements', such as Rastafarianism, also may develop community loyalties which help to develop (or maintain) language which expresses more aptly the feelings of any particular group. (23)

2.7 Language Rights and Minorities

Having considered a range of minorities and languages and their implications for European education, we now look at other aspects of minorities and ask what forms of recognition and what rights minorities want, and what is becoming of these rights within

TABLE 2.1: LANGUAGE VARIABLES AND DEVELOPMENT

-
- A The Developmental Level of the Language
The variable is coded as follows:
1. The minority does not have a developed written language, highly diverging dialects exist.
 2. The written language is fully developed.
- B Linguistic Ability
The variable denotes the extent to which members of a minority know their own language.
1. Only a small portion is able to speak the language.
 2. The language is spoken and understood by most of the minority, but not by all.
 3. The language is known both in oral and written form by practically all members of the minority.
- C. The Uniqueness of the Language
1. The language is spoken in one country only.
 2. The language is spoken in several countries but is not the main language in any country.
 3. The language is the main language in another country (countries).
- D. Autonomy
The variable denotes whether the minority has some form of home rule. A minority is regarded as possessing autonomy even if there are several minorities within an autonomous region and the minority in question is not the largest. 1 depicts lack of autonomy, whereas value 2 indicates that the minority has at least some form of autonomy.
- E. School Language
1. The minority language is not taught in schools. There might exist courses in which the language is taught as a "foreign language" in rare cases.
 2. The language of the minority is taught as a compulsory foreign language. The minority language is not the language of instruction.
 3. The minority has, at least in some regions, schools in which its own language is the language of instruction.
- F. Status as an Official Language
The variable denotes the rights and opportunity of minority to use its language in dealings with national and local government.
1. The minority language lacks official status.
 2. The minority has a legal right to use its own language within certain restricted realms.
 3. The minority can use its own language in practically all official contexts.
-

education.

Perhaps the most well-known declaration on human rights is that of the United Nations in December 1948. The second article of this declaration referred to human rights on language, as well as race, sex, political opinion and religion. Article 26 refers directly to language rights in education. In 1966 this was strengthened to the right of language recognition, that is not only being able to speak a language but also its recognition by other linguistic groups. It also added that the rights of minorities are as defined by the minorities themselves as regards religion and culture. The more practical UNESCO Convention of 1960 recognises the rights of ethnic and national minorities in education, in the organisation of their schools, and to have instruction in their mother-tongue.

The Council of Europe Convention or Bordeaux Declaration of 1978 added important dimensions. First of all, the necessary financial resources to allow the cultural development of minorities should be made available from national governments. Secondly, the strengthening of regional press and radio facilities were encouraged, and thirdly the integration of educational provision with regional development was given a new priority. (24)

A fairly thorough review of ethnic and linguistic minorities in Western Europe was done by Allardt which led to the formulation of the Arfe Report in 1981. (25) This report identified 58 minority languages in Western Europe, 27 of which were clearly and probably irreversibly in decline, 15 in a stable or plateau condition, and 16 which were expanding in their influence, if somewhat slowly.

Of the 58 languages mentioned by the Arfe Report, 46 of them were analysed from 18 different standpoints, ranging from population density to potential for political violence. Concentrating for the moment on the language variables, six of them are illustrated in Table 2.1. Questions such as whether the language has a written form, dialect forms, written and spoken by the majority of the population, taught in schools or had official status were categorised, if somewhat crudely. For example, Welsh is seen, naturally, as a developed written language, whilst Manx Gaelic is not. Only a small proportion of the North and West Friesian Islanders are able to speak the language, whilst practically all Faeroese and Greenlanders both speak and write their languages. Faeroese is spoken only in the Faroe

Islands whilst the small Albanian minority in Italy effectively speak the language of another country.

This report pointed to some interesting situations in which minority languages find themselves (see Table 2.2). France, Spain and Italy have a large number of linguistic minorities, yet have pursued rigorous policies of monolingualism towards the 'national' language until recently. Italy has at least nine recognisable linguistic minorities (Venetian, Milanese, Occitan-French Côte d'Azur, French (Aosta), German (Italian Tyrol), Sard (Sardanic), Greek (Reggio di Calabria), Albanian (Sicily), Ladin (related to Romansch) most of which have recently been recognised (1991) in at least the primary level of education. It points out that even the existence of national official languages, such as the case of Irish, does not guarantee the maintenance of a language; though it would need to be asked at the same time whether Irish would be spoken to any degree at all had there not been some official support over the past seventy years. Even bilingualism can become a means by which one language gains dominance over another; Irish and English bilingualism demonstrates this very well.

Some linguistic minorities become weaker through geographical separation. Reuniting minorities across national boundaries such as the Danes and Germans in the Schleswig-Holstein region is no longer too controversial. The case of the Friesians in The Netherlands and West Germany is possibly not in any way controversial, but would be difficult to achieve in practice. The French and Spanish Basques would be highly controversial and whilst it would obviously strengthen the communities concerned, it would at the same time offend a number of national sensitivities.

Language, and autonomy of the minority to develop it, are obviously connected. This also is to some extent affected by the perception of autonomy which the minority regards itself as having. The Spanish Basques regard themselves as having little autonomy, whilst the Spanish Catalans see the freedom to develop the Catalan language as of paramount importance.

Some minorities may have succeeded in achieving the favourable attitudes of school authorities, and even those of the media, which could be regarded as the situation for the Swedish Finns; the Finns of the Torne Valley however have by no means achieved such

TABLE 2.2: EUROPEAN MINORITIES AS SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES

	(A) Level of lan- guage	(B) Lin- guis- tic ability	(C) Uni- que- ness of lan- guage	(E) Auto- omy	(F) School lan- guage of lan- guage	(G) Offi- cial- ness	(H) Mass Media	(I) Size of Min- ority
1. Slovenes (Austria)	2	3	3	1	3	2	2	2
2. Magyars (Austria)	2	3	3	1	3	1	0	1
3. Croats (Austria)	2	3	3	1	3	2	1	2
4. Flemings	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	4
5. Walloons	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	4
6. Germans (Belgium)	2	3	3	1	3	3	2	3
7. Gaels (Sc.Highlds)	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2
8. Gaels (Isle of Man)	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	1
9. Gaels (N. Ireland)	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	-
10. Welsh	2	1	1	1	2	1	3	3
11. Channel Islanders	1	1	3	2	1	1	0	2
12. Germans (Denmark)	2	3	3	1	3	1	1	2
13. Faroe Islanders	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	2
14. Greenlanders	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	2
15. Swedish Finns	2	3	3	1	3	3	3	3
16. Aalanders	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	2
17. Lapps (Finland)	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1
18. Occitans (France)	2	2	2	1	2	1	0	4
19. Catalans (France)	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	3
20. Basques (France)	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	2
21. Corsicans	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	3

(Continued over)

TABLE 2.2 (Continued)

	(A) Level of lan- guage	(B) Lin- guis- tic ability	(C) Uni- que- ness of lan- guage	(E) Auto- omy	(F) School lan- guage of lan-	(G) Offi- cial- ness guage	(H) Mass Media ority	(I) Size of Min-
22. Alsatians	2	3	3	1	3	1	2	4
23. Flemings (France)	2	3	3	1	1	1	1	3
24. Bretons	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	4
25. Danes (Germany)	2	2	3	1	3	1	1	2
26. N. Frisians (Germany)	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	2
27. Gaels (Ireland)	2	1	2	2	3	2	3	2
28. Occitans (Italy)	2	2	2	2	1	1	-	3
29. Friulians	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	3
30. Ladins	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
31. Valdotains	2	3	3	2	3	2	1	2
32. South Tyroleans	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3
33. Slovenes (Italy)	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2
34. Sards	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	4
35. Greeks (Italy)	2	2	3	1	1	1	0	2
36. Albanians (Italy)	2	2	3	1	1	1	0	2
37. W. Frisians (Nds)	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	3
38. Lapps (Norway)	1	2	2	1	3	1	-	2
39. Catalans (Spain)	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	4
40. Basques (Spain)	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	3
41. Galicians	2	2	1	1	2	1	-	4
42. Lapps (Sweden)	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	1
43. Torne Valley Finns	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	2
44. Ticinese	2	2	3	2	3	-	3	3
45. Jurassians	2	3	3	2	3	3	-	4
46. Rhaetians	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	2

Source: Adapted from Allardt, E.: 1979: p.76.

Note: Allardt reported in the early eighties and much of the report's observations concerned rural schooling. Some important changes have come about since, especially in urban areas, that strengthen the recognition of some regional languages in education. Two examples: the development of Gaelic schools in Glasgow and the Irish medium schools in Dublin (and other major cities).

recognition, nor does the language have any official status, which is the case for the Swedish Finns. The Arfe Report has enabled some developments such as the setting up of minority language centres in Italy, Ireland (Dublin) and Leeuwarden at the Fryske Academy.

The Azores and Madeira are both Portuguese speaking. Madeira was settled by the Portuguese in the fourteenth century and thereafter by the Spanish and to considerably lesser extent by the Flemish, British and nearby Africans. The language and its distinction from mainland Portuguese seems not to be an issue, whereas economic agricultural reform is and has led to claims for independence (and federation with the Azores and Canaries). The attraction of North America to the Azores and the presence of a large number of English-speaking tourists has led to Portugal being seen as an oppressive liability. Both Madeira and the Azores suffer increasing emigration of the agrarian population to North America. These emigrés became a source of strong moral support - if not public affirmation - for any independence movements (see Table 2.3).

2.8 Minority Rights in Education

A broad classification of some of the Minority Rights Group's reports on Western European Minorities brings out other comparisons. Indigenous island groups obviously have more integrity of territory than mainland minorities. However, the strategic nature of some of these islands, such as Greenland or the Azores, means that even here the presence of a large military base can have a major effect on the economy and lifestyle of the population.

The Minority Rights Group have examined the plight of a considerable number of minorities throughout the world. A survey of some of these reports reveals other minorities who may be subject to pressures of language and cultural change, even where their languages have only small differences from the dominant one.

O'Brien (26) has suggested that, historically, minorities have primarily sought social integration into the wider society (American Negro groups, Jews in nineteenth Century Germany and twentieth Century Soviet Union, Catholics in Northern Ireland, West Indians in Britain). The second form of major rights which minorities seek are economic, technical and functional integration including access to jobs, training and education (the Chinese in North America, the

TABLE 2.3: EMIGRATION FROM PORTUGAL, THE AZORES AND MADEIRA

	Pop (1970)	%	Emigration (1974)	%	% of Pop
Azores	290,000	3	12,400	29	4.0
Madeira	253,000	3	4,400	10	1.7
Portugal	8,660,000	100	43,400	100	0.5

Destinations						
	Canada	U.S.	Venezuela	Brazil	France	U.K.
Azores	63	35	1	-	-	-
Madeira	6	6	44	4	10	12
Portugal	26	22	6	2	24	18

TABLE 2.4: SOME 'EUROPEAN' MINORITIES
AS REPORTED BY THE MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP

Indigenous / Island	
The Azores and Madeira Islanders	The Canary Islanders
The North Friesians	Sardinia
The West Friesians	The Greenlanders
Indigenous / Homeland	
The Bretons	The Catalans
Cornish Nationalism	The Belgian Heritage
France: Alsace-Lorraine and Occitania	The Friulians
The Danish Minority in West Germany and the German Minority in Denmark	The Ladins of the Dolomites
The Jarassiens and European Cultural Compromise	The South Tyroleans
The Scottish Gaels	
The Sorbs	
Indigenous / Displaced	
The Slovenes in Carinthia	The Slovenes in Trieste
Minorities in the Mezzogiorno (Greeks, Croats, Albanians)	
The Poles of Westphalia	The Swedes in Finland
Non-Indigenous	
Immigrants in Norway	Sikh Immigrants in England
The South Moluccans (Ambonese): Netherlands and Indonesia	
Nomadic	
The Quinguis: Spain's last Nomads	The Sami: The Lapps of Scandinavia
The Irish Travellers	

Source: World Minorities Vols. I, II, III.

Pakistanis in Britain). The role of education in these processes is ambiguous; if education is separate, the wider society may not be convinced that the schools of the minority can really give an adequate training to warrant the kind of access to jobs and promotion that the minority will accept as constituting equality of opportunity.

This ambiguity came out in the Training, Education and Employment for Minorities Project which was based in the Department of Education of the University of Glasgow. Perhaps the strongest demand from all ethnic minority students who were included in the project's surveys wanted, as a priority, to be sure that they could compete with their peers in English language (and perhaps literature). Only slightly less was the demand for language teaching in their 'community' language, which in practical terms meant language classes in Urdu, Punjabi or Cantonese and Mandarin.⁽²⁷⁾ Perhaps one of the obvious failings of the Scottish school system (and those of most Western European countries) has been its failure to respond to this type of demand from many minorities, indigenous or ethnic, in the post-war period.

Because of the inflexibility of this aspect of education and the fastness of the nation state, a third common right demanded by some minorities can be identified. Political secession, or partial secession, may become a priority if the form of rights mentioned previously have been frustrated. Political secession is always a topic of debate in Scotland and every British political party recognises this in some way or another. The issue is particularly sensitive (as, a parallel in some ways, is the idea of separate schooling for minorities) because it is a threat to the authorities and the *status quo*. The fear or threat of secession is a double-edged weapon for minorities. On the one hand it may secure advantages by way of concessions from the majority: on the other hand it may provoke an oppressive reaction. As a consequence of the secession or devolution seesaw, many minorities become extremely versatile in role-playing and language-use, which may well spill over into wider literary talents. Thus a Breton at home with his or her parents in St. Malo may adopt a pro-Breton language argument with alacrity; if with the *Front pour la Liberation Nationale* possibly even a belligerent stance. Back working in his office in Paris however, that

same Breton may be passing legislation which in no way assists those same causes back in Brittany.

Finally there are minorities who neither wish social or economic integration, nor does secession offer them any advantage. Refugee camps represent an extreme form of this; refugees, particularly those who wish to return to their homeland in more favourable times, may be relatively indifferent to the educational and social provisions of the society in which they live. The Vietnamese, and to a lesser extent Chilean refugees in the nineteen sixties, are examples of communities who have tried to create autonomy within the host country.

2.9 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of European cultural and social patterns and some implications that arise within education as a result. It has predominantly examined this cultural mosaic through linguistic and social variables because of the fundamental importance these have for learning and education. Other dimensions have been referred to, such as regionalism, central peripheral axes, cultural dominance, minority rights and mobility.

The range of subtlety and diversity of European regions are rarely discussed in detail in European affairs. The reports that have pointed to this diversity, such as the Arfe Report, have set important trends. It is suggested that diversity in educational change in contemporary Europe can come about through 1) taking account of small education systems, 2) recognising indigenous regional minorities, 3) providing for new minorities from ex-colonial countries, and 4) developing the fragile, but growing, perception of Europe as a holistic entity.

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Section II: EUROPEAN PATTERNS
Some Cultural, Political, Social and Structural
Characteristics of Change in European Education

CHAPTER THREE

FROM IVORY TOWER TO MARKET PLACE

Restructuring and Administrative Reforms in European
Education

- 3.1 Introduction
 - 3.2 Radical and Incremental Change and Reform
 - 3.3 The Contemporary Benelux Education Systems
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- Table 3.1 Mechanisms of Educational Reform
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 - Diagram 3.1 Economic-Systems Analysis of Belgian Higher Education
 - Table 3.3 Contraction and Expansion of Activities in Dutch Higher Education
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 - Table 3.5 Transformation in the Dutch System of Higher Professional Education
 - Table 3.6 From Strategic Evaluation to the Evaluative State

By time-honoured tradition the universities of Western Europe have acquired to themselves common qualities which clearly distinguish them from all other social and educational institutions. They have become places where highly qualified people pursuing disciplines of their own choosing can follow lines of enquiry entirely directed by themselves (either individually or collectively) with no fear of outside interference of any kind on either ideological or practical grounds; and to this they have added the freedom to teach what they will as they will to all seeking to participate in a common concern to be constantly extending the frontiers of knowledge.

Mallinson, V.: *The Western European Idea of Education* :1980.

3.1 Introduction

It is difficult to envisage a time when educational institutions were able to set themselves apart from society at large; they have always been in transformation, though the speed of change may have been slow enough at times to make those who worked in higher education to believe they were independent in thought and deed. The myth of the independent researcher and teacher, claiming obedience to neither government or dogma, is as entrancing as it is elusive.

Whilst regional and cultural minorities can claim to have had a degree of impact on the contents and rights in education, they have not fundamentally affected structural reform. To what extent has the next level of human organisation, small countries and states which claim the elusive character of sovereignty, affected such change?

This chapter sets out some mechanisms of interactions between education systems that affect reform at the international level by reference to recent changes in European education. Similar changes that have occurred in Scotland and Denmark are discussed in chapters

four and five. Here a broader picture of changes is considered within the context of the major forces that have been acting on post-compulsory education in the past twenty years. Reference is made to changes in three of the larger countries of the European Communities, France, Germany and the United Kingdom, but the focus of discussion is on reform in the Benelux countries.

The three Benelux countries of The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg have been at the forefront of European countries using the 'market-driven' model to induce educational reform. These reforms in Belgian and Dutch higher education, from the government initiatives in the early eighties through to the present time, result from the labour market being allowed to dictate the output flows of the education system. Because Luxembourg has just one year of higher education provision, many of its students will also attend the higher education provision in Belgium and Holland and thus become subjected, in their turn, to the demands of labour market forces. Finally, questions are posed as to the likely effects of such a labour market approach to educational change.

3.2 Radical and Incremental Change and Reform

Looking at the intentions, policies and practices of national and regional governments, listing their priorities and examining the training and retraining of educational personnel can go a long way to indicate that change is occurring and therefore improvement is on the way. (1) Further, the cultivation of quality, efficiency and enterprise are not in themselves issues which any sensible person might dispute, as everyone is in favour of them. In such situations, the process of educational reform can seem deceptively simple to analyse so that a mental reminder is needed to point out that such analysis is as much an art as a science. Put succinctly:

Art is the supreme synthesizer; it can contain paradox and contradiction because it deals with truth that lies between opposites. (2)

In suggesting that forces external to the system have come to dominate change within education reform is to risk moving too closely

towards one of these opposites and to miss out on the paradoxes and contradictions that exist in reality. Taking into account the complexities of modern educational systems, however, it is possible to suggest that European countries do indicate that the role of market forces can act on education in a way which may be semi-independent of official government-induced reforms. Some countries, the examples used here are Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, show ways in which such reform (and its constraint) can come about from a combination of government, market and international forces.

Controversy can arise as to where the legislative, operational and financial consequences for individual institutions that, in combination, make up a nation's education system can be found. These may well be parcelled up in political gloss to appeal to almost everyone, but that in itself does not guarantee that they will be pleasing to the students and teachers who are the most affected by them, or that such pleasures equate with an improvement in services.

Since Europe as a whole is a society of societies, it is neither easy nor propitious to attempt a homologous review of how the administrative changes of educational strategies have, or are, coming. The task is still difficult, but at least manageable, across countries which have commonality in their educational heritage. For example, although it can be accurately said that education policy and practice are primarily a matter for the Canadian Provinces or the States of the Union in North America, there are at least intentions that there should be an overall logic which can apply to them from a federalist point of view, and it is quite naturally entertained that a North American can be both a citizen of the state or province and of America or Canada at the same time. Such a situation does not exist in Europe though a later section of this chapter argues there are trends that can be discerned in national reforms that are moving towards a European mode of education, at least at the third level of education.

Given favourable conditions, educational reform may come about directly through government fiat. It is more likely to be the case, however, there will be a combination of circumstances assisting or detracting from the intentions of government-induced change. It has

been argued (3) that higher education systems can act as beacons for other sectors of an education system. Some mechanisms that can bring this about are:

1. access requirements demanded at, and for, entrance to higher education usually relating to the school leaving certificates such as the *baccalauréat*, *Abitur*, *maturita*, 'A' Levels, *studentereksamen*, and so forth.
2. the curriculum leading to these examinations which is required to dovetail into the courses at the freshman level of higher education;
3. the assessment procedures adopted by national or regional examination boards which, through pass/fails rates or *numerus clausus* procedures contribute to the selection process for entry to higher education;
4. the education of teachers who have passed through the higher education system and internalised its norms, and thus pass associated expectations on to their students; and
5. the generation of new knowledge through research, which passes into the higher education curriculum and thence into the secondary and primary sectors.

Even in the most centrally controlled systems it may well also be true that, although ministries of education are happy to describe the character and quality of a reform they wish to carry out, they could be on less certain ground when asked what the practice is within the colleges and schools, particularly those far away from the direct influences of the metropolis. No state, country or province is 'entire unto itself' in this regard. As much as reformers would wish to apply hermetic boundaries to the areas of their jurisdiction, the interaction between regions of the globe through communications of all kinds, human migration and the interchange of educational ideas combine to form have referred to as the mechanisms of educational interaction.(4)

This is especially true of small countries such as Luxembourg (to which can be added Andorra, Monaco, Isle of Man, Channel Islands, Friesian Islands, and many others (5) where population and economics

dictate that higher education is mostly taken up by its students in other countries (see chapter two). In such cases the primary and secondary education provision must always take into account the likely languages, cultures and knowledge traditions of these surrounding countries which their students will study in future years. For different reasons, primarily those of continuing onward migration, the provinces and states of North America must dovetail their educational policies to those of adjacent legislatures. (6)

At the macro-level of education interaction it is possible to discern six possible modes of mechanisms by which educational reform can occur; these are shown in Table 3.1. Distinguishing such levels of interaction may help to gain a view of the plurality of influences that will almost certainly affect reforms in the modern era. This is not to imply in any way that government-induced reform is necessarily ineffective, but that it is just one way in which educational reform comes about in the modern state.

Educational systems, even when radical reforms seem to have taken place, may have vestigial roots to which they always threaten to return. The *école primaire* and the *collège d'enseignement général* have broadened their base considerably but still have to basic function of producing basic literacy and orientation into business, commerce and technical fields. The *lycée*, though truncated and diversified, offers a rigorous education leading to the *baccalauréat* that, whilst no longer giving right of access, is not far away from being a standard prerequisite. The *grandes écoles* are still extremely selective professional institutes giving avenues to top jobs in the civil service and the *classes préparatoires* remain a tough and highly competitive route to them. The *université*, with the *licence* and *maîtrise*, remains the predominant providers of second cycle qualifications.

The transformation of German education that is inevitable with reunification has several ways in which help is at hand. Each *Land* runs its own education system and thus federalism in education is acceptable. The *Oberschule* in its various manifestations remains the dominant model and the *Abitur* the major qualifying examination (whilst again diversifying into numerous *Zweige* or tracks, as with the *baccalauréat*). Each *Länder* varies in the extent of reform, but

TABLE 3.1: MECHANISMS OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Type of Reform Mechanism	Illustration
1. <u>intra</u> -system reform	the control on secondary education by higher education.
2. <u>inter</u> -system reform	This can involve the borrowing or adoption of educational ideas and practices from another region, province or country.
3. <u>extra</u> -system reform	short - cycle vocational education such as the introduction of the <i>Institutes Universitaires de Technologie</i> in France, <i>Berufsschulen</i> in Germany, or the Technical and Vocational Initiative in Britain.
4. <u>plural</u> -system reform	This change might be brought about by European programmes such as student mobility programmes (ERASMUS), higher education and enterprise links (COMETT) and the language programme (LINGUA).
5. <u>labour-market</u> -system reform	This allows the demand of external market forces in society to determine the educational system's priorities.
6. <u>government-induced</u> -system reform	The state attempts to directly regulate educational change by political and (increasingly) economic action.

TABLE 3.2: LANGUAGE SECTORS OF EDUCATION IN BELGIUM

	Dutch/Flemish	French/ Wallonian and German Sector
State	19.75%	17.56%
Provinces	4.76%	1.82%
Communes	31.89%	12.86%
Free	43.60%	67.76%
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%

Source: EURYDICE:1987

the basic structures have remained the *Grundschule* for 6-12 year-olds, the *Gymnasium* as an academic secondary for 10-19 year-olds, the *Realschule* (replacing the *Mittelschule*) for 10/12-16 year olds and the *Hauptschule* replacing the upper section of the prewar *Volkschule*. Even in the social democratic *Länder* such as Bremen, Berlin and Hamburg the *Einheitschule* remains separated by structure and ethos into the three basic tracks given above. Educational reform in Germany has been especially cautious, possibly because of the strong presence of American and European forces, both militarily and culturally, and the discontinuity of German history created by the Nazi period which education was keen to ignore.⁽⁷⁾ Such tendencies also caution against making the oversimplified connection between economic growth and educational change.

One noticeable characteristic of educational reform in European countries during the eighties has been the introduction of short-cycle education, often vocationally orientated and outside the normal routes of compulsory education. In North America the community colleges have proved themselves to be adaptable institutions to the intermediate-level vocational needs in society and are now enjoying an established place in these systems after a substantial development over the past 30 years. The model of the *Berufsschule* giving sandwich-type educational and vocational experience for a period of up to three or four years immediately after compulsory education in West and East Germany has also proved to be one which European countries, including Belgium, The Netherlands, Sweden and Britain have found profitable to develop over the past 10 years. The shortening of higher education experience through introducing the *Instituts Universitaires de Technologie* in France, the first degree bachelor level in Sweden and Denmark, the professional *Doctorandus* in Holland have been measures of educational change brought about by forces that are predominantly external to the education system.

3.3 The Contemporary Benelux Education Systems

Over the last twenty years the political, legislative and administrative structures of the Belgian state have developed a federal system leading towards a Belgian education system that can be characterised as compartmentalised and highly heterogeneous. It

comprises three regions (Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels), four linguistic areas of Dutch/Flemish language, French/Walloon language, German language and bilingual (French - Dutch in Brussels) and three communities with education systems representing a population which is about 58% Dutch/Flemish, 42 % French/Walloon and 1% German.⁽⁸⁾ This refers only to the 'indigenous' Belgian population; in common with Holland and Luxembourg, Belgian has had an increasing number of 'migrant worker' families resident to second and (increasingly) third generation inhabitants. In Luxembourg, almost 40% of the population is 'foreign born', and in Europe of the Twelve (the countries within the European Communities) there are over 11 million persons who have migrated from the countries of southern Europe (especially Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Italy), Africa (especially the Maghreb countries), Asia (especially Hong Kong, Vietnam, Phillipines, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), Eastern Europe (especially Turkey) and the Caribbean Region.

Within each of the linguistically-based Belgian education systems there are three main types of educational institutions: educational institutions administered by the (central) State authorities and financed in total from the State budget; state-subsidised educational institutions, mostly run by the provincial or communal authorities; and state-subsidized and non-subsidised 'free' educational institutions many of which are under the responsibilities of the churches. All of these institutions provide education free of charge within the compulsory age-range of 6-16 years. Different language sectors differ in their administrative proportions under these arrangements (see Table 3.2).

Up to 1968, Belgium had just four universities; the two state universities at Ghent (for Dutch speakers) and at Liège (French) and the two 'free' universities (the Catholic University of Louvain and the Free University of Brussels). During the nineteen seventies four further institutions were created: a second university in Antwerp for Dutch speakers; Mons acquired a French speaking university out of its range of higher institutions that already existed and both of these new institutions were controlled by the state. The linguistic rift in the country that became evident in the end of the nineteen sixties led to two further free universities as Louvain split into the

Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven and the *Université Catholique de Louvain* on a new site at Ottignies in the French-speaking part of Belgium. Brussels also split into the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* (ULB) and the *Vrije Universiteit Brussel* (VUB). Promotion of a number of other higher education institutions also has meant that universities now exist in Namur, Brussels, Gembloux and Hasselt.

There were some important differences in the administration of these universities. In the case of the free universities, admission requirements and the drawing up of syllabuses and faculty contracts have been entirely the institutions' responsibilities; all the state universities were controlled by common government regulations. Until 1971, there were differences in the financial support from government between the Catholic and free universities. Allocations until 1982 were made on a student per capita basis which caused friction between the Fleming and Walloon populations as the former have been in the majority and have continued to press for quota funding. The fees structure of the universities (traditionally low in continental universities) was also changed and substantially increased which caused protest within the student population that continues to the present time. The spiralling demand for university education led to the limited application of *numerus clausus* in medicine and the applied sciences (students from neighbouring Germany were also keen to escape their own quotas that had been imposed by the *Länder*). It was still possible to say however that, in overall effect, the extent of the Belgian government's intervention in the field of higher education has been limited to strategic tinkering.

These limited kind of a *priori* strategic changes made by the state have been referred to by Neave as 'crisis induced':

....strategic evaluation (of education) sought to remedy the visible shortcomings of a system in a steady state by revising the targets within which the subsequently reformed system would operate. Thus, strategic evaluation itself only operated when crisis point had been reached in the established order. (9)

Neave further points out that the focus of such evaluations tends to be on the broad issues: student access and the opening of higher

education to groups hitherto excluded; the spatial distribution of higher education, or particular types of higher education, across the nation; the structure, duration and balance between different disciplinary areas; and national staffing policy. Examples in Europe of strategic evaluation would be the implementation of the Robbins Report in Britain in 1963 which proposed the principle that places should be available in higher education for all those qualified and available and wishing to avail themselves of this opportunity. The Swedish Commission of 1955 concentrated on the concept of 'reserves of ability' and included within its framework the quantitative development of higher education, teaching and learning, research and governance. The commission that subsequently produced the U-68 Report extended this concept to a unitary comprehensive model based firmly on a regional distribution network.

One is reminded here that the recent Royal Commission on Education in British Columbia (10) follows the *a priori* model of educational change. In the matter of teacher education it says:

we believe that the quality of ...teachers must over-ride all other considerations and criteria. In this age of information and complex technology we cannot afford to employ teachers who are themselves not well educated and, thus, not well prepared to educate others. (11)

In recommending the move to an all-graduate profession, the report goes on to recommend that:-

the province cease awarding the Standard Certificate and that the current holders of that credential be urged to complete degree requirements. Further, that the universities be provided with the means to deliver such degree completion courses to all areas of the province. (12)

The phrase 'all areas of the province' is significant in the consideration of the spatial provision of, and therefore ease of access to, institutes of higher education, especially in the north of British Columbia. A plan to boost participation rates in

post-secondary education, which are currently the lowest in Canada, was revealed by the Minister for Advanced Education and Job Training and sets out ways in which 15,000 more students can access the system. Particular attention was paid to the formation of opportunities in centres away from the metropolitan areas of Victoria and Vancouver with over 6,000 new places being allocated outside the Vancouver and Victoria area and the foundation of a new university at Prince George towards the north of the Province. (13)

Since 1981 Belgium has been governed by a coalition of Social Democrats and Liberals which are to the centre-right of the European political spectrum. The main object of the government since that time has been to seek solutions to the country's economic difficulties by way of a policy of austerity and higher savings. Education and social programmes were specific targets. There have also been attempts to increase the autonomy of the two major language communities (Flanders and Wallonia) and move towards a fully federal structure in education and social affairs. The Austerity Plan of 1986 (14) aimed to reduce the number of jobs in the public sector by 10,000 and to reduce the expenditure on education by 19.7 billion francs (6.7% of the total). Some of the savings would be brought about by the rationalising of educational institutions particularly in the post-compulsory non-university sector. Other measures were to control the allocation of the cost per student, reduce the social allowance and increase study fees.

An analysis of the relationship between the education system and the Belgian government over the last decade (14) have led to the conclusion that there has been government by remote control in reducing the amount of state subsidy to higher education as a whole and the control of funding both to promote and demote specific study areas. The case for Holland has been shown to be more directly influenced by government decision. (15) By policy and necessity, there has been an increase in the search for private funding into education. By coopting members of the commercial and business communities on to university decision making committees there has been a noticeable increase of private sponsorship at research and development levels. At the same time, social demands and requirements of the labour market are moving to a central position of concern in

determining the content and direction of the research and development programmes.

The university councils, set up in Belgian higher education in 1978, have become interpreters and intensifiers of government policy. The uniformity of government policies has itself been reinforced by the demands of the labour market. The demands external to the higher education system before 1978 in Belgium have become transformed into internal directives through the operation of the research and administrative councils. It has to be noted, however that the government has not sought to overtly intervene on matters relating to the structure, the organising and financing, the management and the autonomy of Belgian higher education. (16)

At the access stage to higher education there are, in principle at least, no controls on school leavers from secondary education (it is the vocational schools that have already selected out those seen unlikely to go on to any post-compulsory education) and there are few overt controls on the input or output stages of fields of study. In contrast to the Netherlands (17) there have been no measures taken to improve the efficiency or to optimise the attuning of programmes to the labour market. At the same time previously important issues such as equalising educational opportunity and democratising university education are now taking a lower profile within the concerns and priorities of education as a whole. On the other hand utilitarianism and economic competition are gaining interest in the criteria for evaluative decisions about the quality of both research and education.

However, there is an interesting phenomenon occurring in Belgian education as a whole when compared with the Netherlands and to European countries as a group. Given the remote control nature of government briefly outlined here there is, nevertheless, a similar condition arising to that in countries where overt rational planning has taken place. The hypothesis here is that the chaotic changes of the market place are having effects on higher education that are independent of the impositions of government. Examples for the Belgian case are the recent initiatives in higher education in Antwerp where the Business School Organisation Committee (ABSOC) has drawn up a system whereby industries can act as co-sponsors of

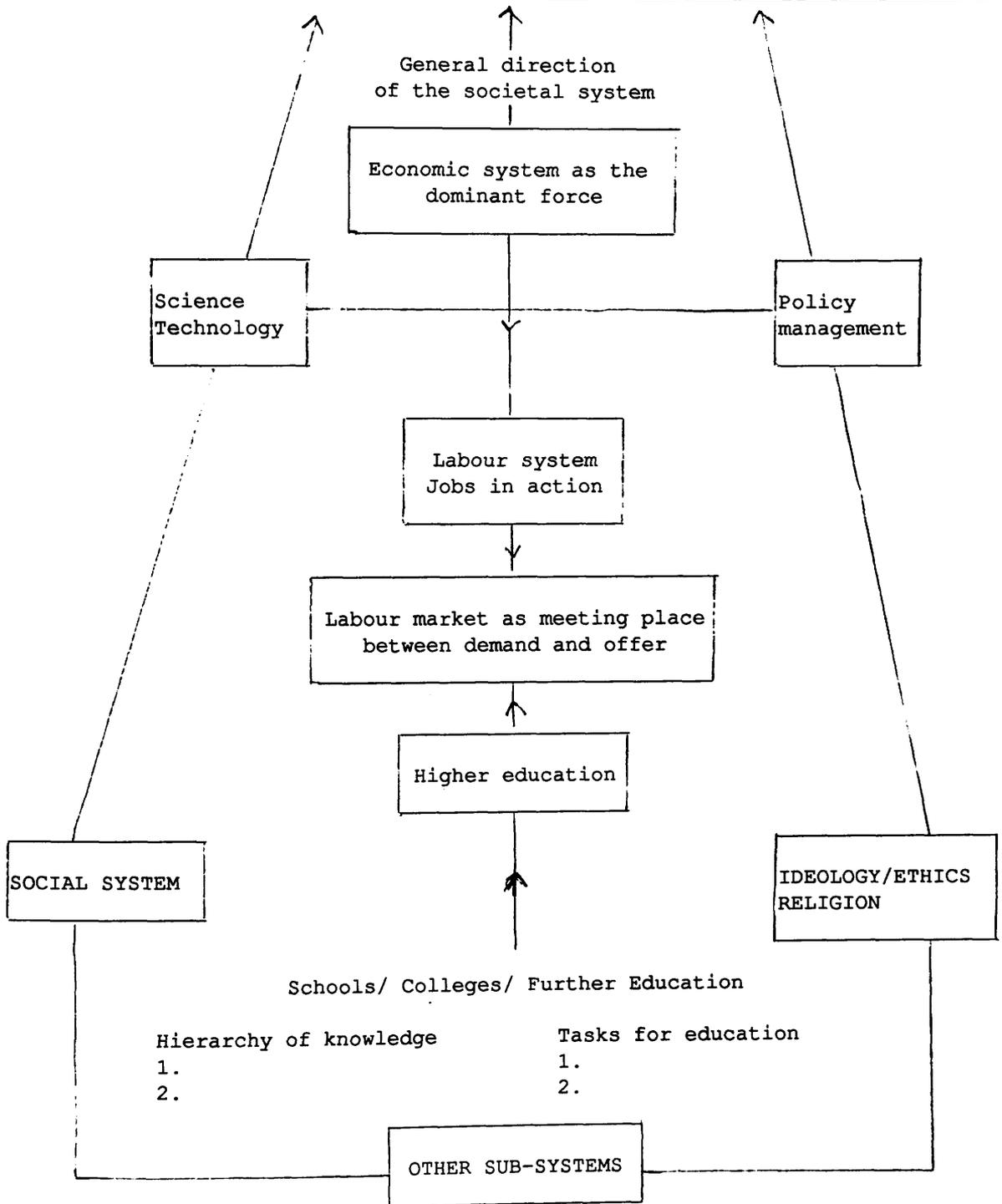
research theses. Professors discourage 'pure' theoretical topics because they are of no use in the industrial world, and the priority is to improve the employment chances of graduates. Another example of market-orientation innovation is at the Catholic University of Louvain where over 20 major curriculum changes have been induced as a response to market research. (18)

Recently, Weilemans (19) has put forward the following hypothesis to try to understand this phenomenon. The economic sub-system operates like a thermostat, dictating the temperature in the whole of the social environment. Depending on whether the education system is conceived as a public service rather than a service to the market, the economic sub-system will radically affect both the financial allocation to education and the expectations as to what it can do in terms of appropriate future qualifications and careers. Further, the status of education within the society will be reduced if financial allocation is reduced. The chain effect will then feed down to general secondary education which is the main supplier of higher education students. When the labour market comes to dominate employment requirements, shifts in the labour market may then directly affect the curriculum dictating new skills, knowledge, attainments and attitudes. These changes will induce confrontation within the system affecting professional identity and further reducing the education system's societal power.

The changes which have been connected to transformations in education, and especially higher education, have their origins therefore outside of the system. Fundamental questioning of the goals dictated by these external normative frames is not undertaken to any degree, largely because the criteria appear to be self-fulfilling in the sense that if new skills create new knowledge and occupations, this is, in itself, a vocational justification for them in the market place. As the need of the market place is the central determinant of educational provision this then becomes the theoretical rationale to explain such changes.

This 'driving force' for change from the economic system has been summarised by Weilemans and is shown in Diagram 3.1. Higher education, at the centre of the system, is constrained by the social system as a whole and the ideology of society. The economic system,

DIAGRAM 3.1: ECONOMIC SYSTEMS ANALYSIS OF BELGIAN HIGHER EDUCATION



through science, technology and policy management requirements, transmits its needs to education via the labour market. The offers that the labour market can make determine the requirement of the skills needed from higher education system. So the tasks defined for education and the hierarchy of knowledge on which it is based become modelled on the needs of the market. Theoretically, the flexibility of such a system will create change in step with the labour market.

It has to be noted, however, that both planned and free market economies need higher education systems with a long cycle of training which limits the rate at which a modern system can adapt to the economic needs of society in general. This partially explains the trend towards short-cycle courses coupled with limited general education seen developing in western Europe from the early seventies onwards.⁽²⁰⁾ Consensus for the hypothesis that higher education will, in turn, affect the formation of general secondary education supplied at the post-compulsory phase of secondary education in many European systems through the mechanisms indicated in an earlier section seems to be growing.⁽²¹⁾ The growth of the short-cycle vocational form of education has also been directed by labour market considerations and, in this case, governmental actions have tended to look towards developing new structures rather than to try and transform the traditional systems.

The Dutch Constitution and related laws emphasise that there should be freedom of education at all levels. Such espousal of the philosophy of freedom and liberty has a long tradition in Dutch history, and the presence of privately and publicly funded education has been long established. Private education comprises all forms of education which come about as a result of private initiative, and can be run according to religious or non-religious principles; they represent 70% of all schools at primary level and 60% of schools at secondary level.

Public and private schooling is financed according to the same criteria, which allows for private schools to be eligible for state funds providing they follow certain statutory conditions relating to the establishment and operation. Qualifications obtained in public and private schools are of equal value and validity. The overall responsibility for this differentiated public-private education

system lies with the Ministry of Education and Science and the legislative power of the Netherlands' Parliament. Law, decrees and regulations are binding on both systems, which are also subject to the central government's inspectorate. The main responsibilities of the government inspectorate are to ensure compliance with statutory regulations, keep up-to-date with the educational situation by visiting schools and promote the development of education through consultations with the staff of schools and the regional or local authorities.

There are advisory councils for every sector of education which work with the inspectorate to assist the practical implementation of educational policy. The Socioeconomic Council provides an important role in providing up-to-date accounts of social changes that have an important impact on education, and make direct recommendations to the Ministry of Education.

After a common programme of six years of basic primary schooling there are four distinct tracks within the Dutch system of education. These tracks are 1) pre-university education normally covering six years (15%), 2) general secondary education of five years (15%) leading to the *Hogescholen* (see later) and 3) two streams of secondary vocational education, either leading on to higher vocational education (40%) or, at 16 years of age, part-time post-compulsory vocational training courses and apprenticeship schemes (30%).

The growth in access to higher education in Holland has led to the need to expand the system of higher education from the traditional universities of Leiden, Groningen, Utrecht, Amsterdam(2) and Nijmegen to also include, over the past twenty years, the Catholic University at Tilburg, the Erasmus University of Rotterdam, the Agricultural University at Wageningen and the Technological Universities at Delft, Eindhoven and Twente and the legal and medical centres at Maastricht. All are state universities with the exception of the 'free' universities in Amsterdam (Protestant), Nijmegen and Tilburg (Catholic); in practice all receive state funds that cover a high proportion of their total expenditure.

Completing the trio of Benelux countries, Luxembourg is a classic representative of the small states of Europe. Given its central

geographical position and the fact that it contains the European Court of Human Rights, it increasingly hosts Europeans - temporarily or permanently resident - who are carrying out the associated professional activities.

The three recognised state languages in the Grand Duchy are Luxemburgish, German and French and all are contained within a single education system. The size of the country (2,586 km² and 400,000 inhabitants) discourages any devolving of the system along linguistic lines as has happened in Belgium. All sectors of education are governed by regulations and directives drawn up by the one National Ministry of Education.

Because of the small population the establishment of an independent national university has been difficult. Luxemburgish students study in the universities of neighbouring countries (primarily France and Belgium, but also Germany, Switzerland, Austria, United States and Great Britain). This led to the need for the government to regulate the recognition of these foreign qualifications and the situation up until 1969 was that graduates from France and Germany had to take a supplementary examination to be accepted into the legal, medical and teaching professions. Following the 1969 Education law, foreign degrees were automatically recognised subject to ratification by the Ministry of Education, and from 1974, national competency examinations were abolished. In addition a national University Centre was established offering *cours universitaires* for students who after one year intended to take up study in France or Belgium and *cours complémentaires* for graduates needing professional courses subsequent to graduation in another European country.

3.4 Restructuring Higher Education Systems

Following the formation of the Christian-Democratic/Liberal government in 1982, a fundamental restructuring of the entire Dutch civil service was undertaken with aims of increasing efficiency, restructuring and, in some cases, abolition.⁽²²⁾ For the case of Dutch higher education, a policy memorandum called 'Concentration and Co-operation Planning' was produced with proposals to close down some universities, encourage closer co-operation and 'complementary faculties', and establish planning in research and teaching across

TABLE 3.3: CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF ACTIVITIES IN DUTCH HIGHER EDUCATION

Field / Activity	Savings Guilders M.	New Activities
Theology	2.90	
Law	3.46	0.25
Medicine	99.90	11.00
Dentistry	25.70	
Mathematics	2.55	
Astrology	0.57	
Physics	7.00	
Chemistry	11.00	
Biology	13.40	2.50
Pharmacy	9.80	5.00
Arts	19.60	4.40
Economics	3.70	
Social Sciences	25.60	11.20
Veterinary Sciences	2.50	
Philosophy	5.70	
Earth Sciences	10.30	
Technical Sciences	20.70	
Agricultural Sciences	5.80	1.50
Management Sciences	1.00	
Other cuts in administration	39.25	
TOTAL	317.88	38.40

Source: Luttikholt:1986.

TABLE 3.4: PORTRAIT OF A TYPICAL MODERN DUTCH HOGESCHOOL

1. Created by the merger of 10 - 14 old institutes
2. Enrolments increased from 1 - 2,000 to 10 - 15,000 students
3. Staff (faculty) employed in the region from 1 - 200 to 1 - 2,000
4. Budgetary allocation of 60 - 120 Million Dutch Guilders
5. Professional fields:-
 - Technology
 - Economy-Business-Management
 - Health Science
 - Education (Teacher Training)
 - Arts (Music-Drama)
 - Social Science
6. Emphasis on Professional and Autonomous Management
7. Related to all sections of society and links with the local community

Source: Mouwen:1989.

institutions. The final plan was issued at the end of 1983 with a specific four-year plan for achieving the restructuring of the institutions to follow definite contractions in some study disciplines and the implementation of other new activities (see Table 3.4).

The use of such fiscal measures to induce change in education produced strong protest from the *Rectores Magnifici* downwards. The government was invited to reconsider its approach to what was considered to be 'interference' in the domain of education to an extent not previously encountered or considered. (23) Nevertheless, through the restructuring of the funding mechanisms to the universities, favouring some sectors and disadvantaging others, the reorganisation of the Dutch universities went ahead. Their future planning would, henceforth, be based on 'neutral' (i.e. static) financing, two year budgetary plans, emphasis on short courses and the introduction of quality control, first by the universities themselves and then by their accountability in turn to visiting committees and inspectors from central government.

A parallel reform was subsequently implemented in the other important sector of Dutch higher education, the higher professional institutes or *Hogeschoolen*. In 1961, about 40 thousand students attended Dutch universities and about the same number studied in the higher professional institutes. By 1971, the number of students in the universities had trebled while the costs of the universities had risen by a factor of ten to reach 2,100 million Dutch guilders. Following the reorganisation of the universities described above, Deetmans, the Dutch Secretary of State for Education and Science, started the reorganisation of the higher professional institutes. The strategic goals that were set out to achieve the reorganisations were: (24)

1. fitting the demand for graduates to that of the labour market;
2. introducing new innovations in applied research, post-graduate studies;
3. encouraging research on a contractual basis from private sponsors;
4. increasing the financial autonomy of the institutions through increased control of a total administrative budget; and

5. imposition of an overall reduction in the cost of professional higher education.

The latter process was to be achieved through the process of merger and the scaling up of the size of the institutes, and thus a dramatic reduction in the number of sites and personnel employed within them. The overall process of the creation of the modern *hogeschool* through the one major transformation was achieved by passing a new law specific to the higher professional institutes, which emphasised their financial autonomy and enabled them to draw up strategies and philosophies of their own management style.

The winners in this chess game of higher educational restructurings are those who have become the managers and administrators of the merged institutions. They are keen to point to the freedoms that the larger institutes have now have in financial affairs and in the planning of future policy. The losers (those who were moved out of the system through redundancies), point to the ephemeral nature of these new freedoms and that the overall financial control that is firmly retained within central government. As in Belgium, the market economy theory is held to apply; this proposes that the output of the institutions is determined by the market for its educational products. The transformation in Dutch higher professional studies, and to a more limited extent the universities, over the ten year period 1980-1990 are summarised in Table 3.5.

Speculation increased throughout the nineteen eighties on this new role for education that related the rapid change of employment and skills in the economy to the changing roles of schools and colleges. What seems to be happening, in the Benelux countries at least, is that market changes are percolating directly into the heart of higher education (see Diagram 3.1), and by extension to the secondary and eventually the primary schools. In Mouwen's words:-

It is a characteristic of the merger process that institutions have to be managed under very unfavourable circumstances of the economy and a reshuffling of formerly autonomous institutions. As a consequence many of the people within the reorganisation process become disappointed, unsatisfied and unsure about their own

TABLE 3.5: TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE DUTCH SYSTEM
OF HIGHER PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

1980	1990
1. Small-scale institutions	1. Large-scale institutions
2. Hardly any autonomy	2. High autonomy
3. Budget approved by government	3. Lump-sum Budget system
4. Financing based in <u>input</u> of freshmen	4. Financing based on <u>output</u> of graduates
5. Monopoly position protected by government	5. Competitive environment
6. No profiling	6. Profiles based on level, quality and specialities
7. Conservative and non-market orientated	7. Innovative and market orientated
8. Executive management directed by government priorities	8. Strategic management based on self-chosen

Source: Mouwen: 1988.

TABLE 3.6: FROM STRATEGIC EVALUATION TO THE 'EVALUATIVE STATE'

<u>Strategic Evaluation</u>	<u>Evaluative State</u>
Concerns for:	Transformation to:
1. Reserves of ability in society	1. Stated conditions and targets
2. Spatial distribution of the educational service	2. 'Product' evaluation
3. Resource induced to give a potential fulfilled	3. Resource allocation limited to target criteria of achievement
4. Application at crisis points	4. Market determines positive or negative feedback
5. Access to system	5. Output of system
6. Study choice determines market value	6. Market value determines study choice

Source: Neave: 1988.

future. If education was ever thought of in terms of stability, continuity and conservatism, those times have now passed in Holland. (25)

3.5 Reform and the Evaluative State.

The need for greater internal coordination at institutional level can clearly be seen in the reforms in the higher education systems of Belgian, The Netherlands and Luxembourg. The French Commission *Demain l'université*, which reported in 1988, and the change of the University Grants Committee to the University Funding Council in the United Kingdom both show similar trends in the number of specialised technical and commercial councils advising the principals, rectors and vice-chancellors of the institutions and a significant reduction in the number of internal institutional committees.

For the Belgian case, although there has not been the whole-hearted embracing of corporate ideals to the extent that there has been in the United Kingdom, there is concern that the arts, humanities and cultural sciences within higher education are being by-passed.

It appears, therefore, that Belgian higher education is firmly in the grip of the labour market. Economic and political forces, urged on in a neo-liberal fashion, influence to a high degree student numbers, study choices, the budget for education and research, even the democratisation of higher education. Market-orientated utilitarianism resounds in the new curricula and in the development and ranking of knowledge, skills and attitudes ... is the labour market not too distorted a mirror, too small and too shallow in its view for the life of the university and for higher education generally? (26)

The question of the structural and political mechanisms of interaction which have brought about the situation described for Belgium and Holland and which can be detected, to greater or lesser degrees, in other western European countries can now be raised. There seems to have been a major change in the relationship between higher education, government and society in Western Europe. Few areas that are central to the function of higher education have been left

untouched, whether this be funding, performance related budgeting, profound alterations in the patterns of authority or responsibility and leadership, and thus the nature of academic autonomy itself. In North America, and especially the United States, the American university coupled with privatisation forms part of the process that accompanies the emerging evaluative state when seen in this context. (27)

In the evaluative state, knowledge creation and consumption is market determined and driven. What students are being urged to do is to choose their studies in the light of what they wish to do afterwards in the labour market whilst most schools and higher education in Europe has functioned in the reverse way. From this point of view the rise of market-led education can be seen as another step in the long organisational reorientation of Western Europe's adjustment to mass higher education in the sense of North American structures. Some of the more obvious elements in this transformation are summarised in Table 3.6. (28)

3.6 Summary

Education systems in the Benelux countries, and other small countries in Europe, have been used to illustrate the changing role of post-compulsory education in Europe. The roles of the French and German education continue to be pre-eminent, but the Benelux countries have attempted to reestablish themselves as important actors in the development towards the development of European Single Market concept. At the same time, and despite highly complex educational systems, they have been in the forefront of changes in the 'privatisation' of education, searching for flexible responses to change for survival.

It has yet to be established whether the market-driven forces, operating at the final stages of a country's education system, can be held responsible for the fundamental changes earnestly hoped for by the politicians, changes themselves which to have originated from the influence of monetarist theories emanating from North America between the period 1973-85. Fundamental to this is the question of whether mechanistic change entrenched through monetary policy can affect the deeper structure of learning in the longer term.

Notes and References

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Section III: CASE STUDIES
Scottish and Danish Education

CHAPTER FOUR

SCOTTISH EDUCATION
A System within a System

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Scottish Education within a British and European Framework
- 4.3 Changes in Scottish Educational Policy and Structure.
- 4.4 Access to Scottish Higher Education
- 4.5 Democratising Access to Scottish Education
- 4.6 Summary

- Table 4.1 Distribution of Students between Sectors of Higher Education in the United Kingdom, 1989-90.
- Table 4.2 Distribution of Full Time Equivalent Home Students by Location and Institution, 1989-90
- Table 4.3 Geographical Origins of Students in Higher Education: Undergraduate, 1988.
- Diagram 4.1 Higher Education Provision and Structure in the United Kingdom

The Scottish system of education is unique within the United Kingdom although it is closer to the international mode than that which prevails in England. I do not have to elaborate on the fact that the crucial difference between the English and the Scottish systems depends on whether academic specialisation within the 16 to 18 year-old age groups begins at school as in England or at institutions of higher education as in Scotland. Even within the Celtic gloaming, Scotland is alone in retaining a well-balanced system impervious to English influence. Notwithstanding the continuing resilience of its Cymric culture, Welsh education is hierarchically identical with that of its neighbour; while the system within Northern Ireland is an uneasy hybrid of an Anglo-Saxon secondary structure and a Scottish Tertiary one which is being phased out.

Williams, A: Higher Education in Scotland:1986

4.1 Introduction

Scots feel that Scottish education is something different and special because it sums up, as much as any other aspect of their culture, the character of the country.⁽¹⁾ Williams, quoted above and a previous principal of Glasgow University, is in a long tradition of observers wishing to argue the case for a separate consideration for education in Scotland. An examination of the Scottish curriculum amply reveals the borrowing that comes from other parts of Britain at all levels of the system. In natural and applied studies, the international nature of Scottish education and its reliance on borrowed ideas is as great as any other country. Nevertheless, Scottish education is, structurally and philosophically, prepared to stand on its own feet and not be confused with English education. The potential of the international arena has yet to be realised, but in structure and intent, there is much that makes the relationship between Scottish and other forms of European education a profitable one.

Some aspects that will shape Scottish education in the immediate

future such as changes in the birth-rate affecting the number of students throughout the system, the age-participation rate at the post-compulsory level, reductions throughout the nineteen eighties of the units of resource for teaching and research and changes in the educational needs of the community all tend to point to a need to restructure the institutions that already exist, to form a convincing educational pattern of links between them, and to reach out to an international framework to Europe and elsewhere. (2)

This chapter briefly outlines the situation of Scottish educational mobility with respect to Britain and Europe. Some of the structural changes that have occurred, particularly at post-compulsory level, are noted along with the changes in access and content on education that have come about through the move towards a market-driven education system.

4.2 Scottish Education within a British and European Framework.

How is Scottish education faring within the Europe of the Twelve? In comparison with the other case study country, Denmark, how does it stand? What special factors apply to Scotland and what are the advantages and problems that are specific to Scottish education? Scottish education from without looks a tidy, well-disciplined system, but from within is fraught with inconsistencies (whilst Danish education, a complex structure viewed from the outside has a unity of purpose and control; a Scottish jigsaw compared with Danish lego perhaps?). (3)

According to Nairn, Scotland is caught in a political chronology between 1773 and the time of the Boston Tea Party and the Declaration of American Independence of 1776. (4) The American constitution, he argues, was framed largely to making the development of one central source of power impossible by imposing written principles of right derived from popular, rather than crown, sovereignty. On the other hand the English constitution provides for only one source of power which is the Crown-in-Parliament, which bestows a quasi-absolute authority on the post of prime minister. (5)

Scotland's place in the spectrum of autonomous regions and national states in contemporary Europe that were discussed in chapter two is not easy to decide on. Whether the 'auld alliance' can be re-erected

as a new thread of European unity is also another question with many answers. The concept of the Scottish nation and the history of its education system exist within a constitutional time-warp and try to express this symbolic identification of one community against others through the academic curriculum, music, art, theatre, literature and other cultural forms in attempting to create a sense of belonging. Direct comparisons with Scandinavia, Spain and other European Kingdoms are difficult because Scotland exists within the sole surviving specimen of an early-modern monarchic constitution called a united kingdom. The Crown-in-Parliament referred to earlier was established by William of Orange and has now decayed, along with its associated *élites* who have lost much of their previous power and control. Sovereignty has reverted to a more primordial and autocratic type that forms a part of the backcloth to the reluctant approach of the British government to European union.⁽⁶⁾ The Scottish *élites* remain in large numbers in the English private sector and in the administration and control of the Scottish Office and the ancient universities, but the new universities and central institutions have been struggling to free themselves from this autocracy through allegiances and mergers since the nineteen sixties.

Inevitably, this constitutional and administrative confusion places a legislative straitjacket on Scottish education which causes a crisis of confidence in the international dimension.⁽⁷⁾ Bell and Grant have described the resulting legislative problem, and give a striking example of both educational transfer and dependency:-

. . . Scottish legislation is essentially legislation passed by Englishmen, made in the light of centrally determined politics, and adapted to Scottish conditions as far as knowledge, understanding and sympathy permit.

It is sometimes said that 'Scotland followed suit' in the Education (Scotland) Acts of 1945 and 1946; but Scotland as such did nothing of the kind - the United Kingdom Parliament did so on behalf of Scotland using the 1944 Act as a model.⁽⁸⁾

The question of how Scotland can and will relate to European change will undoubtedly require a new direction of policy. The debate on how this can be achieved has not moved on much further than the situation

described by Bell and Grant, at least within Scottish higher education. According to McLean, who refers to Scotland as a 'satellite member of the federation (of the United Kingdom)', other future omens are not good either:-

Scottish education may be less receptive to demands for diversity. Its traditional function of encouraging emigration of the well-educated may be reinforced by the harmonising impetus of an integrated Europe.(9)

From this point of view, Scottish education has much to lose with the advent of further European integration, unless a specific policy of integrating educational change in Scotland within a framework of European trends can be formulated and achieved. Perhaps, however, the central control of education, both resented yet wished for in further and higher education, could be turned to benefit within the international dimension if education for Scottish development within Europe were more decisively adopted.(10)

The tradition of liberal education, put forward as a type of universalisation represented by the natural and moral philosophical traditions at the old Scottish universities, has been held to be a valuable characteristic of education, as valuable in the nineteen nineties as in the nineteenth century. Davie traces this as a direct 'presbyterian inheritance' via the Scottish enlightenment through to the present day.(11) In recent times, he argues, the generalist tradition has been set into reverse, but maintains that the notion of the 'democratic intellect' is as important as it ever was for educated Scots.

The question of the democratic intellect has come alive here in two arguments: one in the first half of the century, the other in the present half, in regard to the way public education is to select and train the rulers. Experiment, it was claimed, had destroyed the generalist theory by proving that there is no carry over from one subject to another . . . (however) the failure of transfer as established by psychologists applies only to rote learning, not to the kind of learning required by rulers - a learning which depends on comparing experiences of different kinds. (12)

Davie juxtaposes to two important aspects of Scottish education; the creation of the democratic intellect which is set within an ordered, Platonic society based on what Kellas refers to as 'the first tradition of Scottish education', namely 'discipline'.⁽¹³⁾ The anglicisation of Scottish education was being discussed in the Scottish Educational Journal in the nineteen twenties, whilst arts courses in the Scottish universities were being threatened by English influences in the eighteen nineties as well as the nineteen nineties. The struggle for the soul of Scottish education has been going on ever since the introduction of formal schooling in the eighteen eighties and, it could be argued, since well before that.

For countries such as Scotland, and other smaller European countries such as the Republic of Ireland, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark and Luxembourg, other concerns need to be considered in the general picture of post-compulsory education and its continuing relation to the surrounding society. In common with Denmark, Scotland's birth rate is one of the lowest in Europe (and therefore in the world) which implies a population drop from the present 5.1 millions to 4.5 millions over two generations. The exodus of highly educated talent from these countries has always been a fact, even an expectation, of life. Figures developed by the Cambridge Econometrics Group forecast an annual exodus of 20,000 newly qualified students from Scotland during the nineteen nineties, and there is an extrapolated loss of almost half a million people over the following 20 years. The group's current forecast is that 27,000 skilled workers per year will also leave Scotland, declining to 14,000 by the end of the nineteen nineties as the gaps left by the emigrants become sufficiently well remunerated to retain the newly qualified. Such an exodus would represent the largest proportion of loss from any workforce within the British Isles, including Northern Ireland.

The threat of social fragmentation due to loss of the intelligentsia and professional cadres is nothing new to the Scots; since 1900 about two million Scots have moved south to England, and especially greater London and the south-east. This kind of emigration is even higher from the Republic of Ireland, but there the high birth rate has compensated over the past 50 years to maintaining a relative constant level of population. During the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, the exodus of Scots was

fairly representative across the whole population. Farmers, entrepreneurs, artisans, doctors, lawyers and many others went to Australia, Canada, New Zealand and other parts of the globe. The contemporary exodus is more concentrated within the highly skilled groups, who seek higher paid jobs in the cities of the world from Vancouver to Hong Kong. (14) The problems still remain; in Ireland even after a continuing, hard-headed and pragmatic approach towards membership of the European Community over a period of fifteen years, there are now fewer people employed in manufacturing industry, unemployment has trebled, and emigration, thought in the nineteen seventies to be a thing of the past, is now running at the average annual rate of 30,000.

Harmonisation of educational and technical standards throughout the European Community could mean that the needs of the larger countries prevail over those of the smaller, given the large scale production advantages to industries in France, Germany, Spain and Italy. There is a real threat to the economic and educational bases of the Scottish, Irish, Benelux and Scandinavian countries unless an integrated regional European strategy is adopted. (15)

Evidence of the increasing attraction of continental European economies has been produced by figures from the Scottish Universities' careers services. One third of Glasgow University graduates sought their first jobs outside Scotland in 1989, the figure is approximately the same for Edinburgh, and Strathclyde University the figure is about 40%. Lindsay's current research indicates that there are now higher proportions of highly skilled people leaving Scotland than was the case in the past seeking the prestige and higher salaries to be found elsewhere. (16) As McLean notes above, these are not new factors affecting Scottish education, but they are seemingly becoming more powerful within the central-peripheral framework of the European economy. Running counter to this trend, there are returners and new settlers, particularly from areas with 'over-heated economies' such as the south-east of England or the eastern seaboard of the United States. Remote regions such as the highlands and islands of the west coasts of Scotland and Ireland have proved attractive. Such post-war back-migration has led to a change of population that may well approach the numbers of the earlier indigenous populations such as is becoming the case in the

remoter areas of the Isles of Mull and Skye.

Education and associated child-care and health facilities are typically 10-20% of the gross national product of a modern society. Graduates, professionals and skilled workers have supplied much of the economic base necessary to provide schools and facilities in the past. On the centre-periphery model, the centripetal forces pulling people to the 'golden triangle' of London-Paris-Berlin will affect detrimentally the regions around the edges of Europe. Economic and regional maps of Europe confirm this trend, especially if the doubtful benefits of tourism are removed. Projections suggest that by 2025, 50+ year-olds will make up more than half the population of peripheral regions. Quite obviously, a totally new way of providing education must come about before that time (see chapter nine).

4.3 Changes in Scottish Educational Policy and Structures.

Edwards has posed a series of interesting questions about the role of Scottish higher education and its relationship to Scottish society. He questioned the wisdom of changing the financing of students by grants and bursaries to loans and went on to ask:-

1. Whether failure in Scottish universities to build up links and attract recruits from the Scottish comprehensive schools in general, be not proof that however unconsciously university authorities are still thinking of themselves as Government officials rather than Scotspersons, and hence in any resistance to Government have half-lost their battle before commencing it?
2. Whether Scotland's higher education be not seriously disadvantaged by excessive concentration on the English experience, when for the nineteen nineties it needs all the possible doors to learning from Europe, above all in the encouragement in all university departments for the acceptance of European and all other non-British students in all courses. (17)

These questions refer to the expression of Scottish identity through education as discussed in the previous section whilst also making a direct point on the relationship of Scottish education to that of European countries. Neither of these topics has received due

attention. Much of the educational debate in Scotland in the nineteen eighties centred around the alleged shift of power and influence in educational provision 'upwards' to central government and 'downwards' to parents and away from the local authorities, the teachers' organisations and the General Teaching Council for Scotland. The narrowing of the traditionally broad-based, non-specialist Scottish curriculum beginning with the national testing of English and Mathematics in the primary school was an issue that took back-stage, as did the discussion on the equality of opportunity, with schools being encouraged to opt out of local authority control, and with proposals emerging for the creation of city technology academies, changes which had had almost no impact by the end of 1991. There was a shift in the educational debate from the needs of the individual to the needs of industry and commerce. Each one of these concerns can also be seen in parallel development in Denmark (see chapter five) and other European countries (see chapter three).

Higher education in Scotland consists of a university sector that is ultimately answerable to the Secretary of State for Education in Westminster, and a public sector consisting of the central institutions and other colleges that are answerable to the Scottish Secretary of State (see Diagram 4.1). Relative to the rest of Britain, the Scottish universities contribute a higher proportion of all Scottish higher education provision. Thus changes to British university financing affects Scottish higher education (and Welsh and Northern Irish) to a greater degree than English higher education which has a relatively high non-university sector of about 60% of provision (see Table 4.2). In the distribution of student within the United Kingdom, 94% of Scottish-domiciled students attend universities in Scotland but non-Scots (mostly English) form 28% of the Scottish universities' intake (whilst Welsh universities have two English for every Welsh student and 57% of Welsh students study in England). At the post-compulsory stage, therefore academic mobility starts to take off and, in proportionate terms, the drift is from the north and west of the United Kingdom to the south and east.

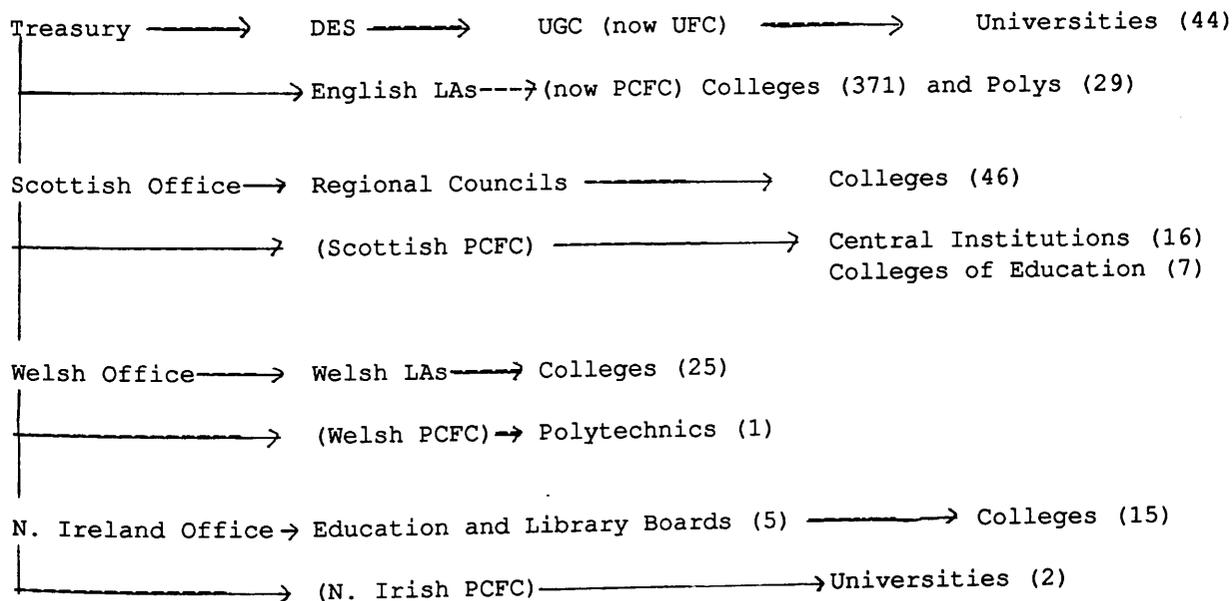
Scottish universities are funded as part of the British system (about 200 million pounds in recurrent funding excluding the Open University). The student projections for England and Wales are relatively low compared with those for Scotland. Burnhill, Garner and

DIAGRAM 4.1: HIGHER EDUCATION PROVISION AND STRUCTURE
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

	Primary Secondary and NAFE	Public Sector Sub Degree	Degree	University
Scotland	LA	LA/SED	SED	DES
England	LA	LA/NAB	LA/NAB	DES
Wales	LA	LA/WAB	LA/NAB	DES
Northern Ireland	LA	LA/DENI	DENI	DENI

- LA = Local Authority (Regional Councils in Scotland, Education Library Boards in Northern Ireland)
- SED = Scottish Education Department
- DES = Department of Education and Science
- DENI = Department of Education Northern Ireland
- NAB = National Advisory Body for Public Sector Higher Education
- WAB = Wales Advisory Body for Local Authority Higher Education

Expenditure on Higher Education and suggested changes (1991)



Note: () indicates suggested new framework of Funding Councils
Sources: H.E. In Scotland: 1987: Higher Education: A New Framework:1991.

TABLE 4.1: DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BETWEEN
SECTORS OF HIGHER EDUCATION
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM 1989-90

	Full-time	Part-time	Full Time Equivalent	%age
University F.C. Sector	283,000	48,000	300,000	40
P.C. F.C. Sector	259,000	136,000	306,000	40
Other Publicly funded H.E.	7,000	88,000	38,000	5
Scottish centrally funded + LEA	38,000	25,000	47,000	6
Welsh centrally funded + LEA	13,000	9,000	16,000	2
Northern Ireland H.E.	16,000	9,000	20,000	3
Open University	-	89,000	31,000	4
Totals	616,000	404,000	758,000	100

Note: Part-time = 0.35 Full-time

Source. Higher Education: A New Framework: 1991.

TABLE 4.2: DISTRIBUTION OF FULL TIME EQUIVALENT HOME STUDENTS
BY LOCATION AND INSTITUTION 1989-90

Country	Universities	Other Higher Education	Total	Balance
England	232 (73%)	344 (84%)	577 (79%)	40:60
Scotland	48 (15%)	47 (11%)	95 (13%)	50:50
Wales	20 (6%)	16 (4%)	26 (5%)	56:44
Northern Ireland	17 (5%)	3 (1%)	20 (3%)	84:16
U.K. Totals	317 (100%)	410 (100%)	728 (100%)	44:56

Note: Figures exclude the Open University.

Source: Higher Education: A New Framework:1991

Macpherson speculate that this is because the Scottish school system is better funded and more productive. If future funding levels for higher education are influenced by the projections for England and Wales, Scottish higher education may suffer. As they say: "It is strange that a government committed to excellence should risk reducing Scottish education to a lower British common denominator". (18)

A Scottish higher education committee will be part of the University Funding Council for the United Kingdom. The Scottish Tertiary Education Council (STEAC) made the recommendation that Scottish University finance should be devolved to a single Scottish body responsible for all higher education as proposed in Diagram 4.1. The UFC Scottish sub-committee would need substantial financial and political resources if it wished to restore access to higher education in Scotland to a level that matches the output from the Scottish upper-secondary sector.

4.4 Access to Scottish Higher Education

From the perspective of entry to higher education the direction of educational change during the nineteen eighties was at odds with the Scottish educational tradition and with the achievement of its schools. In the mid-nineteen seventies, around 17% of Scottish school leavers qualified for higher education with three or more Highers passes; ten years latter that figure had risen to 21%, a rise in productivity of about a quarter, and one that had occurred before the British Conservative government's policy, which came into power in 1979, had substantially affected the quality of Scotland's school leavers.

The Centre for Educational Sociology in the University of Edinburgh has researched the sociology, history, economics and politics of school and post-school education and the youth labour market since 1972. It attempted to distinguish the variations in attainment that are differentially attributable to pupils, school, parents and local education authorities. Macpherson and Raffae particularly questioned how valid, reliable and informative the current techniques were for estimating the effectiveness of individual schools and their subject departments, and how teachers could be judged fairly and constructively. Surveys were made to inform questions on the market

TABLE 4.3 STUDENT GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS IN HIGHER EDUCATION
IN SCOTLAND. UNDERGRADUATE 1988

From	At University in				Total
	England	Scotland	Wales	N. Ireland	
England	163,000	7,130	10,009	521	180,660
Scotland	1,985	28,715	95	62	30,857
Wales	6,144	176	4,485	22	10,827
N. Ireland	1,923	916	168	10,290	13,297
UK general	10	1	-	1,812	1,823
Overseas	13,135	2,709	1,087	424	17,355
	186,197	29,647	15,844	13,131	254,819

Source: H.E. in Scotland:1988

value of educational qualifications, the impact of the Youth Training Schemes on the labour market, youth employment and how these matters are viewed by the young. It also examined the issues of school effectiveness and the Scottish comprehensive system as a preparation for, and democratisation of, entry to higher education. The effects on the destinations of school leavers in the light of tightening bonds being created between secondary education and industry is of special interest for future recruitment to higher education. (19)

The Scottish Wider Access Programme was introduced because of the current fall in the number of 17 year olds, previously enumerated, and the effect of this on higher education. The number of people who qualify for higher education has been increasing as a proportion of the total though, as the expansion of Scottish upper-secondary education is relatively modest, this increase will not compensate for the overall reduction in numbers. In the United Kingdom in 1988 there were 1.35 million 16-17 year olds and by 1994 this will decline to 1.05 million, or roughly a 25% drop (a parallel change will occur in Denmark, though about six years later). An interesting question is whether the age-participation rate in post-compulsory education can or will be increased by policy initiatives during the nineteen nineties to compensate for the decline in absolute numbers and thus at least maintain the level of qualified school-leavers into higher education.

Projections detailed in the Statistical Bulletin, published in September 1988 by the Scottish Education Department, show a steady increase in the participation of young people in higher education. The highest projection gives the number of young Scots entering higher education in the United Kingdom falling from 16,900 in 1986-7 to a trough of 14,700 in 1995-6; on the lowest projection, the fall is 25%, to 12,800 in 1995-6. Within the SED projections, these reductions are presented as being offset by mature students entering higher education on a full or part-time basis and the further supposition that the trough of number of students in the nineteen nineties will be shallower than expected. The extent of the change of the projection is that the figures before were a high projection of 69,600 and a low of 62,000, whilst now they are 78,100 and 67,400, an increase of 12.2% on the high figure. The level of qualified leavers directly from the schools in 1981 will not be recovered until the

year 2005. (20)

Burnhill and others however, point to an actual decline in the number of places for higher education since 1981, which they refer to as the Scottish Narrowing Access Programme. Between 1981 and 1986 some 10,000 school leavers had qualifications for entry to higher education but could not get a place, which represents the number of places that the universities could have accepted had they kept their numbers at 1980 levels. The minimum qualification level for entry to higher education recognised by government is passes in three or more Highers. In 1980 just under 50% of Scotland's qualified school leavers went straight on to university; by 1986 this proportion had fallen to under one third. In 1980 two thirds of leavers with five highers went to university; by 1986 this had fallen to half. (21)

Other recent research carried out in the Centre for Educational Sociology in Edinburgh University shows that level of parents education is a good predictor of children's aspired and achieved levels of education and is a more sensitive measure than social class composition of age cohorts. (22) The anticipated drop in 17-18 year-olds is estimated at 39% and the decline in qualified leavers is more likely to be around 25% because of higher achievement rates. The Qualified Participation Index (QPI) reached a peak in 1981 of 85.9%, and could possibly return to levels as high as 90% in the foreseeable future. (23)

The challenge to widen access to higher education is to attract students from families where experience of extended education has not existed. Many potential students live within the cities, quite literally at the doorsteps of the universities and colleges. Financial incentives will be needed, work experience will have to be recognised and more modular-type courses offered. Flexible payment schemes for fees and change in course content to reflect new needs, as in the Danish reforms (see chapter five), go beyond the remit of the Howie Committee but are almost certainly necessary in the near future. The proposed introduction of loans will complicate access, which, in its more publicised form, seems to restrict rather than expand potential demand. However, having loans income-related by availability and repayment charged through National Insurance contributions from employers of graduates could be a way of expanding the financial base of higher education and disarming those scrooges

who are always calling for cuts. (24)

From the published figures, Scotland has an overall participation rate in post-compulsory education of about 40% of the levels of Japan, the United States and Germany. Many countries, such as Denmark, Sweden and the Benelux countries, have set quotas for their higher education intakes reflecting the demographic trends of their populations so that the proportion of 18-24 year-olds is decreasing whilst that of 25-50 years-olds is increasing for the next ten years. Admissions planning of this type for Scotland could go a long way to having a Scottish policy of cooperation on access to higher education to the benefit of all institutes and allow many who have so far been denied opportunities of higher or professional qualifications to get them in the future. This is an important consideration in the merger process which is now taking place in Scottish higher education and is following a similar route to that described in chapter two for the Netherlands, except that no national strategic planning has yet been implemented.

4.5 Democratising Access to Scottish Education

Noting a failure of national confidence in education, Edwards suggests that the stage where British education, in its entirety, has begun to fall behind that of other European countries, Japan and the United States has now been reached. After proposing strong economic arguments for open access to higher education, he describes the persistent use of official projections to restrict the expansion of student numbers:-

It marks the retreat from the idea of education as a vital form of national investment. It reflects a failure of nerve in the face of the challenge of the new age of micro-computer and the associated rise of the highly advanced forms of production which the knowledge revolution is bringing into existence. Supply has followed demand, and both have accelerated fastest, not in the richest nations, but in those struggling upwards. (25)

In this perspective, higher education will have to regard upper-secondary education and access to higher education in a new light and consider selection and new forms of talent, not from a

restricting and hierarchical view, but as criteria for personal development. Bell, for example, is highly critical of the trends in Scottish higher education entrance which continue to exclude indigenous and international talent:-

The increasingly rigorous entrance requirements, first introduced in the nineteen eighties, followed by an increasing academic scorn for the Ordinary degree, have conspired to reduce the universities' field of recruitment in Scotland and to increase their demands on students who have been increasingly seen not as general recruits to society but as potential high-level academics. (26)

Bell goes on to point out that until the end of the nineteenth century the Scottish universities had not only been open to all (males) regardless of previous experience but open admission was regarded as a virtue; many students chose parts of programmes, not wishing to attain a degree; and those destined for business saw two years in higher education as sufficient for their needs. Many crucial figures in business still continue to regard formal education as a preparation for life rather than the stuff of life itself.

A more open system of the type argued for above would encourage a closer awareness of adult entrants and those who missed out on the chance for higher education previously. The potential in this direction remains large, notwithstanding the relative success of the Open University. (27) Even here there restrictions to be found; the Canadian, American, Australian and New Zealand universities do not limit the category of 'mature' nor apply quotas as severely as is done in Britain; some of them have up to 50% of their students in the 25-50 years category, on both full-time and part-time programmes. By contrast, the participation rate of mature students for the Scottish universities was less than 10% in 1989, and would need to be increased in absolute terms to five times that number to compare with Scandinavian and American systems. It is the universities that will have to adapt their admissions policies to the greatest degree if these opportunities are to be realised. Such opportunities also depend on the willingness of a decreasing academic staff to try out new methods and have new resources made available to it.

The Scandinavians are more committed to public manpower planning

than the United Kingdom. The streams of access to higher education institutes and departments are controlled by the needs of the industrial and commercial sectors through the application of quotas, based very largely on manpower needs. That was vital in the past in Scandinavia because higher education courses in the past took up to 10 years to complete; it is also an important factor in the current changes towards the new Bachelor programme and the basis of its funding strategy introduced in 1988 (see chapter five). On the other side of the coin, many students are already moving into jobs whilst they are studying their higher education courses.

There is, therefore, an orientation value in the combination of higher education courses and work. The Howie Committee in Scotland was set up to review the aims and purposes of courses and assessment and certification in the fifth and sixth years of secondary education and to recommend changes where necessary. The international trend is to modular courses, as indicated in chapter seven, and McPherson, Raffe and Robertson have pointed out that Scotland has already moved substantially in this direction. At the same time, they also point out some dangers:-

It is worth identifying this piecemeal but incremental aspect of certification in Scotland as a . . . feature in its own right. In any changed arrangement, initial certification should remain short-term, creditable to employers, but also capable of leading to advanced certification that is credible to both employers and selectors for higher education. It should allow pupils to change their minds over the content, level, phasing and location of subsequent study, and it should allow for individual variations in all of these. (28)

Overall, the situation with regard to planning the post-compulsory sector of education in Scotland is confused. Brown has pointed out that financial cutbacks have been imposed for ten years, yet government ministers are reluctant to reject the Robbins principle for political reasons. The government remains committed to the idea that education should be geared first and foremost towards meeting the manpower needs of industry and commerce, rather than liberating and enriching individuals. (29) One reaction could be to 'short

circuit' higher education and let company training and recruitment operate at school leaving ages between 16 to 18 years in direct competition with post-compulsory access.

In general, many commentators on the current state of entrance to higher education in Scotland are urging universities and colleges to open their doors to adults by relaxing their traditional admission requirements and making courses more flexible. The Principal of Heriot-Watt University has stated:

Universities have tended to portray themselves as inaccessible, mysterious and remote. We have to play our part in building bridges, communicating a vision. . . . many families with gifted children genuinely do not see investment in education as something they want, or can afford, or as an investment which might pay off in higher incomes. It is simply not part of their lifestyle or their horizon. (30)

The principals of the new Scottish universities and the central institutions have been the most vociferous in speaking on the vices of limiting university and college entrance to a small proportion of the population, believing that such exclusivity runs counter to the development of an enterprise culture and the traditions of higher education. Hill has noted that the much-cherished American ideal which intends that every citizen should be educated to the limits of his or her ability has allowed 65% of American post 18 year-olds to enter higher education, compared with 21% in Scotland and 14% in England. (31) In their concluding comments to a discussion paper on higher education in Scotland in the context of the new developments in European education and the impact of 1992, Turmeau and MacLennan stated:-

. . . it is vitally important that the proportion of young people entering higher education is increased and that the standards of education are maintained in order to match our European neighbours in the source of provision of qualified resources. This issue, perhaps more than any other, dominates the scenario for the future. (32)

4.6 Summary

The central argument in the discussion of post-compulsory education in Scotland has been to put the case for increased access to education of all types, but especially that of higher education. The historical case for maintaining the 'democratic intellect' as initially described by Davie, and re-examined by Scottish contemporary writers, centres on the need for more flexible general education.

This chapter proposes that the concept of the 'democratic intellect' that incorporates the democratising element of 'peoples enlightenment' (see chapters five and nine) can be structurally accommodated through the merging of 'academic' universities and 'vocational' central institutions. Such an idea is as relevant to the modern era as it was during the Scottish Enlightenment and the Danish Cooperative Movement. The second case for more open access has been based on comparing developments of selection and choice in Scottish post-compulsory with that Europe and North America; the evidence is that restricted access to education is still the dominating force, exercised through the twin notions of 'discipline' and 'disciplines', and controlled through financial policies of centralised governance.

Notes and References

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Section III: CASE STUDIES
Scottish and Danish Education

CHAPTER FIVE

DANISH EDUCATION Internationalising a Closed System

- 5.1 Introduction
 - 5.2 Danish Education within Scandinavia and Europe
 - 5.3 Structure and Change in Danish Educational Policy
 - 5.4 New Routes in Post-compulsory Education
 - 5.5 Access and Outcomes in Danish Higher Education
 - 5.6 Summary
-
- Table 5.1 Areas and Changes of Populations of Member States of the European Communities, 1990
 - Table 5.2 Populations of the Nordic Countries, 1990
 - Table 5.3 Nordic Countries: pupils and Students in Public Education, 1988
 - Table 5.4 Students in Higher Education in Other Nordic Countries
 - Diagram 5.1 Flows within the Danish Educational System
 - Table 5.5 Composition of the Danish Labour Force by Educational Qualification
 - Table 5.6 Public Adult-education Programmes in Denmark and other OECD Countries
 - Table 5.7 Educational Choice from Upper-secondary School (*Gymnasium*)

. .Vi er ikke skabte til højhed og blæst,
Ved jorden at blive det tjener os bedst.

. . da har i rigdom vi drevet det vidt,
Når få har for meget, og færre for lidt.
Grundtvig, N.: Danmarks Trøst: 1820.

5.1 Introduction

The Nordic university and *gymnasium*, like their counterparts over Western Europe, were transformed from relatively small institutions with an élitist flavour to larger mass institutions of higher education during the nineteen sixties. They also became vehicles for specific political goals aimed at equalising educational opportunities across the Scandinavian population. Whilst the *studentereksamen* had given right of entry to higher education in the past, new types of preparation and vocational examinations were introduced (such as the *højere forberelseksamen* and *handelseksamen*) which offered second chance routes into higher and adult education programmes.

Subsequently, important structural changes in governing education occurred in the school and universities which removed much of their control from the rectors and professors, and relatively open electoral procedures for positions of administration and authority were established. In Sweden, such reforms went further with the integration of higher education within educational sectors or regions, and opening up of administration and representation posts to

public participation.

Within the past ten years, most of the Nordic countries have moved from social democratic to liberal-conservative governments. This transition occurred in Denmark in 1982, since when Danish education policy has adopted the values of, amongst others, 'quality' and 'internationalisation'. This chapter traces some of the aspects of Danish post-compulsory education that illuminate these themes, focussing on mobility and the Nordic union, values and structural changes in the nineteen eighties, and the transition to higher education within the context of Europe.

5.2 Danish Education within Scandinavia and Europe

Denmark, the most northerly of the countries of the current European Community, has just 1.6% of its population (see Table 5.1). Bridging the Germanic and Nordic cultures, there has been a persistent struggle between the Germanic and Nordic traditional influences in Danish education. Outstanding examples are the evolution of the *gymnasium*, the general and academic secondary and upper-secondary school, from the sixteenth century and the establishment of the *folkehøjskole* during the period 1850-1950. The notion of 'public' or 'people's enlightenment', a fundamental aspect of a Scandinavian approach to education, can be detected, too, in the post-war writings of American sociologists such as Wright Mills and the Frankfurt school in Germany, of which the most outstanding contributions are perhaps those of Habermas. (1)

In all aspects of Danish life the absorption of Scandinavian and Germanic cultures continues, and is further added to by the interest in European affairs, especially French and Italian. The German language, demoted only in the nineteen sixties from the first to the second foreign language after English for most educated Danes, was central in the curriculum of the *folkeskole* and the *gymnasium* until the nineteen fifties. (2) The importance of languages in education can be gauged from the fact that English is taught from grade four (10-11 years) and German and French from grade six (12-13 years). All pupils learn one or more foreign languages, and there has been recent initiatives to teach school subjects through English, German and French, this being specifically seen as a preparation for the

European Inner Market changes from the end of 1992. Language learning is reinforced and encouraged through the mass media, fashion, travel and the simple fact that few foreigners speak Danish.

The Nordic Union promotes the cultural, economic and educational interests of Denmark's Scandinavian neighbours through programmes such as NORDJOB and NORDPLUS. Most Scandinavians will spend time in the other Nordic countries through relatives, holidays and educational and cultural exchanges from schools, adult education institutions and teachers' colleges. School cooperation within the Nordic countries gives priority to development of comprehension of Nordic languages, establishment of common goals and concern, for example environmental matters, vocational training and equality between the sexes. As might be expected, adult education is also given a high priority with the Nordic Academy of Adult Education playing a major role.

The period 1814 to 1914 saw the greatest of European emigrations numbering over 50 million people leaving for America and other New World destinations; of these, over two millions were Danes, with at least 300,000 settling in the United States.⁽³⁾ Thus American connections, familial and cultural, are important in Denmark and Scandinavia and form the background to some important changes in education that have occurred in the post-war period. American ideas, not least in education with Dewey being especially influential in creating experimental schools in the nineteen twenties⁽⁴⁾, have not only affected the content of the curriculum in the sciences, there is now a great interest in restructuring Danish post-compulsory education along American lines as the move towards mass higher education continues following the expansions twenty years previously.⁽⁵⁾

Interest in international and Third World education and environmental issues is also intense, with the Nordic countries as a whole contributing high proportions of their economic aid through educational and social programmes operated by organisations such as DANIDA. The development of alternative energy sources (Denmark has a non-nuclear policy, Sweden and Norway do not), and with the Brundtland Report having world-wide impact⁽⁶⁾, Scandinavia's international role in developing lifelong and environmental education

TABLE 5.1: AREAS AND CHANGES OF POPULATIONS OF MEMBER STATES
OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES: 1990

Country	Area (km ²)	Population 1990 (mil)	Population 2010 (mil))	% up / down
Denmark	43,000	5.1	5.1	-1.1
Britain	244,000	57.3	59.9	4.5
Ireland	69,000	3.5	3.4	-2.5
Germany	249,000	62.7	58.2	-7.1
France	544,000	56.3	57.8	2.6
Holland	41,000	14.9	15.5	4.0
Belgium	31,000	9.9	10.2	2.2
Luxembourg	3,000	0.4	0.4	3.2
Portugal	92,000	10.3	11.2	7.9
Spain	505,000	38.9	41.2	5.8
Italy	301,000	57.6	56.4	-2.0
Greece	132,000	10.0	10.6	5.5
EURO 12	2253,000	326.7	330.2	1.0

Source: Nordahl: Copenhagen: 1991

TABLE 5.2 POPULATION: THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

	Population	Total Area	Population Density km ⁻²
Denmark	5 135 409	43 093	119
Finland	4 974 383	338 145	15
Iceland	253 785	103 000	2
Norway	4 233 116	323 878	13
Sweden	8 527 036	449 964	19

Source: Nordisk Ministerråd: Norden 1991.

has been extremely influential.

Within the cultural and economic assembly of the Nordic Union, Danes are about 20% of the population (see Table 5.2). Scandinavian democracy, and Denmark's participation within it, has evolved slowly from the land tenancies of the eighteenth century; in some contrast to the lot of the Scottish crofter, Denmark and the rest of the Nordic countries formed cooperatives and small enterprises which created the structure for a fairly thorough socially-based democracy of which the public enlightenment movement of the *folkehøjskole* and *folkeskole* was an important aspect.⁽⁷⁾ Although the constitutional changes accompanying agricultural and urban reform fragmented Scandinavia and reduced the international impact of the Nordic region, at the same time it enabled local democracy and welfare provision to reach one of the highest levels in the world.⁽⁸⁾

Out of the population of just over five millions, about 160,000, or about two per cent of the population, are official immigrants, with probably about the same number who have not obtained any official status with the authorities. About 25,000 are from other Nordic countries with many Faroese and Greenlanders, and about 34,000 from other European Community countries. From other countries, three nationalities are most numerous: estimates are that Turkish and Kurdish groups make up about 17,000, there are around 8,000 Pakistanis and 7,400 Yugoslavians, with a further 30,000 from African and, increasingly, central European countries.⁽⁹⁾ The great majority of immigrants live in several municipalities in Copenhagen and Århus. Their schooling problems can be considerable and whilst recent provision for mother tongue teaching is relatively generous, the emphasis in education remains on integration within Danish society.⁽¹⁰⁾

Germany predominates as a Danish export market, followed by the United States, Britain, then Scandinavia (an important factor in the balance of the importance of European Community developments). Denmark has the fourth highest living standard in Europe (after Sweden, Switzerland and Luxembourg) and the highest income taxation level (of the Twelve) at between 45-55% at the basic rate depending on the *kommune*. The long-seafaring tradition means that boats, shipping and marine engineering, fishing, in many areas often

combined with farming, are important industries. Agriculture and related goods continue to contribute 50% to the Danish Gross National Product.

Farm ownership, originally based on cereal production, and later changed to predominantly dairy farming, developed the peasant freehold from 1877. More recently, during the past twenty years, the development of large-scale landowners, often built up from buying the small farms up over a wide area, is breaking up the small family farm units, particularly in North Zealand, Jutland and parts of Southern Sweden. Although only 13% of the Danish population are engaged in farming it has an important effect on the 'educational memory' of many Danes who are first or second generation urban-dwellers. Many of their reference points for living and daily routines are taken from a rural lifestyle, and the appeal of nature, and their knowledge of it, is remarkably high. Thus although industrial exports will come to exceed those of agriculturally related products, the role of the rural economy remains important, as does the appeal of the sea (which is never far away) and the importance also of fishing. *Danmarks Trost*, quoted at the start of this chapter, is one of the many examples of Grundtvig's songs describing the small, but intimate character of the country and countryside. The change from the summer to winter is one to be prepared for; celebrated in song, it is a time to reap the harvest of the summer and to note that the colder and harder times are to come. (11)

Over the Scandinavian region there is an overall homogeneity of language which in written form, education and speech is mutually understandable. Within this linguistic homogeneity, there are a range of dialectical forms that can easily indicate the region, island or town where a family has grown up. One of the striking features of Scandinavian society to visitors is the relatively small range of social differentiation compared to many other European countries. High emigration rates during the nineteenth century and the low birth rates of the early twentieth century, political stability, the strong family unit, rural communities and Lutheran conformity were all factors in the spur to the introduction of comprehensive social welfare which gradually loosened the control of Scandinavian land-owning aristocracy over the past century.

About 70% of Danish women between 16 and 65 work, the highest of any European country. Within the age-group 0-24 years, Denmark and Germany have the highest proportion of young people in state-supported education and welfare services. Youth unemployment (under 25 years), still high at 22% in 1990, was on the way down whilst overall unemployment across all age-groups continued to increase. Along with Holland, Denmark has the highest contribution to social services (around 30% of GNP) of any of the European Community countries. Denmark claims a literacy rate of 100% (with England and Luxembourg) but this means that many immigrants and refugees, as well as special education have not been taken into account. (12)

Norden - 'the top of Europe' - comprises five states of some 23 million people; Denmark, including the self-governing areas of the Færoe Islands and Greenland, Finland, including the autonomous Åland islands, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. The Nordic governments cooperate in cultural affairs through the Nordic Council, founded in 1971. Agreements, conventions and joint Nordic measures form the basis of decisions which must be unanimous and are binding on members states. Mutual social welfare schemes, common legal code, shared electrical power, and trade cooperatives are the result of the Council's activities.

Nordic educational co-operation goals include; increased understanding of Nordic languages, joint development of curricula and teaching methods, equality of the sexes, increased teacher and student mobility, creation of the greatest possible choice of studies across national frontiers, a Nordic educational community being an important supplement to the common Nordic labour market in existence for 35 years. Institutional co-operation has been built up for the purpose of carrying out research projects, a network to be further developed during the next five years. Educational institutions are encouraged to participate in regional, bilateral and multilateral projects through exchanges of pupils, students and teachers and of teaching materials and programmes. In regard to vocational training, it should be possible (though is not always the case at present) for practical work carried out by a student in one country to be taken into account in another. The NORDJOB exchange programme, in existence since 1986, gives young people the chance to live and work in another

Nordic country, and financial planning to 1993 will expand the programme further. Table 5.3 gives the pupils and students in public education in the Nordic countries; comparison with Table 5.2 indicates that all these countries have at least 20% of their population within public education.

The inter-Nordic movement of students in higher education can be gauged from Table 5.4. Iceland especially exports a large number of its students to Denmark and Finland to Sweden, but otherwise the degree of Nordic mobility is relatively low given the similarity of educational structure and culture generally. An action plan for Nordic cultural co-operation (*Handlingsplan for nordisk kulturelt samarbejde*) has been elaborated by the Ministers of Education and Culture of the Nordic Council. Measures to enhance cultural co-operation between the Nordic countries are proposed through active participation in international co-operation and teaching. (13)

The NORDPLUS programme facilitates cooperation and mobility at higher education level. There are grants to cover the extra cost involved in developing common courses, and scholarships to supplement national grants to students wishing to spend up to one year at an institution in another Nordic country. A five year (1989-93) trial period is underway, with a committee revue of the success of the programme due to report in May, 1992. NORDPLUS was modelled on the European Commission's ERASMUS programme (see chapter eight) and similarly has short study visits and joint intensive courses to stimulate the creation of inter-university networks. The budget for NORDPLUS is around 20 Million DKK (2.5m ECU) for 1991-92. During the first year of the programme in 1990, around 250 inter-university cooperation agreements were drawn up.

During the academic year 1991-92, 1,200 stipends are offered for students and teachers in higher education. These range from about 1,750 DKK (350 ECU) per month for students to about 6,500 DKK (1,300 ECU) per month for teachers; this represents about 14,000 DKK (2,800 ECU) over two semesters or one student-academic year; these figures compare favourable with the ERASMUS grants. Course exchange and teacher exchange programmes are encouraged with the aim of developing educational networks over the Norden region. (14)

According to regulations dating from 1975, a student can receive

TABLE 5.3 NORDIC COUNTRIES: PUPILS AND STUDENTS
IN PUBLIC EDUCATION IN 1988

	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Sweden
Pre-school	51 814	47 483	4 456	118 852	298 805
Basic School 1-6 years	363 031	389 572	25 420	312 384	580 199
Middle School 7-9 years	254 977	190 570	12 667	178 924	325 405
Gymnasium	228 525	211 404	15 919	197 095	283 554
Post Gymnasium	126 662	146 857	5 006	114 855	181 182
Totals	1 025 009	985 886	63 468	922 110	1 669 145

Source: Nordisk Ministerråd: Norden 1991.

TABLE 5.4: STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION
IN OTHER NORDIC COUNTRIES 1986

Studying in Home Country	DK	SF	IS	N	S	Total	% of all students
Denmark	-	10	12	130	84	236	0.14
Finland	21	-	1	40	682	754	7.54
Iceland	722	23	-	193	248	1 186	28.93
Norway	720	-	19	-	1 399	2 138	4.10
Sweden	195	67	9	159	-	430	0.18
Totals	1 658	100	41	522	2 423	4 744	

Source: Svanfeldt: Nordisk Ministerrådet: 1990

credit in one country having passed an examination in another. The decision whether or not to accept the examination pass is taken by the university or higher education institution of the receiving country. Both the Nordic Council of Ministers of Education and its counterpart in the European Commission want pressure to be brought on higher educational institutions to liberalise their approach to recognising and granting the equivalence of school-leaving and higher education diplomas.

5.3 Structure and Change in Danish Educational Policy

The nineteen eighties cover the period of time when the change from social-democratic to liberal-conservative policies came about in Denmark with a transfer of government in 1982. It also straddles the change of attitude from the time when there was a reluctant attitude towards the European Communities to, on the surface at least, an embrace of European ideals by nearly all the Danish political parties; thus, a new framework for the 'internationalisation' of education gradually came about during the nineteen eighties.

The issues of both quality in education and internationalisation have been linked together and take a central theme in recent Danish reforms.⁽¹⁵⁾ They have also been seen as forces for change in the future.⁽¹⁶⁾ These same two issues have been used by many European governments in the past ten years as they have moved through the stages of economically-driven education, efficiency of outcomes and then quality in education with respect to its product - the school, college and university leaver. This same period also covers the change of emphasis from 'equality' to 'quality' in education, especially from the perspective of politicians and planners. However, whereas quality in education was the initial policy buzz-word, quality control of education seems to have become its actual realisation.

Quality in education and society has, in practice, been discussed for many years, notably in the United States and the Nation at Risk Report of 1983, which has been credited with the recent upsurge of interest in its popularity. Evidence from examples of quality controlled and market-orientated education systems tends to suggest that an over-emphasis on quality leads to more centralist control,

and to a 'closed' rather than an 'open' system of education. Quality is an elusive concept in educational matters and may turn out to have very limited use, as discussed in chapter nine. This suggests that the quality ideal may be especially difficult as a policy for change in Danish education as, historically, there has been strong local control and a high degree of trust and participation in education by families and communities. (17)

To what extent can the concepts of quality (as opposed to equality), internationalisation (as opposed to nationalisation), and open (as opposed to closed) systems be applied to Danish education as they developed in the nineteen eighties? Further, how has it come about that social democratic values, that seemed to embrace internationalism and quality (though debated them little) in the past, has acceded to conservative values?

At first glance it is indeed surprising that any national ministry of education should make internationalisation one of its main goals. As Kerr has remarked:-

. . . universities are, by nature of their commitment to advancing universal knowledge, essentially international institutions, but they have been living increasingly in a world of nation states that have designs upon them. . . where does this dual identification position these institutions between a mythical academic Heaven and a sometimes actual earthly Hell, and in what ways does it affect how they act? (18)

Because schools are intimately linked to the world of higher education (or should be) then they should also be inherently international in nature and their inspiration should come from the philosophical content of learning rather than political interests. At first sight then, it is a curious claim for a national ministry that one of its main priorities for education is directed towards internationalism.

The current attitude that many Danish teachers have towards this ministerial view of internationalisation of education, especially with regards to Europe, is summed up by the Chairperson of the Headteachers' Union of the *Folkeskole*'s words, she says "We shall listen to European ideas, but keep our fondness for Danish *folkeskole*

traditions".(19) A useful exposition of the Danish social democratic view of education that existed in Denmark for more than 40 years can be gleaned from the U90 document (20) which set out broad principles of education, and included the aim to raise the level of education for all Danes to the equivalent of 12 years of schooling. There was a strong emphasis on second-chance education, and examinations such as *højere forberedelseksamen* and adult and lifelong education provided through the *oplysnings forbund* and *folkehøjskole*. However, although this report was well-received, especially in international circles, it was overtaken by political and economic events with the Central Council for Education being abolished in 1982 with the change of government and a change in climate that "makes it difficult to imagine its ideas and thoughts being realised within the foreseeable future".(21)

Raising the question as to whether the problem of 'public enlightenment' is a legitimate educational concern, Jacobsen feels that objections such as complexity of the issues, choice of individual and the difficulty of historical interpretation are not convincing when so-called experts wish to limit access to knowledge.(22) Similarly, Davie has raised the spectre, in what would appear to be a parallel problem in Scotland, of the loss of the 'democratic intellect' from Scottish education (see chapter four). Both ideas include the process of quality of education within the policy drive (if utopian ideal) of equality in education. In both countries it seems that the concept of equality has lost ground to the image of quality which, in reality and practice, is expressed and acted on as quality control, audit and assessment.(23)

Although this problem of matching public values in education with quality (or more pertinently, quality control) represents a political clash of the left and right and in that sense is an international phenomenon, there will also certainly be specifically Danish and Scottish reasons its parallel manifestation in either country. In *Lighed? Hvordan, Hvorfor*, for example, there is specific reference to the fear of lowering standards and the craving for more possibilities, choice and a more varied education than was being provided by the *folkeskole* in the nineteen seventies.(24) The alternative forms of Danish education, which are often referred to as

private schools though they are in practice strongly supported and financed by the state, seem also to serve as a kind of safety valve and a background against which educational ideas can be put into perspective, whether they come from the left or the right of the political spectrum.

One of the surprising features of the critical response that the new Danish conservative government brought forth was the attack on interdisciplinary approaches and topic-orientated teaching promoted by the U90 report, arguing in *Kampen om Gymnasiet*, for example, that these brought lower standards of achievement. This battle was particularly focussed on the *gymnasium*, which is recognised as the primary route to further and higher education. The *gymnasium* teachers generally supported the ministry's case for traditional subject-based courses, whilst also accepting the introduction of additional courses in new disciplines such as computing to accommodate new lines of learning. The *gymnasium* reform of 1987 established a series of study options under a plan of core, obligatory choices and optional choices now familiar in European post-compulsory education. The internationalisation aspect was recognised in the curriculum by strengthening modern language studies. (25)

What is interesting in this approach to educational reform is that it happened at a time when interdisciplinary methods, integrated approaches to knowledge and team and group methods of analysis were being applied by commercial and industrial companies to improve quality in production, working methods and working lifestyles. Thus schools, and universities were moving towards closed systems of learning at the very time that industry and commerce were trying other methods of cooperative learning; the irony here is that political leaders were appealing to the market-driven forces in society and models of management in industry to justify educational reform.

Confusion in the international dimension of education is also evident when comparison is made to wider fields of commercial and marketing activities. Commerce and industry are encouraged to be international, to increase their international investment, to export, to set up in other countries, to increase the mobility of its workers, and to exploit the international division of labour. It is

no surprise therefore, that the driving force towards the Europeanisation of social, as well as economic development, has been hijacked almost totally by multinationals, the communications, construction and transport industries. One might conclude that social democratic thinking had missed the opportunities of the nineteen seventies because it could not solve the paradox of imposing economies on education whilst upholding the notion of equality for all.

Conservative governments across Europe have, in general, been pro-European and internationally orientated in economic philosophies and, whilst they have demanded that their educational systems become more market orientated and internationally aware, national control of planning, curricula and achievement levels has in reality been increased. The failure of the social democratic tendency in education had not been its lack of openness to international influences, but the failure of educationists to see the pragmatic implications of accepting international ideas on the one hand whilst arguing for a kind of Danish protectionism on the other:-

We can expect little from the wholesale transplantation of American education to Denmark or East German education to Denmark, so we should expect little success with the harmonisation of education within the European Community; on the other hand you can expect to get a whole lot of foreign problems and a lot of damage. (26)

This was effectively countered by the new liberal-conservative minister of education, Haarder, as indicated by this appeal to the historical perspective which sets Danish education firmly and securely within a known tradition:-

As Danes we have our shared experience as a people as recorded in our history, literature, poetry, art, songs and hymns, scholarship and science... To think historically and act contemporaneously is a good recipe to follow in the various forms of education at a time which in so many ways calls for change and innovation. (27)

Other concerns have frustrated the easy connection of quality and internationalisation. The technical and commercial fields could benefit most by the formation of an internal European market, yet Denmark has been little more successful than other countries in attracting large numbers of able students into the technical and scientific fields, this despite the fact that many of the specialised institutes are geared closely to the professional job market.

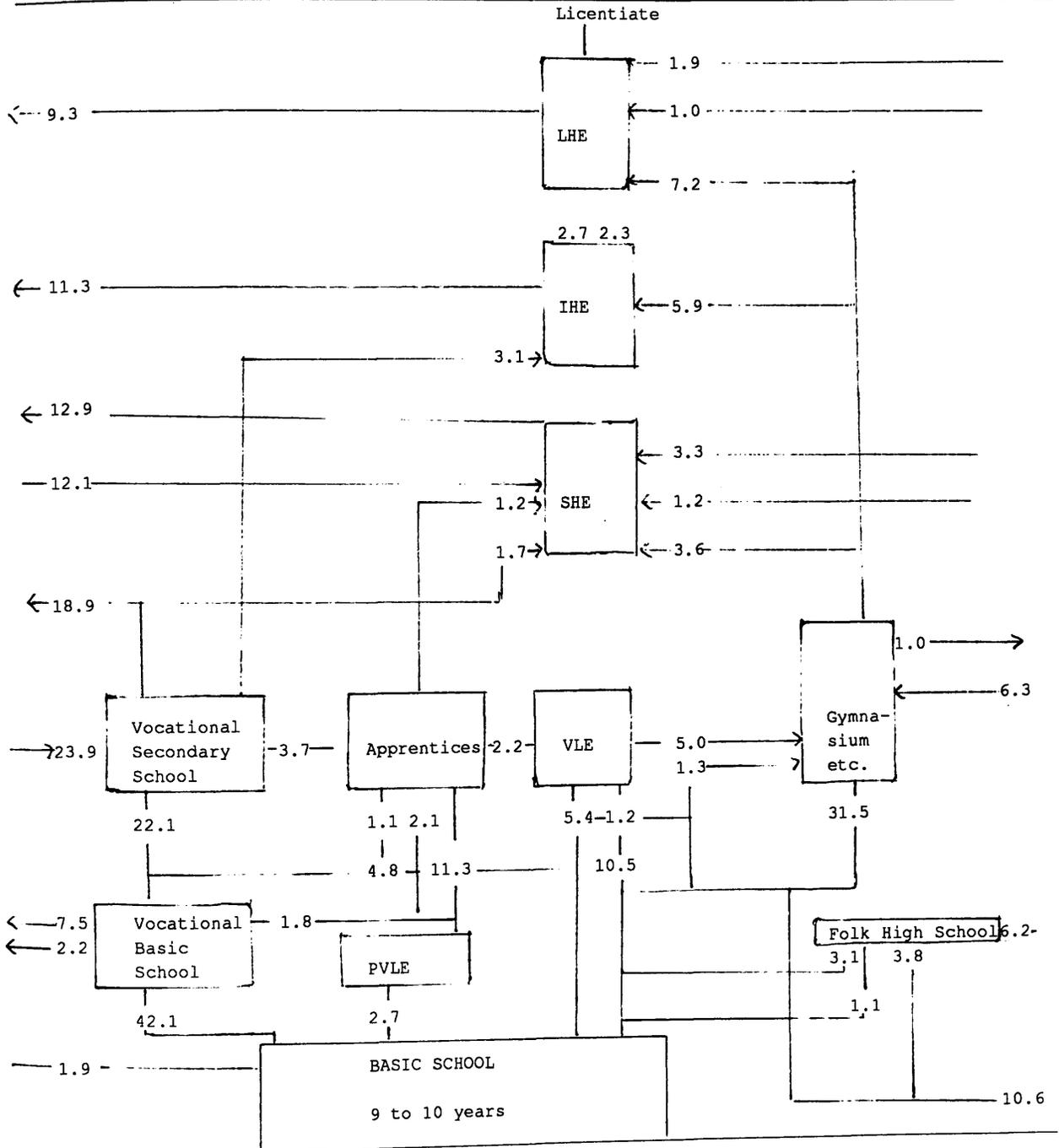
The appeal to Danish national history led to a reassertion of feelings of security but led to a cautious (though realistic) attitude towards European changes. Small, but nevertheless telling, attitudes to international change can be cited; in 1988, Denmark participated in only 6% of the European Erasmus programmes and fared little better in the technical and Research and Development programmes (though there has been an increase in Danish programmes for 1989-90). Students who participated in COMETT and ERASMUS programmes in 1989-90 found that their meagre grants were likely to be taxed despite the fact that these were specifically allocated to travel and living expenses. This was local, rather than state, administrative action, but it left the impression on students and observers that support for overseas studies was less than they have been led to believe.

5.4 New Routes in Post-compulsory Education

There were about 780,000 young people between the ages of 15-24 in Denmark in 1988. This will decrease until the year 2001 when the number could stabilise at 560,000, a drop of about one third. As a consequence, it is likely that demand for technological skills, especially in a country highly dependent on its export trade in design and innovation in manufactured goods and services, will increase. The percentage of the workforce with neither skills nor qualifications dropped from 46% in 1974 to 31% in 1987, but there are still approaching one million members of the Danish workforce that are unskilled, especially in the older age-groups who received only the basic level of seven years of education in the *folkeskole*. (see table 5.5).

The importance of the *folkeskole* remains in providing the broad-based education necessary to the current requirements of the

DIAGRAM 5.1: FLOWS WITHIN THE DANISH EDUCATION SYSTEM
 Flows of persons having finished or abandoned education, 1985/86
 % of those leaving the basic school



PVLE: Preliminary Vocational level education
 VLE: Other vocational level examination including e.g. commercial school, assistant nurses
 SHE: Short-cycle higher education, including e.g. nurses, nursery teachers, police, technicians
 IHE: Intermediate-cycle higher education, including e.g. teachers, journalists, etc.
 LHE: Long-cycle higher education, including e.g. masters degrees at universities

Sources: Ministry of Education and OECD: 1991.

labour market, whilst the diversity of adult education satisfies to some extent the demand for second chance education, specifically offered via the *højere forberedelseksamen* introduced in 1966 as a parallel qualification to the school-leaving examination of *studentereksamen* (see Table 5.5). A route to higher education that has grown in importance is through the commercial colleges offering the *handelseksamen* leading to middle management and the services sector. Overall, Denmark provides a wide range of general and professional programmes aimed at enhancing qualifications compared to other European countries, reflected also in the substantial provision of the *folkehøjskole* and other adult education organisations supported by the trade unions and political parties. (28)

Diagram 5.I shows the flows within the education system in the mid-nineteen eighties. Then, about one-tenth of those leaving the *folkeskole* (after nine to ten years of schooling) directly left the system while 40% entered vocational training in the school-based system and the rest into the apprenticeships. In the coming decades it is anticipated that the number of unskilled workers will drop by around 20% and the number of university graduates could rise by about 30 %.

Vocational training became more important over the period 1875-85. Educational choice widened, partly by structural expansion of the technical and vocational sector and partly by financial incentives: initial or mid-career vocational training has now been received by about 50% of the work force. According to a recent OECD report, the apprenticeship system is still relatively undervalued and needs greater incentives to encourage young people to enter this sector of the labour market (see Table 5.6). In the 'Job and Education' offer programme, which provides temporary employment (mainly in local government) with the purpose of maintaining young people's contact with the labour market, there has been a parallel youth programme operating alongside that of normal schooling. Although there has been little formal investigation of the effectiveness of this system, it takes up to 1.2% of the Gross National Product, or about one eighth as much as the total education system. In all, with income maintenance measures, there is an expenditure of 5.3% of the Danish GDP which represents about two and a half times the average for OECD

TABLE 5.5: COMPOSITION OF THE DANISH LABOUR FORCE BY EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

	1979	1983	1987
Completed higher education giving labour market qualification	24.4	20.2	19.6
Completed Vocational Training	40.0	46.9	49.2
No completed training giving labour-market qualification (residual group)	35.6	32.9	31.2
Of which			
attended higher education	5.1	6.5	6.9
attended vocational training	9.5	11.7	11.2
completed basic school	21.0	14.7	13.1

Sources: Ministry of Education and OECD: 1991

TABLE 5.6: PUBLIC ADULT-EDUCATION PROGRAMMES IN DENMARK AND OTHER OECD COUNTRIES

	Persons entering programmes per year (1986-87)		Public expenditure
	Number	% of unemployed	% of GDP
Selective programmes for alleviating unemployment.			
Denmark	42,000	19	0.26
Finland	32,300	24	0.27
France	491,000	19	0.24
Germany	586,000	27	0.28
Ireland	24,000	10	0.38
Netherlands	72,000	10	0.17
Norway	15,800	32	0.10
Sweden	86,800	85	0.51
U.K.	94,700	3	0.05
Share of labour force			
General programmes aimed at enhancing qualifications			
Denmark	154,000	5.5	0.23
France	250,000	1.0	0.14
Ireland	20,540	1.6	0.17
Portugal	151,500	3.4	0.19
U.K.	197,300	0.7	0.02

Sources: Ministry of Labour: *Hvidbog om Arbejdsmarkedets Strukturproblemer*: Copenhagen: OECD: Paris: 1990

countries (see Table 5.6). In such comparisons, Danish expenditure on educational programmes aimed at youth and adults is comparatively high, whilst that of the United Kingdom is low, often by a considerable factor.

5.5 Access and Outcome of Danish Higher Education

As with most European countries, expansion in Danish higher education was highest in the nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies. The humanities and social sciences expanded during that period when their graduates were directed mostly towards the public services in social welfare and education. Since then an effort has been made to reduce the humanities sector, reflected in the figures shown in Table 5.7. The demands on the *folkeskole* and *gymnasium* continue to increase in terms of student:teachers ratios and breadth of options of study. The *gymnasium* remains one of the core traditions of Danish scholarship and, in combination with the *folkeskole*, is expected to provide school-leavers with a socially enlightened education that is sufficiently broad, open and flexible to be developed later either in intellectual education or vocational training.⁽²⁹⁾ Drop out rates from the gymnasium increased rapidly throughout the nineteen seventies and eighties as the range of courses broadened and the popularity of the upper-secondary sector increased. Reforms to the curricula leading to the *studentereksamen* and the *højere forberedelseksamen* attempted to recognise the different social needs of students who had to cope with changes in modern society.⁽³⁰⁾ Nevertheless, concern remains that lack of motivation and failure to achieve reasonable success in the rigorous courses in the upper-secondary programmes leads to a significant proportion of drop outs in the 16-18 year age range.⁽³¹⁾ Whether the reforms to the upper-secondary school that were started in 1982 and aim to be in place in 1992 will strengthen the educational foundations sufficiently for the challenges of the Single Market is a question that many Danish educationists currently reflect on. ⁽³²⁾

With the introduction of the three year Bachelor programme in the period 1986-1988 there are now two higher education tracks. The older candidate degree, such as *candidus magisterii* or *candidus scientarium*, with its emphasis on personal direction and professional

TABLE 5.7 EDUCATIONAL CHOICE FROM UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL (GYMNASIUM)

	1979	1983	1987
Intermediate higher education, technical	0.5 (0.1)	0.6 (0.2)	1.0 (0.6)
Intermediate higher education, humanities	0.3 (0.4)	0.2 (0.3)	1.1 (1.7)
Masters degree, technical	0.8 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	1.0 (0.4)
Masters degree, humanities	1.5 (1.8)	0.8 (1.1)	0.7 (1.0)

Note: parentheses indicate percentage of females

Sources: Ministry of Education and OECD: 1991.

recognition, is now offered in parallel with a short-cycle basic higher education degree targeted at the job-market needs of middle management and functionary technological skills. In addition, there is now the idea of the *tværfaglig* year, in which a series of subject options, cross-disciplinary and outside the main field of study, are left to the student choice. It is not clear as yet how adventurous this choice option can be, or how successful the necessarily brief introduction to other fields of study is becoming. The impact of the bachelor degree has been high in political terms, but relatively low in attracting employers to the concept, a difficult point for the reformers as this was the initial motivation for changing the structure of higher education courses. In 1991, over half of the new bachelor graduates failed to get jobs within six months so that the flexibility and acceptance of this short cycle form of higher education still remains in doubt.

Each student's progress through higher education is now monitored through the *statens uddannelsesstøtte* or student financial support system. This sets up a contract between the student and the state; the latter pays the student an agreed amount for taking an agreed range of courses and passing the associated examinations in a given time at a standard or level negotiated with the individual university departments. The successful performance of this contract needs constant direction and guidance given that the vocational recognition of many courses is unclear. Students taking higher education directly from the *gymnasium* accept the 'taxi-meter' system, as it is popularly referred to, perhaps more readily than the longer term students and many of the teachers in the schools and universities. (33)

The factual content and economic aspects of education are now emphasised at the expense of thorough discussion and, some would argue, intellectual rigour. Danes are especially aware that this change in the 'quality control' of higher education is the government's means of opening the system to international pressures from political and structural directions and many are highly sceptical of the process. For the future, the labour market demands for higher education graduates is unclear, and is especially acute in the humanities which had previously relied on the public sector for the best prospects of employment.

5.6 Summary

One of the most important contributions to European education that Denmark has made has been the concept of 'popular enlightenment' that has been developed within the framework of Nordic education over the past 150 years. Denmark's Scandinavian traditions continue to inform education from the *børnehaveklasse* to *licentiate*. The cultural and economic interchange within the Nordic region has an interest in promoting increasing educational mobility through the Nordic Council. Inter-Nordic academic mobility is described and related to the models of mobility established within the European Community.

Through changes in Danish educational policy dating from 1982, a description is given of the transition from education informed by social-democratic values to those of conservative-liberal ideals dominated by quality in education and based on monetary control of education which has similarities to developments in the Benelux Countries and the United Kingdom. In the face of the need for more internationalisation of education and the curriculum, Danish education has, in spite of recent rhetoric, followed a closed and conservative approach to educational reform.

New routes to higher education through second chance programmes and the broad provision of adult education have maintained the traditions of Danish education, whilst absorbing the tendency to vocationalise and shorten higher education programmes. Overall, and in common with Scottish education, pressures of European market strategies have tended to produce quality control of education rather than quality in education.

Notes and References

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2. Danish was consciously changed to create a more individual language after World War II, the Germanic influences being less emphasised and the inclusion of foreign words - especially English, but also French, American, Italian, etc. - more readily accepted. The fragmentation of the Scandinavian languages means that most Danes have to make a conscious effort to learn and communicate in these languages.

3. The proportions were much greater for Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland and, altogether, well over 30 million Scandinavians settled in North America. See Hvidt, K., *Flight to America: The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants*. Academic Press, New York, 1975.
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6. World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future (The Brundtland Report)*. Oxford University Press, 1987.
7. See further Allardt, E., et. al. *Nordic Democracy*. Det Danske Selskab, Copenhagen, 1981, especially sections I and VI. Also Dixon, W., *Society, Schools and Progress in Scandinavia*. Pergamon, London, 1965. Chapters 1-3.
8. The Danish empire around the North Sea, which included England in the ninth and tenth centuries, effectively ceased until the middle ages when the Union of Kalmar united Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Greenland, Færoe Islands and large parts of Finland under the Danish monarchy. Sweden broke away in 1523 (Skåne in 1558); Norway was merged with Sweden for the period 1814 to 1905; Iceland became independent in 1943. Previous political unity is reflected today in the identification of a Norden cultural and linguistic commonality, and some similarities in religious heritage (Lutheran), monarchies and constitutional form, amongst others. For the religious influences in Danish education see especially Thodberg, C. and Thyssen, A., *N.F.S. Grundtvig: Tradition and Renewal*. Det Danske Selskab, Copenhagen, 1983.
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10. Hemmingsen, L. and Nielsen, M., *Immigrants and the Danish Educational System: multicultural aspects of the transition from school to work, choice of vocational training and occupation*. Mimeo, Institut for Pædagogik, Copenhagen University, 1988. Hemmingsen, L. and Wieclaw, J., *Fremmedsprogede Elevers Opfattelse af Erhvervsuddannelse*. Statens Erhvervspædagogiske Læreruddannelse, Copenhagen, 1990.
11. Taken from Folkehøjskolens Sangbog, Foreningens Forlag, Odense, 1966. See also Thodberg, C. and Thyssen, A., *Op. Cit.*, 1983.
A liberal translation might read:
No windy peak watched over our birth,
It suits us best to remain on Earth.

and

We have come a long way to understand wealth,
When few have too much, and fewer too little.

12. Nordahl, M., *Danmark og EF i Tal og Streg*. Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1991. Portugal has the highest illiteracy rate of the Twelve at 16%.
13. Nordic Council of Ministers, *Background Paper: Program for Nordic Cooperation in Higher Education*, Copenhagen, May 1991 and discussions with Peter Meier, Consultant for Higher Education and Research, Nordic Council, Copenhagen, 10/91. For an interesting discussion on Nordic co-operation see Turner, B and Nordquist, G., *The Other European Community: Integration and Co-operation in Nordic Europe*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1982.
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19. Birgit Darr, Chairperson of the Folkeskole Headteachers Union Address to 1991 Annual Meeting. Quoted in *Folkeskolen*. No. 40, October, 1991. p. 8
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22. Jacobsen, B., The Concept and Problem of Public Enlightenment. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. Vol. 8, no. 2, 1989. pp. 127-137.
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24. Schmidt, E. (1979) For megen ulighed. Jørgensen, P., (ed) *Lighed? Hvordan*,

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26. Goldbach, I., *Kultur og Skolens indhold - et filosofisk-didaktisk problem*. Goldbach, I. and Henricksen, S., *Pejlinger: Pedagogisk-filosofisk Studier*. Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1978. p. 120.
27. Undervisningsministeriet, *Perspektiver i Uddannelses og Forskningspolitikken*. Copenhagen, 1987. Quoted in Winther-Jensen, *Op. Cit.* p. 13.
28. In Denmark there are over one hundred folk high schools. Each year a few close and several new ones open so that changing needs are met by this slow rotation of different kinds of residential courses. Some, such as Askov in southern Jutland and Krogerup in north Sjælland are highly regarded centres providing courses and facilities at least on a par with many higher education institutions. Some of the adult education institutions provided by the trade unions, kommunes and political parties are Folkeligt Oplysnings Forbund, Arbejdernes Oplysnings Forbund, Åbent Universitet, Folkeuniversitetet, Liberalt Oplysnings Forbund, and many others. For a detailed review of adult education in Denmark and its place in modern Danish society see Jacobsen, B., *Studier i Dansk Voksenundervisning og Folkeoplysning*. Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 1991.
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SECTION IV; ACCESS TO EDUCATION
International Policies and Programmes

CHAPTER SIX

COMPARISONS OF EDUCATIONAL
QUALIFICATIONS
1945-1980

- 6.1 Introduction
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- Table 6.1 Summary of Documentation and Statistical Services of Some International Organisations
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The nations of Europe are too circumscribed to give their people the prosperity made possible, and hence necessary, by modern conditions.

Prosperity and vital social progress will remain elusive until the nations of Europe form a federation or a 'European entity' which will forge them into a single economic unit.

If I could start again, I would start with education.

Monnet, J.: *Jean Monnet, A Grand Design for Europe*:1990

6.1 Introduction

A major aim of legislation in the post-war period has been to establish equal treatment of all nationals within the countries of the European Communities. The appropriate directives which aim to achieve this can be divided into three broad categories, as follows:-

1. 'transitional' directives;
2. directives on mutual recognition of diplomas, etc. including those concerned with the harmonisation of training;
3. directives on harmonisation of company law and more especially of national requirements governing the right to take up and pursue activities.

The transitional directives, which dealt with intermediate transition policy through the 1960-1975 period, are now mostly superfluous. The directives on mutual recognition have direct

relevance to this research and are reviewed in detail in this chapter, along with the parallel efforts of such bodies as the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Economic and Cultural Development, up to around 1980. Chapters seven and eight bring some of these developments up to the present time. Harmonisation of company law is an important field and will effect, to a substantial extent, the development of international mobility; however, this concern lies outside the field of this research.

6.2 International Trends in Education after 1945

A great variety of approaches to international recognition came into existence following the 1939-45 war in Europe. There were international agreements in the Nordic countries, the European Communities, in Arab countries, Africa and Latin America, all of which tried to achieve some form of mutual recognition and accountability in international education. The Mexico Agreement of July 1974, which applied to the Caribbean and Latin America and the NORDPLUS Programme of the Nordic Countries serve as examples.⁽¹⁾

Educational mobility reaches a peak following the end of first level university studies. In European countries during the nineteen fifties only a relatively small proportion of students reached this level, by far the majority having left at the end of the compulsory stage with none or very few qualifications; or during the post-compulsory stage (approximately 16-20 years), usually with a leaving certificate. If assumptions were made that not only graduates, but students with vocational and technical qualifications wished to work abroad and that educational and occupational mobility would increase, there were good reasons for preparing for such eventualities of post-war internationalism. A Scottish student of 17 years with Highers or a German graduate of 25 years with a *Diplom* may come to reasonably expect some kind of formal recognition of their qualifications at the international level to allow them to take up work.

This, essentially, was the argument for seeking some degree of comparability within compulsory and post-compulsory education. It was of some significance that the newly formed permanent Education Committee of the Community of the European Communities saw the compulsory sector as an area of action of the teaching of children of

immigrant workers, foreign language teaching and the opportunity of access to all levels of education. The post-compulsory phase itself offered a good opportunity to cover a wide range of educational interests and qualifications, of both the full-time and part-time and academic and vocational sectors.

In a very limited way some progress has been made on internationally accepted examinations given at the end of the upper secondary schools. The International Baccalaureate (2) has developed a flexible programme and examination technique that offer some pointers to the way international comparisons might be made. The examination can be taken in one or two stages over two years: individual subjects or a combination of them can count as credit for an overall diploma, the standard of which is now acceptable to many universities and colleges throughout the world. The examination is mostly attempted by highly selected pupils in the international schools and hence might seem only appropriate to this elite type of pupil. This is unfortunate as many of the techniques of the scheme could well have a wider appeal. Perhaps the same criticism can be made of the European Communities' attempt at a European examination - the European Baccalaureate. (3) This can only be taken in the 9 European schools set up and run mostly for the children of Community employees, and total around 11,000 pupils. Again it has a wider acceptance than most comparable examinations at this level, particularly in the original six member countries, as it has a 'continental' (or encyclopaedic) style of both curriculum and administration.

6.3 Integration of European Education

In view of this great variety of secondary education in both structure and qualifications, it is open to question how far a common commitment in harmonising cultural fields can go. If there is some ultimate aim of moving towards a federation of Europe this "must ultimately be related to the crucial social relations and issues of its peoples, e.g. defence, economic policy, foreign affairs, or social welfare". (4) Haas particularly differentiates between short-term and long-term measures which would encourage integration through comprehensive social and educational programmes. (5) Thus, educational exchange of students for a year abroad (transactional

arrangements) would represent a short-term benefit. Any fundamental changes of the formal structures of education would inevitably need long term planning.

A free exchange of personnel and the freedom to work in any European country leads to closer integration if such movement is functionally productive and is seen to be successful. The 'functionally productive' aspect is stressed here as it is an unwarranted assumption that cultural exchange in itself automatically leads to closer cooperation.⁽⁶⁾ Pure integrationists such as Brugmans take the optimistic view that national sensitivity could lead to a new political entity which might use educational as well as organisational and legal means as a vital element of unity.⁽⁷⁾

Establishing equivalences in academic and professional qualifications is desirable from several points of view. The increasing mobility of the working force produces a need for the migrant and the recipient country to know to what extent which qualifications and experience are useful and necessary in the new situation. Within a given discipline or a profession a common core of knowledge can be more fully established by seeing the differing ways in which the other countries use that knowledge. It gives additional insight into the pedagogical and philosophical aspects of the subject, and into what might be regarded as important growth points, as well as in itself giving a juxtaposition of ideas which might prove generative in their own right. These processes are well exploited in the research side of a discipline where frequent international exchange and conferences are established. It becomes more difficult when the cultural, social and historical dimensions are an integral part of the exchange. Education systems and the subsequent process of certification are an amalgam of subject knowledge and the ongoing development of the cultural and political sequences in a country.⁽⁸⁾

According to Beck ⁽⁹⁾ the three dominant factors which encourage harmonisation of education are, 1) a greater communication between countries, 2) common ideological commitments, and 3) economic changes. All three factors are apparent in European cooperation yet many people would stop short of combining curricula and examinations into some sort of European examination. The trend in fact is to recognise the plurality of education and the specific local qualities

in various regions which were previously regarded as temporary aberrations to be subsumed eventually into an overall national policy. There are many examples of this type of development and at all levels. The Welsh bilingual schools at the secondary level and the encouragement of dialects or regional language in primary teaching are examples. In France, the amalgamation of special colleges and the University into a Community College in Alsace or the University of Vincennes open admissions policy were different in intentions and aims from the overall national picture. In Germany the different *Länder* have always regarded it permissible to develop a regional variant of their own.

How does this pluralistic development affect the desire for greater educational mobility? In the first place it is a much more complex business to collate and get any meaning from qualifications, which on criteria such as age, length and depth of study may seem to be equivalent. Secondly, the development of transnational agreements must take into account whether the exchange envisaged is with similar areas in terms of social and cultural factors. Outside the university area a good example of developments in this area is the Central Bureau in the United Kingdom. Thus, school to school exchange, town-twinning and regional exchange between countries has become an important method of international communication. While this activity may help to create some understanding of other Europeans' way of life, it is unlikely to produce formal agreements affecting education as such. On the academic side, the British Council exchanges (10) through universities and colleges could produce exchange of information useful in formulating research in disciplines that has an international appeal. To go to the next level of development, the Franco-German Agreement of 1954 gradually led to reciprocal arrangements being implemented to allow study in both Germany and France to count for credit, although this in practice applied mainly to the frontier regions.

In comparison with North America provision for academic recognition has been minimal across Europe. In the nineteen seventies the Joint Study Programme, pilot to the ERASMUS programme, set out to develop an 'inter-state' approach. The Commission aimed that, by 1989, 20,000 students would have received financial support under this programme which then had an annual budget of 52.5m ECUs, the highest of any

European Commission education programme (see chapter eight). An inter-institutional approach was also sponsored by the European Commission through its European Community Course Credit Transfer System. A more legalised approach has been adopted for professional qualifications and agreements have been signed for several of the major professions including doctors, nurses, lawyers and accountants.

6.4 Concepts of Equivalences

Creating equivalences in academic and professional qualifications are seen as desirable goals for reasons of increasing mobility of the qualified work force in Europe and within a given discipline or profession, a common core of knowledge can be more fully established by analysing the different ways in which various countries use professional expertise. New insights can be gained into the pedagogical and philosophical aspects of the subject, and into what might be regarded as important growth points. A comparison and juxtaposition of ideas may prove generative in their own right. These processes are well exploited in the research side of some disciplines, such as the sciences and technological studies, where frequent international conferences and exchange of workers are common events. It becomes more difficult when cultural, social and historical dimensions are an integral part of international exchange.

Educational systems, and the subsequent process of certification, are an amalgam of subject knowledge and the ongoing development of the cultural and political sequences in a country. The international harmonisation of education requires a melodic development of distinct educational entities which will produce something considerably richer than the component parts from which it has been derived.

Halls (11) analysed the theoretical degree of matching that can be achieved for education systems. The theory of transactionalism states, in simple terms, that the more contacts that take place the greater the prospects are that countries will cooperate. Within Europe an example would be the Franco-German agreement of 1954, and the subsequent treaty of 1963, outlining the cooperation in research, equivalences of diplomas, and the intensification of French and German cooperation teaching. This led to reciprocal arrangements being implemented to allow study at all levels of education in either country to count for credit in French, German and most of the

subjects in the curriculum

The essential idea of functionalism was cooperation rather than integration. Put simply, international agencies flourished if they were established to serve specific and concrete needs. A further development of this idea - neo-functionalism as suggested by Haas and Lindberg - proposed that, if and when new international needs made themselves felt - and not before, they would be gradually satisfied. In practice this needed the consent of national representatives and involved no surrender of 'sovereignty'. Agreements would be legally binding and on an international basis.

Federalism requires movement towards integration in as many areas of education as possible. The final step, full educational union, requires a high level of co-operation in all social fields and would require a common "currency" of curricula and examinations, as well as teaching techniques and professional status. The great snag in this type of development is that the foreign qualifications have no accepted exchange rate, with the possible exception of those given by the really prestigious institutions. A 'value educational tax' must be deducted at each exchange. As far as Europe is concerned, Brugmans and Spinelli have been particularly instrumental in developing this kind of theory. Decisions taken at a supranational level, working within a separate legal order, characterise this federalist approach. It can be seen that transactionalism, through functionalism and federalism, implies a growing degree of integration of the countries involved.

More recently, Coleman has suggested a 'Europe of many circles'. This proposes spheres of interest forming an interlocking pattern (rather like Olympian rings) representing - to take examples given by Coleman - a common policy to deal with pollution of the Rhine, an energy policy for Britain, Iceland and Scandinavia or a North European Agricultural Policy.

The consequences of such an approach would be that Europe would rapidly develop an overlapping and interlinking network of common policies, which can be illustrated by the theory of sets. (12)

Such a 'set theory' could, for example, be applied to the array of programmes now operated by the European Commission - mobility

programmes such as ERASMUS, COMETT, LINGUA and TEMPUS and research, development and communications programmes like ESPRIT, DELTA and PACE - where there is a positive intent to develop links within and between the programmes to establish international networks.

Interestingly, such a model could also be applied to the notion of cultural and linguistic spheres, particularly as they affect education policy and practice. The Nordic Union represents an example of a cultural and linguistic 'set'; the German speaking 'set' of *Mitteleuropa* stretching across central Europe is likely to become more important in an integrated Europe; a Francophone domain which could be extended to include the Maghreb. Yet another group of sets appears if regional minorities are brought into focus (and national boundaries taken out of focus), when the linguistic and/or cultural sets of Frisians, Walloons, Basques, Catalans, Luxembourgeois, etc. becomes colourful and, quite literally, multicultural. Perhaps it is a sad comment on the current negotiation on European integration that this multi-layered picture of Europe outlined in chapter two of this thesis has not been given more overt cognizance.

Most attempts at international developments work at the interface of the national interests and educational systems. As international institutions came into being, such as the European Commission and Council of Europe, the socioeconomic tasks which were inherently international in their framework started to attract interest.⁽¹³⁾ The suggestion that there could well be a federal Europe has been increasingly and openly suggested, though such a political structure "must be ultimately related to the crucial social relations and issues of its peoples, e.g. defence, economic policy, foreign affairs or social welfare".⁽¹⁴⁾

Both the shorter and longer term goals which encourage integration need to be distinguished, both in the theoretical analysis and in the sort of programmes and specific measures that can be taken. Elites - aristocratic, bureaucratic or professional - become resistant to the process of integration in order to maintain their own interests.⁽¹⁵⁾

The Single European Act goes some way to establishing the conditions for the free movement of people across Europe. The Social Charter seeks to define workers rights and Economic Monetary Union seeks a common currency and central European bank. However, to invoke the warning given by Lindberg and Scheingold:

We recognise that the linkages exist, but make no assumption as to the inevitability or automaticity of the direction of these developments. (16)

To clarify this relationship Lindberg and Scheingold suggested that the relationship between 'dynamic variables' in the integration process can be explained in terms of general and political factors. They gave a differential equation of the form:-

$$dS = \int (S + Su) (dD + dL) + e_n$$

where the existing political system (S) changes (d) as a function of systemic support (Su), the demand for change (D), and the degree of leadership available (L) with other minor variables playing their part. The rate of change of the system could well be slow (17), so that the influence of demand and leadership (D + L) can influence the rate of integration significantly in either a positive (more integration) or negative (less integration) sense. (18) What might be termed 'lesser variables', such as the influence of the border, maritime and peripheral areas of Europe, come into play more effectively as integration progresses. European pluralism may prove to be a difficult challenge to solve if insufficient attention is paid to the needs of regional and dispersed minorities and too much to the creation of a single market. Sillars (19) has clearly put forward the case for regions and smaller countries of Europe within the European context. The argument given is that the Single European Act giving open market access to the Twelve and the European Free Trade Association is a fact of life and that there are no provisions within the Treaties of Europe to treat a small country as being different in principle or to reject a 'new' country, that is one that is in a different political relationship with its neighbours than previously. A change in the constitutional base of Scotland, for example, would not entail it having a different status within the European Communities.

The concept of leadership, or the effective practice of it, depends on the political and economic power of individual states of Europe as well as the charismatic nature of leaders. Dictatorial leaders may try to suppress or enhance the demand for integration as made evident

in a country's population. There is the obvious possibility of replacing a leader who may be out-of-step with the feeling of the majority of states within Europe, but this is where the challenge of sovereignty would be made most obvious - this indeed seems to describe the events in the U.K. over the period 1990-1991. Federalism, the total integration of all fields of social action, was the final aim of European unity as conceived by Brugmans and Delors, his direct philosophical successor. Officials with supra-national responsibilities work and make decisions based on a European framework rather than any particular national one. (20) Although the case of the United States is most frequently referred to in this connection, the models of Canada or Australia are much worth investigation, especially for provincial and state legislation of education.

For more profitable and increasing exchange it was necessary to evolve more mutual recognitions or equivalences of qualifications. In the nineteen seventies commentators became rather gloomy about the prospects of greater unity.

...the obstacles to free movements of persons, goods, values and ideas are gradually being eliminated in the interest of all. When it comes to education, however, students .. are not yet enjoying the advantages of free exchange....in studies. Their qualifications, degrees, diplomas and other qualifications are not convertible 'currencies'. (21)

This lack of the convertibility of educational qualifications, which has not kept pace with the commodity and trading agreements (c.f. The Single European Act, The Lomé Agreements) turns attention to those workers who are inevitably mobile across Europe:-

With the expansion of the European Economic Community, the proliferation of multinational corporations and international agencies, the increasingly free movement of labour, the emergence of problems of the environment which can only be treated on a global scale, it is not surprising that those responsible for national school systems are beginning to realise that education has a responsibility to a more world-wide community. (22)

In the nineteen seventies the trades unions' interest in education was particularly nationalistic because of the threat they saw to the jobs of their members. They therefore tended to emphasise the organisation and structure of the educational system as being peculiar and different within each country, teaching methods and educational opportunities as being under threat from integration.

I frankly do not see any (European) policy emerging, certainly in the next twenty years. Whatever the outcome, so far as the educational system is concerned things will go on much as they are. (23)

It is also one thing to reach a written agreement, and quite another to carry out the intricate process of exchange that may be intended, and avoid some awkward political attitudes and snags that they create. Nevertheless, such agreements are the basis of reference, and are reviewed in the next section.

6.5 Legislation for Equivalences

Three European conventions dealing with equivalences have been established. The first of these in 1953 was concerned with the admission to universities, establishing the equivalence of diplomas awarded in the sixteen countries signing the agreement. Article 1 gave recognition for all diplomas for the purpose of admission, subject to the availability of places, and Article 2 recognised the priority of national interest. A second agreement in 1956 established the equivalences of periods of study abroad in modern languages (Article 2) and emphasised that the agreement should be extended to pure and applied sciences (Article 3). A further convention of 1959 gave the universities the ability to grant academic recognition of university qualifications for postgraduate study, and to use academic titles of foreign universities (Article 3). A further protocol agreement in 1972 reinforced the 1953 convention.

The agreements themselves are straight-forward, but their interpretation has caused many problems. In an explanatory document by the Council of Europe, it was pointed out that the holder of a university entrance qualification did not necessarily entitle him or her for admission, as may perhaps be expected with the *Abitur* or

baccalauréat in Germany and France. The conventions further made no assessment of material equivalence. There may also be good reason for refusal despite the fact that a person is well-qualified - the lack of adequate knowledge of a language for example. If an applicant has been refused admission in one country, however, he or she would be perfectly entitled to apply to a university abroad. (24)

An initial requirement in the formulation of mutual recognition of qualifications was to establish full and up-to-date information on national qualifications. Some countries have progressed further than others in this; the West Germany Central Office of Foreign Education collected a large amount of educational data from most countries in the world. A scheme proposed by the Council was to establish national centres to provide information on systems of post-secondary education and admissions requirements as a step towards dealing with the problems of acceptance by one country of another's qualifications. (25)

It was necessary, first of all, to distinguish between academic and professional equivalences. The latter had some provision in Article 57 of the Treaty of Rome, and within professional and industrial codes of practice. The complex inter-relationship between academic recognition and university admission equivalence of diplomas, *numerus clausus* and *effectus civilis* had not been satisfactorily resolved in spite of the European conventions and the work of the Committee of Higher Education and Research at the Council of Europe. This was reflected in the persistence of the small number of students who study abroad. As Henri Janne had said:-

Mobility should not be regarded as a marginal extra to the educational process. Its .. role...(should) help to illuminate and enliven the curriculum .. by direct experience abroad and advance personal development .. by a widening of horizons. (26)

The term equivalence, which had been found useful by the international organisations, was nevertheless somewhat misleading. The terms 'acceptable' or 'recognised' were used more and avoided the misunderstanding of equality in a measurable or mathematical sense. As it was used by the Council for Cultural Cooperation, Organisation for Economic and Cultural Development and the European Communities,

equivalence tended to focus attention on the requirement for similar recognition of national qualifications.

Berckx distinguished between vertical and horizontal equivalences, in a comparison of the educational structure and system in different countries. Horizontal equivalence implied continuation with the same subject of study in a different institution. A year spent abroad in a foreign university would be an example. Vertical equivalence required the continuation of study after the completion of a phase or cycle of education as at the end of upper-secondary education. As reforms in curricula and structure change so there was a continuing need for the reassessment of qualifications.⁽²⁷⁾ Modular programmes are a more recent way of combining the needs of horizontal and vertical equivalences; with fine grading of modular courses, programmes from different countries can be slotted together to give an overall coherent programme. The possibilities for flexible international programmes could be increased by using this technique (see especially chapter eight).

Legal equivalence required legislation stating that certain qualifications were materially comparable and that they had the same academic equivalence. Formal equivalence meant that the holder of a foreign qualification was treated in the same way as the holder of a similar national qualification - which could, of course, include legal equivalence. Material equivalence meant that a detailed comparison resulted in the conviction that the two qualifications were of approximately the same standard. Whilst formal equivalence was dependent on the prior establishment of material equivalence, the latter did not need to be accompanied by formal or legal equivalence.⁽²⁸⁾ The hierarchy of the nomenclature was thus legal, formal and material in descending order.

Because of the practical complexities described above, Halls suggested some time ago that functionality may be a more straightforward means of accepting alternative qualifications. Throughout a student's academic life an accreditation system could be used to demonstrate that the person was competent to operate in a different cultural and national context.⁽²⁹⁾ This idea resonated with the European Commission's suggestion of course credits in selected study areas through an international modular study programme as referred to earlier. The growth of modular programmes, particularly

in languages and professional studies, showed this was a promising area. The idea was constructive to the extent that it highlighted the need for back-up courses where deficiencies arose, and emphasised the functional aspect as well as the accumulation of qualifications.

Of the many international bodies in this field, each has tended to favour a particular approach. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was interested in the 'democratisation' and 'renovation' of education with a strong commitment to *education permanente*. The Organisation for European Co-operation and Development (OECD) employed a functionalist approach to its educational policies. Economic matters now dominate the OECD, even in analyses of educational systems. An organisation involved with ideas and achievement in education since its creation was the Council for Cultural Cooperation (CCC). In its approach to education the council worked towards the harmonisation of educational systems and was directly concerned with the equivalences of qualifications. The Directorate for Research, Science and Education of the European Economic Communities also aimed to establish the mutual recognition of qualifications on a legal basis. Despite the different geographical areas covered by these various bodies, their overlapping policies led to certain protocol agreements to avoid duplication of interests as far as possible. (30)

An initial requirement in the formulation of mutual recognition of qualifications was to establish full and up-to-date information of national qualifications, by no means an easy task. A scheme was proposed by the Council of Europe to establish centres to provide information on systems of post-secondary education and admission requirements as a step towards dealing with the problems of international acceptance. Similarly, the European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES) in Bucharest, which covered Western and Eastern Europe as well as Canada and the USA, has a network of information centres which cooperated with those of the Council of Europe and the European National Academic Recognition Information Centres (NARIC). The latter were in response to recommendations from the European Council in 1981 which were endorsed by the Ministers of Education of the Member States by June 1983. (31)

The NARIC network became operational in 1984 with each member state having a national centre (Belgium had two, one French-speaking and

the other Dutch-speaking) aiming to give advice and information on the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study. The intended users were higher education institutions, students, parents, teachers and employers. The NARIC centres set about producing a set of 'recognition tables' aimed at documenting the bilateral and multi-lateral agreements that exist across the twelve states. The British Centre set up and administered by the British Council, served to answer queries and provide factual information about courses in higher education.

Where upper-secondary leaving certificates are concerned the NARIC centres listed the names of the certificates and indicate to which branch of tertiary education they gave access to. In the case of restricted entry or *numerus clausus* operating, these should be indicated. (32)

Through the Centre for Educational Innovation and Research (CERI), established in 1968, OECD was concerned with the educational growth and innovation in higher education, curriculum development, educational technology and innovative structures and policies. The three major aspects of CERI's work have covered recurrent education, development and exchange of educational innovation and the development of national and international connections for stimulating innovation. A series of educational reviews were published in the seventies and economic reviews in the eighties covering the OECD countries. (33)

The Council of Europe has cooperated in European education through the European Association for Research and Development in Higher Education and the European Association for Research Libraries. UNESCO has six major documentation services in science and technology, (UNISIST), research (ISORID), planning (IIEP), bureaux (IBE), reports (SIRE) and abstracting services (CEAS). The European Communities saw the development of the Committee on Scientific and Technical Innovation and Development (CSTID) in to the educational field as important. The Educational Resources Information Clearing House (ERIC) in the United States and the European Documentation and Information Systems for Education (EUDISED) have similar purposes.

The Organisation for European Cooperation and Development (OECD) exemplified a functionalist approach. Although initially involved with economic matters, it became increasingly concerned with

TABLE 6.1 SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTATION AND STATISTICAL SERVICES OF SOME INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)
The United Nations Information System for Science and Technology UNISIST
International Information System on Research and Documentation (ISORID)
International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP)
International Bureau for Education (IBE)
International Reports on Education (SIRE)
Co-operative Educational Abstracting Service (CEAS)
Classification Internationale Type de l'Education (CITE)

Council of Europe (CCC)
Centre of Information on Language Teaching (CILT)
European Documentation and Information Systems for Education (EUDISED)

Commission for the European Communities. (European Communities)
Committee on Scientific and Technical Information and Development (CIDST)
Directorate General for Science Research and Education.

Organisation for the European Co-operation and Development (OECD)
Directorate of Social Affairs, Manpower and Education.

educational planning and other matters related to education. The Council for Cultural Cooperation (CCC) aimed to bring ideas, techniques and achievements to the notice of its members, and to adapt them to the needs of individual countries. In this respect it displayed aspects of both functionalism and federalism. The council was particularly concerned with equivalence of academic qualifications, but stood apart from curriculum development.

As referred to previously, the Directorate for Research, Science and Education of the European Economic Communities was created to establish the recognition of qualifications within the Community. Articles 118 and 128 of the Treaty of Rome dealt with educational matters through the collaboration between member states on basic and advanced vocational training; Article 50 was concerned with the exchange of young workers between countries. Article 48 allowed the freedom of movement of workers, excluding public service employees, pertinent to migrant workers. These four articles were, until late in the nineteen eighties, given little priority and consequently slow in their implementation. The political will to generate educational integration in the nineteen seventies was relatively weak, and confined to mutual cooperation. During the nineteen eighties some aspects of educational integration in respect of qualifications as motivations for international programmes became more acceptable. The recognition of qualifications in vocational and technical education will move up the ladder of priorities in the coming decade.

The Treaty of Rome was also significant in this respect and within the European Communities the freedom of movement constituted a basic right of citizens of member countries. The Council of Ministers included a number of measures in its Action Programme drawn up in February 1976. These were devoted to promoting free movement of teachers, students and research staff in the Euro Nine. Article 9 of the European Regulation No.16 of December 1968 dealt with the mobility of labour in the community; Article 12 stated that children of a national from one of the member states should be admitted to the latter's education institution, including universities, under the same conditions as nationals from the host state. In practice, financial constraints and language differences have to be accounted for and no European Community country has implemented this article in full.

Migrant workers had similar rights in training in vocational schools as did nationals, and their children had equal right of admission to the appropriate state's educational system. The Social Action Programme of 1974 aimed at improving the free movement and the educational conditions of nationals and the children of nationals of European Communities and other countries. These conditions included accelerated training courses for migrant children, with the provision of four hours of school time each week for preserving their mother tongue and culture. Special recruitment of teachers from overseas was carried out and the grants of study awards to encourage learning on an equal basis to those of nationals. At that time the statistical office commenced preparing data on all foreign nationals registered within the European Community countries. (34)

Specific educational provision suggested for migrant workers included nursery education, curriculum changes to facilitate bilingual teaching, and the inclusion of cultural awareness wherever possible. Special teacher training programmes would obviously be needed for these types of initiatives, and there was an attempt to provide adequate information and advice for migrant families so that they could take full advantage of these provisions.

The trend towards a European view of education has been treated with some caution by educationists. The recruitment of teachers, research workers and students as if the twelve countries of the European Community constitutes their normal space of work seemed difficult to realise in practice. There were some precedents. The nuclear physics programme gave rise to EURATOM and CERN: the College of Europe at Bruges was founded by Brugmans in 1949 as a private institution providing courses in the institutions and culture of Europe. The European University in Florence had a troubled history, and eventually opened in 1976 with four main departments: history and civilisation, economics, law and political science and gradually made its presence felt on the European scene. The European schools were a precursor for the university and have now produced an impressive number of graduates. (35)

6.6 Equivalence versus Recognition of Qualifications

The mutual recognition process has thus followed two main routes. The first was to make a thoroughly scholarly assessment of the

requirements for the award of a qualification in each particular field of study. The Council of Europe set up a rolling programme of investigations covering member countries in particular subject fields to compare curricula and examinations in each country.

A major survey on curriculum development in European countries was carried out by the Institute for the Study of International Problems in Education at the University of Stockholm.⁽³⁶⁾ Both this survey and the Council of Europe Studies aimed to provide data which would be useful in arriving at pedagogical agreements between the various European countries. The problem was essentially one of 'congruence' in the sense of determining how far the terminal school courses in one country 'fitted' with initial courses in higher education in another. Individual studies further added to the store of knowledge of examinations and curricula in secondary and upper-secondary education but while this process was more likely to lead to mutual acceptance, it took a considerable period of time before agreement could be reached, and could even be a factor in preventing reform and experimentation.

The second and more favoured approach was a general type of agreement which asserted that qualifications were acceptable for given purposes in all countries. Whilst having the advantage of being simple to apply, this method had the disadvantage of expecting some countries to waive part of their sovereignty in awarding qualifications.⁽³⁷⁾ Because of the different structures, autonomous bodies, and examinations, different countries have various ways of recognising foreign qualifications.⁽³⁸⁾

Both the very varied picture presented by the regulations of the universities with regard to equivalences and the care that was devoted to the scrutiny of individual applications was partly due to the strong tradition of independence of the universities and the British preference for pragmatic methods rather than applying hard and fast rules. A striking feature of many European systems of equivalences was their very high degree of systematisation. Equivalences were not accorded individually but on the basis of official lists giving the recognised equivalences. For the United Kingdom a Matriculation certificate issued by a British University with a testimonial from the Universities Bureau of the British Commonwealth, the German matriculation certificate (*Abitur*,

Reifezeugnis, or *Zeugnis der Reife*) issued by the school, or authorisation to enter a university without matriculation certificate given by the *Länder* authorities were given equivalences to the baccalauréat in France. (39)

The process of entry to higher education could be viewed as essentially one of mediation between secondary and higher education. Extrinsic factors, such as the pressure of demand for places, and intrinsic factors, such as the new concepts of the pattern of the leaving examination, have also affected the process. The leaving certificate itself was increasingly a necessary (but not a sufficient) qualification for entry to higher education. (40) Some structural, pedagogical and psychological factors of importance are listed in Table 6.2

The main obstacles to establishing recognition of foreign qualifications in the nineteen seventies was still the fact that systems and content of primary, secondary and tertiary education in Europe varied considerably from country to country. National authorities and universities were anxious to maintain existing educational and professional levels and reluctant to give full recognition to foreign qualifications. It was often difficult to get reliable information on the exact value of qualifications, which in any case did not cover particular laws and regulations and areas of knowledge which may be expected of a home student. In this respect, countries tend to naturally favour their home students in the immediacy of responding to local economic, social or political situations.

The European Communities was primarily an economic institution aimed at benefiting the economies of the countries which comprised it. Cultural union, although seen as a long term goal, is not embedded in the Treaty of Rome. However, in improving the economic standing of member countries, closer educational relations would seem to be an essential requirement. There were several institutions of the European Communities which were directly or indirectly involved with education. Within the Commission there was a Directorate General with an interest in education, together with science and research. Any discussion of education had to be related to existing provisions of labour mobility and recognition of qualifications which necessarily required research into the education systems of member

 TABLE 6.2 : FACTORS AFFECTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EQUIVALENCES

Main criteria of comparability

Duration of schooling
 Stringency of the selection process
 Curricula
 Ability in the host country's language
 Examination syllabuses
 Pattern of the secondary leaving examination

Pedagogical criteria

Teaching methods
 Congruence of curriculum content
 Curriculum goals

Other criteria

Candidate's ability in:	making judgments, reasoning effectively observing precisely, making analogies, memory, creativity.
Candidate's character	drive, perseverance, intellectual curiosity, and personality level of motivation and aspiration
Candidate's study skills:	use of library, lecture notes, discussion and debate, independent work
Candidates previous performance by school record	interview testimonials

countries. More indirect, though not insignificant, effects and educational policy came through the Directorates General for Social Affairs and the Regional Policy. Reports of the 1970s anticipated contemporary problems: difficulty of reconciling equality of opportunity in education with equality of opportunity in working life, the apparent gulf between school and society with its consequences for motivating young people and the need to develop a flexibility in school systems to adapt to changing needs. (41)

Freedom of movement constituted a basic right of member countries from the late 1960s. Migrant workers have similar rights in training in vocational schools as nationals, and migrant workers' children had equal right of admission to the state's educational system. The Social Action Programme applied to workers from European Communities and other countries. This aimed at improving free movement, and the educational conditions of nationals and children of nationals of European Communities and other countries. These conditions included accelerated training courses for migrant children, with provision of four hours of school time each week for preserving the mother tongue and culture. Special recruitment of teachers from overseas was carried out to assist the programme, social work assistance given to those requiring it, and the granting of study awards allocated on an equal basis with nationals. The Social Fund allocated fifty per cent of the costs of 'innovative projects', and the statistical office has data on all foreign nationals in the European Communities. (42)

Interest was brought to bear on the 'peripheral areas' of the Community through its Regional Policy. These areas, such as the Western Highlands of Scotland, the West Coasts of Wales and Ireland, the small islands around Britain, Sicily and Southern Italy, Corsica, Sardinia and so forth, coincided often with culturally distinct areas of education as well as particular environment or urban development problems. There were other regions nearer the geographical centre which have educational patterns somewhat different from the general national system. The Walloon population in Belgium and the German minority in Southern Denmark were examples, whilst there were large numbers of immigrant workers of various national origins in all countries of the European Communities. As far as the latter group are concerned the relevant provisions of the Treaty were contained in Articles 48-52 which provide for free movement of workers and

Articles 52-58 which dealt with the right of establishment in the community.

In the final analysis, the success or failure of mutual recognition of qualification depended on the criteria adopted. These criteria had to be sufficient to allow for later reforms and yet be sufficiently precise to provide a basis for recognition. The standard models for comparison of curricula and qualifications can be broadly summarised as:-

1. An aggregation of the number of hours spent in gaining a qualification over a prescribed period of months or years.
2. A study of individual subject qualifications which may or may not be recognised in their own right, and an assessment of the standard by using method 1. or curricula evaluation.
3. A study of subject combinations involving both 1. and 2. and an assessment of their preparation for work or further study.
4. Where credit systems or an aggregation of qualifications are gained over a number of years, a finer time-sequence can be attained; broken credits cross the boundaries of 'traditional' subjects which makes comparison difficult.

The problems attached to such studies were, firstly, the educational process could not be isolated from the national context in which it was experienced; there were many regional variations within a country which could be distinguished by language or cultural differences of tradition. Secondly, the qualifications were taken at various ages in different countries (or even within the same country) and the length of instruction needed by students to attain a qualification varied according to institution, ability and motivation. Thirdly, the accepted curricula of traditional subjects varied, as do method of learning and teaching. The examiners could be the students, their teachers or university professors. Fourthly, the administration of an examination could use a proportionate pass rate based on number of entrants, a standard of attainment established by outside observers, and a host of marking techniques.

6.7 Summary

The initial drive by international agencies towards international

education during the nineteen fifties lost momentum rapidly. Some reasons for this were; the national approaches to upper-secondary and higher education which differed from country to country: the weakness of international theories in education: the concentration of reforms on more of the same, as opposed to laying the basis for open learning systems and transferable credits within an international domain.

Determining equivalences of qualifications proved to be a complex and unwieldy approach to mobility. This was magnified by the recognition process determined by national requirements, and by the charters of thousands of individual institutes of higher education across Europe.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

ADMISSIONS POLICIES IN POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 European Education Systems: 1945-1980
- 7.3 Methods and Criteria of Selection for Higher Education
- 7.4 Changing Patterns of Admission
- 7.5 Traditional and Non-traditional Students
- 7.6 International Academic Standards
- 7.7 The European Communities and Legislation in Education.
- 7.8 The Rome Treaty and Single European Act
- 7.9 Summary

- Table 7.1 Phasing of Post-war University Expansion
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- Table 7.3 New forms of Routes of Admission, Groups of Students and Curricula
- Table 7.4 Professions Recognised with the Right to Practice in Member States of the European Communities.

Whilst the citizens of Europe continue to think in provincial and national terms, their destiny has become linked to a global one. In principle Europe has nothing to fear from this new situation. On the contrary she has always been open to the world and to influences from outside. Now that the period of Vasco de Gama is gone forever we must either find new forms for our world destiny or accept that our current decline is to be final.

Brugmans, H.: *Europe: a Leap in the Dark*:1985

7.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have discussed structural and political changes that have, and are, taking place in post-compulsory education in Europe. Chapter six especially examined the legislation designed to increase mobility of students and internationalise the curriculum. As the complexity of legislation on mobility and human rights within Europe increased, new ideas and developments were needed to boost the flagging concept of European unity.

As education lost the initiative, so the idea of an internal European single market place for exchange of manufactured goods and services became more powerful in the economy conscious nineteen eighties. In 1991, with the 19 countries of the European Communities and the European Free Trade Association, a region stretching from the Arctic Circle to the Mediterranean and Atlantic seaboard to the Danube of over 380 million people has been created though trade agreements, the largest free trade area in the world. The potential for international education now exists, the ways and means have yet

to be discovered.

This chapter discusses some of these ways and means; administrative, curricula and qualification exchanges that have been tried over the past ten years. These are educational responses to the economic and social changes that have come about in the 'common European home'. Some recent aspects of the European Community legislation that could affect educational mobility in the nineties are then discussed.

7.2 Post-war National Systems of Education

The full importance of the European legislation that affects the internationalisation of education is yet to be fully appreciated in the world of education. Because this legislation is often obscure, and teachers are not accustomed to working outside the domain of their particular institution, much of it has been ignored or rebuffed as irrelevant. Multinational companies seeking ever larger markets who have the legal clout to influence and interpret international legislation and lobby European institutions, have used the past twenty years to take over the driving force towards European union.

The restricted impact of both international examinations and mutual recognition of national qualifications merely emphasises the fact that education is still very much the business of individual states. National and educational boundaries in western Europe achieved a greater degree of permanence than before 1945 when it was difficult to define national boundaries with any degree of confidence. European history before the Second World War had had the appearance of a minefield of battered borders and peoples, with any victory in war redefining what a state embodied in both cultural and demographic terms. Since the French revolution, rulers governments had been inclined to regard territory as real estate which could be disposed of as and when necessary, developing the curious situation in which sovereignty is the quality of a nation and not of people within it. From this point of view it is not wholly logical that governments now regard frontiers, initially made through bargaining or simply drawing lines on a map, with a mystical reverence and rely on the support of popular dogma and historic appeals to national sovereignty. (1)

To apply national criteria to educational systems may have some surface value, but tends to invite the charge of educational naïvety and imply an exclusiveness to any particular system which may be purely imaginary. There further seems to be no straight-forward

connection between national education and traditional values that determine the character of a country or region as indicated by the Arfe Report discussed in chapter two. Grant⁽²⁾ has made the observation that 'national' identity is a composite factor of a number of feelings expressed through adherence to a language, ideology, social structure or personal admiration of public leaders. People respond to change in due course by adapting or relating elements of their culture which best fits a new environment. Thus the massive technological and scientific advance of the war period ensured the need for a basic general education for all to a much higher standard than previously. Despite the structural diversions within secondary education, this could only be achieved through democratising education and providing real opportunities for all social classes.⁽³⁾ If trade was to be the cement holding western Europe together, education would be needed to provide the expertise to drive the machines of European technology.

During the late nineteen forties and through the nineteen fifties the grammar school, the senior secondary school or academy, the *lycée* and the *Gymnasium* as well as the private sector schools were the main providers of upper secondary education. At this stage so much reconstruction had to be done that national authorities were inclined to rely on what they had experience of, and rather than experiment with radical reform, tried to implement 'secondary education for all' by creating parallel institutions for what are now seen as the 'new' type of upper secondary student.

Most European countries had a network of publicly maintained secondary 'grammar' schools providing an academic type of education, deeply influenced in its methods and curriculum by the needs of those who hoped to go on to higher education. In every country a large proportion of these were from middle class families who were often willing to pay fees, while the remainder were selected from the middle and lower classes on the basis of a competitive selection examination at about 10-11 years of age.⁽⁴⁾ In Germany, the *Gymnasium* still stood for the humanitarian tradition, and its resurrection in pre-Nazi form, in parallel with the *Hauptschule* and the increasingly popular *Realschule*, served the need to return to a familiar tradition. The *lycée's* former eminence in France continued unquestioned, at least at the official level. The educational and political needs of the upper and middle classes were thus ensured in the short term, and the emphasis was in supplying the necessary

teachers and schools to fulfil these needs. In Eastern Europe and in a different political climate, the radical reform to a comprehensive structure in education was immediately undertaken, and the national interests in the West and politicisation in the East encouraged a disparate development throughout Europe.

In 1955 few of the European countries graduated more than 7% of the appropriate age group. Ten years later there was evidence of expansion with seven countries achieving one student in ten qualified for higher education. Transfer rates (proportion of students actually taking up places in higher education) rose in the mid-nineteen sixties; examples are Federal Republic of Germany (98.6%), Denmark (78.3%), France (91.7%), Italy (78.1%), Sweden (91.4%) and the United Kingdom (60.4%). Over the period 1960-1970 new entrants in Western European universities more than doubled. (5)

American higher education was effectively established by 1900 when the central structural characteristics of a lay board of trustees, a strong president and administrative staff, well-defined structure of faculty ranks, promotion through academic reputation linked to publication and mobility already existed. In the curriculum elective systems, modular courses, credit accumulation and transfer based on transcript of grades and a great diversity of subject areas were also in place. A spirit of competition, innovation, responsiveness to markets and students and a diversity of sources of support completed a framework for mass higher education long before mass enrolments. By contrast, of the existing 44 British universities, only five in England, four in Scotland and one in Wales had gained their charters by 1900; half have been created since 1945. (6) The European universities saw an expansion of almost 40% between the period 1958-1978 of which approaching a half were set up in the five year period after 1968, a real testament to the troubles that erupted during that year (see table 7.1). (7) If mass higher education for all is the aim of European education, then quite clearly, in comparison with North America, the system is still evolving.

7.3 National Systems in the Nineteen Eighties

Thirty years later, the educational structures in European countries stemmed from the plans of the late nineteen forties. The reforms during the intervening years have been concerned with developing previously untapped human resources and gaining a greater equality of access to the educational system.

TABLE 7.1: PHASING OF POST-WAR UNIVERSITY EXPANSION

Country	No of Unis in 1985	New estabs set up 58-78	New foundations as % of all in 1985	Proportion established in	
				1958-1968	1969-1978
Belgium	17	5	29.4	40%	60%
Denmark	14	4	28.6	25%	75%
France	78	27	34.6	7%	93%
F.R. Germany	67	27	40.3	41%	58%
Italy	57	13	22.8	46%	54%
Netherlands	14	8	57.1	38%	62%
Sweden	6	3	50.0	92%	8%
United Kingdom	45	24	53.3	92%	8%

Source: Neave (1988)

The Robbins, the Plowden and Newson recommendations and the White Paper *Framework for Expansion* had their counter parts in Germany through the *Bedarfsstellung 1961-1970* (Statement of Requirements) produced by the *Konferenz der Kultusminister*, the *Struktur Plan* of the Federal Education Council (*Bildungsrat*) and *Bildungsbericht '70* by the *Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft*.⁽⁸⁾ Similar trends in France came through the Bethoin reform, the Debré Law and the Faure proposals.⁽⁹⁾ Through these and other reforms the emphasis on education to children of defined ability selected by examinations taken between the ages of 10-12 years tended to decrease, although this stage of education continues to be recognised as a point where a legitimate diversification of teaching, curricula and attitudes can begin.

One overall development that has tended to soften diversions of the original tripartite systems has been the development of comprehensive education. In taking some of the ideas from the *Gymnaskola* in Sweden and the American State High Schools, educationists attempted to develop a multi-purpose establishment for all children so that now a majority of children in Britain and France go to a comprehensive school or a *College d'Enseignement Secondaire* or variants of them.⁽¹⁰⁾ For a number of reasons alluded to earlier, the *Gesamtschule* and *Oberstufenkolleg* have been slower to develop in Germany and have generally had more success in the Northern *Länder*. A second common aspect of reform has been the raising of the compulsory school leaving age to 16 years of age.

This is not to imply that there are no longer major differences both between or within these general systems. Children start school at ages between 4-7 years, and preschool provision has both a regional and social pattern. The methods of political and financial control range from a politically appointed Minister and Secretaries of State who have direct control over curricula, examinations and appointment of teachers through the *Inspecteurs Généraux* in France to the considerable regional autonomy of the 13 *Länder* in Germany where school programmes and examinations can and do very considerably. Lying somewhere between, the U.K. has overall financial control through the Secretary of State for Education while the regions have some autonomy in school organisation and teacher appointments, and examinations are administered through organically separate boards. Within the United Kingdom itself, Scotland has a strong indigenous tradition with a quite distinct examination system (see chapter

four). Wales, although administratively indistinct from England, has more recently seen a revival of teaching in the Welsh medium, and Northern Ireland, with a strong religious base, has influences of both English and Scottish traditions. (11)

7.4 Methods and Criteria for Selection

The general secondary school leaving certificate has been the main method of selecting students seeking entry to higher education throughout the twentieth century. In the nineteen seventies several areas of higher education were opened up to other forms of selection. Although the *baccalauréat*, *Abitur*, *studentereksamen*, Highers and A level were, and remain, unpopular instruments for selection, they have been regarded as a medicine, unpalatable in the taking, but a tried and tested means of cure and fairly certain to bring success in higher education. These secondary leaving certificates are now a focus of attention for the European Commission for the purposes of international recognition.

By the mid-seventies, the European Commission was reviewing the work of the Council of Europe on the mobility of post-graduate students and the Masplet Study (12) from the Institute of Education of the European Cultural Foundation on the mobility of undergraduate students. Three basic principles were proposed for international admissions policies:-

1. National policies should favour the increase of intra-Community mobility of students and eliminate obstacles to this movement.
2. Policies should be based on the principles of inter-dependency and mutual responsibility in the context of admission of students from other Community countries.
3. Criteria for admission should be the same for home and Community students. (13)

The beginnings of a framework for an international admissions policy began to take shape from 1980 onwards. Because it was recognised that institutions in different countries operated under very diverse conditions, the focus moved from government level to regional and institutional level. The main points of this framework, which were to form the foundation for joint programmes of study, are summarised in Table 7.2

Quotas placed on the entry of foreign students for full-time

TABLE 7.2: FRAMEWORK FOR A EUROPEAN COMMON ADMISSIONS POLICY (1980)

1. Where *numerus clausus* or *numerus programmaticus* on admissions existed in any Member State, a reasonable number of places would be made available to students from other community countries.
2. Students from other Member States will be excluded from numerical limitation provisions in the host country, except where these apply nationally, when their period of study abroad is a component part of an overall course of study to be completed at the home institution.
3. Proposals to facilitate and extend the transferability within the Community of credits for periods of study abroad.
4. Applications from Member States will, at most, be required to meet the non academic requirements applicable to home students.
5. Academic conditions for admission to a full course will normally be based on the possession by applicants of qualification sufficient for them to be eligible for a higher education institution in their own country and recognised as being equivalent in the host country.
6. In the case of students spending part of their course in another Member State, great importance will be attached to the recognition by the competent authority of institution in their own country of the period of study abroad as part of the student's course leading to the home country's qualifications.
7. Member State authorities awarding maintenance grants to students should continue to pay them for periods in another Member State provided that the study periods concerned are recognised by the home institution as part of the full course of studies for which the grant was awarded.
8. The degree of language proficiency required to attend courses of study in host-country institutions will be related to the courses of study chosen. E
9. To enable students where necessary to improve their language proficiency in the host country before commencing their course, an analysis will be made at the Community level of the provisions for incoming students of facilities in all Member States for intensive study of the language of the host country and the need for improved facilities.
10. Discussions will be organised at Community level with representatives of the competent authorities in each Member State and of institutions of higher education with a view to drawing up a common list of the basic information required from all applicants from other Member States.

courses vary between 2% and 10% of new entrants (and therefore for the whole university over a period of several years) depending on the country. For West Germany the quota is 8% in all *numerus clausus* faculties, restricted further to 6% in medicine, dentistry and veterinary science. The medical faculties of the Paris universities have an upper limit of 5% of new entrants from abroad, and Denmark has a 10% level. There is no fixed quota in The Netherlands, but an annual decision on the numbers admissible year by year. Although there was thought of imposing a level on the numbers of overseas students in the nineteen seventies in theory, at least, the United Kingdom has no quota on foreign admissions. The fee for overseas students was set at 130% of home students in 1975, and that policy has continued with increasing severity. The financial differentials have been increased during the eighties and the establishment of faculty and department 'cost centres' has implied focussing attention on students as sources of needed finance. Department of Education and Science figures for 1988 suggest around 7% of all students are within the 'overseas' category. Overall there have been proportionately more British students in European Communities countries, on short-term mobility programmes and year-abroad schemes (but not full course programmes) compared to the number of foreign students studying in Britain.

Belgium has a system of calculating running costs according to the total number of students, of which no more than 2% should be from foreign countries. Exceptions are made for students from developing countries: above the 2% limit, half of the real cost of studies of each student must be paid from the university's own budget. In practice this has also limited the numbers of students from developing countries to 2-3%. The Italian policy is to require proof that foreign students are qualified to enter their home higher education system in a faculty similar to the one they are seeking to enter in Italy. Other countries have introduced special examinations for foreign students, as in Denmark where the language requirement is essential.

Most countries thus give preference to home students to a degree of about 90-95% and within the remaining 5-10% they vary to the extent they give preference to students from developing countries compared to those from Europe and other developed countries. France, the United Kingdom, the Irish Republic and The Netherlands on balance seem to favour the developing countries by recognising bursaries

provided by national government organisations such as the British Council and NUFFIC

The range of other measures introduced to improve selection methods is quite considerable. Specialised criteria were introduced, for example, the *Fachgebundenes Abitur* and the practice of requesting mathematics or science in the *baccalauréat* for certain faculties in France. Other methods of selection have used aptitude testing, widely practised in the United States, as a kind of skills measurement compendium. Batteries of tests, evaluating non-cognitive as well as cognitive skills, measures of motivation, use of interviews and references from schools, employers and work experience have been tried in various combinations.

American-style Scholastic Aptitude Test has not been accepted in most European countries, although many governments adopted them on a trials basis during the nineteen seventies. Reasons for this include scepticism by teachers, their bias towards American norms (as many were developed in the United States and often tried out in Europe with little or no modification), associated statistical gymnastics which make them incomprehensible at the public level, lack of promotion in teacher training (as opposed to training for educational psychologists) and the fact that they seem to offer less predictability than the traditional examination. Even in the United States, where the aptitude test is an accepted part of High School graduation and selection for American colleges and universities, the Educational Testing Service has done a great deal of research which shows that the High School Diploma is a better predictor of success in higher education.

Grade inflation, both in awarding results and in their recognition, has also been a appreciable factor in international mobility from about 1973 onwards. Whereas possession of the *Abitur* and *baccalauréat* gave automatic access in the past, only the higher *Note* or *mention* will now suffice for many universities and faculties. In the Netherlands two groups of candidates have been established based on the grade point average of the leaving examination. Those with 7.5 and over can enter the restricted fields immediately; the rest are placed in a lottery system. Lottery allocation has been used in a number of countries often, it is argued, as a last resort. In The Netherlands and Germany, lotteries have been used for twenty years, usually in combination with school grades. Using lotteries alone of course implies that other methods of selection are no better than

chance (which may in fact be true); it also runs the risk of demotivating the schools and students (why try to achieve academic success if your future is to be determined on the throw of a dice?).

Work experience has been used as a criterion in the Scandinavian countries, one of the first schemes being the 25/4 system in Sweden. This had a very wide range of work experiences which it regarded as being accountable for improving selection chances. The Danish system is more delineated, with work categories aligned to lines of study. It is not clear to what extent work experience affects performance at higher education, or how long work experience is thought to be necessary to be worthy of consideration. Four years of appropriate kinds of work experience is required by the Swedish system, whilst a more graduated approach, with a cumulative process of points allocation was used in Denmark for about 15 years.

The 'waiting time' system in Germany is a controversial element of selection. It was introduced in an attempt to avoid the lottery process, but for some faculties the amount of waiting time after the first application grew to be seven years. The result has often been students parking in open entry departments waiting for their chance to get into *numerus clausus* faculties. Thus these students, occupying places that could well have been given to others and often not completing the courses and having no intention of applying for jobs that the studies would qualify them for, cause and have caused a certain of chaos in the German higher education planning process. The system has been abandoned but the reservoir of frustration of the students suffering the consequences of the process can still be seen. To alleviate this frustration, cases of social hardship have been recognised within legislation. Students in particular difficult social or family circumstances, or health problems, can be given preferential treatment. A quota of 2% has been allocated to this group for the *numerus clausus* faculties, which is also exempt from *Abitur* grades and waiting time. Students who have completed military service or certain types of community service work can also be included within the *numerus clausus* on a similar basis.

Regional allocation of places for higher education is a practice normally adopted in the United States, Canada and Australia, though by different means. The concept of the 'in-state' and 'out-of-state' student are operated by the public institutions in the United States. Preferential fees are offered to students from the region of the college or university compared to students from elsewhere in the

country. Fees in European countries are low or non-existent, with the exception of the United Kingdom. In 1983 Françoise Gravier, a French student studying in Belgium, went to court in protest at being charged fees in excess of those paid by Belgian nationals. Her complaint was upheld and deemed to be contrary to the Institutions Act 293/83.

The presence of higher education can have a social and economic effect on the surrounding region. Regional planning rarely includes the integration of the higher education system, though this has been attempted in Sweden. There are also universities which deliberately slant their admissions to the local region, such as the universities of Glasgow and Strathclyde in the West of Scotland. The university of Cosenza in Southern Italy has admissions policies that strongly favour students whose parents reside in the Calabria which is a relatively poor region. The university institutes of Mons and Antwerp in Belgium also favour their local catchment areas.

7.5 Changing Patterns of Admission

The nature and character of the universities - the very students and teachers they contain - are affected by the admissions policies they operate. Such policies are, therefore, sensitive indicators of the way in which higher education intends to develop in the future. Changes in admissions policies are indications of a change of thinking in the world of higher education, that a new direction is needed and previous chapters have shown that manpower planning and its overt link with the employment market has affected the new thinking. This, in turn, influenced the goal of equality of opportunity and its operation through higher education. Finally, in the nineteen eighties, quality control of both admission to and graduation from higher education has come about. This is demonstrated by delineating the main factors that have determined access to post-compulsory education. Some of these are:-

1. The views of society and dominant social groups on the role and aims of higher education.
2. Traditional attitudes amongst various social groups vis-à-vis the possibility of admission to higher education.
3. The prevalent social policy objectives attributed to higher education.
4. Manpower considerations, and the economic situation of the country

in general.

5. Financial and other resource constraints.
6. Current academic standards and the importance attached to them.
7. Demographic trends.
8. The individual demand for higher education.

The relative importance of these factors changes is dependent on the time and country being considered. (14)

Society's view of higher education in the nineteen nineties compared with the nineteen fifties has fundamentally changed. The perception that higher education was an instigator of economic growth has been turned round to the view of it being an economic consumer of growth. Belief that higher education was in alliance with scientific and technical progress to the extent that they constituted together a positive feedback for demand of graduates has now been almost totally discarded in most developed countries.

Both of these changes of perception have affected admissions policies which has long-term significance, not only on the financing of higher education (a point which governments strongly stress), but on the philosophies by which higher education operates, setting up mutually antagonistic feelings between higher education and government.

Selecting students wishing to enter higher education through mechanistic criteria (or, in a more positive sense, through objective criteria) created increasing resistance during the sixties, so much so that the French student protest in 1968 against any form of selection was part of an international protest against conditions in higher education which caused rethinking on assessment and evaluation. Twenty years on many of these innovations have almost evaporated, at least in any overt form. The principle of selection for and within higher education has thus remained intact from the onslaught of student opinion.

The *numerus clausus* issue in the Federal Republic of Germany had raised opposition from most political parties by the mid-seventies and given ground for complex debate and constitutional readjustments. The new institutes of higher education such as the polytechnics, the *Instituts Universitaires de Technologies* and technical *Hochschulen*, could change more radically because their constitutions were not so rooted on the past. The Humboldtian concept of knowledge and training for the liberal professions has been regarded as a main constituent

of higher education; in the modern idiom, by forming professions in the new technologies, higher education could then regard the supply of such professions as part of its remit. Training for middle management has continued to grow, as has the whole concept of management and administration which, of course, also has to be applied to the higher institutions themselves. The Robbins Report used the principle of social demand which universities still cling to in the nineteen eighties. Linking technological development to social benefits is now the basis of many European initiatives, ideas which seem to have been successful in the United States and formed the core of polytechnical education in the Soviet Union, and in countries surrounding the Pacific Basin such as Japan, New Zealand, Korea and Australia.

7.6 Traditional and Non-Traditional Students

Is admission becoming more, or less, selective, are the criteria being used becoming more, or less, severe? There is no clear pattern across European countries. Certain disciplines have always imposed more stringent conditions - medicine and law - whilst others operate open policies. Superficially, traditional qualifications remain the most important admission criterion, but there have been notable attempts to introduce new methods of assessment. The extent to which changes in higher educational policy are all they seem to be has been challenged, notably by McPherson and colleagues whilst examining the effects of the school leaving examinations in Scotland. There are often hidden reasons for the introduction of measures that only become clear with the passage of time. The trends to new types of higher education institutions without an equally radical reform of their pedagogy is a problem that was also faced by the secondary schools in their attempts at expansion and democratisation.

Because there are some limitations to the information given by annual flows of students from sector to sector of the educational system, small scale longitudinal surveys are needed to determine what are the educational and career patterns of identified groups (the social, cultural and political norms that identify the groups). Few countries have the essential continuity of advice, guidance and career pattern, or have attempted to develop models which allow for the long-term prognosis, say over five to ten years.

New groups of students and new forms of curricular patterns evolving that can be identified within the secondary and post

compulsory sectors are summarised in Table 7.3. From this table it can be seen that a common international problem that faces the upper-secondary sector is matching the educational groups with their occupational aspirations. Further, although the role of the core curriculum in the national context has reached a point at which most European countries have some form of general consensus thus potentially enabling the school leaver to have a wide and international occupational choice a broad spread of subject based assessment is necessary to promulgate those choices. From the administrative planners viewpoint, it is necessary to enable the maximum number of options in educational and occupational directions, and hence again develop a broad - based type of assessment.⁽¹⁵⁾ The only way such a vast information system could operate would be through a European wide computerised network (see chapter nine).

Several new factors work against current concepts of general education. It is far easier within a school to have a small, defined number of options and assessment programmes whilst the requirements of the labour market are that each student needs to have specialised cerebral and manual skills. Therefore, a selective process is implied, either by continuous assessment or by final examination, or a combination of these two methods. Schools and colleges know that they cannot ignore this function unless they wish selection to become the domain of employers. So far, political considerations and the egalitarian 'push' have determined that the transfer and selection process be within the schools or assessed by the educational sector as a whole, though the growth of the 'third sector' of sponsored commercial higher education is beginning to change this established pattern (see chapter nine).

'Open' admission policies have now been in existence for about 20 years and some evaluation of their effectiveness can be ascertained. Their impact on higher education has remained relatively small and is probably, for the moment, decreasing. For the case of Norway, where education policy has consistently aimed at opening up universities to a new clientèle, only 6% in 1976 were not holders of the *examen artium*, the traditional school leaving certificate; in the Norwegian Regional Colleges the figures are about 20%. Since the foundation of the *Instituts Universitaires de Technologies* in France in the mid 1960's, 90% of new entrants have held the traditional *baccalauréat*. The first student entry to the British Open University in 1971 had some 27% with qualifications that would not have admitted them to

TABLE 7.3: NEW FORMS OF ADMISSIONS ROUTES,
GROUPS OF STUDENTS AND CURRICULA

New routes of admission:-

1. Those applying from 3 or 4 year secondary schools (post-compulsory) with integrated courses across subjects and disciplines.
2. Those applying from 2 year secondary schools and vocational colleges following school leaving.
3. Applicants under schemes such as 25/4 where experience in work, maturity and factors of personality and social experience are taken into account.
4. Those leaving institutions such as Folk High Schools with 'long course' experience and information on learning methods.

New Groups of Students:-

Compulsory schooling	Vocational group
	Technical skills group
Short-Cycle Sector	Medium level training
	Administrative and Technical cadres
	Non university type higher education
	University type higher education
University sector	1. The 'new university characterised by an integrated course structure, flexible admissions policy. Politisization and search for new order. Campus buildings.
	2. Middle ranged 'course biased'. Aspiring to the traditional form. Technical and applied courses.
	3. Traditional humanities based. Established entrance routes with reliance on personal contact.

New curricula pattern:-

Core Curriculum Pattern

<u>1. Core curriculum</u>	<u>2. Compulsory Options</u>	<u>3. Options</u>
Basic elements of required education	Varying stress on subjects depending on track or line adopted	Free choice of a range of subjects which can be selected a basis of say 2 from 6, or are genuinely optional

ordinary universities or polytechnics; by 1974 this had increased to 34%. In France the Vincennes experiment was not extended to other universities, though there had been a proposal by Soisson, then the Secretary of State for Higher Education, to do so.

The number of places made available to each group was in proportion to the percentage of all applicants each year. According to 25/4, any persons over 25 with at least four years working experience had the right to apply to higher education, irrespective of any secondary school qualification. They had to provide evidence of their ability in the chosen field of study and in their aptitude in the use of Swedish and one foreign language. There are compensatory classes for person not able to provide these evidences. There are similar trends in some other European countries. Austrian legislation since 1945 has allowed adults between 25 and 45 years of age to enter university on the basis of a special vocational examination, the *Berufsunreifeprüfung*. The law of October 1976 set up preparatory courses of 10 months duration to help candidates to enter higher education through this route, though no more than 3% of entrants can be allocated to higher education in this way. Similar procedures attaching weight to work experience have been introduced through a law in Denmark. The Open University in Britain does not base its admissions totally on prior qualifications and there is a first come first served basis for applicants. The University of Vincennes, set up after May 1968, remained during the time of its existence relatively faithful to large-scale open admissions, accepting people from the world of work and without the *baccalauréat*.

7.7 International Academic Standards

Evidence showing changes in academic standards on entry to higher education is extremely difficult to assess. The success ratios of school leaving examinations have remained comparatively constant, with the exception of the period immediately after the 1968 events. Grade inflation is hard to assess, as there are so many subjective and external factors that can affect the situation, especially from an international perspective. The absolute numbers of students achieving a determined standard has increased; in Germany only students with an average of 1.5 points out of six (one being the highest) in their *Abitur* results are admitted to the Medical faculties. Others have to face delays sometimes lasting years.

This means that other criteria were found to limit admissions which

include work experience, vocational preparation, special quotas to the *Fachhochschulen* in West Germany, special courses to prepare entrants who have not completed the normal secondary school but have vocational or practical experience as in Austria and opening up access to students directly from vocational schools in Finland. In Italy the secondary school leavers from vocational schools had open access to universities from 1969. Academic selection procedures are still dictated by the traditional examinations such as the *baccalauréat*, *Abitur*, *Maturität*, Advanced level GCE and Scottish Higher Grades. In Norway the *examen artium* continues to be important assessment process despite the fact that this country has promoted equality of opportunity and that the implementation of recurrent education and the 25/4 policy has gone ahead. Some subjects such as mathematics and data technologies have increased as a priority for selection. In France the presence of a mathematics component of the *baccalauréat* increases the chance of admission to many faculties and departments. The strict definition of knowledge components required for medicine and veterinary science has become more theoretical and academic. These are professions that, in the long term, place high emphasis on professional skills, motivation and practical aptitudes. It is noticeable that this has reinforced the trend that social class intake be more limited to privileged families from the middle and upper-middle classes.

The policy of institutional constant, that is the expansion of provision (the number of places in higher education) and also in student assistance (grants, bursaries, subsidies, and loans) was affected by the concept of the pool of demand for higher education that existed in society.⁽¹⁶⁾ Financial and employment constraints acted from the mid-nineteen seventies onwards to limit the availability of places. As shown in the discussions on the case studies of Scotland and Denmark, the link between demographic trends and admissions policies is complex, partly because that new sections of the population become more interesting to higher education recruitment. Second generation ethnic communities, which began settling in European countries from the nineteen fifties onwards and the demand from mature students are factors that are difficult to estimate with projections. Nevertheless, it does seem that the anticipated drop of 20% in the number of leavers from post compulsory education in the period up to 1995 will have a fundamental effect in ways that cannot yet be fully foreseen. Logic dictates that the

relationship between individual demand and conditions of access would suggest that a rapid increase in demand in the former leads to greater rigour in the latter. Conversely, a decrease in demand brings about a relaxation in conditions of entry. In practice, however, the only European case that seems to support this interpretation was West Germany, and conditions there have changed dramatically in the past 12 months!

7.8 The European Communities and Legislation in Education

Before assessing the impact of recent European policies in education, employment rights and mobility, some information on the structure and legislation of the European Community is necessary. There are three separate communities, The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) each with its own treaty.⁽¹⁷⁾

The Single European Act, which came into force on 1 July 1987, amended the treaties in a number of ways. It extended the use of majority voting in the Council of Ministers, though still required unanimity on matters relating to taxation, free movements of persons and the rights and interests of employees.

At the present time there are four main European legislative institutions: the Commission, the Council, the Parliament and the Court of Justice. They propose policy and legislation which the Council discusses, adopts and amends. COMDEX executes decisions taken by the Council of Ministers and supervises the day-to-day running of Community policies. The Council of Ministers is the guardian of the treaties and can initiate action against member states which do not comply with the European Commission's rules.

The Commission has 17 members chosen by agreement of the Community Governments. They are drawn from the member states as follows: two from France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom, one from Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Portugal. Commissioners are appointed for four years. There are 22 Directorates General (DGs). The Council is the Community's decision making body and adopts legislation on the basis of proposals from the Commission. The term 'council' embraces not only the ministerial meetings (the Council of Ministers), but also working groups of officials from the member states and the Committee of the Permanent Representatives of the Member States (COREPER) which prepares discussions in the Council of Ministers. In April, June, and October meetings of the Council of Ministers are held in Luxembourg. The

European Council, established at the head of state or government level, meets twice a year to discuss broad areas of policy.

The European Parliament is a directly elected quinquennial body of 518 members - 81 of them from the United Kingdom. Under the European Treaties, the parliament's formal opinion is required on most proposals before they can be adopted by the Council. The Secretariat of the parliament is in Luxembourg although the Parliament's plenary meetings are held in Strasbourg and its committees meet in Brussels. The European Court of Justice rules on the interpretation and application of the Community's laws. Judgments of the 13-judge court are binding in each member state. A Court of First Instance is to be attached to the European Court of Justice to relieve it of its excessive workload. The Economic and Social Committee has its headquarters in Brussels. It is an advisory body of 156 members, 24 from the United Kingdom, consisting of representatives of employers, trade unions and consumers. It must be formally consulted by the Commission on proposals relating to economic and social matters.

Under Article 189 of the European Economic Community Treaty (Article 161 of the EURATOM Treaty) the Council and the Commission may make regulations, issue directives, take decisions, make recommendations, or deliver opinions. Regulations have general application and are directly applicable in all member states; they do not have to be confirmed by national Parliaments in order to have binding legal effect. Importantly, as this will probably be an important educational legislative issue in the future, if there is a conflict between a regulation and existing national law, the European regulation prevails. Directives are binding on member states as to the result to be achieved within a stated period but the method of implementation is left to national governments. In itself, a directive does not have legal force in the member states, but particular provisions may take direct affect if the directive is not implemented in due time.

Decisions are binding in their entirety on those to whom they are addressed, whether member states, companies or individuals. Decisions imposing financial obligations are enforceable in national courts. Recommendations and opinions have no binding force, but merely state the view of the institution that issues them. Over the course of time the Council of Ministers has developed specialist councils dealing with particular areas of policy. There are special councils in Labour and Social Affairs, and in Education. These councils are attended by

the relevant minister from member states and by the Commission, which are present as of right and participate as an equal partner. Council meetings are chaired by the member state holding the presidency, which rotates every six months. (18)

Equality in terms of access to training, study grants and provisions of general education for children were established by a Council of Ministers Directive of 1968 and follows from Article 48 of the Treaty of Rome. Nationals of the member states have the right to go to another member state to look for and take up work, provided they comply with national laws or regulations on employment and have a valid passport or identity card. They are then entitled to the same treatment as nationals of the host member state in matters of pay, working conditions, vocational training, income tax, social security and trades union rights. Their families may join them and enjoy the same rights.

But there remain practical barriers to full freedom of movement and the right to obtain a job. Many jobs in members states require the job holder to have specified skill or vocational qualifications, and qualifications obtained in one member state may not be accepted as appropriate in another. Other practical barriers include housing availability and the transfer of rights such as pensions. There are also restrictions on employment in the public service, and the right to take work may be limited or justified on the grounds of public policy, public security, or public health, in individual cases. For example, Article 48 does not allow equal right to employment in the armed services or diplomatic service of another member state. (19)

Work in the community is concentrating on efforts to reach equivalence or comparability of national vocational qualifications. This work is handled at the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) in Berlin. Work so far has covered the hotel and restaurant trade; car repairs; the construction industry; electrotechnology; agriculture; horticulture and forestry, and the textile industry.

Detailed harmonisation in the professions is difficult and slow. The Architects' Directive took 17 years to agree, and a proposal on engineers has been on the table since 1969. Since 1975, rulings have been adopted which coordinate the provisions for taking up a profession in all the member States and enable individuals to secure recognition for their qualifications and provide services throughout the Community (see Table 7.4).

 TABLE 7.4: PROFESSIONS RECOGNISED WITH THE RIGHT TO PRACTICE IN MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

Profession	Directive	Date
1. Doctors:	Directive 75/362/EEC	June 1975 (entered into force on 16 December 1976)
2. Nurses responsible for General Care	Directive 77/452/EEC	27 June 1977 (entered into force on 25 January 1979)
3. Dental Practitioners	Directive 78/686/EEC	25 July 1978 (entered into force on 25 January 1980)
4. Veterinary Surgeons	Directive 78/1026/EEC	18 December 1978 (entered into force on 18 December 1980)
5. Midwives	Directive 80/154/EEC	21 January 1980 (entered into force on 21 January 1983)
6. Architects force	Directive 85/384/EEC	21 August 1985 (entered into force on 10 June 1987)
7. Pharmacists	Directive 85/433/EEC	16 September 1985 (entered into force on 1 October 1987)
8. General Practitioners	Directive 86/457/EEC	24 July 1986 enters into force between 1 January 1990 and 1 January 1997.

Source: European Commission: European File 13/89.

In 1985 the Commission suggested a new approach. A draft directive on Higher Education Diplomas will apply to qualifications that require at last three years university level training or equivalent and will therefore apply to some 80 professions, including education. The Council of Ministers reached agreement on the proposal in June 1988, the draft of which went to a second reading in the Parliament and then to the Council for its final adoption at the end of 1988 for adoption in 1991. Thus the 80 professions within the scope of the directive have the right to have their qualifications recognised in another member state. If the qualifications are substantially the same for the countries concerned, they will be recognised as being equivalent. If there are substantial differences, there is the possibility of taking an aptitude test designed to assess their ability to pursue that profession in the host member state or a period of supervised practice not exceeding three years. Professionals will not be required to requalify and retrain in the subjects they have already studied. The purpose of the aptitude test or the period of supervised study is to 'compensate for the differences in qualifications'.

The United Kingdom has comparatively few professions that are directly regulated by the state. Many professions are regulated by the grant of a charter to a professional body responsible for setting entry requirements and maintaining professional standards. The directive gives the right of suitably qualified professionals to have their qualifications recognised and become full members of chartered professional bodies.

7.9 The European Treaty and Single European Act

As indicated previously, the right to freedom of movement and equality of opportunity to all EEC nationals is a fundamental principle of the EEC Treaty. Article 3(c) of the treaty establishes 'the abolition, as between member states, of obstacles to freedom of movement for persons, services and capital'. The Single European Act commits 'the European Commission to the aim of progressively establishing a single market over a period expiring on 31 December 1992. Progress towards completing the single market took the Commission's White Paper as its starting point, submitted to the European Community Heads of Government at the Milan European Council in June 1985, on which the Council decided to draw up a precise programme of action. There are over 500 proposals that have to be

implemented before the end of 1992, many of them having at least indirect consequences for the potential of international education in Europe. There are just four articles that are pertinent to the long-term implementation of educational exchange:-

1. Article 48. Guarantees the freedom of movement of workers, the abolition of discrimination in employment on grounds of nationality, and the right of residence in the host country.
2. Article 52. Gives freedom of establishment in another member country to the self employed, and company managers.
3. Article 57. Allows the Commission to issue directives governing the mutual recognition of diplomas and other qualifications,
4. Article 59. Calls for progressive abolition of restrictions concerning the provision of services by a national in one member state to a customer in another.

These clauses establish the principle of the freedom of movement throughout the European Community both for employed workers and self-employed persons pursuing a professions, a principle which has been confirmed by the European Court of Justice in several important rulings over the last 15 years. Regulation 1612/68 underlines the abolition of work permits for foreign nationals of European Community states and prohibits quotas on the number of such workers in employment.⁽²⁰⁾ A member state will issue a certificate of experience to a worker who meets the requirements of the directive covering his or her job. The certificate will then be accepted by the authorities in other member states in place of their own national qualifications for that job.

Three directives on the right of residence (for students, retired persons and other members of the non-working population) come into force on 1 July 1992. It remains the case, however, that the right of residence of workers and their families, proposed to the Council of Ministers in January 1989, still awaits decision. Attention is being focused during the period 1991-93 on measures necessary for the recognition of diplomas at the upper-secondary level. Any of these objectives will not be fully realised until the act's full implementation on 1 January 1993, after which the intention of the act is to further define agreements that assist the creation of a

European 'union'.

The framework for a European research and development programme was agreed in 1987. Priority is given to information technology and communications in which the largest single programme is the European Strategic Programme for Research and Development in Information Technology (ESPRIT). It addresses enabling technologies in information technology, covering aspects of medicine, transport and education. The EUREKA programme covers the 12 European Community countries and the European Free Trade Association countries - Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland (with the inclusion, also, of Turkey). Since its launch in 1985, EUREKA has generated 217 projects with a total investment of £2.7 billion.⁽²¹⁾ All the countries within EUREKA are requested to provide a matchmaking service for creating enterprise and training networks. The EFTA countries, small and but relatively wealthy for the most part, through protracted negotiations over the past five years, have now obtained special provisions with the European Community that give them progressively closer economic ties starting from 1992. As noted in chapter five, the mobility programmes of the European Communities for higher education have been important in framing the international policies of education in some of the EFTA countries, such as Scandinavia and Austria and it is quite possible that these programmes would be merged as EFTA countries acquire full membership.

The Community's structural funds, administered by the Commission, are made up of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF:1975), the European Social Fund (ESF:EEC) and the European Agricultural and Guidance Guarantee Fund (EAGGF:EEC). The research and development clauses of these agreements can be applied to education projects, though the guidelines are complex and the process requires considerable lobbying for relatively low funding. The Social Fund in particular has had some impact on the development of vocational education programmes across the community. The main resources of the structural funds are to be concentrated on Portugal, Greece, the Republic of Ireland and parts of Spain and Italy (to 1993).

7.10 Summary

A review of methods that have been used to adjust the process of transfer from upper-secondary to higher education in European countries reveals ways in which the constant search for controls of this important stage of education have been modified over the past 40

years. Nevertheless, there is still fairly restricted freedom of movement across Europe compared with federal countries such as Canada, the United States or Australia. Academic and professional mobility are processes by which European unity can be maintained and the international job market can be supplied and there would seem to be considerable potential for further increase post-1992.

Further aspects of academic recognition of higher education qualifications, study periods, intermediate and final examinations have been touched on. The target of mass post-compulsory education has not been seriously tackled in any European state, though the possibility of access to all forms of education for those who would like to participate in academic and vocational programmes is an extension of the Robbins principle that has been at least partially achieved in the Scandinavian countries, and is longterm policy for several others.

Finally, some European and international legislation that has affected educational mobility over the past ten years, and is likely to have greater impact in the future, is summarised.

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 - b. The European Economic Community (EEC), set up by the EEC Treaty signed in Rome on 25 March 1957.
 - c. The European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) set up by the EURATOM Treaty also signed in Rome on 25 March 1957.

The process of Community Legislation applies to the following Articles of the European Economic Community Treaty; Articles 7, 56(2), 57, 49, 54(2). These are extended under the Single European Act to include Articles 100A and 100B - Approximation of laws (single market): Article 118A - Working conditions: Article 130E Structural Funds (implementing decisions): Article 130Q - Technology.

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Section IV: ACCESS TO EDUCATION
International Policies and Programmes

CHAPTER EIGHT

EUROPEAN PROGRAMMES IN ACTION: The ERASMUS, COMETT and LINGUA Programmes

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Trends in Student Mobility in Europe
- 8.3 The ERASMUS Programmes
- 8.4 The COMETT Programmes
- 8.5 The LINGUA Programme
- 8.6 The Effectiveness of European Mobility Programmes
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-
- Table 8.1 Foreign Students in the European Community by Host Country and by Country of Origin: Around 1980.
- Table 8.2 Plan of an Action Research Programme for International and European Education
- Table 8.3 An ERASMUS Programme: A Comparative Study of Higher Education in Belgium, The Netherlands and the U.K.
- Table 8.4 Evaluation and Critical Analysis of an ERASMUS Programme
- Table 8.5 Teaching and Research Modules for a Combined ERASMUS and COMETT Programme
- Table 8.6 COMETT II: Guidelines for Research Reports
- Table 8.7 Discussion Objectives for Education and Enterprise in a Changing Europe
- Table 8.8 Summary of International Comparisons on European Education

Theory, in the end, is the most practical of all things.

John Dewey: *Science and Society*: 1926.

8.1 Introduction

If the internationalisation of education can be enhanced by academic mobility, which could be defined as the movement of knowledge and people between educational institutions across international borders, what are the ways in which this can be encouraged and increased? Transmitting public knowledge is relatively easy, given the libraries and electronic communication networks that exist in modern educational institutions worldwide. It is also essential that teacher and student mobility is created and maintained to provide the intellectual and practical interpretation of this information. If this is not done, then dominance of knowledge and cultural systems accrues over to the most politically and economically powerful regimes. There are several crucial ingredients of academic mobility therefore; the availability of knowledge in all learning institutions; the interpretation of that knowledge by internationally aware teachers and students, a balanced mobility of students and teachers working in foreign institutions to appreciate and enhance cosmopolitan awareness. Mobility can thus be seen as an element in the global balance of knowledge, and ultimately power.

This chapter first reviews some indications of mobility that have existed in the past twenty years and the potential for student mobility in the countries of the European Communities. This relies, to a large extent on data provided by national and international sources. To also paint a picture of the reality of creating and motivating mobility programmes, some examples of ERASMUS and COMETT exchanges are briefly described. These are taken from the overall development programme of a small research unit which the author directed for the period 1984-1990 (see Table 8.2). These programmes are reasonably representative of the types ERASMUS and COMETT mobility programmes that have exchanged an estimated 120,000 students between European universities and enterprises in the period 1984-90 throughout Europe. For the case studies of programmes described here, the strategy for developing an international programme was based almost entirely on the funds raised from the ERASMUS, COMETT and research based organisations. (1)

The formal details of these programmes will be found in the official publications of the relevant offices of the European Community. (2) For the purposes of this study, the lessons to be learned from reality of international mobility are the prime focus, within the context of several reviews issued by the Commission itself.

8.2 Trends in Student Mobility in Europe

Estimated student mobility in Europe and the Nordic countries is low compared with the North America, perhaps 1-2% of the total student population compared to around 20-25% across the American states throughout the period of upper-secondary and higher education between the ages of 17-24. Because, with few exceptions, schools and higher education institutions are controlled and financed by the state, quotas of foreign students are imposed that vary from around 2-10% (see chapter seven). Again comparing European practice to that of North America, relatively few students spend more than one year studying abroad, and given the international basis of universities, remarkably few teachers spend time teaching in other institutions, with the exception of specialist fields in the natural and philosophical sciences. With financial restrictions during the nineteen eighties, this mobility has at most remained constant and

may, in fact, have declined. (3)

The special programmes of the European Commission to promote more European mobility for short periods of study abroad (from a few weeks to 12 months) have met with some success however, and the intention is to increase mobility for such short-term periods of study to a level of about 5% by 1992 and 10% by the year 1996. (4) Estimating the intra-European mobility of students at about the mid-nineteen seventies gives between 18-25,000 students at undergraduate and postgraduate levels enrolled at institutions of higher education in member states of the community. Table 8.1 gives the figures around 1980 which indicates that about 51,600 students spent a period of study in excess of three months in one of the other Euro 10 countries of that time. Within Council of Europe countries there is little evidence of any significant increase or change in the nineteen seventies. The exceptions were Austria and Switzerland which had 16.4% and 18.6% of foreign students in 1977, of which about 40% were from other European countries. By contrast Greece, for political reasons, then exported large numbers of its students abroad, about 30% of the total, of which 90% studied in other European countries and 50% or 20,000 in Italy. Mobility was still less than 1% of the total of European students at the end of the nineteen seventies with perhaps as many as 50% of these enrolled in language courses.

The promotion of the Single Market concept in 1992 has changed this picture. Thoughts of a pan-European curriculum to satisfy the vocational requirements created by market, rather than educational, forces have raised the priority of European mobility on the political agenda. As McLean suggests:-

A pan-European curriculum may emerge from the pressure of localized consumer demand, driven by the logic of European economic union which all governments are legally committed to achieve by 1992. National governments and the agencies of European regulation may be impelled into facilitating some harmonization of content of schooling whatever their current views. (5)

It is an open question as to whether student motivation is sufficient in itself to respond to this, or whether the international job-search process is of first importance. Evidence from discussions

TABLE 8.1: FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
BY HOST COUNTRY AND BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN: AROUND 1980

HOST COUNTRY	B	DK	D	F	GR	IRE	I	LUX	NL	UK
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN										
Belgium	-	8	542	724	-	11	132	-	219	100
Denmark	3	-	247	-	-	5	17	-	10	100
W. Germany	438	287	-	2582	19	39	637	3	535	800
France	16	103	2655	-	17	24	282	1	72	400
Greece	34	20	5417	4408	-	3	14417		38	2300
Ireland	11	13	107	-	-	-	9	-	7	400
Italy	103	16	1441	1475	16	9	-	7	56	300
Luxembourg	109	1	692	854	-	-	3	9	-	7
Netherlands	1388	67	1600	423	-	6	32	3	-	200
United Kingdom	52	189	1499	2161	62	897	201	-	148	-
EUR 10	2154	704	14200	12627	114	997	15736	14	1092	4600

Total Inter - European exchange: 51,511

List of Sources:

Eurostat and European Documentation, *An Education Policy for Europe* 2nd Ed. Brussels 1982

Other Sources: Belgium: Fondation Universitaire: Bureau de Statistiques Universitaires, *Rapport Annuel* (Universities only). France: Data supplied by Office National des Universités et Ecoles Françaises (Universities and IUT's). Italy: Indagine statistica sugli studenti esteri in Italia, in *Studenti Esteri*, maggio-giugno and Istituto Centrale di Statistica: *Annuario Statistico dell'Instruzione*. These two sources give widely different figures. Germany: Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz: *Statische Übersicht über die Zahl ausländischer Studenten an Mitgleidshochschulen*; Bonn (universities only) U.K: Overseas Student Services Department of the British Council: *Statistics of Overseas Students in Britain* London. Ireland: Data supplied by The Higher Education Authority, Dublin.

with students on the programmes reviewed in this chapter suggests that two important reasons contribute to the impulse for foreign study. The first is the possible increase in job prospect in the home country, and the second the addition perspective that a period abroad may bring, be it gained from acquiring a new language, taking additional courses or studying with new teachers.

Mobility programmes cannot exist in isolation from regional and social issues and must incorporate both the local needs of education and the aspirations of internationalisation. One complicating factor is that the link between secondary education and higher education has become diffused over many different types of institutions and *numerus clausus* and quotas have come to exist alongside open admissions both between institutions (for example, the *Grandes Ecoles* and *Instituts Universitaires de Technologie* in France), and within institutions (humanities faculties compared with some science faculties in British universities). As international market policies are playing an increasing part in career determination strategic monitoring of education on a European wide basis seems to be required if continuity of post-compulsory courses is to be assured.

French national policy has had an eye on the potential of the single market, being on the agenda for the Socialists since 1984. Their stated aim is to get 80% of French students to the level of the *baccalauréat* by the year 2000, and that no child should leave school without achieving a 'recognised standard of education' (in 1988 about 100,000 pupils left school without any qualifications), equivalent to the level already required for the diplomas offered after two years in a *lycée professionnel* offering vocational subjects and taken at about the age of 17 years. François Mitterand in his Letter to the People address of April, 1988 said, "In future, a nation's power will depend less on its financial wealth than on its grey matter", and proclaimed education as the 'priority of the priorities'.

French expansion will be achieved at a price; in 1990, the student:teacher ration was of the order of 100:1, there was a shortage of lecture halls, facilities within the universities were abysmal, there was low student moral which tended to increase the dropout rate, possibly to around 50%, from the universities. It has to be said that conditions in French higher education have never been good (except in the *Grandes Ecoles* where, even when they are austere,

virtue is made of it) and that discontent is as much a part of French university life as are the communal get-togethers in the cafés and bars which help to make French student life more tolerable. To maintain present standards, some 290,000 teachers and 70,000 university teachers will have to be recruited over the period of the reform. In all there were 1.3 million students in French higher education in 1988 (more than double the number in British higher education) and this will rise to 2 million students in the year 2000.

West German universities have seen an increase in numbers of about 70% since 1978, and most European countries have similar expanding higher education systems. On the other hand, as discussed in chapter four, the United Kingdom has restricted its universities (whilst expanded the polytechnics) and by 1990 had achieved, for the first time, a figure of about one million students in higher education, of whom around 650,000 are full-time students. The percentage of 39% of 16-18 year-olds entering some form of higher education, however, compares with more than 90 percent (13 millions) in the United States. The British government has set a target of doubling this figure in 25 years, but it is hard not to notice how far this is out-of-step with Europe and other parts of the world.

Facilitate comparisons of educational experiences through the networks of information that are created is an important effect that the European programmes will have on student choice and opinion in the future. Over the 3,500 institutions of higher education across the countries of the European Community there will probably be a hierarchy established along the following lines: 1) highly selective fields of study in prestigious institutions, 2) highly selective fields of study in less prestigious institutions, 3) non selective fields of study in prestigious institutions, and 4) non selective fields of study in less prestigious institutions.

8.3 The ERASMUS Programmes

Given the complexity of international mobility, the question for many students and teachers in higher education was how exchange programmes linking universities and colleges in different countries of Europe could work in practice. What follows is a brief description of just a few programmes operated by the International Education Unit (formerly the Multicultural and International Education Unit) in Glasgow

TABLE 8.2: PLAN OF THE ACTION RESEARCH PROGRAMME
FOR INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN EDUCATION.

RESEARCH THEMES

A: EDUCATION AND ENTERPRISE

B: EDUCATION FOR MINORITIES

Sub-Theme I

*Education and Enterprise**Education of Cultural and Linguistic Minorities*

Funding bodies

Training Agency
European Commission
(COMETT, ERASMUS)

Scottish education Department

Period

1988 - 1990 1986-88

Sub-Theme II

*Multiculturalism and Equal Opportunities**Educational Ambition in Ethnic-Minority School Leavers*

Funding Bodies

European Social Fund
Scottish Education Department
Glasgow University

Commission for Racial Equality
Scottish Education Department

Period

1984 - 88

1987-89

Sub-Theme III

*International Education Regions,**Education and Development in Small Territories and Countries*

Funding Bodies

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

European Commission Lomé Convention
IV

Victoria University, Canada,
European Commission (ERASMUS)

Period

1987 - 1990

1989-90

Sub-Theme IV

Culture of the Environment

Funding bodies: European Commission
Environmental Programme, Sussex University
Period 1990-93

TABLE 8.2: PLAN OF THE ACTION RESEARCH PROGRAMME
FOR INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN EDUCATION. (CONTINUED)

ERASMUS	COMETT
ERASMUS Bureau	COMETT A. U.
Student Researcher Programme *	Exchange Programme
Strathclyde U.E.T.P.	<i>Border, Maritime Regions of Europe</i>
Links with 4 European Institutions	Links with 10 European
Institutions	
Research Secretariat	
<i>Thematic research</i>	<i>MIRAGE Programme *</i>
Education of Managers/Lecturers/Teachers	International M.Phil for
International International Higher	Education and Management Studies
Education	
Research and Teaching	Masters Teaching and Research
	Links with 10 European
	Institutions
<i>Access and Mobility</i>	
Equivalences and NIRAC Network	
ECTS Pilot Scheme: <i>European Qualifications</i>	

Scottish Education Department
1992 Initiatives: COMETT and *
ERASMUS for Scotland
With Jordanhill College
1990 City of Culture Programme
With Glasgow City Council
International Conference May 1990
Education and Enterprise

External Education Services *
Enterprise through Education
International European Programme
Development Programme and Conference May 1990

* Reviewed or commented on in the text.

University. For the period of development under consideration, which is 1984-90, the strategy for this action research to be adopted could be summarised as follows:-

1. To link ERASMUS and COMETT programmes offered by the European Commission together, and to further integrate these into research programmes through funding from research councils.
2. To establish a core of stable and long-term partners enabling a network of durability which in turn could encourage continuing exchanges over a period of several years.
3. To develop two central themes of Education and Enterprise and Education for Minorities (see Table 8.2)
4. To create a funding base to develop the themes and exchanges.

Under the constraints put on higher education over the period in question and referred to in earlier chapters, none of these aims was easy to achieve. In practice, combining mobility programmes offered by the European Commission within study themes fitted the strategy of the Commission; so long as the chosen themes (in the examples discussed 'Education and Enterprise' and 'Education for Minorities') were within the guidelines offered through the programmes the integration of exchanges was possible. Establishing a core of contacts and institutions within a stable network created continuity problems because, although some institutions have been linked together for a period of ten years, others, through a change of personnel or university economies, were of more limited duration. The Education and Enterprise theme required combining education and management and administration departments of various institutes. As can be seen in the COMETT programme described, this theme was successful especially because of the strong growth of business and management courses in European Universities.

Linking enterprises to universities proved one of the toughest jobs; an important factor was the different education and training philosophies of higher education compared with enterprises. The former tended to see the courses requirements as predominant, the latter the interests of the company both in economic and future career terms. Creating a funding base for international exchanges had its own snares and delusions, for such a process was not only

fighting for scarce resources, but also challenged the political and administrative functions and aims of departments, faculties and institutions. Although, over the period 1984-90 around 130,000 pounds in research and mobility financing was raised, the operation of such programmes continually remained insecure. Some technical and structural descriptions of a selection of European programmes are now given in brief form. The selection and information is intended to convey a taste of the character of the programmes and what they particularly aimed to achieve. The comments on the achievements, successes and problems are based on the point of view of a participant observer working from the application to final phase of the programmes.

Table 8.3 describes, in cryptic form, an ERASMUS programme that involved both departments within institutions of higher education and international organisations.⁽⁶⁾ The ensuing report discussed ways in which international co-operation could be achieved. These included opportunities for educational mobility are central to the informed and practical study of international and comparative education, making the aims of comparative education societies and the European Commission, and especially those of Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Education, congruent in many respects. Changes from within and outwith the European systems of higher education are going to affect the life-chances of staff and students in fundamental ways and, as the papers written and discussed within this project made clear, members were interested to develop new opportunities in international education. The education networks established by the societies over many years could form a base on which international exchanges, bilateral or multilateral, could take place.

The purpose of the project was therefore to assist further in cementing societal relationships, broaden the range of contacts and to open up research opportunities for individuals and groups of members leading to the possibilities of joint research activities as a whole.

The project added several further dimensions to the debate, covering the sub-themes suggested. The fact that there are some common themes affecting higher education within the three countries, (adjustment of the labour market, search for efficiency; management

TABLE 8.3: AN ERASMUS PROGRAMME: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Theme

A Comparative Study of the Development and Operation of the Higher Education Systems in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Subthemes.

1. Structural Reorganisation of Higher Education.
 - Merging of institutes into larger units and the educational consequences of the management of contraction.
 - Contract research and contract education.
 - Orientation of the content of higher education.
 - Internationalisation and academic exchange.

 2. Equivalences and Qualifications within and between EC Countries
 - Across Europe
 - Across different institutes in one country

 3. Teacher Education and Higher Education
 - Teacher training as a part of higher education.
 - Recent changes in in-service and initial training: teacher interchange.
 - Practice periods, didactics and purpose.

 4. Access to Higher Education
 - Skills and qualifications of secondary school leavers
 - Skills and qualifications of students from within EC countries and the rest of the world.
 - Numerus Clausus* and open access.
 - Ethnic and social differences of the student body
 - Regional differences in access to Higher Education.

 5. The Student Body in respect of Culture, Ethnicity and Internationalisation.
 - Harmonisation and evaluation of qualifications and professional practice periods.
 - Selection and accession in the home countries and across Europe.
 - Financial problems and lifestyles of students.
 - Multilateral student exchange.

 6. Discussion: Into the nineteen nineties - The Future of Higher Education in Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom within the European Community.
 - Higher education, enterprise and training
 - Competing forms of internationalism
 - Dutch studies in the U.K.
 - British studies in the Netherlands
-

of merged, larger institutions), which permeate these changes helps towards an understanding of current events.

The second ERASMUS programme to be discussed was developed under the theme 'Education and Enterprise: The Role of Maritime, Border and Peripheral Regions in European Development'. The background for this programme was the development of the Single Market Act of the European Community and the impact this could have on education and development in the outer regions of the continent. It seemed that the educational implications of such a unifying process based primarily on market concepts needed to be examined in detail. Only a skeleton outline of the programme can be given here, but the main idea was to create nine teaching modules, recognising the fact that universities throughout Europe were intensifying their links with business motivated by the pressure of a squeeze on funds available from public sources. In a European study by Barnes of the employment conditions across Europe, evidence was given to suggest that there was a lack of strategic thinking by university authorities about their technology transfer activities. British researchers were being picked off by opportunist companies because many universities thought that setting up an industrial liaison office was sufficient.⁽⁷⁾ Experience gained from these and other programmes in the Glasgow series strongly supported Barnes evidence.

Along with existing modules for the masters programmes within the co-operating universities for the masters degrees of the Master of Education, Masters of Business Administration or Master of Philosophy and their equivalents at the other universities or colleges taking part in the scheme, the aim was to offer 50% and more of a degree course developed across the European universities. It involved both taught and research based modules; an important aspect of the modules within this proposed scheme was that they had a European and comparative bias. The departments and business schools were chosen for the different expertise they could offer as part of the total programme. An 18 months programme of preparation for programme was proposed. Under the Intensive Programme of this theme, the modules were trialled with the participating students and the staff of the co-operating departments.

A student mobility programme was applied for in 1989 under the rubric of the theme of the Joint Development of New Curricula and

TABLE 8.4: EVALUATION AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS
OF AN ERASMUS PROGRAMME

Achieved Targets

1. Improved contact between members of the comparative societies in U.K. and The Netherlands.
2. An appreciation of the work done by the members of the learned societies.
3. Greater awareness of the ERASMUS programme and what it can offer associations, departments and individuals.
4. Newsletter publications including the papers from the preparation meetings (Newsbrief No 10 and Newsletter No. 9).
5. Combined papers on the subject on change in higher education in the three countries concerned.
6. Discussions of the papers and ideas put forward on the nature of change in higher education.
7. Elaboration of common themes in the restructuring and operation of higher education across the three countries.
8. An analysis of the changes occurring in the contemporary structures of higher education, questions of access, quality and qualifications in higher education, and the possibilities of international exchange schemes.
9. Dissemination of the papers and subsequent discussions to the membership of the British and Dutch-Speaking societies.

Targets not Achieved

1. Full coverage of all the sub-themes of the topic outlined in the application.
2. Completion of the timetable, as originally envisaged.
3. A seminar of all participants at the same time. This proved impractical in the schedule available. Seminar groups of 8 - 10 persons proved to be the most suitable arrangement, with exchange of papers by post and fax.
4. Inclusion within the special celebrations of the Tri-centenary of British-Dutch relations. In practice these did not impinge on the higher education system to any great extent.
5. A review of language provision in each country.

Critical Analysis of Themes

1. The positive or critical views on the nature of the changes currently taking place in higher education.
2. The forces outwith the structure of higher education causing the changes
3. The differences in the changes taking place in the universities and those being effected in the professional institutes
4. The special nature of European exchange and its relationships with countries outwith Europe
5. The practical measures - and the necessary support systems - that enable the realisation of moving staff, researchers and students across countries
6. The effect of change on the teaching and curricula of higher education institutes

Note One of the basic reasons for international comparison is to add perspective to analysis. The discussions within the project naturally focussed on the consequences of change in higher education, both in theoretical and practical terms.

Intensive Programme. The 1989 student mobility application was for a programme of 36 students (four from each institution) to take up opportunities under the European Programme, and thus extending their masters programme from their own university. This programme brought together the expertise on education and enterprise departments within 9 institutions of five countries in Europe. Over a period of 24 months it was intended that a European modular programme would be recognised as a masters level programme. The focus of the themes of the modules were deliberately inclined towards the problems of the maritime, border and peripheral regions of Europe in the light of the implications of the Single European Act implemented in 1992 and beyond.

The third programme, the MIRAGE Programme (Management and International Relations for the Animation of Global Enterprise), which was designed as an international post-graduate course of study and research leading to the Master of Philosophy Degree of the University of Glasgow. In the application for this programme it was mentioned that about 20% of new post-graduate professional opportunities being advertised asked for an international background of some kind. The interchange of managerial and educational expertise across Pacific Rim countries and Europe, it seemed, was increasingly requiring awareness of comparative and international perspectives. At the same time there were the needs and requirements of professionals from minority and internationally dispersed communities to progress into middle-level educational and management spheres of the majority nationalities. Taking account of these two major international needs, the target groups for the programme were teachers and administrators in the education sector, and managers and professionals in enterprises in the European and Pacific Rim countries. Sponsorship of course members by means of bursaries made available through international agencies, national and regional governments, enterprises and local authorities was sought. Financing this international programme through an enhanced fee structure that had been arranged through other new programmes such as that of the International Master of Business Administration streamlined admission procedures. In practice, however, financing arrangements from university sources could not eventually be included, so the education students on this programme were incorporated into the European

Diploma in Education and Training that was being developed through a European consortium based in Florence University under the direction of Professor Monasta.

The last project within this category to be mentioned was a development programme with the title 'A Critical and Comparative Analysis of the Opportunities the European Commission's Initiatives offer to Higher Education Institutions'.⁽⁸⁾ This study was based on an analysis international programmes of the European Community available to upper-secondary education and higher educational institutes. For this proposal, the Scottish universities were to be used as the primary focus to illustrate similarities and differences in structural developments and the mechanisms of their relationships to the larger community with separate section devoted to the University of Glasgow.

8.4 The COMETT Programmes

Within the Education and Enterprise theme a series of applications were made to the ESRC, and Special Development Programme of the European Commission. The focus here, however, are the COMETT I and II programmes that were combined with ERASMUS. The first example to be described was the Strand B section of COMETT I and was a branch of the ERASMUS/MIRAGE programme described above. The objective was to develop the professional and academic skills of management educators and educational managers in a European context, and link the programme to enterprises who would provide a substantial element of the training.

It was estimated that about 30% of all new employment in the educational management sector during the nineteen nineties would require a background of the type proposed by this programme. There were three thematic elements; 1. methods of analysis and comparison in an international framework; national case studies; 2. quality training programmes; educational and training programmes in specific regions and countries, building international teamwork; organisational change and development; 3) human resource management for international potential, and teaching methods and materials for management education. The application was part of the Pool Application of the West of Scotland UETP, linking with others in the COMETT and ERASMUS programmes.⁽⁹⁾

TABLE 8.5 TEACHING AND RESEARCH MODULES FOR COMBINED
ERASMUS AND COMETT PROGRAMMES

Basic outline of the nine European modules developed through the curriculum programme addressed the following topics:-

1. Manpower and Employment Demands in European Education.

A study of the manpower demands change in the free market of the European Community countries over the period 1989-1999. The model of a Europe based on a 10 - 15% unemployment pool compared with regional and local labour market needs and its implications. Changes in mobility of students and the labour pool with respect to the availability of training and jobs. The specialist needs of women in the labour market and the youth labour market. Specialist Institution: Graduate School of Business Studies, Århus.

2. Changes in Structures of Education.

Changes in demand for primary, secondary and higher education and the impact of a free labour market. Appropriate models for analysis - the European Community, the Nordic Union, the United States, Australia etc. The extent to which these models are appropriate to the 'outer' regions of Europe. Harmonisation of educational needs.

Specialist Institutions: Department of Education, University of Manchester, Office for International Relation, Katholieke Universiteit Brabant, The Netherlands.

3. Policy and Curriculum Changes.

The impact that these changes will have on the educational systems as a whole and curriculum demands in particular. The need for languages, high skill levels in enterprise and education. The examination requirements at pre-higher education stages. The actions and policies that these regions and their systems of education can adopt to enable them to effectively compete within the single market concept.

Specialist institutions: Ecole Européenne des Affaires, Paris, (in association with the European School of Management Studies, Oxford, and Europäische Wirtschaftshochschule, Berlin).

4. Regions of Europe.

The peripheral regions of Europe comprising the many cases of border areas, small countries, maritime regions and islands and remote communities have to be an integral part of the single market concept, or it will fail. Present analyses are framed almost exclusively in terms of national needs. The needs of regional development, the interests of European regions and their protection within the framework of an economically unified market.

Specialist institutions: Institut for Paedagogik, Københavns Universitet, Denmark and Department of Education, University of Glasgow, Scotland

5. Regional Enterprises.

Those transformations, in terms of opportunities and problems, that regions of Europe will face in the period up to the year 2000. The services industries, and particularly tourism, have become more dominant within the regional economies. How far can indigenous industries be developed for indigenous regional minorities?

Specialist institutions: Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal, Glasgow Business School, University of Glasgow, Scotland.

TABLE 8.5 TEACHING AND RESEARCH MODULES FOR COMBINED
ERASMUS AND COMETT PROGRAMMES (Continued)

6. The Role of Teacher and Higher Education.
The role of teacher and higher education as a dominant force in preserving those smaller cultures and minorities that make up the pluralist pattern of Europe. A comparative review of European cultures and their role in a pluralist Europe. The promotion of regional and minority cultures in an economically integrated Europe.
Specialist institution: Facultat de Letras, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain.
7. Languages and Cultures of Europe.
This unit would deliberately focus on selected regional, linguistic and scattered cultures and languages in Europe. An analysis of the varying conditions of cultural and educational maintenance of these minorities will be undertaken. The ways that education and regional development will maintain or threaten them the economies, languages, schooling systems, etc. will be reviewed.
Specialist institutions: Institut for Paedagogik, Københavns Universitet, Denmark, Department of Education, University of Glasgow, Scotland.
8. Europe in a Global Perspective. The relationships of Europe from the formation of educational enterprise cartels to the construction of relations with geopolitical regions of the world. The external relations of Europe and their inter-relationships in education and enterprise would be examined. The role of conventions governing the external relations of the European Communities, such as Lomé, will be analysed.
Specialist institutions: Office for International Relations, Katholieke Universiteit, The Netherlands: Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal
9. Management Issues in Europe After 1992.
The Glasgow Business School and the European School of Management are joint owners of the European Management Journal and are participating in discussions hopefully leading to a mutual recognition of qualifications. The Glasgow Business School has undertaken management courses in several European countries, particularly Portugal, and has developed a deep understanding of the requirements of Management theory and practice in several of the member states of the EC. We now wish to address the problems of management formation at both initial and continuing levels, the scope for a common management qualification, whether by statutory, charter, or voluntary basis, and the possibility of developing a European perspective on management theory to amplify and counter the current models of management which underlie business school formation and mid career training in Europe but are based on American and Far Eastern paradigms. Thus we hope that a coherent European perspective will become the main vector of management education, especially in the remote and marginal regions of Continental Europe and the U.K.
Specialist institutions: The Glasgow Business School, Department of Management Studies, University of Glasgow, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal.
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In summary, the total MIRAGE Programme was intended as a response to the new needs for professional managers and educators who had a professional and academic training. By offering a combination of university and enterprise personal, the programme tried to achieve a blend of academic and professional skills required for international middle-level management positions in European countries. A further aspect of this programme was to capitalise on the strength of programmes such as COMETT to allow the interchange of ideas.

The COMETT II programme in 1990 was an international higher education programme for students from the universities of Copenhagen, Florence, Lisbon and Tilburg, offering financial assistance to study in Glasgow, advice on partners and contacts for developing a personal research programme, and academic and enterprise links. The application for the programme was monitored through the West of Scotland UETP (Technology Training Partnership) in Glasgow. The titles for investigations and reports and guidelines are shown in Table 8.6, these being agreed with the students' own universities beforehand and with the Glasgow Coordinator. The students on this programme completed their courses in September 1991.

Finally, in conjunction with both the COMETT I and II projects, an application to the Training Agency of the United Kingdom was made under the theme 'Enterprise and Education in A Changing Europe' in October, 1990. This project focused on higher education across Europe, and pointed to some of the changes that had occurred over the period 1985-90. The themes were responses to new demands of training, to additional forms of sponsorship beyond that of the state, to the needs of the local, national and international communities, and to creating the necessary bonds and networks to substantiate these new directions. The educational and training implications of such a major unifying process, based primarily on market and competition concepts, needed to be examined in detail.⁽¹⁰⁾

This project raised a series of questions on which policies in human resources and planning on a European scale assisted the regional problems faced by peripheral and maritime regions. It questioned whether skills that are appropriate to local needs should be developed as a priority over those required nationally and internationally and whether policies designed to induce greater European mobility merely encourage a centralist tendency towards the

TABLE 8.6: COMETT II. GUIDELINES FOR RESEARCH REPORTS

- a. Study a major international and European enterprise and relate its activities with respect to educational and training programmes.
- b. Investigate the management of energy resources within the European Community as given by recent reports from the European Commission.
- c. Investigate and evaluate the availability and use of software programmes for personal computers with regard to their use in environmental education.
(Computer parameters: RAM up to 10 MB; ROM up to 80 MB; processor up to 80486; system MS-Dos and Macintosh)
- d. Investigate and evaluate the understanding of environmental programmes in some European companies with special reference to the practical action they have undertaken.

Additional programme tasks are as follows:-

1. The investigation should be appropriate to either management or educational studies as it is likely to be read by members of these disciplines.
 2. To add a European perspective to the study and to spend a period of residence in Glasgow/Scotland.
 3. To follow appropriate courses at levels 4/5 of higher educational studies where available.
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TABLE 8.7: DISCUSSION OBJECTIVES FOR
ENTERPRISE AND EDUCATION IN A CHANGING EUROPE

1. To examine the crucial issues coming out of the formation of the European Market at the end of 1992 in terms of jobs, demography and mobility in Europe of the Twelve Countries.
 2. In the light of changes indicated in objective one, to suggest strategies for provision of staff management and development programmes in institutes of higher education.
 3. Language needs in education and enterprises in response to greater European mobility
 4. Priorities in subject and skill choices for staff and students.
 5. To compare and contrast European, national and regional interests in the provision of higher education and their networks of enterprise links in view of:-
 - i. Proposed and ongoing structural changes in higher educational institutions
 - ii. Formation of European networks.
 6. To highlight the potential for education and training through mobility schemes such as ERASMUS, COMETT, LINGUA. etc. in 1990 and beyond with regard to:-
 - i. The European job market
 - ii. Qualification and career orientation appropriate to a European market
 - iii. Europe-wide recognition of qualifications.
 7. To examine the specific needs of higher education and enterprises in peripheral, border and maritime regions of Europe.
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wealthier central regions of Europe to the detriment of those countries and regions at the peripheral, border or maritime regions.

Through an examination of current provision in higher education and training in the West of Scotland and its potential for the future, this project produced a series of background papers which aimed to raise awareness of European opportunities. (11)

8.5 The LINGUA Programme (12)

Two new programmes, LINGUA and TEMPUS were introduced at the end of the eighties to expand language learning opportunities and extend ERASMUS-type programmes into eastern European countries. (13) The importance of languages in general have been emphasised in this study; equally Owen and Dynes have gone so far as to propose that it will be qualified linguists who will manage European industry and commerce in the nineteen nineties. (14) Certainly it was noticeable through the nineteen eighties that there was an increasing premium in Europe for people with linguistic skills and this has been the basis of argument for developing some of the programmes described in this section. As the competition between European companies intensifies, they are likely to become a scarce and extremely valuable resource. This is likely to also increase the financial rewards for linguistic skills which until recently and with very few exceptions (such as the Commission itself), have been poorly rewarded.

Many schools in Britain are not prepared as much as they could be for the future production of young people with linguistic skills who also specialise in the sciences, technology, business and commerce. Curricular comparisons in section two of this study seem to bear this out. At university level, the number of applications to study foreign languages is steadily declining. Many higher education courses are literature based, an essential requirement if the broad and enriching aspects of language learning are to be maintained. However, languages for commercial purposes are also required, opinion seems to be in the literature of the European Commission that language departments in the universities (less so the polytechnics) are not responding to this need as much as they might; hence the LINGUA programme.

This programme (LINGUA I) proposed the teaching of two modern foreign languages at schools throughout Europe and to establish a new pupil-exchange scheme. When this was first proposed, the United

Kingdom opposed the project on the grounds that the Commission had no powers under the Treaty of Rome to legislate in the field of secondary education. Whilst this was undoubtedly true, the programme did try to address the language issue directly, and at a stage in education where there could be longterm benefits. For the moment the LINGUA programme is in some disarray, with the majority of countries willing to apply the programme to the compulsory stage of schooling, whilst other governments resist this. Hard pressed local authorities in Britain see the programme as a way of getting additional resources but a quick calculation shows that this programme is not generously funded.

Phase I of the programme was revised down to about £130 million, of which the United Kingdom could possibly expect about £20 million or £4 million each year over the period of the programme. On a pro rata basis, this gave Scotland about £350,000 for all five action line initiatives under the scheme.⁽¹⁵⁾ This is not generous when the aim is to enable the participation in in-service training projects of foreign language teachers and teacher-trainers within the European Community. Certain sections of the LINGUA programme are designed to be coherent with the ERASMUS programme to promote inter-university cooperation, student grants, and grants for mobility and exchange of teachers and trainers and LINGUA II applications can be included within ERASMUS. There is also the intention to provide a 'foreign language audit' for small businesses to specify the extent of their language needs and training requirements in post-1992.

In the prior considerations that were necessary before the outcomes of the LINGUA programme were completed several issues were raised. The choice of targeting one or two foreign languages, or fixing on a European *lingua franca* would have been following in the tracks of other large unions such as the Soviet Union, North America or South America. However, there are crucial obstacles to such a direction. Politically, the choice of one European language over another, English versus French or German for example, could not be countenanced (though to the writer's knowledge no-one has yet - publicly - suggested it). Post-colonial Europe would also be seen to be following its nineteenth century practices and again would not reap much credit. The presence of hundreds of languages in Europe - regional, indigenous, ethnic, 'adventitious' - could take the

argument either way. Because of the complexity at the regional level, a bilingual policy, such as that attempted in Canada, with one unifying language could be proposed. In the light of contemporary language theories, the importance of the mother-tongue in intellectual development, individual and community identity and not least the treasures of history, argue that all languages should have their place in the school curriculum.

In practice the LINGUA programme included all the official and the one unofficial languages of the community in Phase I. The five initial action lines were as follows:-

- Action 1: Measures to promote In-service training of foreign language teachers.
- Action 2: Measures to promote the learning of foreign languages in universities and in particular to develop the initial training of foreign- language teachers.
- Action 3: measures to promote knowledge of foreign languages used in work relations and in economic life.
- Action 4: measures to promote the development of exchanges for young people undergoing professional, vocational and technical education within the Community.
- Action 5: Complementary measures.

With the advent of the development of links with Eastern Europe it is likely that phase two will include the promotion of other languages, certainly Russian, within the various action lines.⁽¹⁶⁾ The administration of the programmes is through the ERASMUS Bureau for Action 2, a LINGUA Bureau established in the Commission for Action 5, and the appropriate national bodies for Action 1, 3 and 5. The final decisions for the administration of LINGUA were taken in 1990 and the programme started in the latter months of that year.

Le Métais has argued that measures such as LINGUA give clear evidence that member states are adapting their education systems towards convergence in the duration of the compulsory education, the existence of a core curriculum and the length of the school year. The growth of the demand of information, through the EURIDICE network for example, indicates convergence in national priorities in improving the efficiency and quality of education and preparing young people to

meet the economy's increasing demands for skilled or semi-skilled workers. There is also a detectable desire to learn about examples of good practice and to examine the feasibility of transferring these across systems. (17) The impact of these measures is beginning to show that the interest that local and national authorities (18) have shown in programmes such as ARION, ERASMUS and now LINGUA will inevitably involve more in comparative analyses in education. The task will be a difficult one as they have been, and continue to be, bodies serving local and national interests and have traditionally needed to be persuaded that comparative and international analyses should have a priority sufficiently high to affect their own policy. (19)

Through the LINGUA programme, the European Commission has chosen to propose a strategy which involves the diversification of the foreign languages on offer in education and training programmes. It also recognises the increasing importance of foreign languages for non-language specialists working in business, commerce and science, and places emphasis on the improvement of communication skills. Although (like ERASMUS) the main thrust of the LINGUA programme lies in promoting inter-university cooperation, there is also an intention to move away from the old-style language exchanges and to focus more in the vocational training field, with attention also being given to practical school pupil-exchanges and visits abroad. (20)

8.6 The Effectiveness of European Mobility Programmes

The concept of the international scholar, in the image of Erasmus, attending a variety of medieval universities across the continent of Europe has been a powerful myth. In practice, the number of students able and willing to undertake foreign studies has been limited and biased towards studies in language and literature. Alternatively, specialist scientists could obtain a single undergraduate year, or post-graduate work at EURATOM, CERN or other European research centres. Many of the international communities so formed, created cliques which became conservative in their attitudes towards the development of European ideals. There is an obvious danger here that 'networking' in the mobility programmes of the nineteen nineties could form similar groups who fail to develop new ideas or to carry through the programmes which have been started under the mobility

programmes.

Technological and commercial needs mean that democratisation of the intra-European movement of students and workers has to be considered more seriously than before. In the past fifteen years the European Community has begun to address this as a priority matter, partly because, as Absalom suggests, there is political capital to be made from promoting academic exchange, (21) and partly because of the growing pace and needs of the Internal Market. Within the field of higher education admissions, too, there are a number of reasons for wider awareness of European mobility. Increased selectivity in faculties of higher education in one country causes students to look to other countries for opportunities. A country offering open admissions can become a target for students from countries which operate restricted admissions. International policy is affected as a result of these 'wild cat' movements, leading to restrictions on open policies, often through restriction on the number of foreign students, or tightening the national language or residential qualifications. In many cases such quotas placed on foreign students has been set at between 2% and 10% of new entrants (and therefore for the whole university over a period of several years). Smith, especially, has pointed to the generally unfavourable climate that inter-university European cooperation has had to survive over the decade 1975-85. (22)

From 1991, several new measures have been taken to assist in the application and preparation for international programmes of the European Commission. These include the possibility of programmes projected over three or more years (with annual review), and the mean period for study abroad set at six months, with three months as a minimum. The European Community Course Credit Transfer System (ECTS), which is designed to link closely with the NARIC centres, will assist the process of international recognition with foreign institutions. Many of the ancient charters of universities were simply not designed to cope with problems of international recognition, so the physical problems of collecting the signatures of rectors in various institutions across Europe creates a spectre that would cause the international business community not a little mirth. Certificates and diplomas that can be telefaxed with security would be a practical solution, and a worthwhile European development project.

TABLE 8.8 SUMMARY OF INTERNATIONAL FINDINGS ON EUROPEAN EDUCATION

1. Focussed attention on structural and administrative changes, usually within national frameworks.
 2. Carried out international comparisons on educational achievement levels as an aid to reviewing the respective progress of national systems.
 3. Reviewed changes in sectorial responsibilities in education as a result of political or economic change.
 4. Focussed specifically on individual sectors of education, Education.g. higher education or nursery education, as a means of identifying change and development.
 5. Examined the interface of educational provision and training needs both within and across developed countries, and within developing countries.
 6. Brought attention to minorities and pluralist societies and their requirements within national educational systems.
 7. Examined curriculum reform, usually in relation to economic and political changes and developments.
 8. Sought alternative and informal types of education which could act as a stimulus to educational change.
 9. Related human rights and educational and training rights at the international level.
 10. Sought new types of integrated research methods which would facilitate international comparisons.
 11. Started to respond to the environmental and communications needs of international societies.
 12. Have yet to seriously analyse the curricula and policies within environmental issues within the European context.
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Language preparation has been seen as an area needing more financial support and attention, which is linked to the imbalance of exchanges between countries noted by the review of the first three years of the programme. Although Portuguese, Greek and Danish students wish to learn French, German, Italian and English, it is not so clear that the desire is so strong in the other direction. Nevertheless, there has been some success in creating a more proportionate balance of nationalities in the more recent exchanges and in the ERASMUS and LINGUA (Action II) format, more care is being given to language preparation before the period of study abroad is taken up. (23)

Experience from the COMETT programmes indicates that University and Enterprise Training Partnerships (UETPs) that can bridge the physical and mental gaps existing in many countries between higher institutions and companies are necessary. There is a danger that such partnerships become quangos, or simply act as a focus for political and administration problems, and be deflected away from the primary task of assisting the international mobility of students and workers. This was recognised in effect through the decision of the European Council, of December 1989, to improve the quality of the education and training provided by the universities 'by harnessing the full intellectual potential of their teaching staff'.

In the area of finances, there are restrictions which lead to problems for students and staff. The comments of the ERASMUS reviews and other commentators make it clear that the low level of funding in this sector is appreciated. The problem can be further exacerbated, however, by the inefficient allocation of payments from the national bodies, or from the coordinators or the financial centres of the institutions. Introduction of a single European currency will be a practical benefit, though institutional financial facilities would also have to improve by accepting new technologies developed by the international banking system.

In some mobility programmes, the amount of support per student has been reduced in order to increase the number of beneficiaries. This has political, as well as practical advantages, but the attractiveness of the programmes tends to decline if the financial incentive turns into a cost burden for the participants. The ERASMUS review of 1989 comments that the cost of living and the imposition of

quotas were seen as important obstacles to the furtherance of future mobility programmes. (24) Compared to much commercial and industrial practice, international research and development in academia is slothful. Institutions vary considerably in promoting international exchange; in general very few seem to plan and co-ordinate their activities or use the experience of their staff to multiply benefits and experience throughout the institution. Academic leadership, a matter given more attention in North American universities than in Europe, needs to be consciously improved. Often, students who have taken part in international programmes are treated as curiosities, and sometimes with suspicion.

From one point of view, the development of the mobility programmes has been successful, particularly in the light of difficulties in the educational sectors of European countries over the past decade. It is interesting to note, for example, that all the recommendations of Smith's 1985 paper have been implemented with the exception, so far, of the national recognition of the doctorates awarded by the European University in Florence. (25) Through expanding the original Joint Study Programmes Scheme to ERASMUS, COMETT, LINGUA and TEMPUS, the European Commission has succeeded in promoting academic mobility where others, such as the Council of Europe, and national exchange offices had, for the most part, failed. It has to be mentioned too that national authorities have not always given their cooperation, but the relatively small Brussels bureaucracies administering the mobility programmes have been able to create a notable, if still tiny, participative base of international networks despite some degree of political opposition. (26)

From another view, however, that of the coordinator and participator of programmes, there are many critical points to be made. Behind the rhetoric of official reports and journal articles, and notwithstanding the increase in mobility achieved, the success relative to educational networks in the New World still has some way to go. Participation itself is often superficial, in both universities and enterprises. Because of the political problem of convincing higher authorities to take part in the schemes, scarce money is spent on expensive ceremonies which would better allocated to the students and participants. Monitoring the actual performance of the programmes is necessarily limited, but the administration and

managerial aspects of many programmes leave much to be desired. Many higher institutions are autonomous so far as their awards are concerned, and although effort has been made by the representatives of the mobility programmes to request greater flexibility of recognition (many individual awards are based on regulations dating from the nineteenth century and before), accountability to social pressures is resisted, especially by the more ancient institutions.

Summary

After discussing national and international trends in mobility, this chapter has used the practical experience gained from participating in international research and development programmes to critically review and assess some of the advantages and disadvantages of international study. The main focus is on the mobility programmes of the European Commission in the period 1984-90 in the fields of teacher education, management studies, mechanical engineering, cultural minorities and environmental education.

Whilst the successes of the programmes during the nineteen eighties have been discussed in the official reviews and journal articles, the theoretical and practical problems would seem to need more analysis. Educational mobility has yet to make a major impact on individual institutional management and administration or fertilise cross-disciplinary developments

Notes and References

1. The programmes described in this chapter were organised through the Multicultural and International Education Unit (later the International Education Unit) which was formally created in Glasgow University in 1984. This research unit was based in the Department of Education, and later jointly with Management Studies, and developed links across faculties in the University of Glasgow and with over 40 other institutes in Europe over the period under review.
2. Annual reports of approved programmes are issued annually by the ERASMUS and COMETT Bureaux. For critical summaries see especially Smith, A., From 'Euphoria' to pragmatism: towards a new start for higher education co-operation in Europe?. *European Journal of Education*, Vol. 15(1). pp. 77-95, and *Report on the Experience acquired in the Application of the ERASMUS Programme*. SEC (89), 2051 Final, Brussels, December 1989. Large-scale

studies of students who have taken part in the ERASMUS programme of the Commission and the NORDPLUS programme of the Nordic Council are currently underway and will be reporting back in May 1992.

3. Smith, A, Higher Education Co-operation 1875-1985: creating a basis for growth in an adverse economic climate. *European Journal of Education*, Vol. 20, Nos. 2-3, 1985. pp. 267-292.
4. Budget restrictions will almost certainly put this target back several years. The total budget for the period 1987-89 was 93.7 million ECU, and the estimates for the period until 1990-93 are around 192 million ECU. This represent a short-fall of about 50% compared with projected estimates for demand over the coming period.
5. McLean, M., *Britain and a Single Market Europe: Prospects for a Common School Curriculum*. Kogan Page, London, 1990. p. 1.
6. These were The British Comparative and International Education Society (B.C.I.E.S.) and the *Nederlandstalig Gezelschap voor de Studie van Onderwijs en Opvoeding* (N.G.V.O.).
7. Barnes, A., *Technology Transfer: A European Perspective*, University of Sheffield, World Student Games Directorate, 1990.
8. This proposal came under the European Community Research Programme: *Technical Assistance in the Fields of the Internal Market and Industrial Affairs*. Categories 1.2, 1.2.4, 1.8. Brussels, 1989. Reports completed under this series so far include: Teichler, U., *Recognition: A Typological Overview on Recognition Issues* (within ERASMUS), Kassel, WZBH, Gesamthochschule Kassel, 1989; Baumgratz-Gangl, Deyson and Kloss, *L'amélioration de la préparation linguistique et socio-culturelle des étudiants ERASMUS*, Paris, Unités Langues pour la Coopération en Europe, 1989; *ICP's Evaluation Report in the Subject Areas of Business Administration, Chemistry and History*, Florence, Università degli Studi, 1989; Henriksen, H.R., *Issues related to Academic Recognition within the Framework of ICPs in the Field of Mechanical Engineering*, Brussels, SEFI, 1989.
9. These links were:-
 - i) West of Scotland UETP (Technology Training Partnership), Brabant Tilburg UETP, Florence UETP and ETOILE
 - ii) Education and Enterprise Pool Award with West of Scotland UETP (1989-90), Technology and Tourism COMETT Programme University of Tilburg 1989/90/91
 - iii) Education and Enterprise in Maritime, Peripheral and Border Regions of Europe, Curriculum Development Programme ERASMUS UK-0183 1989/90, Education and Enterprise Intensive Programme. ERASMUS UK-90-0577

- vii) Education and Enterprise for a Changing Europe: conference on the changes currently taking place in the education and enterprise worlds; October 1990. This was part of the Glasgow European City of Culture Programme.
10. Papers outlining some of the underlying issues {Ref: XE0308A(Ent, Edu & Europe)} within the themes 'Peoples and Structure' and 'Education/ Industry/Business Partnership' were prepared which set out specific objectives for an international conference on *Education and Enterprise in a Changing Europe* and tasks related to the development programme.
 11. A series of background papers were written under the titles:- 1. Demographic Data in Europe: 2. Skills Needs and Occupational Trends, 3. Mobility of Labour and Employment in the Single Market, 4. The ERASMUS Programme, 5. The COMETT Programme, and 6. Industrial Relations and the Single Market.
 12. The LINGUA Programme is closely linked with ERASMUS and the two programmes can be applied to jointly.
 13. Commission of the European Communities, *TEMPUS Vademecum*, June, 1990. The programme initially links Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia with European Community countries. See, for example, the 1990-93 TEMPUS Programmes 'Managing Economic Change in Europe, Comparative Studies in Enterprise and at School' and 'The Teaching of Modern European Languages (English and German) in Hungarian Primary Education' (Action I) coordinated through Jordanhill College, Glasgow and Noordelijke Hogeschool, Leeuwarden, Netherlands.
 14. Owen, R. and Dynes, M. *Britain in a Europe without Frontiers*. Times Books, London 1989. p. 105.
 15. Commission of the European Communities. *Official Journal of the European Commission*. L 239/28. Brussels, August, 1989.
 16. Verbal communication with David Coyne, European Commission, Brussels, March 1990.
 17. Le Métails, J., *Convergence in the Field of Education?*. Paper given at the VII World Congress of Comparative Education, Université de Montréal, June, 1989.
 18. See, for example, the series issued by the Department of Education and Science which includes *Education in Denmark* and *Initial Teacher Training in France*. H.M.S.O., London, 1989.
 19. King, E. J., *Other Schools and Ours* (5th Edition). Holt, Rinehart and Winston. London, 1979. Part Four: Comparative Studies: Problem Analysis and Policy Decisions.
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SECTION V
DIVERSITY AND UNITY IN EUROPEAN EDUCATION

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 European Plurality and Education
- 9.3 Complexity and Educational Change
- 9.4 Mobility and European Education

Is it possible that one day an emancipated human race could encounter itself within an expanded space of discursive formation of will and yet be robbed of the light in which it is capable of interpreting its life as something good? The revenge of a culture exploited over millennia for the legitimation of domination would then take this form: right at the moment of overcoming age-old repressions it would harbour no violence, but it would have no content either.

Habermas, J: Philosophical-Political Profile: 1984.

9.1 Introduction

This chapter draws together the main themes of the study under three headings. The first section, European plurality, discusses implications of infusing regional, indigenous and ethnic minorities which represent the historical and contemporary (and perhaps future) alter-identities of all Europeans, with national systems of education across Europe. An emphasis of this work has been cultural and educational development in regions and small countries of Europe and what their contribution might be to a holistic Europe. The questions raised by the diversity of cultures, languages and identities in education are a central part of this emerging process of European unity. Substantially, networks of technological communications across Europe will be the media by which languages and identities are juxtaposed, reformulated and transformed.

As demonstrated in chapter three, market driven educational change and the emergence of the evaluative state raises problems of

increased centralised control. The difference in the argument put forward here is not for a common European curriculum, but for a plurality of curriculum issues which address the historical, cultural and educational themes within a philosophical-political profile of Europe. In this framework, the accent moves from a dominant-dependent and central-peripheral approach to inter-relationships between European minorities and the means of achieving degrees of autoregulation for those minorities.

The second part, complexity and educational change, is used to signal the trend that is now cautiously being considered in mainstream education. This trend is to consider the possibility of creating a holistic framework of education that transcends national borders and gives a prospect of a European educational administration and structure. For the moment, the shape and form that European education will take in the future is unclear, whether it be driven by international market forces, as present trends indicate, or whether it will be informed more by pluralistic values emanating from the mixing of diverse cultures. The case studies demonstrated that different approaches to European internationalisation, but similar problems of reinterpreting core philosophies of education - such as the Scottish democratic intellect and Danish popular enlightenment - seem to be occurring in moving from a closed national system of education to one that is open and international.

The final heading is the mechanism of educational mobility, which is emerging as a potent force for educational change at the transfer from compulsory to post-compulsory education. The vocational impulse will carry an increasing number of people from and to different parts of Europe in future years using the possibilities that transport and communication systems can offer. Experience of European affairs through education is likely to form an important element of the understanding of potential social change in the future and interpreting this change into international education.

9.2 European Plurality and Education

The present countries of the European Communities are the Federal Republic of Germany (now Germany), France, Italy, Luxembourg, Belgium, Netherlands (1958: the six), United Kingdom, Republic of Ireland, Denmark (1973: the nine) Greece (1981: the ten) Spain and Portugal (1986: the twelve). The Single European Act was signed in

February 1986 by the twelve; in 1990, East Germany was incorporated into West Germany. Towards the end of 1991 the European Free Trade Association agreed trading rules with the European Commission which, in time, will give the largest free trading area in the world comprising 380 million people. Sweden has applied for membership of the European Communities and Norway and Austria are likely to follow. Other countries, including Switzerland, Cyprus, Iceland, Finland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Turkey are waiting in the wings with intentions to join.

Within perhaps a decade, the population of the European Community will double and the majority of its members will be operating a single currency. Within the twenty six participating states there would be over 100 regional minorities and perhaps a similar number of educational systems having at least some degree of autonomy at levels of education from preschool to higher education. Perhaps 20 million members of ethnic minority groups originating from extra-European countries will require educational provision that takes special account of their linguistic, cultural and religious needs, as well as there being several million people of refugee status for whom education and social welfare will be priority needs. The largest cultural group, around 85 million German speakers, would constitute just 18% of the total and the smallest minority, perhaps semi-nomadic groups of Sami in the north of Norway, comprise just a few thousand.

As discussed in chapter two, the linguistic and cultural influences on education could multiply and the rich heritage they hold open up a totally new vista of knowledge networks through the process of European-wide communication. Equally, preserving home and local cultures and their associated educational frameworks, will be necessary to achieve a cosmopolitan coherence. The balance to be struck will lie between the language and culture of the heartland and the internationalisation of knowledge at European and global levels.

If, as Holmes and McLean assert, the comparative evidence demonstrates how difficult it is to formulate curriculum responses to societal changes, it would suggest that innovation from other directions, both inside and outside education, may be needed.⁽¹⁾ Artificial frameworks of curricula, meaning national and international bureaucratic organisations imposing their brand of national and international reforms, are a possibility and a danger. On the other hand, mechanisms for allowing grass-roots education to

express itself are difficult to discern as yet, especially in a European framework. The prospects for a plurality of education systems are not good if, as Gelpi writes:-

It is on popular action that education moulds itself. International technological scientific, financial and economic relations influence and change the framework within which education operates; it is the responsibility of those engaged in international activities to find new ways to make education relevant and to reinforce popular participation in local, national and international affairs. Unfortunately, too often international relations in education are becoming the basis of new vested interests. .Sometimes contradictions are impossible to solve because interests are opposed and mediation is hopeless. (2)

There are, however, other directions from which change may come. The Single European Act was not framed with education in mind, but has probably indirectly boosted the European mobility programmes more than any efforts that came from within the education world over the period of 1945-80 as discussed in chapter six. The structure and administration of higher education has also been affected by the Inner Market concept with mergers, introduction of modular and short course programmes and the change of emphasis from access to outcomes.

A 'third sector' of education, as the emerging sponsored-type of education is referred to by a recent OECD study (3), encompasses a wide range of programmes organised and financed largely on a private basis, either by commercial, profit-making educational institutions or enterprises themselves in 'corporate classrooms'. This market driven sector, largely outside the control of educational authorities, is becoming a prominent feature in developed countries. In reviewing this third sector, Furth has suggested that student demand could take further and higher education in a quite different direction:-

The essential issue for the future will be to ensure that higher education as a whole fulfills the multiple functions that society requires: providing general and vocational programmes, initial and continuing education, long and short courses. Whether these are offered in the universities, the NUIs (polytechnics,

Fachhochschulen, Regional Colleges, Instituts Universitaires de Technologie, and so forth) or in the third sector is less important provided that they are catered for in settings which ensure quality and equity with a minimum of administrative and organisational barriers. (4)

From an international perspective however, the application of quality to education, shown in the discussions of the Benelux countries, Scotland and Denmark raises a common concern throughout. Educational quality seems more difficult to define and achieve than when conceived simply from a business perspective. Some basic differences between the 'education economy' and a business economy have been referred to in chapter one and again when discussing the COMETT programmes and the idea of 'intellectual property'. After reviewing the application of quality to higher education in the Netherlands, France and England, De Weert (5) concluded that quality control, not quality *per se*, applied in those countries' systems of education, much in keeping with Neave's view of the evaluative state.(6) In such cases, the tendency is in the direction of a model yet more tightly controlled by central government. In a similar analysis of Belgian education, Weilemans was also sceptical that quality control dominated by economics brings any realisable improvement in education.(7) All three writers conclude that planning is an essential precursor for expansion (or change or contraction) of education and that market forces are inadequate in this respect. In a later paper Neave points to the unique features of the Robbins proposals in Britain as 'planned expansion and bold purpose'.(8) From the administrative point of view it may be time to move with 'bold purpose' from the market responses of mobility programmes to planned possibilities for the development of a network of European institutions of education. These should combine the efforts of national and regional ministries of Europe and thus go far beyond the limited developments of the European universities so far envisaged.

We have postulated the evolution of an 'evaluative state' during the nineteen eighties where knowledge creation and its consumption is 'market determined and driven'. What pupils and students are now being urged to do is to choose their studies in the light of what they wish to do afterwards in the labour market. The traditional function of most European schools and higher education systems has,

in practice, been the reverse; that is, occupational choice was made in the light of previous performance and attainment within the general assumption that state values were democratic and egalitarian. From this point of view the rise of market-led education can be seen as another step in the long organisational reorientation of Western Europe's adjustment to mass higher education in the sense of North American structures. The introduction of the three-year Bachelor degree programmes in the Nordic countries seems to have been modelled on the American style degrees, with the possibilities for cross-disciplinary studies, rather than on the English model as has sometimes been claimed. The possibility of American educational values, as well as structures, being adopted in Europe forms the basis of contemporary lively debate in these countries.⁽⁹⁾ In a vicious attack on American higher education, Bloom put forward the view that education has done a disservice to Americans and dismisses the notion of equality as totally abhorrent to education.

Egalitarianism means conformism, because it gives power to the sterile who can only make use of old values, other men's ready made values, which are not alive and to which their promoters are not committed. Egalitarianism is founded on reason, which denies creativity. (10)

Bloom overstates his case, but the perception that equality meant 'sameness' is echoed in the Danish and Dutch educational literature during the nineteen seventies and eighties as discussed in chapters three and five. The limits of rationality, claimed to be a central feature of European education is an important value split between European and American views of education. In a general way, it is possible that 'scientific sameness', from the simple mass production of everyday objects to genetic cloning which can now be replicated in human behaviour, has gone some way to establish the popular belief that equality is no longer a utopian ideal which humanity should strive for.

9.3 Complexity and Educational Change

A radical change of traditional educational practice can perhaps only come about, and succeed, in a revolutionary climate such as was generated by *les événements* of May 1968 in France over twenty years

ago. According to Bourdieu, academics work essentially through power and the construction of an intricate network of power relationships. The fluid and complex relationships of power in education follow a basic distinction between temporal, or social power on the one hand and cultural power on the other. Academics have less temporal power than business men and industrialists, but more than freelance artists or intellectuals. Bourdieu's academic man is a creature totally determined and riven by contradiction at the same time; he concurs with other observers in suggesting that innovation is resisted most fiercely by those members of the profession whose qualifications are closely tied to tradition. The most vociferous champions of change are those who have been denied access, or a secure place, in the social and market structure.⁽¹¹⁾ Barrington has analysed similar notions of power relationships in society between minority cultures and mainstream education.⁽¹²⁾

There is the real alternative that traditional higher education becomes divorced from mainstream society to prevent, in Bloom's words, 'their wonderful results of the theoretical life collapsing back into the primal slime from which they cannot escape'.⁽¹³⁾ That modern education could ever return to a closed monastic existence, however, seems unlikely on economic and moral grounds. The economic grounds are expressed through the evaluative state; the moral question could be put in the following form: could Bohr, Feynman and Oppenheimer and the universities in which they worked for much of their lives have been held responsible for the development of the nuclear bomb and its consequences, as most of the original research was done in the 'theoretical workshop' of the university? To what extent is the knowledge of an educational system locked into its surrounding society, not only in a financially accountable sense, but also in relation to the values of that society?

Davie raised the spectre of the loss of Scottish education's heartland - the democratic intellect - and therefore the loss of general education.⁽¹⁴⁾ It could be added: what are the ways in which an educational system can reach out to its people where traditional culture resides and transform this into contemporary knowledge on which the continued existence of the society depends. In a more pragmatic way, Bell used the question of educational borrowing and its subsequent grafting on to an existing system to question the direction that educational development should go. Out of this comes

the conclusion that the most powerful and dominant models of education, in his examples England and the United States vis-à-vis Scotland, are not necessarily the most appropriate or best. (15)

The question comes out in another form in Danish education; the argument could be put as follows. State institutions represent high culture or *dannelse*. Through the drive towards to international education, European integration and its link with the notion of quality is the modern expression of *dannelse*, and its process, *uddannelse*, the method by which it is proposed to achieve it. A second parallel but separate tradition, that coming from the *folkehøjskole* and the *oplysningsforbund*, has resisted this high cultural tradition of the royal and state institutions and weaved an educational route that seeks culture from the richness of its people and their identity, *almendannelse*, or 'general education for a democratic intellect'. (16) In a discussion of the Dutch concept of *voorlichting* or enlightenment, Van Gent suggests that the three elements of freedom, interest and service seem to be central to *voorlichtingskunde* or the science of enlightenment. In Scotland, Denmark and the Netherlands, public enlightenment in the eighteenth century was seen as an important way to distribute knowledge and change attitudes. (17) It could be that a 'science of public democratic enlightenment', which could be defined as the intellectual work in creating (and developing) democratic forms of education, could be a useful tool in seeking issues for European education.

In Doll's terms of open and closed systems, control takes over from quality and becomes the guiding aim of a closed system. (18) An alternative, more open, view of quality would result from balancing the different interests and different perspectives of all those who have an interests in the quality of education. Students, teachers, employers and government are bound to have their own legitimate concerns or 'basic realities'. An open educational system follows a living-system model of development where equilibrium, disturbed by forces to create a situation of disequilibrium, then sets up counter forces leading to re-equilibrium, a process Piaget called 'autoregulation'. (19) Learning, in both Piaget's and Dewey's views, was not a direct and exclusive goal in itself but a by-product of inquiry.

The conceptualisation of quality in education and what it stands for in more open, artistic or creative terms is an extremely complex

process. In a highly entertaining discussion, Pirsig chases after this elusive nature of quality:-

... since any description of quality is a kind of definition and must therefore fall short of its mark . . . (and) statements of any kind that fall short of their mark are even worse than no statements at all, . . . they can be mistaken for the truth and thus retard an understanding of quality. (20)

After associating quality with unity, vividness, authority, economy, sensitivity, clarity, emphasis, flow, suspense, brilliance, precision, proportion, and then with excellence, goodness and worth, Pirsig follows up his argument by distinguishing romantic (emotional) quality and classic (ancient) quality. He finally proposes that "Quality is a basic reality, a full recognition of what exists".(21) This approach to the concept of quality, which has both popular and intellectual appeal, is as elusive as it is pervasive.

From a pedagogical view, however, this wider aspect of quality is extremely important. Quality in education stands for the dynamics of the process of learning within understand and can thus be distinguished from the processes of instruction and self-regulation of knowledge. Henningsen makes such a distinction by differentiating self-reflection and self-learning from *oplysning*, which is a perspective on learning which opens up new horizons; he refers to it as the 'forgotten dimension' of contemporary Danish education.(22)

9.4 Mobility and European Education

The initial drive towards international education during the nineteen fifties rapidly lost momentum. National approaches to upper-secondary and higher education allowed no coherent theory of international education to develop. Reforms concentrated on long professional courses as opposed to laying the basis for open learning systems and transferable credits within an international domain. Equivalences proved to be a complex and unwieldy approach to international analysis of qualifications. The combination of these factors and others moved the impetus from educational change to economically driven reform. In the transition, schools and universities lost control of their individual and corporate destinies.

There are two major dichotomies in admissions policies. The first

is between professionally-reserved (selective) faculties and employment-related (less selective) faculties; the second is differentiation between students with traditional qualifications and those with new types of assessments which may or may not carry greater kudos. Will the non-traditional forms of education carry through the education system to the point of graduation and assist in transforming the pedagogy of the higher education institutions? How will the new types of students perform if they are required to follow more traditional forms of assessment in the universities? There are few studies to answer these questions as yet.

International harmonisation must take into account that information technologies will have an effect on styles of learning and the transformation of knowledge into skills. Although the examinations which are used to select students for education and jobs are still traditional in the sense that they use techniques developed in the nineteenth century, they have changed considerably in their content and diversification. This has not as yet achieved an incremental change in the efficiency of learning that can be applied in formal education, though the spread of the knowledge of the English language (and hence British and North American ideas) throughout Europe is partially due to the presence of the language through mass media, cinema, music and art. If examinations became European in their administration and assessment, this would have a major effect on the process of harmonisation. There is some evidence that this is happening in limited ways in the fields of science, engineering, law, medicine and business administration.

The idea of a united states of Europe, which has been promoted with varying degrees of force from different quarters over the past forty years, is primarily based on an economic analysis of trade and commerce within Europe. The shortcomings of such a theory for education are, 1) the trend it induces towards centralisation of control and power, 2) encouraging the removal of education from a central role in society, and 3) not having the inability to sustain plurality (as well as the environment). On the other hand, the development of information technologies over the last forty years forces the direction of change to a more unified (and uniform) Europe. For the most part these technologies have had more impact in the trading and industrial sectors of the economies of the northern European countries. They also form the basis of many European

initiatives in technology and training such as the PACE and DELTA programmes. (23) Any theory which argues for a European motivated education system must certainly take the new technologies into account.

A case for persisting with the policy of increasing inter-European mobility has been put sympathetically by Absalom. Pointing to the need for consolidation of political changes in Eastern European and the merging of the EFTA countries with the European Community, he writes:

Within these vital historical processes, educational cooperation, particularly in the universities and advanced technological spheres, is likely to acquire new horizons and new parameters of activity, since it possesses the attractiveness of being a high-profile and rapidly mobilisable resource for the transformation of mentalities and the promotion of new values needed to confront the changing situation of the continent and concept of Europe. (24)

This study has concentrated on formal institutions of education, mostly in the northern countries of western Europe. Very different conclusions might have come about if similar themes were used to analyse education in the southern European countries of Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece. There are, in addition, many other ways than those suggested here by which educational change could happen. The 'third sector' of education from commercial sponsorship has already been mentioned. Other possibilities are the renaissance of cultural cooperation across regions, such as the Nordic Council, a union of the Celtic countries and regions, the German language community or the Francophone domain. There are the contributions from the European schools, the United World Colleges and the European universities, though these have been relatively limited as yet. The growing international pressure groups in environmental action, such as Friends of the Earth, have already had considerable influence on European policy and action. (25)

For individual and groups of scholars it is necessary to broaden their range of contacts and to open up research opportunities to create new networks at the levels of learned societies; Ryba, for example, has describe the opportunities that the Comparative and

International Societies could contribute towards international policy.⁽²⁶⁾ The role of families and parents forming European wide associations out of their national ones to create the European Parents Association has been encouraged by the European Commission. Such a body can play many roles, not least in representing the regions and minorities described in this study.⁽²⁷⁾ Students are, in any case, a small section of the communities of Europe; to paraphrase Theodore Zeldin, ERASMUS has allowed 80,000 students to travel in Europe, that leaves 234 million others to be thought of.

Some factors, however, would lead to the conclusion that a more open educational approach is now needed. Firstly, few predicted the political and social changes that have occurred in the period 1989-91; caution actually led to less understanding of social change and less control over it. Secondly, forces which are taking over the direction of educational change such as commercialism, international division of labour, migrations, international markets and communications, are mostly internationally driven and therefore need an international framework for education. And finally, the strategic need for Europe is to create a system of education that uses the strengths of the individual countries and the development of such an international framework for education is best created as an indigenous process rather than one that is forced into being from outside pressures.

Uncertainty and the dynamics of change were a central concern of mathematical physics at the turn of the century and led to a flurry of speculation as to the nature of society and natural scientific investigation; some of these ideas have found modern expression in current theories of chaos and disorder.⁽²⁸⁾ In social change, perhaps the most telling transformations will come from unforeseen directions. Scientific investigation has now reached levels of uncertainty that analyses of social change have always possessed. Some of the most intriguing and exciting movements towards a pluralistic Europe, and appropriate systems of education are likely to come out of social applications of sensitive chaos, fractal theory, analysis of complexity and further analyses of human activity in its context of the environment.

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