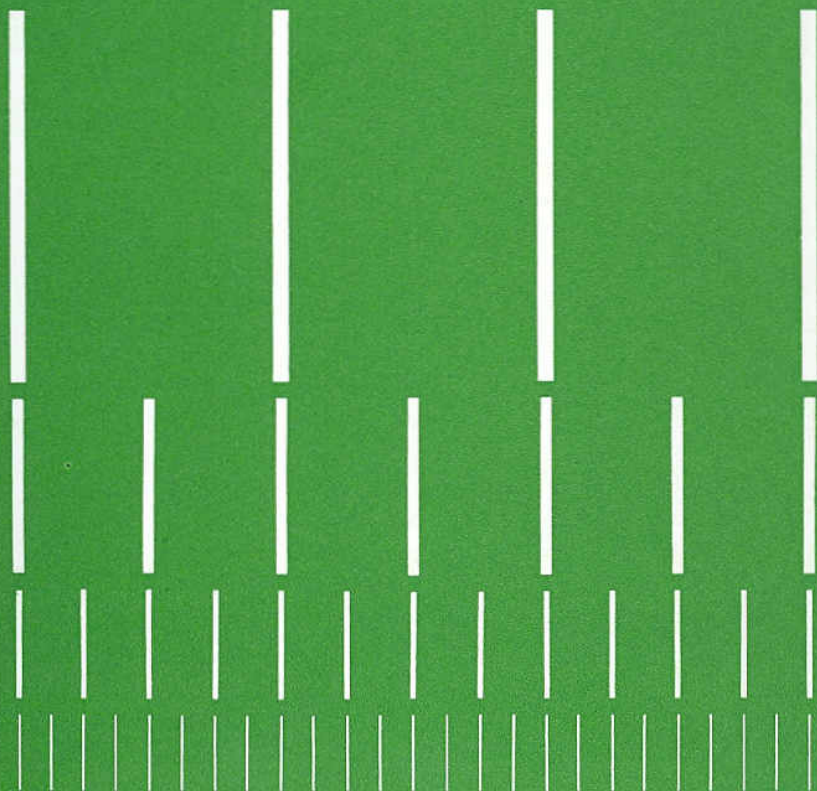


# The planner and lifelong education

Pierre Furter





Included in the series:\*

1. *What is Educational Planning ?*  
Philip H. Coombs
2. *The Relation of Educational Plans to Economic and Social Planning*  
R. Poignant
3. *Educational Planning and Human Resource Development*  
F. Harbison
4. *Planning and the Educational Administrator*  
C.E. Beeby
5. *The Social Context of Educational Planning*  
C.A. Anderson
6. *The Costing of Educational Plans*  
J. Vaizey, J.D. Chesswas
7. *The Problems of Rural Education*  
V.L. Griffiths
8. *Educational Planning: The Adviser's Role*  
Adam Curle
9. *Demographic Aspects of Educational Planning*  
Ta Ngoc Châu
10. *The Analysis of Educational Costs and Expenditure*  
J. Hallak
11. *The Professional Identity of the Educational Planner*  
Adam Curle
12. *The Conditions for Success in Educational Planning*  
G.C. Ruscoe
13. *Cost-benefit Analysis in Educational Planning*  
Maureen Woodhall
14. *Educational Planning and Unemployed Youth*  
Archibald Callaway
15. *The Politics of Educational Planning in Developing Countries*  
C.D. Rowley
16. *Planning Education for a Plural Society*  
Chai Hon-Chan
17. *Planning the Primary School Curriculum in Developing Countries*  
H.W.R. Hawes
18. *Planning Educational Assistance for the Second Development Decade*  
H.M. Phillips
19. *Study Abroad and Educational Development*  
William D. Carter
20. *Realistic Educational Planning*  
K.R. McKinnon
21. *Planning Education in Relation to Rural Development*  
G.M. Coverdale
22. *Alternatives and Decisions in Educational Planning*  
John D. Montgomery
23. *Planning the School Curriculum*  
Arieh Lewy
24. *Cost Factors in Planning Educational Technical Systems*  
Dean T. Jamison
25. *The Planner and Lifelong Education*  
Pierre Furter

\*Also published in French. Other titles to appear

# The planner and lifelong education

Pierre Furter

Paris 1977

Unesco: International Institute for Educational Planning

The Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA)  
has provided financial assistance for the publication of this booklet

Published in 1977 by the United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,  
7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris  
Translated from the French by IIEP  
Printed by NICI, Ghent  
Cover design by Bruno Pfäffli

ISBN 92-803-1077-1

© Unesco 1977  
Printed in Belgium

## Fundamentals of educational planning

The booklets in this series are written primarily for two types of clientele: those engaged in—or preparing for—educational planning and administration, especially in developing countries; and others, less specialized, such as senior government officials and policy-makers who seek a more general understanding of educational planning and of how it is related to overall national development. They are devised to be of use either for private study or in formal training programmes.

Since this series was launched in 1967 the practice as well as the concept of educational planning has undergone substantial change. Many of the assumptions which underlay earlier attempts to put some rationality into the process of educational development have been abandoned or at the very least criticized. At the same time, the scope of educational planning itself has been broadened. In addition to the formal system of schools, it now includes other important educational efforts in non-formal settings and among adults. Attention to the growth and expansion of educational systems is being supplemented and sometimes even replaced by a growing concern for the distribution of educational opportunities and benefits across different regions and across social, ethnic and sex groups. The planning, implementation and evaluation of innovations and reforms in the content and substance of education is becoming at least as important a preoccupation of educational planners and administrators as the forecasting of the size of the educational system and its output. Moreover, the planning process itself is changing, giving more attention to the implementation and evaluation of plans

as well as to their design, and exploring such possibilities as integrated planning, participatory planning, and micro-planning.

One of the purposes of these booklets is to reflect this diversity by giving different authors, coming from a wide range of backgrounds and disciplines, the opportunity to express their ideas and to communicate their experience on various aspects of changing theories and practices in educational planning.

Although the series has been carefully planned, no attempt has been made to avoid differences or even contradictions in the views expressed by the authors. The Institute itself does not wish to impose any official doctrine on any planner. Thus, while the views are the responsibility of the authors and may not always be shared by Unesco or the IIEP, they are believed to warrant attention in the international forum of ideas.

Since readers will vary so widely in their backgrounds, the authors have been given the difficult task of introducing their subjects from the beginning, explaining technical terms that may be commonplace to some but a mystery to others, and yet adhering to scholarly standards. This approach will have the advantage, we hope, of making the booklets optimally useful to every reader.

## Preface

Ever since the end of the 60s, the concept of lifelong education has rapidly been gaining currency. The Edgar Faure Committee in its report *Learning to be* even suggests that it should become the 'guiding principle for educational policies in the future'. But what exactly does this principle imply and how is it to be put into practice?

The answer to the first of these questions appears to be simple. The principle of lifelong education is to provide each individual with the means for educating himself throughout his entire lifetime. However, opinions differ as soon as an attempt is made to define what the term education denotes in this context. Is it merely a question of extending school activity into the adult world? Or on the contrary, does it imply developing the out-of-school? Should the orientation of such education be primarily occupational or should it be given a broader and more humanistic dimension? What renders this debate a singularly complicated one is that lifelong education acts as a catalyst for all our disappointments and hopes in matters of educational development. That is why, for some, it becomes a means for achieving a more egalitarian and more democratic society. For some, it is a way of bringing education and the world of work closer together. For others, it becomes a form of socio-cultural action. It is no mean achievement on the part of the author of this present volume to have succeeded in isolating from amongst this wealth of definitions the central challenge with which we are confronted by lifelong education, i.e. how to engineer the transition from an established and compulsory system of education to a method



## *Preface*

of self-education freely adopted by the individual and by social groups.

Having outlined this conceptual background, the task then becomes one of examining how the challenge from lifelong education should be dealt with. To do this, the author relies primarily on the extensive work carried out by OECD and the Council of Europe—two organisations belonging to the industrialised world. However, his critical and sometimes controversial analysis goes far beyond the context of the developed countries. For the educational planner it constitutes a source of salutary disillusionment by demonstrating to him that, whatever the degree of development, putting lifelong education into operation implies for him a radical reappraisal of his traditional working methods and assumptions.

It is very probable that the reader when laying down this book will be left with more questions than he had when he picked it up. The points of view put forward by the author in his dual capacity as planner and specialist in out-of-school education are sometimes provocative, frequently unexpected but never without interest.

I hope that by publishing this work in this series the Institute will be making a modest contribution to this vast debate on lifelong education which has certainly not finished exercising and stimulating the planning fraternity.

Hans N. Weiler  
*Director, IIEP*

# Contents

Introduction . . . . .	11
I. Lifelong education as a utopian model for planning . . . . .	19
II. Lifelong education as a frame of reference for educational reform	35
III. Lifelong education as a challenge to inertia . . . . .	52
Appendix I. Suggested criteria for selection of pilot experiments for study and evaluation (1972) . . . . .	63
Appendix II. Grid for analysing experiments (1973 version) . . .	64

In memory of my Father

## Introduction

Bringing educational planning and lifelong education together is like trying to mix oil and water. Not that planners reject outright every one of the ambitious prospects held out by lifelong education, but because there is a qualitative gap between activities which make a practical contribution to the task of decision-making and those which merely open up new vistas. One of the major reasons for the misunderstanding between planners and proponents of lifelong education is that the latter's imprecision does not satisfy the requirements of the former. In all the discussion about lifelong education planners see only vague and remote futuristic projects where everyone carefully avoids any mention of how they will be put into practice. However, would it not serve some purpose if some account were to be taken of such criticisms in discussion about lifelong education? Have planners no need for any forward-looking analysis which starts from present-day facts and their probable outcomes so as to take decisions which will assist in bringing about the possible outcomes? It is only by acting on these probable outcomes that some of lifelong education's proposals will ever begin to take shape. It is no longer sufficient to say that something is theoretically, teleologically or abstractly possible—one has to prove, show and, above all, demonstrate that the proposed project is feasible because it amounts to an extension of probable trends.

Having had occasion not only to analyse this conflict from a theoretical point of view but also to be actively involved in it, we asked ourselves whether it would not be possible to overcome these contradictions and envisage the possibility of a fruitful dialogue between two such very different mental attitudes. In fact, although

the concept of lifelong education—in the sense of ‘an abstract and general idea capable of generalisation’ (Lalande)—was worked out in accordance with ways of thinking whose very methods seem in contradiction with the way planners operate, the notion of the continuity of education—in the sense of ‘intuitive, deductive and often vague knowledge (of something)’ (Robert)—would not seem completely alien to the principles which planners are seeking to promote in today’s educational systems, particularly when they are considering these from the qualitative aspect. For this reason it seems to us worth while to discover under what conditions lifelong education could become the *idée-force* for the whole of educational planning’s activities. And be everything at one and the same time: the embodiment of the seemingly contradictory goal of every educational venture, i.e. self-education; a yardstick by which to judge present-day education systems and a call for action. Lifelong education in these pages is considered as a principle which, with the help of precise and concrete examples, will be examined to see how it can be, or more important has been, put into practice. The three sections making up the main body of this book will look at lifelong education from three successive approaches at different levels since:

1. A principle first of all accounts for something by enabling a coherent series of guidelines to be inferred from a common source.

In Section I lifelong education will be considered as the principle of a model, developed with the aid of utopian thinking which will need to be defined in terms of its status and its legitimacy.

2. A principle not only accounts for something, it can to a certain extent take shape as a series of active causal factors.

At this stage lifelong education appears as an active principle whose impact on current changes, reforms and even innovations in today’s educational systems needs to be assessed. The object of Section II will be to assess the use of lifelong education as a frame of reference for the current development of educational systems.

3. A principle can be the basis for a series of standards and rules enabling one to act in a concerted manner.

Would it not therefore be meaningful to consider lifelong education as a series of practical rules which should be applied,

for instance, when setting up planning methods within educational subsystems? This will be the subject of the third and last section. Before getting into a detailed discussion of this and so that our readers avoid any temptation to oversimplify, we should, in our view, emphasize that our task is a particularly difficult one because lifelong education is neither a movement nor a unified doctrine but rather a meeting-ground for different schools of thought, a variety of motivations and even divergent objectives.

Basically, few are familiar with its history. Although it may be an exaggeration to trace the notion back to Plato, it had already appeared at the beginning of this century in A. L. Smith's report on adult education published in the United Kingdom in 1919. The notion reappeared in 1929 in its definitive English form as 'lifelong education' in a work by A. B. Yeaxlee. In France, it began to take shape in the 1930s in the hands of the philosopher Bachelard, although it was not adopted in educational circles until after the Second World War. Thus, before lifelong education apparently burst upon the international scene in the 1960s, there had been important precedents which too often were overlooked.

There are a great number of reasons why it has spread so rapidly since 1960. The most important of these are: (a) anthropological; (b) socio-economic; (c) political.

Basically, lifelong education is closely linked to contemporary anthropology's questioning of any clear-cut distinction between the immature man (the child and the adolescent who have to learn) and the mature man (the adult who knows) which underlies the unreal separation between a period of life devoted to learning and one devoted to productive activity. Modern anthropology is tending towards a dynamic conception of human life: the idea of a progressive maturing throughout the 'ages of life' as expounded by Erikson in the United States or Philibert in France. In fact, what emerges from these discussions (often of an excessively technical nature) is an original conception of contemporary man as an essentially incomplete being. It would appear, moreover, that this conception reflects the current trend towards an increase in life expectancy and the chances of survival.

The socio-economic reasons are all related to the links between lifelong education and the changing relationships between the education a person has received and his professional activities or the use he makes of such education. Not only does this involve the

problem of obsolescent knowledge but also that of complete vocational retraining as has occurred with automation. Seen in this light, lifelong education begins to look like a two-edged weapon. It can in fact just as well favour the professional and social enhancement of the worker's status as justify forms of exploitation which increases still further the need for productivity. One has to learn more, not to live better, but to produce more.

Lastly, lifelong education has become part of the discussion concerning the democratization of our post-industrial society. It corresponds to the ever-pressing need to increase the participation of every citizen. Here too it still remains to be seen whether this is really intended to increase every population group's participation in the decision-making process or, on the contrary, merely to enlist further support for established authority.

This brief review of the factors most commonly mentioned serves to highlight how many-sided these are. These factors could just as well result in an even more severe, more intense and more insidious exploitation of man by his fellow man as provide him with the prospect of a new freedom and a new power.

These ambiguities are also reflected in the terminology used, as Tardy showed in his analysis of the vocabulary and the attempt at conceptualization undertaken by the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation. His analysis of the 'semantic range' covered by the documents submitted by experts from the various countries describing what they meant by lifelong education forced him to conclude that there was no coherent definition for a notion whose many facets meant that it could be given a variety of different meanings. This analysis helps us to understand the singular nature of a notion which, at one and the same time, can produce a broad measure of agreement with regard to its emphasis on the permanence of the learning process, but which produces widely divergent interpretations of education when one examines its extension to the whole range of operations to which it lends its name. Is this in fact a matter of multiplying and diversifying such operations and institutions so as to be able constantly to educate a society increasingly aware of its own inability to teach itself? Or rather to provide the opportunities, supply the means and create the situations where individuals as well as groups may strengthen and develop their capacity to educate themselves? If this notion was able not only to meet with such international approval as to lead to its

startling spread outwards from the centre countries—North America first of all, then Western Europe—to a good part of the rest of the globe, but above all to encourage official sanctioning of substantial legislative innovations—the introduction of educational (or training?) leave—as well as administrative reforms—the system of alternating work and study—then this was because it represented a unifying concept in which the expansion of education went hand in hand with the development of training. Its very nature made it a useful ideology for justifying the measures required to cope with the crisis facing educational systems at the end of the 1960s. In fact, urged on by the expansion of the industrial economy, the centre countries convinced themselves that to maintain a steady rate of growth and help the peripheral countries to catch up as fast as possible—remember we are referring to one of the growth decades!—it would be necessary to inculcate new cultural values, enlist and unite the whole of human resources into one vast project for a ‘new society’ and modernize institutions, in particular those constituting the systems of education where expansion was neither sufficiently rapid nor sufficiently effective. In the first place, lifelong education restores faith in education, embodying as it does the humanistic conception of development, with its aim to give everyone—and adults in particular—a chance of attaining a culture in which the scientific and technological aspects of life will have a large place. Then by identifying education with life, lifelong education strengthens the links between educational activities and the life of the worker, whether this be by relating their contents to the type of work carried out, as in the case of functional literacy programmes, or by smoothing the transition from study to work or, in particular, by aligning educational development with labour and employment policies. It succeeds in achieving the feat of identifying the age-old aspiration of socialist pedagogy to give workers more power by educating them with industry’s imperative need for a more practical form of education. And lastly, lifelong education, when designed as an overall system, justifies limiting, or at least slowing down, the growth in systems of school education, all of which require too much costly investment which is not sufficiently economic compared with expenditure in other sectors—it being of course taken for granted that education spread throughout a person’s lifetime will enable him to make up this initial deficit in schooling. To achieve this, every form of out-of-school education will be used—adult education in



particular but not exclusively. These will be better co-ordinated and via them it will be possible to call upon other sources of finance.

This official sanctioning and implementation of lifelong education, which, as it were, confirms its success, has aroused fierce criticism from those who see a veritable betrayal in the use of this as an ideology and those who, taking their cue from Illich, regard it as nothing less than a perversion—do they not talk in terms of a ‘plot’ or ‘conspiracy’?—which would even go as far as the idea of ‘deformalizing education’ in order to justify ‘lifelong education’. What arguments and facts do they cite for example, in the *Cuernavaca Manifesto*, that truly disparaging and inflammatory attack on the proponents of lifelong education? That first of all, like every ideological undertaking, there is a great deal more involved in lifelong education than meets the eye. That is why it is the source of so many delusions and, in particular, helps to foster the myth that a surplus of education is bound to help cope with the problems of working life or accelerate social and economic mobility. What it does not say is that this is true primarily in the case of the individual and much less so in the case of social classes; it omits to emphasize that working life depends above all on job availability, working conditions, pay scales and career prospects, the social structure of work, the division of labour, which the majority of workers are too often powerless to alter or improve and of which most educators are certainly not even aware. Solutions are all reduced to the single idea of ‘qualifying’ the individual so that he adapts and agrees to a ‘useful’ training—in other words, one suited solely to the requirements and structures of the productive system. Even more serious is the fact that lifelong education leads to the assertion of demands which are minor in relation to the real size of the problem, e.g. is it not often easier, less costly and more astute to claim to train given groups for specific jobs rather than create the jobs which they basically require? But lifelong education is not merely a form of trickery—it is a means for degrading mankind. By justifying the institutionalization of adult education it prolongs throughout man’s lifetime and until his death that dependence, that mute submission to institutions, in short the pressure on individuals to conform to the established order of things which begins with the school and attains its fullest form in this true ‘lifelong education’. Does not the very idea of lifelong education as a ‘system’ indicate a desire to recognize adult education as an integral part of the

educational system, which would allow it to apply the same criteria of certification, specialization and training or creating a professional body of teachers as in the schools. Thus, whilst bringing some form of order to a hitherto chaotic situation, whilst promoting a sector considered as marginal—the ‘out-of-school’—whilst sanctioning a previously undervalued cultural activity—the ‘non-formal’—the educators have joined forces with the whole army of ‘instructors’ to broaden their empire by annexing the territory of the out-of-school and setting themselves up in the area of adult education, thus bringing off a masterstroke of ‘deschooling’ everything whilst at the same time increasing the number of activities involving education or, to use another brilliant description, that of ‘schooling without schools’.

Although the criticism from ‘Illichians’ is occasionally marred by an excessive fondness for paradox and too easily prone to sum up a complex situation in a series of striking phrases, it has the merit of raising questions of an increasingly radical nature. First of all, is it really the aim of lifelong education, once implemented, to give those being taught more power over their education and, more important, over the subsequent utilization of their training to control their future and their environment? If those concerned were to take over control of their education in this way—so as to become the ‘actors’ and not merely the agents—should this not make one mistrust the unanimity in discussions about lifelong education? Scrutinize and identify the various groups which favour putting it into effect and the interests they represent? Accept the fact that any operation of this kind is the result of a balance of forces in which the rôle and influence of those primarily concerned need to be evaluated? But an assessment of the forces at work is in itself not enough to ensure that those involved will succeed in becoming the originators of the kind of education which corresponds to their motivations and via which they will be able to express their individuality. In fact the ‘Illichians’ are far more concerned about the growing confusion, as lifelong education schemes are put into practice, between increasing the number and diversity of educational activities and developing within each group an independent capacity to educate itself in accordance with its own aspirations. Is not this confusion based on the belief that to translate the desire to educate oneself into action requires the intervention of a mediator and the aid of specialist institutions, all of which serve to strengthen the

relationships of dependence and make achievement of the desired degree of autonomy increasingly uncertain? Emerging more clearly from this series of questions is what lifelong education involves, i.e. the promotion of individual and collective self-education.

## I. Lifelong education as a utopian model for planning

By implying from the outset that lifelong education has a utopian dimension are we not likely to arouse immediate adverse reactions of a violent and irrational kind? In fact, in many languages to describe a project as 'utopian' is sufficient to condemn it as illusory or unrealistic and this definition extends to authors of Utopias who are considered either as innocent cranks or downright psychopaths, depending on the circumstances. However, recent work on the history and sociology of utopianism cautions us against accepting too readily an attitude which may well conceal the irritation of the supporters of the prevailing culture when confronted with attempts to interpret reality in another light or suggest other ways of organizing social life, even if only in an imaginary fashion. Should one not, therefore, pay more attention to this manner of thinking which multiplies the alternatives and explores all the available resources at a time when educational planners are striving not only to foresee the development of present education systems but also to seek alternatives to the model(s) so far accepted?

But if Utopias provide food for the imagination by contrasting what is and what might be, is not history also the story of their failure? Would not the fact that it is possible to trace the origins of lifelong education back to the earliest origins of Western educational thought tend to prove that it has always been an aim which it has never proved possible to fulfil? Lifelong education may well be to some extent a symptom of the guilty conscience of Western educators. No doubt, utopian applies to something which quite simply is not present (u-topos = which is nowhere; which is elsewhere). But it would be rash to conclude from the absence of something that it does not exist. It is not to say because something is not there that

it never will be. It is possible that an individual or group is striving so that this thing—whose nature is as yet difficult to define—may exist, may be present. In this respect, lifelong education would represent what planners should be attempting to bring about and put into effect. Far from being something which has always failed, it would constitute something which has yet to be achieved.

If we agree with H. Correa that a planning model is 'the concept of a phenomenon which is happening in reality' then a utopian model is the concept of a phenomenon which could happen in reality; which already exists potentially within reality where it is present in the form of trends. But then a fresh difficulty arises related to the very form which utopian thought tends to take.

The concrete expressions of utopian thought—whether literary, architectural or pictorial—often take the shape of a closed universe such as a desert island, a town enclosed by high walls or a circle isolated by magic. There is not merely an aesthetic or symbolic value in this isolation; it forms part of a structure hostile to current thinking, to analysis which progresses in dialectical leaps and, above all, which changes in accordance with the course of events. Everything is based on the assumption that the structure of a Utopia had never known any change, any beginnings and still less any development. Naturally such Utopias are outdated and, in this respect, they too form part of history. But their hermetic structure avoids their authors having to concern themselves with their creation, their design or their implementation. This feature of utopian thought is at the root of the most serious conflict with the planners who are at a loss to know what to do with these finished constructions frozen in the perfection ascribed to them by their authors. But here too one needs to know—or learn—how to make good use out of the products of utopian thought. Although, by virtue of their very perfection, they can be likened to prototypes—or blueprints of prototypes—which their authors had imagined, ignoring all the snags and without regard for their chances of success and which henceforth simply need to be reproduced and repeated, the most coherent Utopias are those thought out by men of action on the basis of their experience and drawing on trends in real life which have either never been emphasized or which have remained unnoticed. The value of a utopian model is thus this constant confrontation of the possible—in the form of a coherent set of assumptions—with the probable as this appears from an analysis of

the conditions affecting its implementation. These include not only the dynamic factors working in favour of its implementation but also the obstacles and stumbling blocks and the constraints forcing one to adopt a realistic viewpoint. We shall term this part of the task of interpretation the 'strategy' with its objective that of analysing the conditions affecting the existence and implementation of a Utopia seen as a concrete desire and an intention waiting to be fulfilled.

In our view, it is very significant how this concern with strategy has become increasingly evident in recent work on lifelong education. Not counting the somewhat modest example of G. W. Parkyn's comparison of his conceptual analysis with an analysis of recent trends in the situation in Peru, the best example is without doubt the approach used by B. Schwarz and his colleagues. Beginning with an undertaking of pure utopian invention—the quintessence of which was contained in the 'red book' published in 1970 by the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC)—they transformed this intellectual matter into a strategy of action, approved by member States and given the title of *Fundamentals for an Integrated Educational Policy* prior to embarking on a vast research and action programme covering several years during which changes in the European systems of education will be put under the microscope.

Lastly, mention should be made of a final aspect which is important for international organizations. Although admitting that the different utopian models for lifelong education may converge, we believe that there will always be several possible strategies with regard to their implementation. Even if it may be possible to build a single model or similar models at a regional level (although we seriously doubt whether it would be possible to do this for a whole continent or at a global level), strategies are going to depend to a great extent on the features of the national situations. The most striking example of this is the difference between a context of underdevelopment and dependence compared with a context of industrial development. Even if we were able to admit, if only in theory, that the same type of society is desirable in both cases, there is no denying that the approach used and probably the results will be profoundly different.

Let us now attempt to examine more closely the specific and practical contributions made by utopian thought to the work of the planner.

On the basis of the features of utopian thought summarized above, lifelong education considered as a utopian model can contribute to the planner's work at at least three levels:

In the first place, it considerably broadens and modifies the whole range of factors which the planner must take into consideration when making an initial analysis of a given educational situation.

Secondly, it forces the planner to redefine the nature of the relationships which will be established between educational actions and the environment within the context of an integrated plan.

Finally, it leads to awareness of the fact that it is not enough merely to think in terms of the development of trends in the current situation but that occasionally one must envisage changing reality itself.

*What reality should be chosen as a starting point?*

One of the fundamental features of lifelong education is that it takes into account all ventures in education which contribute to the instruction of an individual or a group—whether or not these be in-school, continuing or systematic. It implies, therefore, going well beyond an assessment of this education based on yardsticks such as the number of completed years of study or the level of certification. A first step in this direction is to broaden the inventory of educational resources which can be used as a basis for reference.

Perhaps the most interesting example is the model evolved by the International Council for Educational Development (ICED) for the research projects carried out between 1971 and 1974 on behalf of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) on the subject of out-of-school education as a means of rural development.

The model takes as its starting point what is termed 'informal education' which is somewhat reminiscent of the 'learning society' of the authors of the Unesco report *Learning to Be*. The term 'informal education' would encompass the whole range of activities concerning all the population groups within a given territory irrespective of the institutional structures involved. It is for this reason that we prefer to call this education 'widespread' rather than 'informal', because it can equally well involve the regular reading of the newspaper, listening attentively to a radio programme or

drawing lessons from an everyday event—in as far as each of these activities contributes to the education of an individual or a group of people. Describing the range of such activities is no easy task. It is, however, indispensable if the educator and, in particular, the educational planner wish to draw upon all the dispersed and implicit cultural activities which exist within a society. Better still, it means taking into account all those activities which play an active part in any given society so that an assessment can be made of everything contributing to the education or enlightenment of the various population groups, without anyone fully realizing the consequences.

Once this vast initial amount of information has been assembled, it would be possible to take an entirely new look at the problem of formal education, embodied in Western societies in its traditionally limited institutional forms. This is regarded as the minimum indispensable education which everyone should acquire as early as possible, i.e. during his childhood or youth, or at a later stage if necessary. This minimum can be defined as what is required to enable an individual to build up a culture and a method of self-education using the elements provided to him through widespread education. It is not unlikely that this minimum will be much more concentrated and perhaps shorter than the basic school programme as we know it, covering six, eight or ten years. It is probable, too, that the content of this minimum amount of learning will be scarcely comparable with either the knowledge or the methods and even less with the behaviour patterns which the system of compulsory education is designed to develop. And lastly, since the definition of this minimum will also depend on what a society considers to be important, it is unlikely ever to be fixed once and for all. In all likelihood it will be composed of an essential and therefore stable nucleus plus variable elements which can be changed to suit the circumstances.

Having thus determined on the one hand what a society can provide in terms of widespread education and, on the other hand, what it prescribes by way of formal education as minimal instruction for all of its (future) citizens, one can then compare the first with the second so as to determine what falls within the scope of non-formal education as such. This would comprise all those educational activities which need to be undertaken at any given time for specific groups in line with what are considered, either by those in charge of such activities or by the groups concerned, as being the priority



requirements and aspirations. Non-formal education differs from other forms of education because it does not necessarily institutionalize its programmes on a permanent basis; it rarely addresses itself to a global audience and its objectives are the outcome of negotiation. It is therefore flexible, selective and functional.

Although this approach was quick to win approval from organizations seeking a better integration of the various activities involved in a development project and a more systematic co-ordination with regard to any one group of people, difficulties are being encountered in putting this into effect and it is even the cause of some hostility, which clearly shows that it is giving rise to some serious questioning of established opinion.

In the first place, based on the preliminary results of activity inventories already carried out in Kenya and in the state of Pernambuco by ICED, in Ethiopia in the context of the University of Michigan's 'non-formal education' programme, and in particular the systematic survey of the situation in Rwanda by a team from the Bergstrasser Institute at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, it would appear that the educational situation, even in regions considered to be amongst the poorest in the world, is far more complex and dynamic than one would have thought possible merely where the development of an educational system is concerned. In particular, it is striking to note the increase in the number of education officials who are employed on specialized activities set up either by the various ministries or by independent bodies; the recruitment and training of militants by organizations such as the army, religious bodies, trade unions, and political parties and movements; the efforts of regional or local minorities to survive or strengthen their individuality; and not forgetting the private sector's profit-making or non-profit-making activities, particularly in urban areas. This list is in itself sufficient for one to realize that the aims and interests of these various officials are not necessarily either identical or even convergent. In view of this, they may well be wary of or hostile to such inventories which, although helpful in any move to cut down on waste or dispersion of human and financial resources, could well lead to a reduction in their freedom of action or turn them away from their specific objectives. In fact, and although one does not always say so, it is the whole question of the scope and inflexibility of the monopoly in education, and consequently that of the rights of minorities and dissident groups

to act and express their views, which need to be clearly restated.

Other kinds of disruption, perhaps less in the nature of conflicts but just as profound, can result from a utopian application of the principle of lifelong education. These inventories in fact force one to recognize the exceptional permanence of certain indigenous cultural institutions which have not only managed to survive despite the efforts of the colonial powers to break them down but also become the first hotbeds of resistance and national independence, as in the case of the Koranic schools in the countries of northern Africa. Of course, once these countries had gained their independence, these same schools come to be regarded as traditional institutions and may be so outdistanced in the race towards modernization as to be excluded from education statistics despite the fact that they still cater for a fairly substantial student minority. None the less, one cannot help but be astonished by the part played by prejudice in justifications of the cultural rejection of indigenous institutions of learning, of oral and ritual forms of communication and of religious forms of teaching. Here, too, would it not prove necessary to resort to a similar kind of daring positive assessment as that suggested by the World Health Organization (WHO), not only with regard to the 'local systems of health care' but also with regard to the whole range of traditional medical practices hitherto regarded as illegal or dangerous?

Yet is it not necessary to go even further than this rehabilitation of other ways of institutionalizing education and raise the problem of the seemingly inherent tendency in the Western system of schooling of not taking into account training already received? A tendency which, as Paulo Freire has shown, can lead to a veritable 'pedagogy of oppression' with regard to those who are significantly described as 'illiterates' and whose future progress, by way of their liberation from the oppressions which they have interiorized, will imply their becoming conscious—the so-called 'conscientization'—of their ability to perceive themselves as active beings. This requirement is all the more important in that the conclusion reached at the end of our introduction was that the final goal of lifelong education—and the measure of its success—was the universalization of self-education. Yet, despite the obvious concern of ICED researchers to work out a model from which one can deduce strategies aimed at providing development at a basic level, the assessments which they have made propose a series of measures of the

kind that can be modified from the outside, i.e. what we have described as 'education', with regard to which they assume the population will participate rather than bother to study the necessary conditions for this. However, they appear to overlook completely the formative experience of their potential audiences. Whilst it is indispensable to decentralize institutions so as to reach people where they live, it is just as important that the local population learns how to make full use of such institutions and that these imported activities tie in with the local methods of change—in other words, the way the inhabitants go about doing things and what the educators claim to bring them. This is the reason why some researchers attempt to identify and highlight what might be termed 'natural' ways of learning which people use in their everyday life; the sources of information to which they turn most frequently; their ways of scaling down events which happen suddenly to change the course of their existence and the lessons they draw from this. Other researchers assess the use to which time is put—in particular what the inhabitants of tropical countries do during the long off-season and slack periods or, in industrial societies, how people spend their leisure time and periods of enforced idleness when, for example, they are using public transport. And lastly this would involve identifying the processes, techniques and means of learning, i.e. the system of self-teaching as such, most frequently employed in the contacts and encounters of communal life and the struggle for existence. These too are some of the avenues which need to be explored using methods based on observation and involvement and which, whilst enabling the natural forms of education—and self-teaching—to be identified, would enable them to be increasingly used by those involved. One could thus go beyond the criticism of the 'Illichians' who view the planners' use of lifelong education as no more than a device for reallocating educational investment without making any fundamental change in the relationship between education and training.

By getting closer to actual events, by highlighting the capacity for self-education as part of the process of individual development, we are confronted with another aspect of lifelong education, ecological this time, since his capacity will depend just as much on the environment as on the conditions and quality of life. We are thus drawn towards the second function of the utopian model: its overall view of the educational context.

*The 'learning society' as a context for self-education*

If educational reform is to take root amongst the 'natural' tendencies of education and grow with the free development of self-education, this process assumes not only that individuals will be better able to control their environment but also that conditions will favour this.

However, everyday experience clearly shows that not only is a harmonious relationship of this kind far from being the case—whence the 'crisis'—but that it is not enough to direct one's efforts to education alone, e.g. by making it 'functional', more utilitarian or by 'vocationalizing' it because, in order for education to achieve maximum effectiveness and for its potential to be fully exploited, it is equally necessary to bring to bear the non-educational factors in the situation. Present-day attempts at designing integrated development projects in which the educational factor constitutes one of the strategic elements and the use of methods for analysing manpower requirements have certainly helped to reduce the dysfunctions, but the role of education is still too often reduced to that of a variable depending on the *status quo* or, at best, on extrapolations of its trends. That is why it is significant that one has had to resort to one of the methods most frequently used by authors of social utopias, i.e. the representation of an ideal society, this time in the form of a 'learning society'. Perhaps by depicting the detailed operation of an ideal society in its entirety it will in fact be possible to achieve sufficient critical detachment vis-à-vis current reality and to imagine all the interactions between the factors involved.

In this way the factors directly conditioning the standard of living become apparent. Based on the very extensive work done in this area by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in recent years, it seems to us obvious that a policy in favour of full employment and satisfactory working conditions has become the touchstone for any and every development of lifelong education. Although a minimum salary and guaranteed employment are essential conditions, the standard of living and levels of subsistence must be adequate so that the individual and society as a whole can invest the surplus value in education. Experience has shown that financing education solely on the basis of a reinvestment of personal or family savings, whether on a voluntary basis or not, benefits only certain minority

groups. We are therefore convinced of the need for direct and active State intervention which can take several forms:

Either that of a compulsory levy on payrolls redistributed by means of funds (e.g. the French law of 1971 on continuing education).

Or an obligation on employers and those in charge of production to include the cost of training their workforce in the cost of production (the socialist system).

Or, alternatively, subsidies in the form of grants, scholarships or interest-free loans (the system employed in the Scandinavian countries).

Thus, there is a wide choice of measures which can be adapted to suit basic policy requirements.

Another factor in the situation which has considerable influence is the way work is organized. A prerequisite of lifelong education is a favourable balance between the various activities between which we, in our fragmented society, divide our time. Work time, leisure time, travel time (whether for work or for pleasure) and periods of rest or social activity should be interwoven rather than independent. However, it would no longer seem that we are directly or inevitably moving towards a 'leisure society', and it is by no means certain that the reduction—in fact no more than a partial one—in real (rather than official) working hours will automatically result in more 'free' time available for education. In view of this, as the ILO suggested, educational leave, i.e. training time taken directly out of working time without loss of salary, has become an inescapable necessity in certain post-industrial societies.

It is difficult to separate this problem of training time from an employment policy as such. The existence and guarantee of a sufficient number of suitable jobs is another set of considerations. Consequently, it is difficult to go below a minimum requirement that educational leave be linked with a guarantee of employment, i.e. the obligation on the employer to provide at least the same job or its equivalent. However, one should be wary of falling into the utopian delusion of thinking that lifelong education or educational programmes can, on their own, take the place of an employment policy or compensate for the lack of one. None the less, these are requirements—and the fact that they are non-educational should be stressed—that the educator should constantly bear in mind and whose effects he must control.

Very quickly other conditions arise over and above these mini-

mum requirements, but these go beyond the scope of this present discussion and we do not intend to analyse them here in great detail. However, one should not forget the fact that any training, particularly in the context of lifelong education, demands a considerable effort which, as such, merits some kind of recompense. In most cases, this takes the form of a salary increase. But today there is no reason why this recompense should not be in some other form, e.g. a closer matching of the job to the training received, promotion based on professional skills and qualifications, genuine participation in the running of the company, etc. At this point we might also mention some of the indirect, but none the less important, factors such as the environment, the *milieu*—in short, the spatial contexts which correspond to the different phases of existence.

None the less, we would like to quote one final example—the question of the level of technology. In fact, we wonder whether, in some cases, the level of technology attained (i.e. the level of technology employed in the modern sectors of industry) or used as a standard in defining training objectives is not so high as to be automatically out of the reach of large groups of the population? In other instances basic education (school or pre-vocational) is of such a low standard and so badly orientated that it in no way provides a sufficient basis on which to build a form of lifelong education. In such cases there is, so to speak, an accumulation of backwardness and underdevelopment. And lastly, in other instances the qualifications acquired up till now have no longer any meaning or usefulness in the context of the new technologies and are condemned as being 'out of date'. In every case the gap between the target level of technology and the technical level of the population directly concerned is so great that it has to be measured in qualitative rather than quantitative terms. Thus it is no longer a question of giving further training to individuals but rather one of retraining whole populations. Now how would such an operation be possible, or even desirable, unless there is to be some form of integrated action affecting every sector of daily life? This discussion reminds us that, whilst such contextual conditions are necessary, and we would say that they are absolutely necessary, education cannot create such conditions on its own or with its own resources. A policy and a strategy for lifelong education is neither a social nor an economic policy.

*Develop or change?*

There is no escaping the fact that neither the context nor the situation as a whole are sufficient to indicate what must be done. It would be highly dangerous to seek to deduce the goals of an education programme from things as they are, since this would amount to overconditioning the future with lessons from the past projected on present-day conditions. Whilst it is true that one should begin with an analysis and inventories of the present situation in order to determine the objectives, there is nothing to tell us why certain aspects should be highlighted more than others, nor why one option should be given priority rather than another. And lastly, it would be good to know who is doing the talking in this matter and on whose behalf.

The third feature of utopian thought clearly reintroduces the question of goals because it reminds us that a utopian model is designed around a new kind of society for a new kind of human being. Certainly, this aspect has been often held up to ridicule as being presumptuous, idealistic or quite simply naïve. But it is possible to turn it into a platform for an aggressive and militant policy.

Let us take a practical example—the approach used by the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC).

What did this involve? During the 1960s the CCC suggested that member States should submit reports on the status of lifelong education in their countries and experts were requested to prepare detailed studies of specific aspects. The result was a series of documents which form a brilliant patchwork, full of imagination but with a scarcely discernible motif. Summarizing this is made all the more difficult by the fact that some writers envisaged lifelong education from the standpoint of the individual's personal development whereas others saw it as a function of the overall development of post-industrial societies.

In a second phase and in order to go a step further than this mere collection of opinions and viewpoints, the CCC asked a group of experts to draw up a single proposal which was published in 1971 under the title of *Fundamentals for an Integrated Educational Policy* and subsequently approved by representatives of the member States. This document differs considerably from the previous collection of essays by its obvious intention to analyse the whole problem in all

its aspects and from the viewpoint of what European society could be like at the end of this century.

Whereas the initial system of individual contributions had resulted in a collection of different viewpoints without any real attempt to analyse and compare them, the authors (all anonymous) of the summary document do not hide the fact that there are serious conflicts between the requirements of a lifelong education primarily concerned with the development of the individual and the ever-increasing need for a system of permanent training in societies intent on achieving continuous growth. The authors hesitate between pleas on behalf of co-operation, participation, creativity and voluntary endeavour in a climate of security and equality and the need for a more highly skilled workforce, for less contentious cadres and for uncritical participation within a profoundly élitist conception of economic growth. They do not make their own position clear because they feel that negotiation between the social partners will provide the means for finding solutions to conflicts as these arise.

One only has to dig a little to find the political dimension of such a utopia.

First, for there to be genuine negotiations it would be useful to state who the partners concerned are. Now in this document it is not very clear who is talking and on whose behalf. Are they persons who have been co-opted? Official representatives of the governments concerned? Authorized spokesmen for important minority groups? Just how far have they committed themselves in their proposals? Do not the dynamics of this process show that, in the last analysis, the experts from the more industrialized central and northern European countries were the preponderant influence in shaping this document so that it ill reflects or is a caricature of the situation in the Mediterranean countries? Furthermore, it is not very clear what role is to be played by the various social partners and in particular by the employers and trade unions—or indeed by those chiefly concerned by the educational process, i.e. the 'learners' and the teaching bodies. It is therefore not surprising that whole groups which find themselves in a situation vastly different from that depicted in this Strasbourg Utopia are never mentioned explicitly, e.g. women and immigrants—not to mention the fact that the CCC Utopia appears to minimize the conflicts of interest and the struggle between classes, which brings us to a second set of conclusions.



Since the authors admit that conflicts do exist, will these be solved by becoming progressively outdated by the steady advance of post-industrial societies which will all gradually converge on a similar type of socio-political organization? Or, rather than this progressive kind of solution which clothes the age-old myths of progress in the language of 'technical optimism' (J. Guigou), should one opt for a dialectical conception of development—distinct not only from the option in favour of continuous growth but also from the consensus of a society bereft of ideology? One important detail enables us to decide this question. The CCC document assumes and even goes so far as to state that the European framework for this lifelong education will be a 'regionalized Europe'. It would in fact be difficult to imagine any generalization of self-education to the population in every country without making provision for a fair allocation of resources, an equitable promotion of development potential and without responding to the legitimate demands for self-determination from minority groups within the various countries. Without wishing to make either decentralization and much less a federal structure the essential prerequisites of the political programme which lifelong education tacitly implies, it is none the less true that this programme lends its support to a system of democratic pluralism favouring a greater measure of diversity and regional and local responsibility in the decision-making process. However, the current development of Europe is following a far different course from the 'main' trend perceived by the CCC experts. Not only has the international division of labour within the European community accentuated the disparities between regions which have become veritable reservoirs of cheap labour and regions which are reaping the benefits of growth, but even within the richest countries numerous pockets of underdevelopment and disconcerting processes of decline and depopulation are becoming apparent, underlining the wide disparities in this development. On the other hand, the central government structures, despite their declared intention to envisage forms of 'administrative decentralization', are having trouble finding solutions acceptable to minority groups who in fact are inclined to make questions of culture, language and education the prime vehicle for their grievances.

Regionalization is not the only instance where the demand for self-determination stimulated by self-education has led to a recognition of the need to break with the present social order. For example,

the committee of experts which recently made a study for the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) of the relationship between 'education and working life' from the viewpoint of lifelong education, adopting a serious attitude to man's fundamental 'liberal' right to live his own life and decide his own future, carried out a detailed study of certain proposals for recurrent education which we will examine in the following section. They, too, concluded in favour of an extension of man's right to self-determination, including a more active participation in company management—a right hitherto restricted to a privileged few and tolerated only under certain very limited conditions. This would indicate what is now becoming increasingly apparent—that movements advocating lifelong education have reached a turning-point and are becoming aware of the fact that the principle inevitably involves a political programme which they must be prepared to defend. We can also see that the activity of planning and its theorization have reached a similar turning point. As Guy Beneviste proves in his study on planning activities in Latin America: 'The planning process is as much political as technical and the planner's rôle covers both these aspects.'

Thus an unexpected parallel has been created between planners—impatient for action—and the champions of lifelong education—accused of being dreamers. In fact, rather than hesitating between an attempt to assess what is happening within education systems and the question as to whether, from the standpoint of lifelong education, these trends are positive or not, is not W. Platt's suggested technique of 'vector planning' designed to deal with just such a problem? When W. Platt states that the planner must first of all concentrate on 'the direction of change, without presuming yet to specify absolute target levels to be achieved' because 'education is not that much of a science, but it is a quest', is he not suggesting a solution to the problems of lifelong education, i.e. that of providing a reasonable chance of helping to set education in the right direction?

However, there is a final point or more precisely a void where vector planning and lifelong education find themselves in a similar state of powerlessness. Determining trends, seeing and foreseeing them is not the same as setting them in motion. And what if nothing happens in the school systems, because anything new or revolutionary that occurs there is nothing more than wishful thinking and ideology? Pious hopes? Delusion and hot air? After all, does not

the crisis in education stem from the bitter realization that *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose* (the more things change, the more they are the same)? To what authority can we turn to find a solution? Our third section is intended to provide some of the answers to this challenge.

But it is not only the post-industrial societies which are thus confronted and worried by such questions which call for a reform of their structures. The utopian model of lifelong education can also contribute to another vision of the future for the developing countries because their political independence is only a first step towards a new society yet to come. By making self-education its major aim, lifelong education is primarily taking a stand against any solution which endorses a dichotomy between a modern form of education which encourages a minority to ape the more advanced countries and an education 'for the people' which would 'civilize' the remainder. Lifelong education allocates priority to projects which correspond to the needs and aspirations of the majority, i.e. the education of the masses. Secondly, self-education means choosing norms and standards of quality in relation to the pace of change envisaged and the level of technology which it is hoped progressively to achieve—in so far as it will have proved possible to maintain such standards in the face of external pressures. The theory of self-education therefore combines with that of self-reliance in development in a similar effort to control as strictly as possible the use made of aid, assistance, co-operation and, above all, the examples and models imported from outside. And lastly, self-education will be conceived in such a manner as to demonstrate that it is possible to awaken a local, regional and national creative ability which feels no need to justify itself by following the design currently adopted by the international community. Here again, lifelong education, seen as a form of self-education, is hostile to any kind of dependent relationship which allows a country to develop only by catching up or imitating those who have already succeeded—in other words at the price of losing its own identity.

## II. Lifelong education as a frame of reference for educational reform

One of the simplest ways of dismissing lifelong education is to treat it like 'philosophy'; everyone agrees about its value but emphasizes its lack of realism and its impracticality. It is regarded as being one of the typical outcomes of the paradoxical situation facing us today as a result of the unclear relationship between educational discussion and educational practice. On the one hand, an unprecedented ideological ferment which, in particular, succeeded in arousing public opinion on educational problems. As a result of this, the principle of lifelong education—especially when associated with the myth of a 'learning society'—was adopted with the same eagerness as other noble principles such as equality of opportunity and education for everyone. It forms part of that impressive educational version of the revolutionary trinity of equality, liberty and fraternity. However, in sharp contrast to the unopposed growth of such ideas one is faced not only with the real attitudes of those working within educational subsystems, but also the differences of opinion and conflicts amongst those responsible for educational policies when the time comes to put principles into practice. The result is deadlock and the endless discussion is scarcely likely to offset the increasing scepticism and inertia exuded by the institutions.

We must, however, admit that so far lifelong education, as a utopian model, has done more than anything to open up a whole new range of possibilities, although we do not yet know whether these are likely to be achieved in view of the way society and its educational system are developing. The problem is made all the more difficult because in this case we cannot use the traditional method of conducting experiments since the problem is not merely

one of demonstrating that it is possible to set up one isolated institution devoted to furthering self-education, but rather that the entire system of education must be directed towards this goal. In fact, when one wishes to assess whether an educational idea is valid, there is a great temptation to begin with what is called a pilot experiment. Those responsible hope that once they have assessed needs and drawn up educational objectives, they will be able to construct a suitable model which only needs to be tested out and gradually perfected prior to its general application, assuming that it has been given a positive evaluation. This is the prototype technique, whose major disadvantage is that it all too rarely gets as far as the general application phase. Usually so many human and financial resources are concentrated on the pilot experiment that it becomes impossible to reproduce an equivalent level of resources when the same techniques are applied to the system as a whole. When the means of making it generally applicable do not exist, the experiment loses all meaning and is immediately filed away in the educational archives.

Instead of setting up a pilot experiment from scratch and running into the subsequent difficulty of its general application mentioned above, it is better to analyse current educational development in order to discover what trends are favourable to lifelong education. One could thus demonstrate that it would in fact be possible to make education evolve along these lines. At the same time, it would perhaps also be possible to strengthen a trend already present by pointing out to those responsible what aspects should be emphasized, or, alternatively, put on a back burner. Moreover, the comparative analysis of various experiments, how they were introduced and how they developed, should enable one to work out a formula to explain the outcome of previous experiments and serve as a guide for future development schemes. Such an approach is based on the following assumptions:

Systems of education evolve and change as a result of the pressures to which they are subjected; it may well be worth while to assess the impact of a new idea or of a principle such as lifelong education upon the various components of change.

In order to control this impact one needs to have a model as a frame of reference so that all the elements involved in an educational reform can be given a specific direction and some degree of inherent compatibility. In our case, it will be a matter of exami-

ning to what extent the changes occurring in educational systems favour self-education and what their potentials are.

With lifelong education there are several ways of avoiding the rut of experimental education. In the first place, it means that the whole series of activities comprising the somewhat vague sector termed 'adult education' can be systematized. We have shown elsewhere<sup>1</sup> how it was possible in certain countries for lifelong education to become a catalyst for a 'system of continuing education for adults' or for real 'parallel systems of education'. Certain writers, such as P. H. Coombs,<sup>2</sup> have taken a somewhat more radical standpoint and quite happily see lifelong education becoming the national system of education embracing all the 'informal', 'non-formal' and 'formal' activities. This is the old totalitarian dream of all educational utopianism. Despite the obvious bureaucratic dangers in such an operation, it was in this way that the idea of lifelong education became to some extent the basic fabric for a complete restructuring of education in Cuba and in Peru, to quote only the two best-known examples. In this second type of example the problem is much more that of adding further stages or parallel systems on to the educational system. Lifelong education enables all of the educational processes within a society in full disarray to be rethought. In a situation regarded as 'revolutionary', it is not impossible that lifelong education may become the forebear of an educational revolution. This at any rate was the idea behind the research undertaken by the Unesco Institute for Education at Hamburg under the direction of R. H. Dave.<sup>3</sup> Taking in this case the 'curriculum' as the organizational principle for an entire educational structure, the question they ask is whether in certain cases, as in Peru for example, introducing the idea of lifelong education will not enable a series of precise objectives to be formulated (the curriculum would develop an awakening of consciousness and the lifelong character of education; it would imply a greater degree of educability; it would enable the learners to be exposed to several sources of education; it would

1. P. Furter *Educação Permanente e Desenvolvimento Cultural*, 2nd ed., Petropolis. (cf. also *Some Problems in Planning Adult Education*, Paris, IIEP.)
2. P. H. Coombs *et al.*, *New Paths to Learning*, New York, N.Y., Unicef, 1974.
3. R. H. Dave, *Lifelong Education and School Curriculum*, Hamburg, Unesco Institute for Education, 1973.

integrate life and education, etc.) and one could subsequently assess to what extent these objectives had been achieved. In some respects this amounts to an extension of the experimental technique, although here not only on the scale of an entire country but also in the context of a global social experiment. One will have to await the concrete results from this research to judge how meaningful and fertile this method is.

But there is a third possibility—that chosen by the Council of Europe's Steering Group on Permanent Education under the chairmanship of Professor B. Schwartz.

The Council of Europe's contribution in popularizing and giving form to the principle of lifelong education—via its team of experts in the CCC—has been extremely important. Their work in this area can be seen as comprising three distinct phases:

1. An initial conceptual phase which was very long. No less than five years were needed to produce a series of studies, either by specialists or by experts within the various countries, on the different conceptions of lifelong education. A number of these studies were published in 1971 in the famous and voluminous Council of Europe 'Red Book'.<sup>1</sup> Following a whole series of meetings, this material was subsequently summarized in a document which became as it were the Council of Europe's frame of reference for lifelong education in Europe.<sup>2</sup>
2. In 1972 the CCC felt it was time to terminate the conceptual phase. It proposed subsequently to demonstrate the real possibilities for implementing this principle about which it seemed everyone was in agreement, yet without being convinced that the necessary conditions existed for its implementation. The CCC was, in fact, faced with the task of taking this educational theory, popularizing it and giving it concrete form.

In this second phase the CCC's objective is a practical one in the sense that the research effort is no longer concerned with the compatibility of these ideas, but with the possibilities and difficulties facing their implementation. They are seeking to identify very precisely the driving forces and stumbling-blocks in the development of education systems.

1. *Permanent Education*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1971, 400 p.
2. *Permanent Education—Fundamentals for an Integrated Educational Policy*. Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1971, 59 p. (Edition reprinted by GRETI, La Tour-de-Peilz, Delta, 1973, 58 p.)

3. In fact in 1972 and for a period of at least six months, the CCC set up a working group with a new task. Instead of concentrating its efforts on improving the model proposed in the *Fundamentals*, the Steering Group on Permanent Education took this document as a frame of reference containing a series of assumptions to be verified. From that moment the CCC started on a third phase. The primary task became that of measuring as accurately as possible the gap between all that has been done and will be done in the various European educational subsystems and the model drawn up in 1971. By so doing the CCC is hoping to take into account the degree of practical participation from those concerned but also the magnitude of the conflicts and hostility within a research project which is itself being constantly reassessed. This section will be essentially devoted to an analysis of their experience in this area.

The conflict of trends involved in an assessment of pilot experiments naturally has political repercussions. The comparison of national projects with a prototype or model of a complete system of lifelong education can imply radical changes and even a brutal switch from one type of organization to another. On the other hand, to take the direction of change as a starting-point and then attempt to define a pattern of development applicable on a European basis clearly implies the adoption of a reformist approach.

This method corresponds to the one used by American research workers in the field of education who favour the idea of a constant revision of curricula. Rather than make shattering changes, it is preferable to introduce reforms in small doses—limited but coherent. Introducing an overall, finalized model causes alarm amongst those who are politically on the left as well as on the right and amongst parents and teachers. Progressive reform is more readily acceptable because it corresponds to a degree of change which each, at his own level, can assimilate.

*The method of assessment proposed by the Council of Europe's Steering Group on Permanent Education*

One might well have expected the Council of Europe's experts to give an opinion on the internal coherence of each experiment, which would have had the effect of restricting them to deciding on



definitions of lifelong education whereas they were endeavouring to get closer to the problems occurring in actual projects. They could have directed their attention to a study of how such innovations work once they have been introduced—but how is this to be measured? If by this is meant a cost-benefit analysis, relating the output from a system to what goes in as an input, the enormous difficulties raised by such an approach to the problem quickly become apparent. It is difficult to express cultural benefits in quantitative terms. The economic benefits are not measurable within the short period before an assessment is needed. Learning criteria, e.g. a measurement of what a person has retained from a course of instruction, are in fact no more than intermediate criteria—one would need to know what use has been made of this by the students in their subsequent education. Salary is a very debatable criterion, as is a rate of promotion. Similar difficulties arise when one wants to measure the 'input'. It is not sufficient to see this merely in terms of budget expenditure. The efforts on the part of the people engaged in the experiment, their concentration in one spot, the effect of the project on the environment, etc., are not measurable in concrete terms.

The steering group opted for an assessment on the basis of comparisons. There are two benchmarks which can be used: either one can measure the experiment against an existing model of lifelong education, or it can be compared with schemes embodying the kind of development desired. An assessment by comparison with a model enables one to evaluate the gap between what is actually being done and the target to be achieved—with the result that one can either make an adjustment in the experiment or even modify the model. This kind of comparison is, however, fraught with difficulties. On the one hand, the period covered by any comparison must lie in the future; a comparison with a form of Utopia is doubtful from the outset. On the other hand, a model for lifelong education cannot be independent of the culture of the country to which it applies and it is difficult to assess the effect of local cultural influences and apply results to other situations.

Comparison with an outline development scheme has certain advantages. One takes as a starting-point certain assumptions concerning the development of the society and its educational systems. It is in fact obvious that European educational systems as a whole need to find the solution to certain problems such as

universalizing education, motivating students, providing for their insertion into the economy, etc. It is therefore interesting to analyse the experiments from the point of view of the information which they supply on the development of educational systems. To take an example: one of the assumptions concerning the development of society is the desirability of decentralizing the decision-making process. It would be enough to select projects involving this kind of decentralization. One could then analyse where the impetus and obstacles to development in this direction actually lie. One could even select projects of a dissimilar nature in order to assess more accurately the advantages and disadvantages of increased decentralization. An assessment based on a development scheme and the solutions applied to a certain number of common problems would appear to be immediately exploitable. It should be easier to transpose its conclusions from one country to another. The most likely danger is that of sliding from problems of strategy into questions of tactics.

Consequently, the fundamental choice concerning the form to be given to any assessment is tied up with the use one wants to make of it: is one's object to pass judgement on an experiment or collect data which will enable one to modify the project? Depending on what one's intention is, the information to be gathered will be different; what is more, the relationship between those responsible for the experiments and the experts appointed to make the assessment will be entirely different.

If one wishes to pass judgement on an experiment it is naturally important to gather sufficient elements for one's assessment to be valid. The line of argument has to be justified. This implies an inquiry of a thorough and even captious nature with the attendant risk that this will create negative reactions amongst those responsible for supplying the information. This is an experience with which all experts are familiar. Even if their reports are based entirely on what was told to them by officials, these officials do not always recognize themselves in the description of their project. Moreover, the mere presence of an assessor is often sufficient to precipitate the conflicts latent within organizations. The assessor is blamed for this and the atmosphere deteriorates. And lastly, one should not forget the requirements of international courtesy: at Strasbourg diplomacy still has its place.

With the other approach, where a formative assessment is made, data are collected with a view to persuading those responsible to

analyse their activity and carry out what amounts to a critical self-assessment. But it would seem that in most cases the information available is very limited and insufficient for a proper evaluation. Only in rare cases have the necessary means been provided for observation and assessment. In such circumstances, the assessor is unable to form an opinion. He can only form an idea of the size of the problems involved and convey his questions to the institutions concerned.

With the latter approach it is important to explain to those concerned why a particular question is asked. The expert can help officials assess their own activity only if he manages to get across what he is concerned about. That is why, once the draft report has been written, the experts go and discuss it with those concerned so that the information thus obtained can be directly incorporated into the projects.

Since the task was one of relating current reform measures to the frame of reference for lifelong education worked out during the course of the conceptual phase, it goes without saying that the steering group found itself faced with two distinct problems which, however, subsequently merged into one, i.e. what criteria should be used to choose the reforms which would be meaningful (in other words, making a selection from the proposals submitted by member States) and how to find indicators which would not only enable objective judgements to be made but which would also enable one to draw useful and meaningful comparisons?

There is no doubt in our mind that this work on the methodology—the most difficult of all in fact—constitutes perhaps the most valuable contribution made by the steering group to pedagogical research on systems of education and their development.

With reference to the first point, the steering group initially did no more than draft a short document<sup>1</sup> which, amongst other things, stipulated that 'the experiments which should be selected for study and evaluation should be in the course of execution' and that they 'should apply one or more of the main principles of permanent education'. However, it fairly soon became apparent that this did not provide an adequate frame of reference for evaluating the contribution of an educational experiment to the setting up of a system of lifelong education. For this reason the steering group began to

1. cf. Appendix I, p. 63.

put greater emphasis on an analysis of the development of educational systems. Whereas the criteria referred to principles which one had to judge whether or not they had been applied in the experiments selected, the evaluation was now to involve more the history of each project and highlight the obstacles, the 'technical hitches'—the reasons for which are almost invariably related to structural problems in the global systems which condition the educational subsystems—and what has somewhat colourfully been termed the 'backsliding' in the initial intentions. By 1974 this new approach had already enabled precise conditions to be laid down which the educational reforms had to fulfil in order to contribute to the generalization of lifelong education. According to Professor Schwartz:<sup>1</sup>

- (a) no reform has a chance of developing unless it forms part of a global reform programme;
- (b) no reform has a chance of developing unless it involves the very people who will be putting it into effect;
- (c) any reform must be accompanied by a certain degree of demonopolisation of education;
- (d) continuing training must not be used by the educational system as an alibi for not fulfilling its functions and the same is true for cultural activity;
- (e) in as far as permanent education is a training for change, it cannot be without repercussions on the structures;
- (f) any revision must be based on an assessment;
- (g) one will need to strike a balance between the principles of permanent education and recuperation for political ends.

With regard to the second point, the steering group gradually realized that so far the series of documents drawn up by the Council of Europe conveyed a far too finalized and rigid impression for it to be possible to see already, at the stage of partial changes, what were the trends which would enable an assessment to be made of the quality of the training embodied in the proposed reforms. It became necessary therefore to compile step by step a complex series of principles based on changes already observable in the systems of education, so that each change could be checked against

1. 'Rapport Intermédiaire', Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1974 (mimeo).

these principles and assessed to determine to what extent and in what way it facilitated the progressive acquisition of a capacity for self-education, thereby producing adults who are more autonomous, more self-reliant and better able to control their environment. The steering group thus produced an 'analysis grid' which sets forth a series of principles covering all the aspects of educational activity: the administrative organization and the organization of studies, programme content, the methods and techniques of learning, assessment procedures and the nature of the teacher-learner relationship. Since it is difficult to go into this in detail here, the reader is referred to the text of one of the latest versions of the grid<sup>1</sup> which provides a good example of how the final aims of self-education can be expressed in terms of the smallest constituent elements in an educational activity. The final report is still being compiled but, without wishing to anticipate the results of this vast operation, certain of its features have already become apparent and these need to be looked at in detail and taken even further if one intends to use formal education as one of the starting points for lifelong education.

First of all, the extension of pre-school facilities so that it is possible from a very early stage to develop greater equality of opportunity. Then, at the level of basic education, reviving and intensifying the campaign for remedial teaching so that everyone can progress at his own pace—developing a sense of self-reliance by allowing everyone to organize his own activity—and by providing opportunities for experiments in communal living and group endeavour. With regard to so-called secondary education, it should abandon its obsession with factual knowledge and concentrate on a progressive apprenticeship in participation and self-reliance. By increasing the diversity of learning situations it should gradually confront youngsters with a complete freedom of choice, thus obliging them from a very early age to look after themselves and face up to the risk of faulty orientation. Such requirements which 'force the educational system to carry out its functions'—which, it should be emphasized, are to create learning situations designed to develop the fundamentals of self-education—postpone the problem of specialized vocational education until after the start of working life. Both the institutions of higher education and so-called 'adult' education will in fact become transformed within a vast system of open institutions

1. cf. Appendix II, p. 64.

to which adults will have free access depending on the progress of their self-education and the system of alternate work and studies.

*From lifelong education to recurrent education*

So far we have analysed the operations which attempt to guide the development of educational systems by emphasizing tendencies favourable to the growth of self-education and avoiding those which could hinder it. This is based on the conclusion, so often borne out, that a motivation for study, an assurance with regard to the tools of intellectual life, a disposition for mental exercise or, quite simply, a taste and appetite for knowledge, particularly amongst young adults, are profoundly influenced and conditioned either positively or negatively by their cumulative experiences at school. Based on this analysis, therefore, any generalization of self-education must, as a first priority, tackle the problem of reforming the quality of the instruction provided by educational systems.

But does not this analysis restrict itself too much to the educational and anthropological aspects of self-education and gloss over the socio-economic aspects of contemporary educational activities? In the first place, it does not provide any immediate and rapid solution to the problems created by the existence, primarily within the advanced sectors in developing countries but also amongst the post-industrial societies' 'new poorer class', of increasingly large numbers of fully active young adults and adults who, through lack of sufficient qualifications, have either been obliged to accept jobs offering no possibility of promotion or whose level of education is considered below that required for enrolment in courses of further training or specialization. Furthermore, although an improvement in the quality of the training provided by the educational systems should, in theory, satisfy individual aspirations, it is not certain that the social benefits from such investment will be sufficiently apparent to justify the rapid increase in educational costs entailed by such reforms and which entails a corresponding reduction in the possibilities of investment in other sectors. Lastly, and perhaps most important of all, with a rapidly growing need for continuing education and its legal sanctioning as part of a universal right to education, will there not be increased popular pressure for more educational opportunities irrespective of the resources available?

And one must not overlook the fact that the size of educational institutions has grown to such an extent that it would seem increasingly unreal and even dangerous to think that the disparities between the supply of and demand for education can easily be remedied by gradual adjustment as if these were merely temporary problems which market forces will automatically set right.

Such questions are even more to the point at a time when the so-called radical economists are stressing the growth within modern society of a phenomenon termed '*stagflation*'—in other words, a situation where the number of jobs available for school and university leavers is either *stagnant* or declining whilst the school population and educational costs are increasing at an *inflationary* pace. Does not the World Employment Programme show that in most of the case studies already published 'the inflation in school populations and costs corresponds to a stagnation in the number of outlets and a levelling-off in the number of job opportunities' (J. Hallak)?

It is not surprising therefore that an organization such as OECD which, from the outset, has been concerned not only with the training of human resources but also with their utilization, should have sought to 'operationalize' lifelong education in the form of a recurrent education so as to provide practical and rapid solutions to such problems which are already giving rise to frequent social conflicts with extremely disruptive results on the social and political order in the 'liberal' societies affected by this. In this context, criticism is levelled not so much at the unsatisfactory quality of the training provided by the systems of education—one of those responsible for this development in fact admits that 'in as far as its purely educational objectives are concerned, recurrent education does not substantially differ from the present forms of education' (L. Emmerij)—the main targets are rather the effects and the socio-economic impact of its bad distribution throughout the person's working life.

The strategy drawn up as early as 1973 by the Centre for Educational Research and Development (CERI) of OECD can be thought of as comprising three main approaches, each embodying a series of interesting practical measures which have often provided the inspiration for current educational policies in Europe:

1. This approach emphasizes the iterative aspect of educational activities—in other words their distribution on a regular and successive basis throughout the person's entire working life in the

form of periods of intensive study separated by periods of work. This iterative system has enabled the amount of initial instruction to be considerably reduced, particularly in the case of higher education, because this can be progressively added to at a later date. It also encourages the renewing of knowledge by linking skills already acquired with those required either for a new job or to keep abreast with scientific and technological development. This system of sandwich courses not only enables institutions to be more flexible but it also means that they can be located more in accordance with each region's needs and potential. Iteration provides new possibilities for a fuller integration of education in the situations where those involved will be exercising their activity. Thus it facilitates the mobility and geographical distribution of students, provided always that it forms part of a system which allows everyone to suspend his studies temporarily and resume them at the point where he left off and in the institution of his choice. This is in fact being tried out experimentally in a number of institutions of higher education and adult education in what is described as a 'modular' or 'unit/credit' system.

2. The most important approach—and for this reason its name is used to describe the entire strategy proposed by the CERI—is that of recurrent education, in other words the encouragement—for example by a wider use of educational leave—to return regularly from the practical work environment to one of theory and reflection. To some extent it is the complement of iteration. It is indispensable to any attempt to form a closer association between education and everyday life. On the one hand, recurrence provides every worker with the regular opportunity to broaden his experience and at the same time examine his daily activity in a more objective light; on the other hand, it is of direct assistance in updating educational institutions by bringing in this practical experience. In fact, recurrent education is of value not only to those who are considered as being the students, but also to the teaching profession which also stands to gain from the collaboration of specialists with practical experience and training. The impact of this new clientèle, more motivated, more conscious of its needs and matured by practical experience, could prove to be an important factor in promoting self-criticism and a desire for improvement within educational institutions. This new clientèle could also have the effect of a catalyst on the



- outlook of the younger generations sharing the same periods of training. Naturally, such effects will depend to a large extent on how open minded the institutions are and how willing to treat them as responsible adults. For this reason it is becoming increasingly common to relax the conditions for entry to educational institutions—hitherto restricted to certain categories and age groups—in order to have a more varied student population. Similarly, a start has been made on broadening the system of equivalences, even to the extent of recognizing the value of the practical experience acquired by all those who wish to catch up partially, complete or extend their unfinished education. This could even lead to curricula being based on this experience and acquired knowledge. This second approach has also given rise to what is without doubt the most popular aspect of recurrent education, i.e. the broadening of the range of possibilities available to individuals not only to correct inequalities caused by differences in education, but also to help those who do not discover what their interests and possibilities are until late in life.
3. The third approach covers moratory measures which attempt to achieve a balance between the number of school leavers and the number of jobs available by introducing compulsory periods of work as part of the study programme. This system of moratoriums has been in use for some time in socialist countries where it has resulted in an extension of the period of polytechnic education. Such moratoriums enable a much closer association between educational and vocational orientation, with the result that selection procedures for education can be based on practical experience which gives the younger generation an opportunity to put its motivations to the test and society the means by which it can influence the choice of trades and professions as well as the overall demand for education without needing to resort to excessively authoritarian and arbitrary selection procedures. The system of moratoriums combined with that of recurrent education act in fact as factors regulating the labour market since, by altering the length of the moratorium and by directing the unemployed and underemployed into recurrent education, one has the means to vary the number of people employed in industry whilst at the same time assuring them of a better, or in any case different, job on their return.

Despite the fact that the system of recurrent education has the

advantage of suggesting a wide variety of practical methods which make it possible at one and the same time to slow down and even reduce the increasing amount of time devoted to study and the expansion in educational systems which this entails, whilst also providing those who abandon their education prematurely with the possibility of returning to extend their training in accordance with their own needs and those of society—as was shown in the approach used in the ILO World Employment Programme's case study of the situation in Sri Lanka—there are, however, several conditions which are indispensable if such a system is to be fully effective.

First, that those involved will have a genuine chance at a later date to avail themselves of the opportunity to resume their studies. Secondly, that they will in fact be able to find satisfactory jobs—if not, the resumption of studies becomes no more than a palliative against unemployment or underemployment. And, finally, and most important, that work will be organized and methods of production modified to correspond with these new educational requirements. To which supporters of lifelong education, suspicious of this new organizational 'gimmick', add the following rider: Is it sufficient to consider 'working life' as the only and to some extent privileged partner of education? Does this not amount to favouring yet again those who already possess an adequate training, who have a job, who work for companies or administrative services organized for recurrent education, in short, those who are already or still members of the working population? What about all the others?

However, since recurrent education eschews the problem of authority and does not recognize sufficiently the importance of social (and political) conflicts in the preparation of programmes of education, it can only offset the effects of inequality rather than deal with it at its roots. Because is not the reason for this inequality to be sought not so much in the dysfunctions within the systems, but rather in the fact that the educational system, like every social institution, is one of the pawns in the class struggle, the result of which can be seen today in the appropriation of educational institutions by the ruling classes, the monopolization of study grants by the privileged few, and the relative powerlessness of marginal groups to gain a hearing. The strategic planners for recurrent are doubtlessly counting on the interplay of social forces and, in particular, on pressure from labour organizations to ensure that the non-educational conditions for self-education—such as the conditions of access

to teaching institutions, the granting of educational leave and the manner in which this is applied, a greater flexibility in the organization of work and working hours, guaranteed employment, career planning and the right to have promotion geared to the amount of knowledge acquired, the negotiation of conditions for retirement—are not decided solely in relation to the needs of the system of production, but are the outcome of collective bargaining between all those concerned. All of which nevertheless amount to excluding all those sections of the working population which are not, or not as yet, organized, e.g. women, youngsters seeking their first job, the elderly and those workers with a handicap which the unions and professional bodies can do nothing about, i.e. immigrant workers in particular and a large proportion of those working in small concerns. But even if these conditions are met can one be certain that the individual will be sufficiently motivated to take advantage of them? Does not the basic assumption that men are prepared to develop their latent potential provided they are given a second chance underestimate the demoralizing and oppressive effect of school in underlining their failure to make the most of their own abilities—which is just what the strategies based on educational reform are aiming to change radically?

An analysis of the strategies which have so far sought to apply lifelong education in the present circumstances affecting educational systems brings us to the conclusion that there are two conflicting points of view. One is based on an anthropological approach which believes that the transformation of man is an important factor in the evolution of institutions. One should therefore emphasize the need to see all educational activity, whatever the age group concerned, in relation to the final goal of self-education. Which implies that one is convinced that those in charge of such activity, i.e. the educators, have sufficient freedom of action to orient teaching methods in line with these requirements, if they wish to do so. The second point of view is concerned above all with the socio-economic constraints. It holds that educational systems change less as the result of the ideas held by various groups than as the result of external pressures which bear upon them. Although some form of basic education is essential, this is not thought to be decisive since the spread of self-education depends primarily on the relationship which is formed throughout one's working life between periods of work and periods of training. However, faced with this choice which

directly involves the educators, it is striking to note how little concerned either strategy is with their opinion, their reactions and their participation. It is as if teachers—and this is equally true for those being taught—were no more than the instruments of policies built on the assumption that they will be sufficiently docile to apply them. Is this not once again a case of strengthening the forces of inertia by justifying apathy on their part?

### III. Lifelong education as a challenge to inertia

#### *From discussion to social movement*

Although there is growing recognition of the value of lifelong education as a utopian model or as a frame of reference for educational reform, there is a further aspect to this idea which is too often neglected, i.e. its power to mobilize opinion. In fact, in common with other contemporary ideas such as fundamental education, functional literacy, 'conscientizing' education and liberating education, lifelong education possesses an astonishing ability to arouse opinion, inspire collective ventures—in short, to fill the rôle of any true principle: that of being the origin of social movements and the main impetus in their growth. This statement might seem excessive were it not for the fact that one is able to see how, in certain countries, lifelong education has inspired clandestine and sometimes even subversive movements opposed to the prevailing ideology or the *status quo*; or how, in other countries, it has inspired groups still considered marginal even today but which are evidence of considerable creativity in the educational field; and in one case, that of Quebec's 'Opération-Départ', how it was transformed into an ambitious and official programme which could well prove a fundamental challenge to educational policy and whose very title symbolizes what is meant by a principle. Even if lifelong education, like many other fashionable educational principles, has not escaped the wearing effects of enthusiasm—for it is not enough just to believe in something for it to change *ipso facto*—none the less, we believe that one should recognize the contribution made by such movements at a moment in time when the 'crisis' in education—whether world-

wide or not—the doubts expressed by experts, the failure of techniques and technological ‘gimmicks’ and the scepticism of assessors have led so many educators to despair of their profession and the sense of their vocation.

The discussion about lifelong education developed into a movement of which it was the mainspring at the beginning of the 1970s at a time when doubts were beginning to be expressed about the practical effectiveness of the educational planning methods which had been given large currency during the preceding decade by international organizations and bilateral aid programmes and which certain countries, particularly the developing ones, had come to regard somewhat as a universal panacea. In fact, the conception of man embodied in what one might well call lifelong education’s humanism, in other words the conviction that ‘every man is destined for success’,<sup>1</sup> enabled some to resist the rationalization of inequalities which in the last analysis was the aim of the predominantly quantitative methods of first generation educational planning. Whereas on the one hand the planning experts were attempting to cope with such problems as the astronomic growth in the demand for education from all sectors of the population, the growing lack of financial resources (which had become critical in some countries as a result of the energy crisis) and pressures, both direct and indirect, from privileged groups who wished on no account to redistribute educational goods and services—and, in their attempt to achieve this, multiplying measures to rationalize inequalities such as: (a) the widespread application of the *numerus clausus* system to restrict numbers; (b) the elimination or marginalization of categories considered as non-productive or non-priority, e.g. women, young landless peasants, the elderly—in other words the ‘new poor’ as described at the 1972 International Conference on Adult Education in Tokyo; (c) the reduction, often in a surreptitious manner, of the *per capita* ‘ration of education’ in favour of a privileged few; (d) the more and more overt alignment of training objectives exclusively on the needs of the most modern productive sectors in the economy. Those who, on the other hand, were opposed to this growing injustice, looked upon lifelong education as a universally accepted principle which enabled them to criticize these measures, denounce these false economies and propose alternative solutions.

1. Edgar Faure *et al.*, *Learning to Be*, Paris, Unesco, 1972, 313 p.

It is not therefore surprising that these movements initially began in religious circles—particularly Catholic—and in non-governmental bodies with humanitarian aims. They were sometimes severely repressed at a later date because they were considered—and quite rightly so—as being subversive of the new order (advocated and promoted by the technocrats) based on growth at any price and at the expense of society. Initially these movements were content to criticize any measure which tended to create or strengthen any form of segregation between systems, between different educational streams and sometimes even between entire educational structures—whereby a few of these are reserved for those who constitute or who are destined to constitute the ‘élite’, with the remainder being given the task of maintaining the rest of the population in a position of subordination and dependence.

But, in addition to this criticism, these movements began to take action, often based upon the idea of community development, to encourage local cultural life, promote creativity within the social groups, stimulate their initiative and develop the means of expression for a ‘popular culture’ so as to create a communal framework which would support individual self-education. These activities, which soon went beyond the limits of educational action to affect the whole sociocultural sector, forced the authorities to take notice and sometimes to make considerable efforts to increase infrastructures and facilities, to locate them better so as to ensure a better coverage of the entire country—in short, to put their services within reach of the local community. However, this kind of decentralization, however necessary it may be, has not always succeeded in making these institutions more democratic. Yet, as is clearly shown in the case of the current trend in health-care policies, is it sufficient simply to decentralize to ‘get to where the people live’? Is it not just as important to raise the question of the participation of these ‘people’, as WHO clearly does? In fact, it is perhaps not enough merely to facilitate access to medical services; is it not also necessary that the population should be able to accept them? But has anyone really taken the trouble to find out about their needs and their aspirations? Who made the decision—and on what kind of logic—as to the nature of their basic needs which would have to be taken into consideration and the kind of balance which it would be necessary to establish between individual health care, environmental hygiene and the health of the community? Were

experts and specialists trained or even made aware of the importance of such questions? Has any thought been given to dovetailing externally supplied services (supplied either by the State or by the private or voluntary sector) with those already used by the population (and it is probably in this context that one should then raise the problem of the traditional methods of practising medicine)? Has anyone thought about mobilizing all the resources which are otherwise available in a local or regional situation—and which ones? Has anyone even clearly asked the question as to whether the community should also give its views and decide on the appropriateness of the measures of which it is the 'object'? Although any approach of this kind depends fundamentally on decisions taken at the highest political level, its success and its practical implementation are directly conditional on the relationship between the population and the front-line staff, whose importance and whose training has not always received sufficient attention. This is certainly why health policies are currently giving priority to training the various categories of health-care personnel. Is it not just as urgent to tackle the problem of the various teaching bodies along similar lines?

*From continuing education for teachers to training for participation*

Let us take as our starting-point a situation common to all systems, i.e. the tension existing between administrators and teachers.

The first conflict arises from within the educational systems themselves, between the upper levels of the administrative machinery upon which the planners act (or would like to act) and all of the teachers—the 'footsloggers' of the profession. If the planners feel isolated, lonely and powerless *vis-à-vis* the teachers, if they complain that their recommendations do not get passed down the line and that there is no follow-up in the field, this is not just because they have not been understood, or that the teachers' average level of education is too low or that the teachers have been undertrained, ill-trained or mis-trained, but that there is a gulf between the projects and plans of the one group and the day-to-day reality which the other has to cope with in the field. How can teachers be expected to believe in and act upon the recommendations of those responsible for educational policy if they do not see the principles which these people preach having any direct effect on their working conditions—as has happened in the case of lifelong



education? It is indeed remarkable to recognize the need to develop the human resources of an entire country by way of lifelong education and yet be incapable of solving the professional problems of the few hundred thousand people involved in the educational system. That is why, in our view, one of the political aspects of lifelong education is the need to start by dealing with the conditions of the professional class closest to the problem—which means tackling five major problems.

First, the ranking of the different teaching bodies by order of seniority since these are widely different despite the tendency to lump them together in one single professional category. Many of these differences, particularly in matters of salary and promotion, are, however, based not on differences in functions or on real differences between the work involved but on the training received and attested by a diploma or certificate. In other words, the various teaching bodies are organized into categories or levels before they start to teach and sometimes solely on the basis of a training received much earlier and thereafter never retested. This first feature is an extremely pernicious one because not only does it determine the practical status of a professional man on the basis of his initial training but it implies that no attention need be paid to any training acquired subsequently—not to mention the fact that it is unusual to have to deal with a profession where training is so little related to the qualifications required for certain tasks. And also this system is socially unjust because it places professional people—such as primary school-teachers—in a given category from a very early stage in their career without providing them with any real chance of subsequent collective promotion because such collective promotion is made difficult by the second problem: the isolation of each teaching body.

Second, the isolation of each teaching body. Although in certain countries some form of unity has been maintained within the professional associations and/or union organizations, particularly in the case of primary school-teachers, this unity is limited to one level and very rarely extends vertically to include several categories of teachers. Rare indeed are the teaching unions in which all the members are on the same footing regardless of whether they are primary school-teachers or university professors. Should this fragmentation be regarded as the result of a deliberate policy to keep teachers divided since their combined weight could prove over-

whelming in the case of a strike or as a pressure group? Or is this division merely the result of the diversification which began during the course of their professional training as demonstrated by the third problem?

Third, the impossible task of reconciling vocational and general training. Whilst on the one hand classification and professional status depend on certificates and diplomas with this being the cause of the division within the teaching organizations, it is obvious that this classification is based primarily on the academic level of the general education acquired. In some countries, for example, what distinguishes a primary school-teacher almost automatically from a secondary school-teacher is that the former does not have a *baccalauréat*, whereas the second does. In another and larger group of countries, the latter has a degree whereas the former possesses only a certificate. In turn, secondary school-teachers often differ from university professors by virtue of the fact that they have not received a Doctor's degree—the equivalent of a Ph.D. which Margaret Mead described as being the best way to 'finalize' a career because it indicated once and for all that one had become a 'scholar'. That is why so often teacher training, i.e. vocational training, is distinct from general education, i.e. cultural training. Whence the fourth problem.

Fourth, the difficult professional situation of teachers. As a result of the total, partial or implicit dissociation between teachers' vocational training and general so-called scientific education, it is impossible for us to overlook the repercussions of this situation on the quality and sometimes even the legitimacy of vocational training. Every day, teachers have to confront what they have learnt and what they know with, on the one hand, the 'school culture' as implicitly defined in the curricula and, on the other hand, with the 'real life culture' of their students. It has become a difficult and painful situation in societies which are subjected to a veritable cultural bombardment and which are remotely controlled via cultural intervention from the major powers. The result is a genuine crisis of self-doubt which can be summed up in a single question: what to teach? The stress inherent in a difficult situation such as this would be bearable if material conditions were satisfactory—which brings us to our final question.

Fifth, are teachers paid according to their qualifications and their real output? A comparison of teachers' salaries with those of govern-

ment employees in general indicates that teachers are in a relatively favoured position, as was shown in the case of France. However, when teachers as government servants are compared with those employed in the secondary and tertiary sectors in jobs requiring similar qualifications, the picture is entirely different. In fact the combined effect of inflation, the impossibility of avoiding taxation, the demands made upon a teacher's time and his restrictive training in the end make this one of the less-well-paid professions and the teacher's standard of living is tending to decline.

Underlying this situation there is a genuine feeling of malaise amongst teachers who find themselves in a helpless position, without really knowing how to react collectively to their problems. What is astounding is the contrast between the energy which they expend as individuals or within small groups and their passiveness with regard to any action as a professional body.

Certainly another system of training might perhaps remedy this situation. Some, for example, favour a regular system of alternating training and practical teaching; others recommend training in stages, with each stage providing an outlet to a certain type of activity, but which could be accumulated progressively by the trainee; yet a third group would like to see the sabbatical year, educational leave and regular retraining become the main platforms in a fight by the teaching unions for a system of professional advancement. We think that these models, however thought provoking they may be, all have the same drawback, i.e. they have no direct bearing on the organization of the teacher's work. Although they are interesting applications of recurrent education, they do not go to the root of the problem which is basically the increasingly bureaucratic character of the educational systems and the increasing awareness amongst teachers of their powerlessness with regard to the forces affecting school life. Although it is all too easy for a teacher to have an illusion of power in his own little classroom kingdom, he no longer sees himself as playing an active rôle in the larger assemblies which seem to be able to function on their own. A reform of the system for training teachers implies an equally radical reform of the size of the administration, the human relationships and the balance of power within the educational system's various structures.

For this reason, the first step would be to encourage collective attitudes amongst teachers and sanction these institutionally, for example by teaching them—precisely on a continuing basis—how

to make a better assessment of the interests involved, how to recognize the workings of pressure groups, how to prepare their negotiations, not only with the different social partners but also with the different decision-making levels—in short, discovering how to master their institutions by going through the long process of learning how to manage their own affairs. Such a policy would involve management autonomy for educational establishments and a genuine participation in decision-making by all of those concerned—the teachers of course, the students certainly, but also the administrative and technical staff and duly appointed representatives from the local community—in fact, a dialectical relationship between the decentralization of decision-making and the need for a unified philosophy on the political level. At that stage it would perhaps be possible to create the conditions for a creative and dynamic balance of power between the fact that no real liberty can exist in practice unless the lower echelons are allowed their say—in this case, the informal groups, the ‘classes’, the regions, the educational establishments—and the fact that such liberty would be partial, chauvinist and blind were it not to be confronted with the requirements at a broader level—in this case, the educational policy of a region’s or an entire country’s formal and non-formal educational systems. The closeness of the relationship between decentralization and participation explains why this political education of teachers is a form of lifelong education, because it is never complete and definitive, being the result of the exercise of an active form of liberty. Certainly it is not by accident that a society such as our own hesitates to take such a step, mistrusting this so-called libertarian outlook and sometimes even realizing that there are some things which must never be allowed to happen. A society which seeks only to improve the *status quo* and which is above all concerned to avoid any serious challenge to this can only expect its educational subsystem to fill a reproductive rôle, yet reproducing, however, not only its features of equality but also its privileges and inequalities.

In our view, the case of lifelong education for teachers is an interesting one because it shows that it is a mistake to see this political problem as a simple problem of communication between ‘technicians’ and ‘politicians’ (i.e. those who make the decisions). If planners are powerless to get their methods adopted by educational establishments, to disseminate their ideas throughout the whole educational system, this is not just because they speak an

incomprehensible jargon or because their attitude is disparaging or because they lack authority, but because there is no real place in their conception of how such authority should be exercised for those responsible for putting this into action. It is not just a question of a division between technicians and politicians, but primarily of a gulf between these two categories of cadres and the frontline soldiers who have to execute orders. One has to face squarely this question of making the methods and processes of planning more democratic. This is in fact not simply a question of the planners having the ear of those in power—after all the knights in court had the ear of their feudal overlord—but rather to break down the unilateral nature of the decision-making process. This means accepting that those who exercise (legitimate?) authority should be prepared to modify their decisions if there are protests from the rank and file, because the lower echelons have something to say, because the troops will no longer accept that they act in isolation. The theory of communication clearly explains this—dialogue, and therefore democratization, is possible only when authority is shared. All of which implies the existence of procedures enabling the rank and file, the victims, the humblest foot soldiers in the educational hierarchy to state what they know and voice their opinion. If those in charge of educational systems will not admit the need for this kind of information feedback, then the outlook facing us is truly alarming: that of an educational system which is marking time to an increasing extent, getting nowhere and at ever greater cost.

*Is it still possible to be an educator?*

There is a difficult technical problem inherent in these political considerations. The proposals which have been outlined will not be sufficient to wipe out the differences between teachers. Quite the contrary. The more the procedures become diversified, the more the establishments and programmes implementing educational policies become autonomous, the greater will be the diversity amongst educators and their training will need to reflect such differences. It was already clearly foreseen in *Learning to Be* that uniting the teaching profession behind common strategies did not imply that this unity would always follow the same pattern. But whereas hitherto this division had been based on their status and the injustice of their conditions, it would henceforth reflect the differ-

ences in the functions carried out by all those whom one could term 'educators', of whom teachers form only a minority.

Such functions could for instance include the following:

Producers of documentation and information which would mean that a prime rôle would be given to librarians and documentalists as well as to specialists in popularization and artists, because it is a matter not only of classifying knowledge but also of putting it into shape.

Processors of this documentation who would transform it into documents for use in the teaching process, using the vast range of techniques which mass media and modern technology have made available.

Analysts of training situations who would suggest various training procedures based on surveys, interviews with those concerned, etc.

Programmers who would prepare the *pro forma* training programmes or the basic elements—the famous system of cumulative credits—which could be derived from data banks.

Disseminators of knowledge and group leaders (formerly known as 'teachers') who would include not only those who direct, support and control but also those who quite simply live with the students in the style of the ancient oriental systems of education.

Assessors of performance, results, the conflicts between various learning processes and the institutions and the people involved in these activities.

It is worth while making a list of this sort in order to show, first, that there is no need whatsoever to put these in any order of importance and that it would be difficult to find so-called 'generalists' who could cope with all of them. There is no reason to rate a disseminator of knowledge more highly than a processor because neither could perform his task properly without the assistance of the other. Secondly, various people could fulfil these tasks without becoming part of the 'teaching profession' and working on a temporary or part-time basis. Seen from this point of view, there would be no more professional educators as such but a division of their function into several parts. It is in this way that lifelong education leads to reciprocity in the teacher-pupil relationship, thus recalling the most celebrated Utopia in Western civilization—the one sealed by the death of Socrates: the master must leave the scene to make way for the pupil.

## Appendix I: Suggested criteria for the selection of pilot experiments for study and evaluation (1972)

1. Experiments should have an *important bearing* on the work of more than one of the Permanent Committees of the CCC.
2. Experiments should be in *course of execution* and should not be merely in the planning stage.
3. Experiments should *exemplify* the practical application of one or more of the main principles of permanent education. Among the most important of these are:
  - (a) the promotion of the process of learning *throughout life*, whether for vocational or non-vocational reasons;
  - (b) the promotion from the very earliest stages of education of the will and the capacity to learn and to form *independent judgements*, as opposed to the mere assimilation of factual knowledge;
  - (c) the promotion of a *co-ordination and co-operation between educational agencies*, so that education may be seen as a continuous process extending over all stages and walks of life;
  - (d) the promotion of the means of *continuous review of educational systems from within*, with the active participation of the teachers and with particular reference to curriculum reform;
  - (e) *the promotion of equality of educational opportunity*;
  - (f) *the promotion of participation by those educated in the educational process itself*.
4. Experiments should involve a reasonably large *public* and should relate to a representative *sample* of those affected by the problem studied.
5. Experiments should be based on *clearly expressed hypotheses* and should have precise objectives. In the case of experiments covering a whole country it would seem necessary, if the task of evaluation is to be kept within practicable proportions, to select one particular feature or aspect of the experiment for study and assessment.
6. Experiments should have *educational implications extending beyond their own boundaries*, so that the lessons learnt from them can readily be applied in other places and circumstances.

## Appendix II: Grid for analysing experiments (1973 version) (with supplements for experiments involving adults)

### 0. *Permit the development of learning throughout life*

- 0.1 organise continuity-discontinuity in the training system by legal guarantees (opportunity and remuneration for educational leave);
- 0.2 vertical and horizontal integration of the educational system:
  - vertical continuity*
    - through a *unit/credit system* and
    - through the distinction between *levels* which certify a standard of training and *diplomas* which recognise a capacity to exercise a profession;
  - horizontal integration*
    - through mobility between educational bodies,
    - through mobility between the situations of education, work and leisure,
    - through integrating education into working life;
- 0.3 education to be relieved of constraints of time and space by developing:
  - multi-media distant study systems,
  - self-training;
- 0.4 organise a system of advice and guidance and of continual assistance;
- 0.5 organise an analysis of training requirements.

### 1. *Learning skills and ability and developing reasoning powers and structured thought*

means:

- 1.1 letting each student<sup>1</sup> progress at his own pace (learning skills better);

1. The term 'student' is used in the most general sense, i.e. young or adult students.



- 1.2 developing 'action', replacing the process of mere factual learning by that of tasks to be done (learning better how to acquire a skill to use knowledge and incidentally how better to acquire knowledge);
- 1.3 replacing an obsession with factual knowledge by the thorough study of limited but multi-disciplinary fields (developing reasoning powers);
- 1.4 taking an objective view of what one does or what one learns, returning to science (develop the structuration of thought and reasoning powers);
- 1.5 organising confrontations, group discussions (develop reasoning powers).

## 2. *Aptitudes, personal fulfilment, creativity*

are furthered in particular by:

- 2.1 letting each student, within the framework of certain clearly necessary constraints (in particular, coherence in choice), choose some of his subjects—instead of compelling him to amass knowledge which is of no interest to him—taking the greatest possible account of motivations (so helping him achieve personal fulfilment, develop aptitudes);
- 2.2 developing motivation by developing action (1.2) (personal fulfilment and creativity);
- 2.3 developing exploration of the environment: (personal fulfilment, creativity, better appreciation of the environment);
- 2.4 developing study in depth (help to develop aptitudes, personal fulfilment) (1.3);
- 2.5 developing independent, active work as compared with passive listening (develop aptitudes, personal fulfilment, initiative, creativity).

## 3. *Equality of opportunity*

is developed by:

- 3.1 extending pre-school and infant centres<sup>1</sup> and for the remainder of the educational system by:
- 3.2 enabling everyone to progress at his own pace (1.1);
- 3.3 helping and not eradicating those experiencing difficulties (include under this heading efforts to avoid class repetition, developing remedial teaching), organising an orientation and guidance system

1. On this subject, it is important to develop parent education and help parents to co-operate with the educational system.

- which enables everyone to determine his place with full knowledge of facts;
- 3.4 delaying 'definitive' orientation, which should take place as late as possible in initial education;
  - 3.5 allowing and facilitating reorientation, so that orientation is never once and for all, which implies:
    - 3.5.1 for young students, a 'single' school, a structure of unit/credit systems, school organisation so as to leave the greatest possible freedom in the choice of options (2.1), a highly developed tutorial system, possibilities of changing by catching up;
    - 3.5.2 for adults, the possibility of resuming general or vocational studies at any level ('recurrent' education, diversification of content and media, and structures).

#### 4. *Autonomy and participation*

are largely developed when the student<sup>1</sup> takes the responsibility for his own education, i.e. choice of aims, content, methods, organisation, pace and assessment. In fact, there will never be total freedom, that is to say it will never be the student alone who decides everything at all levels, but freedom will exist to a greater or lesser degree, and, in particular, will vary according to age and academic level. With this reservation, it may be said that the greater the share of responsibility and the more the student is helped to assume it, the greater the increase in autonomy.

Undertaking such responsibility implies

- 4.1 letting the student have a maximum of choice in the subject matter (2.1);
  - 4.2 leaving the student to decide on organisation, methods (2.5) and pace (1.1) by helping and guiding him (tutoring);
  - 4.3 developing his self-assessment, which means continuous checking;
  - 4.4 developing everything which makes for appreciation of the environment (the whole of 1 and particularly 1.3 and 2.3) and its influence on the student (1.2).
5. *Making students keen and able to continue their education and putting adults in a position to do so*

means:

- 5.1 developing personal fulfilment (whole of 2) and particularly preventing boredom at school (encouraging the wish to continue);

1. Increasing responsibility with age.

- 5.2 developing autonomy (whole of 4) (which encourages the ability to continue);
- 5.3 separating learning and life, study and work as little as possible; students' interest, motivation are not stimulated only in school, but nearly always outside—hence the importance if their true motivations are to be taken as a basis of studying the facts and purposes of their daily lives (thus encouraging both the wish and the ability to continue. That also facilitates the tie-up between theory and practice, skills and ability, abstraction and reality);
- 5.4 establishing the closest possible links between educational institutions, between scholastic and peri-scholastic centres, or between different schools, and adult education centres. The outside limit is the 'campus', the 'integrated school'. (That helps resumption and the continuation of education);
- 5.5 developing opportunities for recurrent education, which implies:
  - 5.5.1 guarantees (financial and legal) for leaving and returning to the world of work,
  - 5.5.2 a system of qualifying grades encouraging the resumption of studies (unit/credit system, degrees and diplomas, i.e. 3.5.1),
  - 5.5.3 a great number and variety of adult educational methods and structures, providing opportunities everywhere and at all times for self-education;
  - 5.5.4 job revision, since recurrent education is not a panacea.

6. *Developing-sociability* (which was to go as far as integrating the school in the campus (5.4.1))

means:

- 6.1 education for communication (self-expression, listening);
- 6.2 working with others (learning, acting with others).
- 6.3 training with the purpose of acquiring information.

7. *Preparing students for occupation without excessive reference to the requirements of the economy and helping adults to change occupations*

means:

- 7.1 providing at all levels of general education varied opportunities for vocational training;

- 7.2 organising guidance on some basis other than failure, which implies:
  - 7.2.1 continual information on occupations,
  - 7.2.2 structures enabling students and parents to take part in decisions,
  - 7.2.3 'transparent' educational structures,
  - 7.2.4 developing the student's independence (training him to find his own feet is the best means of ensuring his self-guidance),
  - 7.2.5 instituting unit/credit systems, levels and diplomas (5.5.2),
  - 7.2.6 organising school in such a way as to postpone definitive orientation as long as possible and above all permitting constant reorientation (3.5).

8. *Educational system with its own assessment and its own permanent revision*

entails:

- 8.1 providing an institutional basis for assessing the system, not only students;
- 8.2 making everyone participate in determining the school pattern (aims and methods) and constant feedback on all;
- 8.3 here again, the outside limit is the campus with education becoming simultaneously the concern of each and everyone.

9. *Take into account changes required at the level of social organisation*  
i.e. the political dimension in the strict sense of any permanent education project so as to eliminate, for example, anything which would make a discussion of 'personal development' unrealistic.

## IIEP publications and documents

More than 400 titles on all aspects of educational planning have been published by the International Institute for Educational Planning. A comprehensive catalogue, giving details of their availability, includes research reports, case studies, seminar documents, training materials, occasional papers and reference books in the following subject categories:

*Economics of education, costs and financing*

*Manpower and employment*

*Demographic studies*

*The location of schools and sub-national planning*

*Administration and management*

*Curriculum development and evaluation*

*Educational technology*

*Primary, secondary and higher education*

*Vocational and technical education*

*Non-formal, out-of-school, adult and rural education*

Copies of the catalogue may be obtained from the IIEP on request.

## The International Institute for Educational Planning

The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) is an international centre for advanced training and research in the field of educational planning. It was established by Unesco in 1963 and is financed by Unesco and by voluntary contributions from individual Member States.

The Institute's aim is to contribute to the development of education throughout the world by expanding both knowledge and the supply of competent professionals in the field of educational planning. In this endeavour the Institute co-operates with interested training and research organizations in Member States. The Governing Board of the IIEP, which approves the Institute's programme and budget, consists of eight elected members and four members designated by the United Nations Organization and certain of its specialized agencies and institutes.

*Chairman* Torsten Husén (Sweden), Professor of Education and Director, Institute for the Study of International Problems in Education, University of Stockholm

*Designated members* Ms. Helvi Sipilä, Assistant Secretary-General for Social and Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations  
Duncan S. Ballantine, Senior Adviser, Education Department, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
Kenneth A.P. Stevenson, Chief of the Agricultural Education and Extension Service, FAO  
Vinyu Vichit-Vadakan, Director, UN Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning, Thailand

*Elected members* Candido Mendes de Almeida (Brazil), Director, President of Foundation Sociedade Brasileira de Instrução, Rio de Janeiro  
Jean-Claude Eicher (France), Director, Institute for Research in the Economics of Education, University of Dijon  
Mohy El Din Saber (Sudan), Director, Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO)  
Aklilu Habte (Ethiopia), Minister of Culture  
Alexei N. Matveyev (USSR), Dean, Department of Physics, Moscow State University  
V.K.R.V. Rao (India), Member of Parliament, former Minister of Education; Director, Institute for Economic and Social Change, Bangalore  
Lord Vaizey of Greenwich (United Kingdom), Head of the School of Social Sciences, Brunel University, London

Inquiries about the Institute should be addressed to:  
The Director, IIEP, 7-9, rue Eugène-Delacroix, 75016 Paris