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ABSTRACT

The impact of the principles of lifelong education on the adult education system is the subject of this study. Efforts to co-ordinate post-school activities in several departments are discussed. The study traces the predominant patterns in the empirical development of adult education, both professional and nonprofessional, and shows the consequences of this development. Improvements in the quality of adult education are enumerated, as are obstacles to innovations. Financial developments and new trends in management of adult education are also discussed. (RS)

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NEW TRENDS IN ADULT EDUCATION :

CONCEPTS AND RECENT EMPIRICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

by Henri Janne

in collaboration with Marie-Laure Roggemans

This document forms part of the third series of studies (Series A : Situation, Series B : Opinions, Series C : Innovations) prepared for the International Commission on the Development of Education which was established in application of Resolution 1.131 adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at its sixteenth session. Owing to its general interest, it will be made available to those concerned with the subject. The opinions expressed by the author are entirely his own and do not necessarily reflect those of Unesco.

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The main object of this study is to outline the impact of the principles of lifelong education on the adult education system, their impact on the most recent concrete achievements, on projects and also on political and theoretical ideas in the domain of adult education. In other words, we believe that new trends in adult education today may legitimately be organized round one fundamental development : lifelong education. For in fact, this development has now, to say the least, emerged clearly on a worldwide scale.

This does not mean, at all, that certain new trends - including some of the most important ones - originate in or are caused by the development of lifelong education, for they would in any case have found expression in ideas and action. What is new is that these trends have reached the point of integration with each other, the point where they derive their significance from the partly real and partly ideal phenomenon of lifelong education. Conceptually speaking, adult education is already an integral part of the overall educational system, assuming that lifelong education is taken into account here. But so far as its concrete application is concerned, adult education may be in full expansion but it remains disorganized and juxtaposed with the school system, whose trappings it still wears, as if it too were merely a prolongation of school... Of course, concrete action is tending nowadays to fall into line with recent, new conceptions of the educational system, but the pace of evolution in this direction varies from country to country (1).

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- (1) The analysis of the various new trends in adult education contained in this report concentrates attention on industrialized Western societies. (On this question, F. Bonacina, in Sociological Motivations and Cultural Prospects of Permanent Education : - Permanent Education, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1970, 512 pp., p. 444 - recalls that the basic idea of adult education arose in the middle of the 19th century among the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries, which were the most industrialized nations of the time.) Nonetheless, the scarcity of human resources and the financial burden of such systems (in the long run it became disproportionately and unbearably heavy), their inadequate ability to meet the urgent needs of developing economies and of individuals whose own culture is in the process of changing, their lack of flexibility, their potentiality for engendering or exacerbating conflict between the generations, the fact that "modern" methods - now become traditional - in education are being criticised and constantly changed even in the countries where they first arose, all indicate in fairly convincing fashion that the new prospects for adult education, understood as factors promoting fundamental changes in the entire system, deserve attention in developing countries.

I - TRENDS TOWARDS INTERNAL INTEGRATION IN ADULT EDUCATION,
CONTINUATION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM'S CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES
AND PRIORITIES IN PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

1. Many industrialized societies are currently endeavouring to reconstruct their educational systems by integrating lifelong education into them, as an increasingly important component. But such a policy does not, as yet, mean that the principles of lifelong education are part of a reform revolutionizing young people's formal education, in the light of present new prospects for adult education. School education remains - in fact rather than in theory - a closed circle involved in a general process of renovation (sparked by "changing societies") and its structure is determined within the limits of the selfsame system. Running parallel to this are attempts to define adult education as an increasingly diversified yet increasingly integrated system. It, too, has its own specific laws, as well as a strong tradition weighing on its development - which must meet the demands of rapidly advancing technology, of production and of the extension of leisure.

This is the context in which our societies are attempting to make their planning more coherent, by stressing the development of certain phases in the existing educational system. In the main, this involves vertical coordination between the school and post-school phases, and horizontal coordination between all the varied, heterogeneous aspects of post-school education.

2. In adult education, efforts are concentrated primarily on coordinating post-school activities. These tend to be dispersed, particularly since they are prompted by a variety of authorities and associations: the Ministries of Education, Culture, Scientific Research, Economics, Labour, Social Affairs, Agriculture, Defense, not to mention the part played by various administrative bodies and semi-official organizations (such as the National Employment Office, in Belgium, for example) as well as local and regional authorities. Private organizations such as the churches, trade unions, business associations and certain big business interests also stimulate them, as do schools and colleges run as commercial concerns.

This coordination or integration, as people have become aware, is still far from being an accomplished fact, at least in those countries which have so-called competitive market economies (1). A multitude of

(1) In the socialist countries, especially the USSR, centralization has made a uniform solution for the entire country necessary. However, centralization should not be carried so far as to encroach on educational content, for this would impoverish education.

organizations play some part in adult education, while maintaining inadequate or purely nominal contact with each other. Among these, we find a multiplicity of public and private bodies operating without commercial or other profit-making motives. However, there would be a twofold advantage if private initiative were to be coordinated within the framework of a national organization : on the one hand, private initiative enjoys greater freedom and has fewer built-in guarantees against extinction than a public institution, and is therefore, in theory, more readily adaptable to renewal and consequently less threatened by torpor and routine; on the other hand "... national organization prevents charlatanism, coordinates occasionally identical efforts and subjects results to the necessary criteria of efficiency." (1). This is certainly an optimistic view of the intrinsic qualities of private and public action, but functionally speaking there is some basic truth to it.

As examples of "concerted training" in adult education we may mention the following organizations in Belgium : the Belgian Office for Productivity Growth (which has been in existence since 1951), the Industry-University Foundation and the Administration-University Institute. Here we have three effective coordinating organizations linking industries, administrations and universities, the two latter concerned uniquely with scientific management training. In addition to these, private companies are continuing individual experiments in Belgium but even in such cases they draw their inspiration from the ideas disseminated by the above-mentioned combined associations. It may accordingly be claimed that the trend towards unity of action in adult education is no dream, but a practicable and achievable aim (2).

(1) H. Hartung. "Pour une éducation permanente". Paris, Fayard. 1966
232 pages. p.163.

(2) See also H. Hartung, idem, pp. 159 et seq. There have been many moves in Belgium towards a system of adult education. Since 1961, the National Employment Office has set up centres of accelerated training for adults, which are either managed directly by the Office, in collaboration with the Office or by the centres themselves, with government approval. This Office was also entrusted with "taking part in expenses inherent in the selection, professional training or re-appointment of personnel recruited by employers, with a view to establishing, expanding or converting business enterprises." In 1962, a Consultative Council for Employment and Labour was formed to determine the "optimal occupation of the active population" required to "satisfy the needs of the national economy for labour, in both the qualitative and quantitative senses." The big labour unions have also made a solid contribution in this field. Yet when one looks at the situation as a whole, despite the valid instances of cooperation mentioned, it all remains extremely diffuse.

On the subject of this widespread trend towards the development of adult education, Tietgens (1) notes that it must "... of course always be based on what the school has done, but a start can be made on systematising its institutional structure without regard to the scope and degree of school reform". This puts the present ambiguous situation in a nutshell.

Nonetheless we may note here that there now exists a concept of the independent development of adult education, whereas hitherto it was associated with school education, in the sense that it was usually conceived of as a prolongation of school.

Adult education should produce "functional demands" for changes in the school system. "The organization of adult education, its objectives, methods, atmosphere, functional requirements, will demand radical changes in the present formal education system (including the university), traditional school structures being gradually transformed to their image"(2). This influence of adult education on schools should in turn transform contemporary societies, as well as the life of modern man and its significance. We find the same fundamental hypotheses in a large number of reports, and especially in those of Rector Capelle, Tietgens and Rasmussen, drafted for the Council of Cultural Cooperation (3).

3. And indeed, the most prominent new trend - and an omnipresent one - in adult education consists in considering it exclusively as a part and function of the overall educational system, which is itself undergoing a radical change following the application of the principle of lifelong education. The fundamental relationship between adult education and the concept of lifelong education is at present the innovation with the deepest and farthest-ranging consequences of all.

(1) H. Tietgens, Restructuring Education, in Permanent Education. Op. cit. p. 358.

(2) Extract from a report by H. Janne: Permanent Education, Agent of Change in the Present Education System. Council for Cultural Cooperation. Council of Europe. Strasbourg. 1969.

(3) J. Capelle. The Development of Permanent Education in France. Council for Cultural Cooperation. Council of Europe. Strasbourg. 1968
H. Tietgens. Permanent Education in the Federal Republic of Germany. idem.
W. Rasmussen. The Concept of Permanent Education and its Application in Denmark. idem.

4. But while the educational system based on lifelong education represents an ideology which in a manner of speaking we may describe as universally acknowledged on the theoretical and political level, as well as on that of international organizations, the list of concrete achievements remains short. We are still reduced to talking in terms of "wishes," "experiments" or, at best, of "projects". Nonetheless, it has now begun to exert an empirical influence, more and more noticeably, on the overall process of innovation which can only be regarded as the reaction against an outmoded school system lacking adaptability. In this respect, it permeates concepts used in working documents in most countries and at all levels, although meeting with strong resistance in the form of the inertia inherent in existing structures, interests and states of mind : the path from words to action is a long one...

The concept of lifelong education is making a far stronger mark, on the other hand, on the many achievements characteristic of the speedy and varied developments in adult education. For the latter is far more receptive to that principle than school education can be, given the fact that even if it is influenced by the idea it remains more concerned with future prospects than with "operational" activity. The very inadequacy of school education to cope with the rapid evolution of society makes the principle of lifelong education the only realistic alternative and the only meaningful objective, since the battle of ideas has already been won. This transitional situation explains why empirical achievements tend more or less consciously to use lifelong education as their term of reference, as the grain around which to crystallize.

II - PREDOMINANT PATTERNS IN THE EMPIRICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION

A. Developments in adult education relating to professional activity

5. Discussions and current achievements in the development of adult education take place on two levels : that of basic professional training, of a general (and partly cultural) nature, and that of professional qualifications, involving the achievement both of the qualification concerned and of some "cultural fulfilment" (in both work and leisure activities).

Better-defined aims (even if they are controversial ones) have accordingly been assigned to adult education, which in itself amounts to a new trend. For many years, those who made statements on post-school education sought to be "... neither precise nor constructive about the action to be taken or the choice to be made among the possible real solutions". Their main object was apparently to "conceal group or class conflict beneath a veneer of agreement on fundamental questions,

stress unity over orientation and general direction and deliberately minimize real conflicts of interest and intention dividing individuals and groups" (1).

People are no longer content with such general language today and tend to define objectives which take political realities into account and which can be assessed systematically.

On this subject, we may recall the definition of the minimal right to education for all individuals, as proposed by the Marly Conference, which the Council of Europe organized in May, 1967. This right should comprise the following :

- a basic education, variable in length according to country
- a professional training, generally apart from compulsory school-attendance
- a continual education involving both the improvement of professional training (2) and access to cultural, leisure activities.

It may be seen, therefore, that the longstanding distinction between education for economic purposes and education for purely cultural reasons (in widely different areas, by the way) is now tending to lose its meaning, so far as adult education is concerned.

We say "tending" since controversy on this subject is still extremely heated (3) : some authorities continue to regard adult education as if it were aimed only at enhancing a person's socio-professional rating; others believe it should have the additional aim of developing individual culture, taking this term not in the narrow sense of erudition, but as

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- (1) W. Taylor. Policy and Planning for Post-secondary Education. A European Overview. Council of Europe. Strasbourg. 1970. p.31
 - (2) The term "professional" does not only mean "active" people, here, but covers all kinds of post-school activities, including - for example - the housewife's work.
 - (3) "One element, however, is yet far from having been recognized either in theory or in practice, namely the close and organic link which exists between professional training and general education..." P. Lengrand. An Introduction to Lifelong Education. Paris. UNESCO. 1970. p.62.

meaning the creation of a "state of mind" improving "the capacity to communicate, to understand our times and to know oneself" (1).

Our comment on this second group is that it comprises the defenders of "total training", that is, training which includes both basic general culture and a deeper, more individualized culture acquired in the course of his or her working life and at other times as well (whereas for the first group, an individual who wishes to widen and deepen his culture can only do so apart and separately from his professional life).

The first group express their attitude more or less as follows :
"Anything not of a technical nature with immediate application springs from a humanistic illusion, and training in it can lead only to wasting time and money. In any case, it concerns only the man, not the worker, and the latter is free to cultivate his personality if he wishes, but apart from his professional life. The State or the business manager need not interfere in questions which by definition remain personal (2).

6. The second group have a dual answer to that standpoint :

- seeing no further than the improvement of men's technical capacities and envisaging "human problems arising out of leadership or team work" with no cultural dimension, and uniquely as "elements in the acquisition of additional techniques" is to turn the worker into a man "depersonalized by technology, humiliated by the machine, a stateless being in an artificial world, degraded by the invitation to believe that progress consists first and foremost in material gain"(3). However, "a profound process of evolution is transforming 'society', regarded as individuals subordinated to one another, into a 'community' linking people through coordination. The modern worker, whatever his training and hierarchic status, will not submit to being a pawn on the immense checkerboard of the mysteries of productivity, or to being another man's creature : he wants to be adult, responsible, consulted yet free to choose" (4).

(1) H. Hartung. "Pour une éducation permanente". Op. cit., pp.56 et seq.

(2) H. Hartung. idem. p.51

(3) H. Hartung. idem. p.52. See also B. Schwartz. A Prospective View of Permanent Education, in Permanent Education, Op. cit., p. 56 : education should not be subservient to employment.

(4) H. Hartung. idem. p.52.

- Pedagogic reality must also be taken into account : however specialized education may be, it "will be received through the spoken or written word; it will use Aristotelian or non-Aristotelian logic; it will form part of a context, being 'before' one operation and 'after' another, which cannot be ignored; it will correspond to a way of thinking..; the moment it is received, especially when the chosen method comes to be applied, it will require exchanges with other people who in their turn will have to understand and accept new forms of work, without restriction; it will therefore need intellectual flexibility, a feeling for adaptation and understanding of others. And this necessary base, this indispensable common plant onto which any other specialized improvements may be grafted later on, corresponds to the very definition of culture" (1).

The new trend is consequently to try and make total training wide-spread, even if such an aim can only be achieved to a very partial degree. The obstacles in the way of developing adult education, the controversy sparked by that development and the interests at stake provide a ready explanation for this situation. But the very trend towards "total training" accounts for attempts to coordinate post-school activities : only their integration into a totality will enable that aim to be achieved.

B. Developments in adult education relating to non-professional activity

7. This is the domain of all educational action relating to extra-professional activities with a socio-cultural aim : cultural and leisure activity, family and civic life ... as seen at work in socio-cultural (or socio-educative) associations : in young people's hostels, for example, "houses of culture" or action aimed at bringing local communities to life...

The aims, content and method of present-day socio-cultural action face three major problems :

- the "challenge of the primacy of work and profession" in societies where adaptability, keeping oneself informed or keeping one's knowledge up to date for professional reasons are indispensable, and where the motives for social promotion

(1) H. Hartung. idem. p.54.

in conjunction with the unceasing aspiration to improve standards of living will inevitably grow stronger (1);

- the motives for "... participation in communities which the complexity of social, economic and political life makes indispensable, at the risk of throwing the structure of these over to oligarchies which would turn man's surrender into a process of conditioning" (2) and which confront us with the dilemma corresponding to the ambivalence of man's own fundamental needs, "allocentric and egocentric at the same time" : how can we "graft participation in the various centres of collective life onto seemingly withdrawn behaviour, onto private and family life" (3) ;
- cultural consumption - whether commercialized or not - leading to man's personal development rather than to his alienation from society.

8. The new approach to a solution to these problems consists in trying to eliminate the barrier between the two areas which at first sight have little in common with each other (4) : training in the professional environment and training in the socio-cultural environment. We may refer here to our report presented to the International Association for Social Progress (5) which takes note of the essential points contained in documents submitted by various national departments on the use of leisure in lifelong adult education : "if we had to summarize the

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- (1) For A. Moles and F. Muller (in Adult Motivations to Thought Structuralization. Council for Cultural Cooperation. Council of Europe. Strasbourg. 1969. p.73 et seq), motivations towards culture, in order of importance, include social promotion, the desire to understand the world, "social brilliance" (entertainment), sublimation of creative instincts, games, competition and the collector's mentality. The authors also show in their study that the interest in one's profession is among the strongest.
 - (2) H. Janne. "L'utilisation des loisirs pour l'éducation permanente des adultes". In Le Progrès Social. 3rd series. 58th year. No. 115, May-June, 1970. p.53.
 - (3) "L'éducation permanente du type socio-éducatif devant les problèmes de la société française." A communication sent in the name of the National Institute for Popular Education (France). Minutes of the AUPÉLF conference held in Abidjan in 1970. 306 pages. pp. 250-264.
 - (4) B. Schwartz. "Pour une éducation permanente" in Revue Education Permanente. No. 1. March 1969.
 - (5) "L'utilisation des loisirs pour l'éducation permanente des adultes" Op. cit. in Le Progrès Social.

significance of the effort involved in these national reports we would say that they reflect the desire to move from social progress through the standard of living to the enhancement of man through his way of life." As the Swiss report puts it, the problem is to accede to the social phase of the 'art of living' (1).

III - CONSEQUENCES OF THE PATTERNS CHOSEN

A. Educational changes stemming from the working environment

9. The labour market is currently undergoing profound changes, and this process will grow more marked in coming decades. The intellectual, professional, social and geographical mobility which already characterize it require people to adapt themselves to the new situation and mean that men must be prepared for it. And they do so through their working environment, for this is an area where motives for learning are particularly strong (2) : A. Moles and F. Muller (3), commenting on an investigation carried out at Annecy, in France, note that the "privileged" centres of interest among the people questioned were linked to "utilitarian" concerns, and that their vocation or métier emerged as one of their dominant interests. The objective need as well as the desire for training have become a powerful factor in the development of production in the United States.

"Business enterprises on the other side of the Atlantic are increasing their efforts in personnel-training due to ... the profound conviction that the future of an enterprise is no longer determined by financial or technical investment but by the intellectual and professional capacities of the men grouped within it" (4).

(1) Idem. p.54.

(2) See the Annecy enquiry into self-educating attitudes, in J. Dumazedier. "Vers une civilisation du loisir". Paris, Le Seuil 1962.

(3) Adult Motivations to Thought Structuralization. Op. cit., pp. 40 et seq.

(4) J. Chedaux. "Révolution culturelle dans l'entreprise américaine". in Revue Impact. Brussels. June 1971. No. 41. pp. 77 et seq. This is also one of the major themes in Radovan Richta's "Civilisation au carrefour" (Laffont-Gonthier, Paris, 1968).

Observations such as this imply the need for a real industrial pedagogy which Maddison (1) defines as follows : "... industrial pedagogy shares with the process of teaching and learning generally the need to inculcate a wide diversity of skills and motivations throughout almost the whole span of human existence and on a steep curve of economic and social demand. It does so in a particular framework : that of productive labour".

But the latest trend in training which springs from the working environment is to combine the search for professional training with the individual's cultural fulfilment. It is becoming increasingly clear that dependency on a socio-economic context should not give rise to a technocratic orientation in education.

10. The dual aim of education may find expression in various ways :

(1) In action stemming from the working environment itself :

- Increasing importance is given to human factors in training programmes (among the subjects dealt, priority goes to human relationships at work, for example); education offered by businesses aims at personal improvement on the individual's part, in conjunction with professional accomplishment; I.B.M.-France organizes courses on any subject whatsoever provided that a certain number of staff-members request it. Also deserving of mention is the system in the United States of "tuition aid refund plans", the aim of which is to impart new knowledge to a person in direct or indirect relationship with their present or foreseeable employment.
- Examples of a new kind of relationship between higher education and business include action undertaken in France by the University Centre for Social and Economic Cooperation (CUCES) in conjunction with the Lafarge Group. CUCES policy is based on two principles : the so-called "institutional stage" in the course of which the business remains responsible for training, and the "pedagogic stage" in which the training in the strict sense is given by engineers from Lafarge who have, however, received prior pedagogic instruction from CUCES experts. The business accordingly retains its independence and CUCES acts like any service agency, making an exclusively pedagogic, methodological contribution.

(1) J. Maddison. New Trends in Educational Technology and Industrial Pedagogy. Antwerp, Belgium. International Audio-Visual Technical Centre Foundation. 1971. p.13.

(2) In action outside the working environment :

An example of this is the training given by the big trade unions in Belgium, in the fields of business management, productivity problems, social problems and the psychology of work (this latter branch is intended mainly for union delegates, union representatives on the worker-management committees, officials and militants). This is only a supplementary illustrative indication, since a profusion of examples would not, in our view, serve any useful purpose in this text (1).

B. Educational changes based on non-professional activity

11. We have found few analyses, in the bibliography available to us, of adult education and its achievements in non-professional fields. The contrast between this and the abundance of material in professional fields is striking.

One of the reasons for this disparity would seem to be that this is a domain not obviously and directly linked to the economy, from which immediate and well-defined needs emerge and conflict with needs that have no apparent urgency and are in general vague, despite the fact that in the long run they are more important for man's destiny... (2).

Yet already at the present time we find W. Taylor noting that many individuals have thereby become aware of their interest (in both senses of that word) in continuing their studies, and have accordingly registered for more systematic programmes endorsed by recognized qualifications, either to prepare themselves for a specific profession or vocation or to improve their position in an area where they already practise such professional activity (3). The issue in reality is that of becoming aware of a mutually advantageous dialectic taking place between work and leisure; it implies the "consumption" of culture, and through this creates the subjective need for new kinds of social and working relations adapted to

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- (1) See in particular the addenda to Hartung's book (Pour une éducation permanente) in which the author outlines a panorama of achievements in lifelong education in four countries : The United States, the Soviet Union, Belgium and France.
- (2) "There are certain basic intellectual tools to which the student must be exposed and certain basic information that he must acquire in order to be an educated man in the modern world and to form an accurate image of himself and his society." P. Coombs. The World Educational Crisis, a Systems Analysis. New York. Oxford University Press. 1968. p.179.
- (3) W. Taylor. Policy and Planning for Post-secondary Education - A European Overview. Op. cit.

a more cultivated man. On this point, Lengrand (1) concludes : "One and the same man has to live through these two facets of existence, and the manner in which he reacts to either will have deep repercussions on the content of the other."

For several years and in all countries the problem of "cultural action" has been the subject of thorough research based on many experiments carried out by private and public organizations. One of the most important among recent studies is the volume published under the editorship of P-H. Chombart de Lauwe (2) entitled, "Aspirations et transformations sociales". It contains a discussion of "theoretical, methodological and epistemological problems arising out of social change and out of the genesis and role of aspirations involved in this change" (3).

M. Imbert (4) outlines in particular the ends, aims and methods of cultural action. Although his analysis is confined to France, it emerges as potentially applicable to many industrialized societies. He distinguishes between two major lines along which experiments in "cultural development" have been conducted.

On the one hand, a "technocratic" option "confines cultural action to specific areas of knowledge and artistic expression, isolating the other sections of individual and collective life (work, civic life, etc.)" (5). This trend concentrates on an economic approach to culture and talks in terms of production, distribution and consumption, regarding the cultural message as if it were a transmittable object and minimizing problems of meaning and participation.

On the other hand, the second option, known as "cultural action and overall development", "is linked to fulfilment of the intellectual and emotional life and to bringing forth the potentialities inherent in each milieu, in each culture or sub-culture"; it allows for the great variety of human activity (physical, intellectual, artistic, political...) and it gives priority to the aims of participation, communication and expression rather than to those of distribution and transmission.

(1) In An Introduction to Lifelong Education. Op. cit. p.64.

(2) Paris. Editions Anthropos. 1970. This work gives an account of studies by researchers from 16 countries who met in 1967 and 1968 under the aegis of UNESCO for conferences in Dourdan and Montrouge (France), grouping members of the International Association of Sociology, the National Centre for Scientific Research (Paris) and the Practical School for Higher Studies (Section VI, Sorbonne, Paris).

(3) Idem. p.11.

(4) "Aspirations collectives et évolution des organisations culturelles". idem. pp. 245 et seq.

(5) Idem. p. 248

This second option clearly corresponds to the aims of lifelong education.

C. Improvements in the quality of adult education

12. Various media are currently being used to increase efficiency in adult education; prominent among these are new technological methods of education and more self-directed, individualized work.

Many specialists are putting all their hopes in "educational technology" to improve the quality of adult education (1). This term is surrounded with an aura of confusion and preconceived ideas and must be defined. Maddison prefers to use a definition based on a point of view shared by a group of education and communications specialists (2) rather than one based on an individual judgment. He says that educational technology consists in "the development, application and evaluation of systems, techniques and aids to improve the process of human learning"(3). The trend today is to move away from technology in education and towards a technology of education, the first involving "a set of equipment, the elaboration of ad hoc messages and the incorporation of technology into traditional teaching activities" (4), and the second being "systematic application of the resources of scientific knowledge to the process through which each individual has to go in order to acquire and apply knowledge" (5). The tendency, therefore, is to construct pedagogic method round the student (learning) rather than round the teacher (teaching) (6).

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- (1) New trends in educational communication are also described in terms of "new media", "approach through multi-media", "apprenticeship resources"; they are elements of the "systems approach"...
 - (2) G. Hubbard. Just another Jargon Phrase? in NCEP News Bulletin. No. 2 Summer 1970. p.1.
 - (3) J. Maddison. New Trends in Educational Technology and Industrial Pedagogy. Op. cit., p.14.
 - (4) (5) H. Dieuzeide. Educational Technology and Development in Education. Paris. UNESCO. 1970.
 - (6) It may be seen that educational technology goes much further today than it did about ten years ago, when new media involved were essentially film, radio and television (cf. Hély. New Trends in Adult Education "From Elsinore to Montreal". UNESCO coll. (monogr. on education IV). Paris. 1963. pp. 130 et seq.

The "systematized multi-media approach" plays an important part in the practical application of educational technology. This involves combining a cluster of media and methods. In Britain, the "Open University" uses television, radio, correspondence courses and special manuals. The Bayerischer Rundfunk has been dispensing instruction through its "Telekolleg" since 1967 corresponding to higher education : this is "systematic and programmed direct teaching by television and is combined with correspondence and home study methods and complementary consultative group work" (1). In Paris, the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers (C.N.A.M.) uses closed-circuit television, distributes videotape recordings and transmits TV programmes over a special wave-length (2).

The consequence of using educational technology (contrary to somewhat hastily-formed opinions among certain critics) will be to step up the student's personal activity. He will be led more and more to acquire knowledge and skills for himself without direct aid from a teacher. In such a context, the teacher's role is completely changed : he has to analyse the content of programmes, translate them into concrete form so that they become self-educational aids while at the same time maintaining direct contact with the student. His aim "... is mainly to stimulate the latter and provide him with the kind of intellectual training which results from communication with an experienced, well-informed person" (3). In order to encourage self-directed studies the school system must also be changed so that it prepares the adult to make a habit of directing his own studies (people must "learn to learn").

13. Pedagogic methods are being renewed in various directions simultaneously. For example : (a) programmed learning shares with computer programming the idea of dividing the intellectual content to be transmitted, thought or learned into sequences of small units ("frames"). These are acquired stage by stage, each stage requiring endorsement through an answer from the student to a single-choice question, before moving on to the next stage. According to Skinner (4), linear programmes and teaching machines both begin with this principle, as do Crowder's (5) branching approaches - according to Maddison. There has been much

(1) J. Maddison. New Trends in Educational Technology and Industrial Pedagogy. Op. cit., p.29.

(2) Cf. Media. No. 2. March 1969. p.45.

(3) H. Larsson. "Développement des universités de technologie en Suède". Council for Cultural Cooperation. Council of Europe. Strasbourg. 1970.

(4) B.F. Skinner. "La révolution scientifique de l'enseignement". Brussels. Dessart. 1968.

(5) Crowder uses multiple-choice questions.

positive criticism (1) of these approaches and Mackenzie, Eraut and Jones (2) forecast three directions programmed teaching is likely to take in the future : there will be a growing tendency to use media other than print, to adapt teaching far more to differences between individuals, and to cease modelling new programmes on earlier programmes; (b) the systematic use of games or play in education also began recently (3). A variety of methods ranges from highly complex procedures to the simple game of acting out a role or taking part in a psychodrama (4), with equipment beginning with simple toys and ending with lifesize maquettes (such as the flight-simulators used in training air-line pilots). Two kinds of simulation appear to be developing considerably in contemporary adult education : "business games" and "physical model simulators".

14. At this point we should however mention that the educational implications of the multiplication factor are often neglected, and that many educators still regard technology as a "gadget" that estranges people. But "the multiplication factor in educational technology takes us to the heart of the dilemma posed by ever-rising demands for education throughout the world for exceeding the available resources. Education as an industry is at present highly labour-intensive : it is also for the

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- (1) G.O.M. Leith. Developments in Programmed Learning. in Robinson and Barnes (New Media and methods in industrial learning. London. B.B.C. 1968), pp. 45 - 53. By the same author : "Second thoughts on programmed learning". London. National Council for Educational Technology. 1969. See also A.J. Green. Programmed Learning in the Heavy Chemical Industry. in Bajpai and Leedham (Aspects of Educational Technology IV. London. Pitman. 1970). pp. 167 - 172.
 - (2) Mackenzie, E. Eraut and H.C. Jones. Teaching and Learning : an Introduction to New Methods and Resources in Higher Education. Paris. UNESCO and International Association of Universities. 1970.
 - (3) Huizinga was the first to show the cultural importance of this human need, the game : H. Huizinga. Homo Ludens. London. Routledge. 1949.
 - (4) Such psychological techniques are especially important, since they enable a number of behaviour problems obstructing education to be solved : thus, "mime, dance and theatre-games, and more especially psychodramas allow latent tensions to be revealed and help solve inner problems." in H. Hignette. Moyens et méthodes en matière d'éducation permanente. Minutes of the A.U.P.E.L.F. conference held in Abidjan in 1970. p. 140.

most part a craft or even a cottage industry. Inescapably, if the world crisis in education is to be met, both these features of education must be drastically changed" (1).

D. Obstacles to innovation and to new trends

15. It is not enough to say that the educational system is by its very nature conservative. Above all, we must understand the why and the wherefore of such a situation (2). To explain this, L. Cerych borrows from E.M. Rogers (3) the six variables which the latter has defined as influencing the rate at which innovations are adopted.

- (1) The relative advantage of an innovation, "that is to say the degree to which it is perceived as an improvement on ideas and solutions which it supercedes": education being a long-term process, the results of innovations in method or programme can only be evaluated a long time after they have been introduced. "A notable exception to this rule is training and re-training for specific skills as required by industry, the armed forces and other employers". Cerych remarks that this, perhaps, is one of the reasons why many educational innovations have been adopted by them earlier and more quickly than by the schools themselves, since the relative advantages of a course of programmed instruction in automobile machinery: in a factory, can be more easily assessed than "the results of the same method when applied to parts of the curriculum of a four or eight-year long educational cycle" (4).

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- (1) J. Maddison. New Trends in Educational Technology and Industrial Pedagogy. Op. cit., p.21.
- (2) L. Cerych. Some Institutional Prerequisites of an Accelerated Innovation Process in Education. A communication to the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education, Williamsburg, Virginia, Oct. 5-9, 1967. p. 4 et seq.
- (3) E.M. Rogers. The Communications of Innovations : Strategies for Change in a Complex Institution. A communication presented to the National Conference on Curricula and Instructional Innovation of Large Colleges and Universities. East Lansing, Michigan. November, 1966.
- (4) L. Cerych. Op. cit., p.5

- (2) Its compatibility "with the prevailing values of a given educational system constitutes probably the most notorious barrier to ... (its) diffusion and adoption". These values may be "formal" or "informal" and cannot generally be defined with any precision in the educational system; it is easier to do so in other organizations. "Educational television may be resisted because it is considered as diminishing the importance of personal contact between teacher and pupil (formal value of the system), or because it weakens the exclusive position of the teacher (role expectation). The suppression of certain examinations can be opposed as endangering the existing educational standards"... and ... " as a means of limiting the roles of specific subgroups..."
- (3) Its divisibility, that is to say, "the degree to which innovations in education can be tested on a limited basis" enabling their utility to be demonstrated before introducing them on a large scale. Education by its very nature is organized in "fragmented" fashion (formed of many schools and classes) which would seem to be "a most appropriate framework for launching innovating experiments..." But here we run up against a problem involved in generalizing an experiment : is an "experimental school" "representative"? Teachers and pupils taking part in an experiment may be "above the national average". Their motivation may have been stronger due to the very fact that they were participating in a pilot experiment.
- (4) Its complexity, that is to say the degree to which it is relatively "more difficult to understand and to use them (innovations) in other areas of social activity". If the innovation in question concerns "the organizational aspects of education" we often find that "new organizational schemes do not simply replace old arrangements; they are added to or superimposed on existing structures, with the result that the new organization pattern is even more complicated than the past one..." The same is true of "purely technical innovations", which have frequently given "limited results" in the past due to "the inadequacy of their integration in the teaching process and (to) the fact that they have been treated as technical gadgets only".
- (5) Its communicability, which "can be considered from two points of view : as a problem of visibility and as one of channels. Educational innovations are certainly less visible than those in business and industry. ... The diffusion process in education is long..." because many of those concerned "simply ignore that a new way of solving particular tasks already exists". Diffusion can only be accelerated through a campaign to inform public opinion. According to Cerych, the

reasons for this "poor visibility of educational innovation" derive partly from "the traditional role behaviour of participants in educational organizations" (1) and partly from "the type and density" of the communication channels involved. This latter reason is linked to the sixth variable under analysis, namely the decision-making process.

- (6) The type of decision-making process on which adoption or rejection of an innovation depends. While research on this point remains incomplete (2), it would seem that decisions reached by a central authority tend to be more strongly in favour of adopting educational innovations than are individual decisions (whether these be "optional, contingent or collective", to use E.M. Rogers' Typology) : "... Though contingent and collective decisions are made much more slowly, because group decision-making is required, they are more likely to result in lasting change because of the higher degree of individual participation and commitment involved in the decision" (3).

IV - MANAGEMENT CHANGES IN THE ADULT EDUCATION SYSTEM

16. Adult education has been far from forming an integrated whole until now. As we have seen, its organization, on both the public and private levels, has been many-sided and lacking order until the present time; profit-making motives have accompanied those of service, its framework has been sometimes ideological and sometimes not, it has been run for both utilitarian and purely cultural ends, and its aims have been of the most varied (professional, cultural, political, trade or labour union, administrative, social, military...), including forms of complementary training and reconversion courses organized by businesses and many different kinds of school (and university).

The currently emerging trend is to endeavour to bring this anarchic proliferation of the components of adult education under control, by making it more rationalized, more organized and institutionalized.

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- (1) "All measures towards change which do not evoke response in the teachers are likely to fail". A. King, Educational Management and Policy-Making. Communication to the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education. Williamsburg. 1967. p.21.
- (2) On this subject see A.H. Barton. Organizational measurement and its bearings on the study of college environments. College Entrance Examination Board. New York. 1961.
- (3) E.M. Rogers. The Communications of Innovations : Strategies for Change in a Complex Institution. Op. cit., p.6.

1° New trends in management of the post-secondary educational system

17. A large number of institutions contribute to adult education, but relationships between them are lacking: they do not cooperate over installing and sharing media (1) and there is no coordination from above. This kind of liaison is the duty of the State, and in Simpson's view the national Education Ministry should define and organize education. It should set up a liaison with all other ministerial departments whose activities could affect education, with all purveyors of cultural and recreational media and in fact with every public and private body concerned.

18. The increasing need for adult education and the parallel movement - more and more noticeable - in favour of meeting that need, are giving rise to dispersion, to conflicts over who is to perform this or that task, and over-empirical attempts at liaison. Yet one increasingly widespread practice must, in the end, lead to coordination among all educational activities : that of educational planning, conceived of as the setting for political action in this domain (2).

(a) New trends in relationships between post-secondary educational establishments and the State and Society

19. More specifically, we should strive towards unity between planning and drafting political policies in post-secondary education, as proposed in Britain by the Select Committee on Education and Science (3), which voiced the hope that a Higher Education Commission would take responsibility for all post-secondary education in the country (4). Such a commission would examine questions of interest to all higher educational establishments, and orientate and coordinate their activities. It would also advise the government as to their needs.

W. Taylor considers, after examining the situation in European countries, that setting up adequate means for the discussion of policy in post-secondary education and for coordinating institutions teaching

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- (1) B. Schwartz. Continuing Education for Adults. In Permanent Education. Op. cit., p. 103
 - (2) We return to the problem of planning in the final section of this report, devoted to financial aspects of adult education.
 - (3) See Select Committee on Education and Science : Student Relations. Vol. I. London. H.M.S.O.
 - (4) The British "Grants Committee" only performs this function for universities.

at this level would seem to be a top priority (1).

This is a widespread trend.

(b) New trends in relationships with industry and professional associations

20. This is a domain in which it is especially important to balance economic pressure against educational aims.

Industrial and other similar economic associations do not maintain such close and direct relations with traditional universities as with other post-secondary educational establishments. Yet the contrary is true of scientific research.

Consultations almost always take place between non-university establishments and representatives from the various professions as to the conception and content of teaching programmes. In France, a "Pedagogic Commission" grouping teachers, business managers and union leaders supervises the way the University Institutes of Technology work, and lays down directives for the programmes to be followed. In the Netherlands, each professional division has its Commission, which handles educational problems in relation to the needs of industry and trade. Similarly in Britain, Industrial Training Boards advise establishments as to the organization and programme of initial training and employment courses.

This practice among technical schools of forming committees of various kinds is now spreading to the universities. Similarly, university councils more and more frequently call in outside personalities, especially from the world of social and economic affairs.

Relationships between those concerned with education and people from industry and the "professions" should take the form of direct, personal cooperation and not of hierarchical dependency. It is important that the principle of educational establishments' rights to determine the content, methods, criteria for selection and orientation of their curricula be respected. If it is to become their duty to consult others and take common action, they should nonetheless be accorded broad powers in making the final decisions.

(c) The trend towards regional decentralization

21. It is important for education in general and adult education in particular, to have courses of study available at all levels; establishments in question should not be too far from the homes of those

(1) W. Taylor. Policy and Planning for post-secondary education. A European Overview. Op. cit.

concerned, pedagogic technology not as yet being sufficiently developed to override problems of distance and geographic inaccessibility. It should be possible to find some way of synthesizing the dialectical tension between these two media.

(d) A new trend in the internal administration of post-secondary educational establishments

22. Teachers in post-secondary establishments traditionally attach great importance to their independence within their particular school or college. The application of this principle used to be found in the college management boards or governing councils composed of "mandarins" who more often than not, however, were incapable of dealing with the new problems affecting the educational structure implied by present-day knowledge and research. For the interest in pedagogy which until now has been relegated to the background - at this level of study - is developing everywhere. This is in response to a profound change in the system of values underlying this branch of education and, implicitly, to the fact that the "aristocratic" mentality is beating a retreat. Pedagogic problems are leading us to question the traditional, sacrosanct "academic freedom". They are inclining us to create the ways and means and organizations required for coordination among those of the teaching profession, and are even tending towards "collegialization". They are also leading to the extension of membership of these establishments' governing bodies and boards of directors (1), so that nowadays we see more and more members of the university staff such as research-workers, students and outside personalities acquiring seats on the board beside the professors and administrative personnel (2).

(1) Cf. the 1969 draft law in Finland reforming the internal administration of post-secondary establishments and in particular the composition of university administrative bodies. (Cf. the Council of Europe's Committee for Higher Education and Research : Reform and Expansion of Higher Education in Finland. Report of the Finnish delegation. 1970)

(2) The present administrative council of the Brussels Free University provides one example; and the Belgian parliament recently approved a law, which has yet to be promulgated, which modifies the composition of State university administrative councils in similar fashion. Catholic universities of Louvain are moving in the same direction. At the C.U.C.E.S. in Nancy, the administrative council used to be formed of representatives from the university and the Patronat (the French employers' association) but in 1968 it was thrown open to trade union representatives and officials from the government departments concerned.

2^o New Trends in management of other adult education systems

23. There is a continuing controversy between those who consider that the State should take over professional and post-professional adult education entirely and those who oppose such a monopoly. Clearly, the excessive influence of various interested pressure groups should be counterbalanced by government supervision. But some people are recommending that local and regional authorities (1) should be made responsible for adult education so as to avoid a centralized monopoly while ensuring that the public interest remains the primary consideration.

The trend which appears to us to be spreading is in fact, on the one hand, for the State to assume responsibility for the orientation of overall policy in adult education, and on the other, for various "decentralized" authorities and private groups to share in its management, under State supervision. We should also take note of the fact that in education on the adult level the formal educational establishments can no longer lay claim to a monopoly of such training. At all events, one should always be on one's guard against the propensity among professional associations and private enterprises to concentrate mainly on the branches of training which promise to be of some immediate utility to the enterprise itself, if only from the point of view of the professional qualifications concerned.

Briefly, our opinion is that State and government authorities should continue to supervise the management of lifelong education, but not without referring, through a permanent, organic dialogue, to those concerned - the workers and employers (2). The requirements of democracy on this fundamental issue are making themselves felt with increasing force.

There is a deep desire throughout the educational world for democratic management of the interior administration of the so-called post-professional education centres : users (the parents of minors; pupils of majority age, students and adults themselves) want to participate in decisions affecting the instruction they are offered. They want at least to be kept fully informed on the problems involved and to be consulted in an effective fashion over the solutions adopted. Furthermore, adults demand self-management of their own training : they do not intend to be subjected any longer to standardized programmes, methods, paces of study and examinations, or to the authority of teachers and directors of educational institutions. On all these points, they want a broad capacity for choice.

(1) See for example H. Tietgens. Restructuring Education. In Permanent Education. Op. cit., p. 328

(2) K. Eide. The Organization and Financing of Post-Work Education. In Permanent Education. Op. cit., p. 123. J. Capelle. The Development of Permanent Education. idem. p. 389.

Management of educational institutions is becoming gradually more democratic, while at the same time studies are becoming more individualized. This irreversible process is fundamental to remoulding the structure of lifelong education. It is one of the major present-day trends.

V. - DEVELOPMENTS IN FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF ADULT EDUCATION SYSTEMS

A. Planning

24. In the course of the past fifteen years, governments all over the world have come to recognize that education is no longer merely a desirable social service but also a fundamental factor in national development. Their concern over it is illustrated by the increase in planned education aimed at orderly and efficient development (1). In its 1968 study of educational planning (2), UNESCO reported that of the total of 91 countries examined, 75 had prepared an education plan (3). The interesting point, for our purposes, is that such plans make increasing allowance not only for technical education and professional training, but also for conversion courses and - although to a lesser extent - for complementary training (4). Out-of-school education is rarely integrated into school planning, on the contrary, whether it be of the formal kind, as in the "People's universities" and similar institutions (5), or informal as in family education, education dispensed through a multiplicity of adult associations, etc.

(1) See section 18 above.

(2) Educational Planning. A World Survey of Problems and Prospects. UNESCO. Internatinnal Conference on Educational Planning. Paris. August 1968.

(3) Africa : 17 in 20; Latin America : 10 in 13; Asia, including Australia and New Zealand : 18 in 22; Arab States : 10 in 11; Europe and North America : 18 in 25. The current plan is the first one in the case of 10 per cent of these countries.

(4) See Policy Conference on Highly Qualified Manpower. O.E.C.D. Paris, 1967.

(5) Such as the Workers' Education Association in Britain or the Scandinavian "Folk High Schools".

B. Spending

1° Prospective overall calculations. Financial implications of lifelong education

25. The studies with which we are familiar are those of outlooks and prospects as exemplified by the work in France by B. Schwartz, who estimated foreseeable spending on adult education in 1985 on the hypotheses that : 6 per cent of the GNP would be earmarked for education of all kinds (1) and 20 per cent of the education budget would be devoted to adults, namely, 1.2 per cent of the GNP. Adults would acquire their education at times in educational institutions, and at times alone or in groups helped by tutors and with massive aid from long-distance education media. This hypothesis includes that of payment for only one half of hours spent in training; lifelong education would accordingly require a personal effort from the adults concerned, half of their time spent studying being without remuneration. If we assume that the GNP in France, at an annual growth rate of 4.6 per cent, increases from 537 thousand million francs in 1967 to about 1.2 billion francs in 1985 (reckoning the franc as unchanged), then adult education in 1985 would cost some 14.4 thousand million francs as compared to current annual expenses in this domain in France of some one thousand million francs.

According to B. Schwartz' calculations and hypotheses (2), these financial outlays on the organization of adult studies and on indemnities paid for half the hours devoted to study would cover a "right" to education for each adult of no more than 13.2 hours annually. Of these, 6.6 hours would be indemnified. Thus in an active life of 50 years (between the ages of 16 and 66) we may estimate that about 660 hours would be devoted to education, that is to say only about a hundred days... (3).

Schwartz puts the pupil-hour cost in 1985 at about 13 French francs (for 1971, he assesses it at 8 francs) and the standard hourly salary at 21 francs (it is currently 11 francs).

(1) Compared with 3.6 per cent in 1965.

(2) Schwartz' hypotheses coincide with those of E. Pisani, who proposes that half the time each worker devotes to his own education "... be remunerated by the enterprise or, in the case of independent workers, by the State. Each individual subtracts the other half from his leisure hours. In addition, the authorities take responsibility for training teachers, and meet the costs of organization and instruction." in "Plan national d'éducation permanente". Bulletin Hommes et Citoyens. Paris. March 1968. p. 9.

(3) For a detailed analysis see B. Schwartz : Continuing Education for Adults. In Permanent Education. Op. cit., p. 103.

It may be added that arguments in terms of money fail to allow for two factors :

- the continual decrease in time spent working which will make adequate time available for study, simultaneously freeing more time for leisure, relaxation and entertainment;
- the considerable growth in the per capita national product (approximately doubling in 16 years) which, in affording a large increase in private consumption, will facilitate increased spending on studies, whether individual or collective.

26. We should also mention estimates produced by Professor Fr. Edding's group for the "Plan 2000 - Education" undertaken by the European Cultural Foundation (1).

Professor Edding's group (working in West Berlin) based their forecasts on premises allowing for change, to the extent that this, too, could be foreseen. They concluded that for the industrialized countries of Western Europe the percentage of the GNP spent on education (without taking expansion of adult education into account) in the year 2000 would be approximately double the 1968 percentage.

According to overall estimates produced by the economist Tinbergen - which correspond to those of Herman Kahn and Wiener (2) and with which the Edding group agrees - the Gross National Product will have approximately tripled, assuming prices constant, by the year 2000. Spending on education will therefore have been multiplied by six in that year - only thirty years from now!

What will then be the impact of the expansion in adult education, in such a context? The Edding group has endeavoured to answer this question. Their study is based on the six most advanced countries in Western Europe. Their estimates are that in all the countries under consideration the adult student population, by the year 2000, will be more than double the number of students receiving ordinary, post-secondary education. And this estimate excludes consideration of any training related to leisure activities and of all "third age" pupils.

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- (1) Possible Futures of European Education. Numerical and Systems Forecasts. (Roneotype document). Study produced by Stefan Jensen and assistants for the European Cultural Foundation's "Plan 2000 - Education". This contribution is due for early publication in a volume also containing studies by Jan Tinbergen and Hake. We give no more than a brief summary of its long, complicated calculations and texts, and our selection is limited to items relevant to this report.
 - (2) The Year 2000 by H. Kahn. New York. Macmillan, 1967.

The group advances the hypothesis that technical needs and social demand will increase studies by adult members of the active population to one-sixth or 16-17 per cent of total working time (1), namely the equivalent of two months per year, or one year in six. Given the date and considering that time spent working will be reduced, in various forms (hours per day, days per week, weeks per year and years in a lifetime) this does not seem unrealistic.

Working on the most moderate of assumptions concerning the increase in costs of education, and on the basis of the foregoing, the West Berlin group estimated that in the United Kingdom there would be a 50 per cent increase in the proportion of total public spending allocated to the Education Budget. We have taken note of the British case since it is close to the average for advanced Western European countries, with some 20 per cent of total public spending between 1965 - 1970 made over to education. (The estimated percentage increase for West Germany would appear to be about 100 per cent - double!). But we must, of course, allow for development of the overall context :

- total public spending in the United Kingdom in relation to the Gross National Product is expected to increase by about 14 per cent from 1965 to 2000;

- and, as we have seen, the GNP is expected to triple.

Calculations based on these suppositions show that total spending on education in the year 2000 will be about eight times greater than the current figure, but they will then cover a real system of lifelong education.

2° Arrangements for helping individuals to study after compulsory school-attendance

27. In order for individuals to have not only the right but the effective opportunity to engage in professional training and continuing education, arrangements must be made to help those for whom such training and education are intended.

Until the present time, concern has been mainly over aiding students who have completed their secondary education and want to move on to post-secondary studies. With the introduction of the principle of lifelong education, there is increasing interest in the problems of those who, having launched themselves into the working world, want to resume studying at various times in the course of their active life.

(1) This percentage is close to the one calculated by E. Pisani: "The increasing productivity of our economic machine liberates time for each worker to devote to his own education. This should, progressively, amount to some 15 per cent of total working time." In "Plan National d'éducation permanente." Dulletin Hommes et Citoyens. Op. cit., p. 9.

28. Following W. Taylor (1), we may list the various ways in which students of all ages are helped during full or part-time periods of study :

- parental or family support (financial or other assistance such as free board and lodging)
- savings or private income
- earnings from part-time work (2) or supplementary allowances
- State or bank loans
- scholarships accorded by the State (3), local authorities or private foundations
- educational insurance, which may have been taken out independently by the student in question or his or her parents, or by the State in the framework of social security arrangements
- remuneration or salary paid to a full-time student by a private enterprise which continues to employ him or her throughout the period of study or has undertaken to do so for an agreed period afterwards (4).

29. Various sources predominate in various countries : for example, in Britain the most prevalent forms are State and local community scholarships, while in Scandinavian countries loans are made on special terms; students repay them after completing their studies.

(1) Policy and Planning in Post-secondary Education. A European Overview.
Op. cit., p. 58.

(2) It should be recalled that such work may be in the form of services to the school or college in question which, in turn, may be didactic (pupil-teachers), scientific (work in laboratories), administrative, social or domestic.

(3) Student organizations want to see these scholarships accorded the status of a legal "pre-salary".

(4) W. Taylor indicates that such remuneration or salary may be paid by a special indemnity fund.

This illustrates the two major, rival trends of the moment. Supporters of the loan system say that the person who receives additional education benefits from it, the usual consequence being professional and social advancement; furthermore, his obligation to pay back the loan constitutes a stimulant to success. Those supporting the scholarship system argue that more completely educated individuals benefit the entire society, while the fact that these same people will earn higher incomes and therefore pay more income tax is tantamount to compensating society for making financial sacrifices on their behalf; meanwhile the scholarships themselves are an effective stimulant to pursuing studies further, especially so far as working-class people are concerned.

Support is also growing for proposals to increase aid from private businesses, in particular through what is called the "sandwich" system, namely the integration of successive periods for study and work, the student receiving some remuneration during both these periods. In many countries the movement in favour of vacation studies (and sabbatical leave for studies) is gaining strength. In our opinion, real development of an educational system based on the principle of lifelong education is impossible unless some "legal" system for sabbatical studies under normal salaried conditions is set up (which does not exclude the advantages of other forms of assistance calculated in proportion to the needs of low private income groups).

CONCLUSION

30. Can societies bear the weight of the kind of expansion in education envisaged in the preceding pages? This problem concerns both political policies and public opinion, and the way it is solved depends on priorities laid down for utilization of the community's income.

What follows is a brief presentation of our personal remarks on this subject.

In our view, only a lifelong educational system can save democracy by steering it away from its course towards the reefs of man's conditioning to, and alienation from an over-organized society. Furthermore, only this kind of educational system can bring about optimum development in scientific research and technology, which are the necessary conditions for economic growth and for the costly transition from a civilization of quantity to one of quality, as well as being related to the advanced qualifications required at all levels.

For the cost of economic democracy as compared to that of the pure efficiency in a technocracy cannot be ignored, nor can that of leisure based on the democratization in culture, as compared to the mere distribution of a passively-absorbed culture, or the cost of professional

career-training, including the development of personality beyond the immediate needs of businesses and other organizations.

31. This is the philosophy involved in making educational growth a priority programme. But one unknown element remains, and it could well have a favourable influence on present forecasts of education costs; it is the application of educational technology. As in the case of the transition from workshop businesses to industry in the early days of the industrial revolution, new educational technologies imply profound structural changes and a reappraisal of values : in this event, and with these prospects in mind, which programmes will need to be learned? Which pedagogical methods must be chosen? What does learning mean, so far as the respective responsibilities of pupil and teacher are concerned? And what does teaching mean?

This is the radical renewal which must be undertaken.

It implies the decision to make immediate massive investment, guided by costly research and pilot experiments. But there is no reason to believe that such investments would provide fewer initial results than those obtained from comparable investments in industrialization. Education has to move out of the "school for artisans" stage - and this expression does not exclude the universities - and into that of industrialization.

Considerable funds set aside now - a sacrifice on the part of our present generations - will certainly prove to be an economically advantageous proposition for the future. Unit costs will decrease to the extent that educational productivity increases. This being the law of "industrial" development, it is likely to prove still more true of the "post-industrial" period.

32. All this is equally valid for developing countries. Their technical bases are admittedly weaker, and strengthening them must consequently be a primordial aim of technical cooperation in education.

Developing countries are, however, as we have said, clearly superior to the older civilizations in Europe and to all highly-industrialized nations in one respect : their educational structures, being more recent or in the process of being set up, and the men who operate them being less committed to traditional educational procedures, offer less resistance to innovation, in the form of inertia, conservatism and school traditions, than do those countries which may be, historically, the creators of modern education but which are now out of date. The terrain is incontestably more open to action in the developing countries.

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