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## Éducation permanente in France en route to ‘permanent education’ at the Council of Europe? Revisiting a *projet social* to create ‘a long life of learning’

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### ABSTRACT

Focused on the period between the mid-1950s and the late 1970s, this paper explores the pan-European dissemination of policy proposals articulating *éducation permanente* as involving reforms in the architecture of initial and post-initial education in the direction of promoting ‘a long life of learning’. It seeks to identify the key ‘policy repertoires’ associated with the development of *éducation permanente* in post-war France from the mid-1950s and the subsequent development of ‘permanent education’ by the Council of Europe from the mid-1960s until the late 1970s. Focused on historical description and analysis of national, transnational, and pan-European policy networks, the paper examines French national networks advocating *éducation permanente* in relation to their subsequent involvement in the policy development of ‘permanent education’ by the Council of Europe.

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*Article 22. – L’instruction est le besoin de tous. La société doit favoriser de tout son pouvoir les progrès de la raison publique, et mettre l’instruction à la portée de tous les citoyens.*

[Education is needed by all. Society should favour with all its power the advancement of public reason and place education at the door of every citizen.]

Déclaration des droits de l’Homme et du citoyen de 1793

### Points of departure: towards long lives of learning?

In its 1956 annual report to the International Bureau of Education (IBE), the new socialist government of France referred to its plan to democratise access to education, which recognised the ‘great need to increase the opportunities for education after the usual period of schooling’.<sup>1</sup> Post-initial education in France was to be reorganised in ‘establishments providing education of a permanent nature’,<sup>2</sup> known as ‘*établissements d’éducation permanente*’.<sup>3</sup> Although the government collapsed in 1957 – as did the

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<sup>1</sup>*International Yearbook of Education*, vol. 18, 1956 (Geneva: IBE, 1957), 160.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>*Annuaire international de l’éducation*, vol. 18, 1956 (Geneva: BIE, 1957), 188.

Fourth Republic in 1958, with De Gaulle returning to power – *éducation permanente* was enthusiastically supported by diverse interest groups favouring reforms to make educational opportunities available throughout life. From the late 1950s onwards, French advocates of *éducation permanente* encountered growing support elsewhere in Western Europe among those articulating radical changes to traditional architectures of initial and post-initial education. In 1962, the Council of Europe (CoE) formally adopted *éducation permanente* as the framework for its own pan-European policy development of ‘permanent education’.

In post-war Western Europe, educational reform constituted political responses to the complex challenges confronting governments and citizens in rapidly changing societies. Successive efforts to reform educational provision, both for the young and for adults, were integral elements of 30 years of post-war reconstruction from 1945 to 1975, known as *Les Trente Glorieuses*.<sup>4</sup> On the one hand, this period was characterised by rapid economic growth, high productivity, reduction in working hours, urbanisation, rising incomes, increased leisure, mass media entertainment, and consumer culture associated with an ‘affluent’ society.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, it was marked by the restructuring of economies, demise of heavy industries, rural decline, technological innovation, automation, de-skilling, growth of distributive and financial services, and information economies in post-industrial society.<sup>6</sup> Such economic transformations constituted significant political, social and cultural challenges, which were, in part, addressed by social and educational policies initiated by state-sponsored public agencies in post-war ‘welfare states’ – involving hosts of reports by advisory committees – but policies were also influenced by significant mobilisations of organised labour, voluntary associations and social movements.

Driven by national, regional and local concerns, post-war educational policies were informed by often conflicting political understandings of economic, social and cultural consequences of technological change for the education and training of the workforce. In the immediate post-war period, policies were primarily driven by mobilisation of national ‘reserves of talent’, which was seriously distorted by highly selective systems of initial education.<sup>7</sup> Attention shifted during the mid-1950s towards democratising access to initial education, expanding secondary education, delayed selection and lengthening compulsory schooling to meet changing labour-market needs.<sup>8</sup> Despite rapid expansion of higher education in the early 1960s, mounting evidence of systematic social and educational inequalities<sup>9</sup> was compounded by growing dissatisfaction with limited educational possibilities available

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<sup>4</sup>Jean Fourastié, *Les Trente glorieuses ou la révolution invisible de 1946 à 1975* (Paris: Fayard, 1979).

<sup>5</sup>John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1958); Guy Debord, *La Société de Spectacle* (Paris: Editions de Champs Libre, 1967); Ferdynand Zweig, *The Worker in an Affluent Society* (London: Heinemann, 1961); John H. Goldthorpe, David Lockwood, Frank Bechhofer and Jennifer Platt, *The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

<sup>6</sup>Alain Touraine, *La Société Post-industrielle: Naissance d'une société* (Paris: Denoël, 1969); Daniel Bell, ‘Notes on Post-industrial Society’, *Public Interest* 6 (1967): 24–35, and 7 (1967): 102–18; Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

<sup>7</sup>Torsten Husén, *Talent, Equality and Meritocracy: Availability and Utilization of Talent* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1974).

<sup>8</sup>Jean Esther Floud, Albert Henry Halsey and Frederick Morris Martin, *Social Class and Educational Opportunity* (London: Heinemann, 1956).

<sup>9</sup>Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Les Héritiers* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1967); Bourdieu and Passeron, *La reproduction* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1970).

to adults.<sup>10</sup> Attention was redirected towards expanding mass-media-based ‘second chance’ and ‘second way’ educational opportunities for adults, and legislation controlling commercial correspondence education.<sup>11</sup> During the 1960s, redistribution of opportunities throughout life to promote social justice was focused on inequalities between generations resulting from the expansion of initial education for the young.<sup>12</sup> By the late 1960s, the Western European policy landscape was occupied – metaphorically, and literally in 1968 – by students, adult learners, teachers, parents, feminists, community organisations, popular education movements, workers and trade unionists articulating their discontent with the failure of initial and post-initial education to support individual development and collective social emancipation.<sup>13</sup> Proposals for radically revised educational architectures to enable lifelong participation in learning had been placed very firmly on reform agendas throughout Western Europe by the early 1970s.<sup>14</sup>

Redistribution of educational opportunities throughout life had gradually permeated the policy agendas of inter-governmental organisations during the 1960s. An international division of (advisory) labour was established, with a fleet of policy reports from advisory committees. While the Council of Europe (CoE) had been actively engaged with ‘permanent education’ since the early 1960s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) hesitantly adopted ‘lifelong education’ in the late 1960s; the Organisation for Economic Co-operation (OECD) took command of ‘recurrent education’ in the early 1970s; while the International Labour Organisation (ILO) took charge of ‘paid educational leave’ (PEL) from 1974 onwards.<sup>15</sup> A 1973 study of harmonisation of educational policies, commissioned by the European Economic Community (EEC), proposed a heady cocktail combining permanent education, recurrent education and paid educational leave, as the most appropriate policy response to the economic, political, social and cultural challenges confronting European societies during the transition to a post-industrial society.<sup>16</sup>

From a comparative historical perspective, the development of *éducation permanente* in France during the late 1950s and early 1960s, together with the dissemination, by the

<sup>10</sup>Robert Höghliem and Kjell Rubenson, eds., *Adult Education for Social Change: Research on the Swedish Allocation Policy* (Stockholm: CWK Gleerup, 1980).

<sup>11</sup>Barry Hake, ‘Regulatory Governance of “Training Markets”, “Market Failure”, and “Quasi” Markets: Historical Dimensions of the Post-Initial Training Market in The Netherlands’, *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults* 7, no. 2 (2016): 171–89.

<sup>12</sup>Jarl Bengtson, ‘The U68 Committee and the Future of Secondary Education’, *Paedagogica Europaea* 9, no. 2 (1974): 44–51.

<sup>13</sup>Edgar Morin, *Mai 1968: La Brèche* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1969); Alain Touraine, *Le mouvement de mai ou le communisme utopique* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1968); Touraine, *La société post-industrielle* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1970); Alain Gras, ‘La Critique Progressiste des Idéologies Pédagogiques en France Depuis Mai 1968’, *Paedagogica Europaea* 9, no. 2 (1974): 19–30.

<sup>14</sup>Jarl Bengtsson, Albert van den Berg, Alain Gras, Barry Hake, Ignace Hecquet, Ian Lister and Jürgen Zimmer, *Does Education Have a Future? The Political Economy of Social and Educational Inequalities in European Society* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975).

<sup>15</sup>For the respective policy reports, see: *Permanent Education: A Compendium of Studies Commissioned by the Council for Cultural Co-operation, a Contribution to the United Nations International Education Year* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1970); Edgar Faure et al., *Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972); *Recurrent Education: A Strategy for Lifelong Learning* (Paris: OECD 1973); *Convention Concerning Paid Educational Leave* (Geneva: ILO, 1974).

<sup>16</sup>Henri Janne, *For a Community Policy on Education* (Brussels: Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 10/1973); Barry Hake, ‘Strange Encounters on the Road to Lifelong Learning: The European Economic Community Meets Permanent Education in 1973’, *History of Education* 46, no. 4 (2017): 514–32.

Council of Europe, of ‘permanent education’ in the 1960s and 1970s, constituted the most significant manifestations of this pan-European search for revised architectures for initial and post-initial education. The French-language literature has long provided a solid basis for description and analysis of ideological, political and pedagogical practices associated with *éducation permanente* in France.<sup>17</sup> An abundant French literature addresses domestic policy debates concerning *éducation permanente* in the post-war period.<sup>18</sup> However, the development of *éducation permanente* in France has not been well served in the post-1980 English-language literature by non-French authors, particularly by adult education researchers.<sup>19</sup> Beyond schematic references to genealogies and the etymological origins of French terms, the scant recent English-language contributions are characterised by superficial references to the French-language historiography on *éducation permanente* in France.<sup>20</sup> Substantial works in English are from French authors.<sup>21</sup>

Regarding international dissemination and reception of the ideas, practices and policies associated with *éducation permanente*, the French and English literature has primarily focused on cultural mediation via intergovernmental organisations, particularly UNESCO. Most widely reported as evidence of ‘policy borrowing’ is the reception and ideological reworking of *éducation permanente* by UNESCO.<sup>22</sup> It proved remarkably difficult, however, to establish an English-language term for *éducation permanente*, UNESCO remaining, throughout the 1960s, the site of interminable terminological debates. UNESCO explored the cumbersome notion of ‘lifelong integrated education’,<sup>23</sup> until this ugly concept definitively made way for ‘lifelong education’ in the Faure Report in 1972.<sup>24</sup> An exemplary study in this respect remains the French-language exploration of the dissemination of *éducation permanente* in terms of

<sup>17</sup>Pierre Richard and Pierre Paquet, *L'éducation permanente et ses concepts périphériques: recherches documentaires* (Paris: Editions Cujas, 1973). References to 5654 French publications 1945 to 1971.

<sup>18</sup>Françoise Laot, *Contribution à l'histoire des institutions d'éducation des adultes. Le complexe de Nancy (CUCES-ACUCES/INFA), 1954–1973* (thèse de sciences de l'éducation, Université Paris X, 1998); Laot, *La formation des adultes. Histoire d'une utopie en acte. Le Complexe de Nancy*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999); Gilles Pinte, *De l'éducation permanente à la formation continue, la fin d'un mythe: le cas de la CFTC-CFDT (1919–2000)* (thèse de sciences de l'éducation), Université de Rennes 2, 2004); Laot, ‘Un modèle universitaire et régional de formation d'adultes dans les années 1960. L'épisode oublié des AUREFA et leur échec face à la loi de 1971’, *Éducation et sociétés* 24 (2009): 143–57; Laot, ‘Le CUCES-INFA ou “complexe de Nancy”, creuset d'innovations pour l'éducation permanente (1954–1973)’, *Éducation permanente* 198 (2014): 199–215; Laot and Emmanuel de Lescuré, eds., *Pour une histoire de la formation* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008); Yves Palazzeschi, *Introduction à une sociologie de la formation* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998).

<sup>19</sup>An early exception is: Colin Titmus, *Adult Education in France* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967).

<sup>20</sup>Maren Elfert, *UNESCO's Utopia of Lifelong Learning: An Intellectual History* (London: Routledge, 2018).

<sup>21</sup>Françoise Laot, ‘Focusing on the Idea of Permanent Education in France in the 1960s and its Progressive Decline’, in *Reworking Vocational Education: Policies, Practices and Concepts*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Katrin Kraus (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2009) 121–38; Laot, ‘Adult Learners in France in the 1960s: A Socio-historical Approach to “The Relationship to Knowledge”’, *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 29, no. 6 (2010): 665–77; Laot, ‘Collective Dimensions in Lifelong Education and Learning: Political and Pedagogical Reflections’, in *Challenging the ‘European Area of Lifelong*, ed. Learning George Zarifis and Maria Gravani (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 285–97.

<sup>22</sup>Jean-Claude Forquin, *Composantes doctrinales de l'idée d'éducation permanente, analyse thématique d'un corpus international l'UNESCO* (thèse de sciences de l'éducation, Université Paris V, 1978); Forquin, *Les composantes doctrinales de l'idée d'éducation permanente. Analyse thématique d'un corpus international UNESCO* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002); Forquin, ‘L'idée d'éducation permanente et son expression internationale depuis les années 1960’, *Savoirs* 3, no. 6 (2004): 9–44; Philippe Fritsch, ‘Les sciences humaines et sociales dans l'import-export de l'éducation permanente’, *Regards Sociologiques* 41–2 (2011): 15–34.

<sup>23</sup>Christopher Duke, ‘Towards *éducation permanente*: The Concept of Life-long Integrated Education’, *Australian Journal of Adult Education* 9, no. 3 (1969): 103–13.

<sup>24</sup>Faure et al., *Learning to Be*.

a cross-cultural analysis of ‘international’, ‘north American’ and ‘European’ discourses.<sup>25</sup>

As a rather loose translation of *éducation permanente*, the gestation, dissemination and reception of ‘permanent education’ has been predominantly reported in relation to CoE’s systematic policy development from 1965 to 1979.<sup>26</sup> The French-language literature, however, has virtually ignored CoE as a site disseminating *éducation permanente*. Sparse French references to CoE’s activities refer overwhelmingly to contributions by French nationals before 1970.<sup>27</sup> Despite well-documented evidence, well into the 1970s, of references to *éducation permanente* in France, together with CoE’s activities, during policy debates elsewhere in Europe – for example Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, United Kingdom – French-language sources have demonstrated a persistently parochial lack of interest in the transnational reception of *éducation permanente* in other European states after 1971.

On these grounds, this paper revisits the local, national, transnational and international circulation of ideas and practices associated with *éducation permanente* in France during the late 1950s and 1960s, together with the subsequent development of ‘permanent education’ by CoE from the early 1960s into the late 1970s. It explores the cross-cultural interactions and exchanges involved in the gestation, dissemination and reception of *éducation permanente* in France, and its subsequent cross-cultural mediation and reworking as ‘permanent education’ by the CoE.<sup>28</sup> Cultural practices involving the production, dissemination and reception of *éducation permanente* and permanent education are interpreted as socially organised activities that construct ‘policy narratives’ as ideological representations of arguments advocating the redistribution of educational opportunity structures throughout life.<sup>29</sup> These policy narratives are articulated by ‘policy actors’ at local, regional, national, transnational and international levels of government. Policy actors include national parliaments, political parties, ministries, advisory committees and experts, but also more diffuse non-governmental policy-relevant actors, such as employers’ associations, trade unions, educational institutions, popular education associations, voluntary associations, social movements, grass-roots organisations, local activists and public intellectuals.<sup>30</sup> Policy actors articulate their ideological positions in terms of ‘policy repertoires’ that specify discrete policy

<sup>25</sup>Gaston Pineau, *Éducation ou aliénation permanente – repères mythiques et politiques* (Montreal: Dunod, 1977).

<sup>26</sup>Denis Kallen, ‘Recurrent Education and Lifelong Learning: Definitions and Distinctions’, in *World Yearbook of Education 1979: Recurrent Education and Lifelong Learning*, ed. Tom Schuler and Jacquetta Megarry (London: Routledge, 1979), 45–56; Jean-Pierre Titz, ‘The Council of Europe’s “Permanent Education” Project’, *European Journal Vocational Training* 6 (1981): 43–7; Aulis Alanen, ‘Lifelong Education–Permanent Education–Recurrent Education’, *Adult Education in Finland* 19, no. 2 (1981): 3–41; Gérald Bogard, *Adult Education at the Council of Europe: Challenging the Future, 1960–93* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press, 1994); Vera Centano, ‘Lifelong Learning: A Policy Concept with a Long Past but a Short History’, *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 30, no. 2 (2011): 133–50; Mike Zapp, *Educating the World: International Organizations and the Construction of Lifelong Learning* (dissertation, Universität Koblenz-Landau, 2015).

<sup>27</sup>Forquin, ‘L’idée d’éducation permanente’, 20.

<sup>28</sup>Barry Hake and Françoise Laot, eds., *The Social Question and Adult Education European Perspectives in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009).

<sup>29</sup>Hendrik Wagenaar, *Meaning in Action: Interpretation and Dialogue in Policy Analysis* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015); Barry Hake, ‘Rewriting the History of Adult Education: The Search for Narrative Structures’, in *Adult Learning and Education*, ed. Kjell Rubenson (Oxford: Elsevier, 2010), 14–19.

<sup>30</sup>Umut Korkut, Gregg Bucken-Knapp, Robert Henry Cox and Kesi Mahendran, eds., *Discursive Governance in Politics, Policy, and the Public Sphere* (New York: Palgrave, 2015).

strategies, measures and instruments. These repertoires constitute partisan ‘social-political programmes’ of specific reform agendas in the public sphere.

Focusing on the ‘social organisation’ of the cultural production, dissemination and reception of policy repertoires, this paper specifically explores the national, transnational and European networks involved in mobilising domestic and cross-border support for the redistribution of educational opportunities throughout life. These national, transnational and international networks are regarded as ‘circulatory regimes’,<sup>31</sup> or ‘circuits of influence’,<sup>32</sup> which mediate reform aspirations, exchange of information and knowledge of innovative practices between national settings and transnational arenas. Policy actors operate within these circulatory regimes, at national and transnational levels, to communicate their arguments favouring ‘a long life of learning’, and to build transnational and international reform coalitions. The paper specifically focuses on ‘rooted cosmopolitans’ in national networks, whose regular policy-related activities require their involvement in transnational and international networks.<sup>33</sup> Attention is specifically devoted here to policy actors engaged in French domestic circles of influence during the development of *éducation permanente*, and their subsequent involvement in the transnational circulatory regimes associated with CoE’s work on permanent education.

This review of the literature refers to primary public sources, secondary sources published in the 1960s and 1970s, together with contributions to the historiography on this period of policy development in Western Europe. Following this introduction, section two explores domestic policy repertoires articulating *éducation permanente* in France from the mid-1950s until the mid-1960s. Section three traces the international dissemination of *éducation permanente* during the 1960s, and its subsequent adoption for policy development purposes by CoE as ‘permanent education’. In section four, an examination of *éducation permanente* during the political crisis of 1968 leads to an analysis of subsequent policy developments surrounding the 1971 law on paid educational leave. Section five focuses on the transnational dimension of CoE’s policy development of permanent education 1969 to 1979. In section six, contributions by French national networks are examined in relation to CoE’s transnational network from 1971 to 1979. The conclusions address the factors involved in the closure of this formative period in European education policies.

### French connections: *éducation permanente* as a *projet social*

Following the Second World War, the war-ravaged French nation embarked upon the complex tasks of political, economic, social and cultural reconstruction.<sup>34</sup> Economic recovery soon demonstrated shortages of skilled manpower in the labour market. In the Fourth Republic, successive governments articulated hesitant policy initiatives to improve workers’ qualifications and labour-market mobility through *promotion du travail* (work advancement).<sup>35</sup> Collective bargaining agreements between trade unions and employers

<sup>31</sup>Pierre-Yves Saunier, ‘Circulations, connexions et espaces transnationaux’, *Genèses* 57 (2004): 110–26.

<sup>32</sup>For ‘social organisation’ and ‘circle of influence’ see: Barry J. Hake, ‘The Making of Batavian Citizens: Social Organisation of Constitutional Enlightenment in The Netherlands, 1795–98’, *History of Education* 23, no. 4 (1994): 335–53.

<sup>33</sup>Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>34</sup>Michael Kelly, *The Cultural and Intellectual Rebuilding of France after the Second World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

<sup>35</sup>‘Promotion du Travail’, *Education in France* 15 (1961): 3–11.

focused on providing ‘second chance’ opportunities for adults to enrol in publicly provided formal adult education (*éducation des adultes*), and in-company training programmes.<sup>36</sup> By the early 1950s, rapid economic growth, technological change and reorganisation of work led to calls for measures to promote the acquisition of new skills. Public agencies articulated policy repertoires formulating the need for *recyclage* (retraining) of the French labour force. From 1959 onwards, government interventions in the Fifth Republic turned to *promotion sociale* (social advancement) with legislation regulating educational leave for manual workers, and trade union representatives.<sup>37</sup> Emphasis on updating of knowledge and skills laid the foundations for a policy repertoire articulating both ‘individual’ and ‘collective’ social advancement. In contrast to individual advancement, via education and vocational training, collective advancement was articulated by trade unions within an expansive understanding of vocational, civic and cultural advancement serving individuals, and the working class as a whole.<sup>38</sup> However, deep political divisions between proponents of ‘individual’ and ‘collective advancement’ soon became apparent.<sup>39</sup> During the mid-1960s, individual development gained the upper hand, when 1966 legislation extended training opportunities to include white-collar workers. Left-wing unions, particularly the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT), regarded this as undermining the policy repertoire of collective social advancement fundamental to *éducation permanente*.<sup>40</sup>

Constituting the back-bone of post-war *éducation populaire* (popular education), working-class cultural associations contributed to a second circuit of influence articulating arguments favouring *éducation permanente*.<sup>41</sup> Banned during the Vichy regime and German occupation, secular and confessional voluntary associations, including trade unions, reassumed responsibility for regeneration of cultural life in rural and, increasingly, urbanised working-class communities.<sup>42</sup> Leading organisations were the *Ligue de l’enseignement*, established in 1866 with militant Republican and anti-clerical roots,<sup>43</sup> and *Peuple et Culture*, with origins in the pre-war anti-fascist *Front Populaire* and the wartime resistance movement,<sup>44</sup> and links with roots in French ‘personalism’,<sup>45</sup> and Christian socialism (*socialisme chrétien*).<sup>46</sup> In the French tradition of workers’ education, this very diverse associational arena provided a variety of cultural, educational, sporting and leisure activities for working-class young people and adults.<sup>47</sup> Activities organised ranged from

<sup>36</sup>Claude Dubar, ‘De la “deuxième chance” au “co-investissement”: Brève histoire de la promotion sociale (1959–1993)’, in *La promotion sociale en France*, ed. Claude Dubar and Charles Gadéa (Lille: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1999), 31–50.

<sup>37</sup>Pierre Benoist, ‘Michel Debré et la formation professionnelle 1959–1971’, *Histoire de l’éducation* 101 (2004): 35–66.

<sup>38</sup>Guy Thuillier, *La Promotion Sociale* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1966), 7.

<sup>39</sup>Benoist, ‘Michel Debré’.

<sup>40</sup>Dubar, ‘De la “deuxième chance”’.

<sup>41</sup>Alejandro Tiana Ferrer, ‘The Concept of Popular Education Revisited – or What Do We Talk About When We Speak of Popular Education’, *Paedagogica Historica* 47, nos 1–2 (2011): 15–31.

<sup>42</sup>Jean-Marie Mignon, *Une histoire de l’Éducation populaire* (Paris: La Découverte, 2007).

<sup>43</sup>Jean-Paul Martin, *La Ligue de l’enseignement: une histoire politique, 1866–2016* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2016).

<sup>44</sup>Julian Jackson, *The Popular Front in France: Defending Democracy, 1934–38* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Brian Rigby, ‘The Reconstruction of Culture: Peuple et Culture and the Popular Education Movement’, in *The Culture of Reconstruction*, ed. Nicholas Hewitt (London: Palgrave, 1989) 140–52.

<sup>45</sup>Emmanuel Mounier, *A Personalist Manifesto* (London: Longmans, Green, 1938).

<sup>46</sup>Vincent Peillon, *Jean Jaurès et la religion du socialisme* (Paris: Grasset, 2000); Rigby, ‘The Reconstruction of Culture’, 149.

<sup>47</sup>Colin Titmus, ‘Education Populaire and the French State’, *Adult Education* 36, no. 1 (1963): 6–15; Titmus, *Adult Education in France* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967). In 1944 the *Direction de l’éducation des adultes et de l’éducation populaire* was created by the government. It was replaced in 1948 by *Direction générale de la jeunesse et des sports* indicating a change of political priorities.

youth clubs, scouting, hostels, physical education and sport to reading circles, film clubs, music, dance, choirs and amateur drama. In the post-war context, these popular education associations focused increasingly on promoting active use of increased leisure-time for educational and cultural purposes.<sup>48</sup> Regarding itself as a national movement for popular culture, *Peuple et Culture* advocated a militant narrative of cultural democratisation intended to ‘give culture back to the people and give the people back to culture’.<sup>49</sup> In mobilising working-class autodidactic culture,<sup>50</sup> the cultural work of these ‘civic educators’ was articulated in terms of their growing concerns with the development of the ‘affluent worker’, ‘consumer society’ and commercialised mass media in ‘entertainment society’ in French post-war society.<sup>51</sup> Priority was given to cultivating critical use of the mass media in consumer society, and critical consumption of television programmes. In addition to film, theatre and books, activities included critical collective viewing of television in ‘tele-clubs’. From the mid-1950s, this policy narrative was increasingly informed by the cultural implications of the changing organisation of work, particularly automation, the shorter working week and increasing leisure in post-industrial society. By the late 1960s, this policy repertoire, voicing a ‘culturalist’ version of *éducation permanente*,<sup>52</sup> was increasingly articulated in normative appeals for ‘balanced citizens’, able to adjust to ‘post-industrial’ society,<sup>53</sup> and deal with *adaptation permanente*, and disposed to actively take on civic responsibilities.<sup>54</sup>

As such, the term *éducation permanente* was first employed in 1955 during drafting of legislation to reform secondary education, including raising the school leaving-age to 16. It was used by Pierre Arents – a *Ligue de l’enseignement* activist – who, as an inspector of popular education, had been seconded to the Ministry of National Education as an advisor. With reference to his recent study-tour examining educational reforms in Sweden, Arents observed that some form of ‘permanent education of the nation’ was necessary to enable French citizens of all ages to deal with rapid social, economic and technological change.<sup>55</sup> An inspector of *éducation populaire*,<sup>56</sup> he was sceptical as to whether popular education enabled people to cope with rapid social change and cultural demands challenging them in *la vie urbaine* (urban society). He was convinced that *éducation des adultes* (adult education) provided by state schools was too formal, and too little. This led Arents to propose replacing existing legislation for post-initial education (*éducation post-scolaire*) and *éducation populaire* with an entirely new national system of provision for post-compulsory (*post-obligatoire*) education, to be known as *éducation permanente*. Not included in the 1955 draft law, Arents’ proposals were included in legislation proposed by a new socialist government in 1956, albeit emphasising continuing

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<sup>48</sup>Colin Titmus, ‘Professional Influence in Éducation Populaire’, *Adult Education* 39, no. 4 (1966): 229–33.

<sup>49</sup>Rigby, ‘The Reconstruction of Culture’, 140.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>51</sup>Joffre Dumazedier, *Vers une civilisation des loisirs* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1962).

<sup>52</sup>Paul Lengrand, *L’éducation permanente* (Paris: Peuple et Culture, 1966), *Un peuple, une culture* (Grenoble: Peuple et Culture, 1946).

<sup>53</sup>Alain Touraine, ‘Éducation Permanente et Société industrielle’, *Peuple et Culture* 68 (1970): 9–23.

<sup>54</sup>Jeremy Ahearne, *Intellectuals, Culture and Public Policy in France: Approaches from the Left* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010).

<sup>55</sup>Pierre Arents, (1959), ‘Loisirs et éducation permanente’, *Esprit* 274, no. 6 (1959): 1085–92.

<sup>56</sup>Arents was a specialist in educational television. See: Pierre Arents, ‘Télévision et éducation populaire’, *Cahiers d’Etudes de Radio-Télévision* 21 (1959): 42–50.

vocational education, and submitted to the *Assemblée nationale* in December 1956. In its annual report to IBE in 1956, the French government pointed out that:

There is thus also a great need to increase the opportunities for education after the usual period of schooling. All forms of further education must be developed in establishments providing education of a permanent nature, where the task will be: (a) to improve general and vocational education; (b) to assist in adapting, re-classifying and re-educating adults who are obliged to change their vocations on account of economic changes or technical progress; (c) to help workers improve their qualifications as well as their social and working status and enable the most promising to receive higher education.<sup>57</sup>

Further legislative action was not forthcoming, however, given the crisis in Algeria, the fall of the cabinet, collapse of the Fourth Republic and de Gaulle's resumption of power in the Fifth Republic in October 1958. Nonetheless, Arents had discussed his ideas in January in 1956 at a meeting of the *Ligue* held at its residential training centre, *Institut national d'éducation populaire* (INDP), at Marly-le-Roi. Annual conferences in 1957 and 1959, however, reaffirmed the *Ligue's* adoption of *éducation permanente* as key to its struggle to establish a system of post-compulsory education regulated by the French state. Confessional popular education associations suspected that secular associations insisted on state regulation of *éducation permanente*; they regarded this as a potentially totalitarian initiative.<sup>58</sup> Further conferences in 1961, 1962, 1967 and 1969 confirmed the *Ligue's* commitment to this 'statist' (*étatiste*) repertoire to develop public, secular and democratic provision of *éducation permanente* in close cooperation with the state. In 1967, the *Ligue's* hundredth anniversary, it was appropriately renamed *Ligue française de l'enseignement et de l'éducation permanente*.

From the late 1950s, a fourth circuit of influence became manifest among a coalition of progressive public and private employers, senior civil servants and public intellectuals, who embraced *éducation permanente* in response to advances in scientific knowledge and technological change.<sup>59</sup> Their analysis was informed by prospective studies of the so-called '*accélération*' of history – by the Centre International de Prospective created by Gaston Berger in 1957 – and social and educational consequences of projections of future 'post-industrial society'.<sup>60</sup> Leading spokesmen associated with this milieu – at the Ministry of Education, Berger was head of higher education while Jean Capelle was responsible for reform of secondary education – called for an entirely new architecture for French public education advocating radical proposals formulating 'schools for tomorrow'.<sup>61</sup> Given their shared analysis of *dirigisme* in public and private enterprises, rapid innovation, particularly automation, persistent skill shortages, structural unemployment and decline of traditional industries, this policy repertoire articulated the need for

<sup>57</sup> *International Yearbook of Education*, 160.

<sup>58</sup> Bernadette Aumont, 'La Vie nouvelle, un mouvement d'éducation adulte', *Éducateurs* 72, no. 6 (1957): 569–76.

<sup>59</sup> Jean Fourastié, *Les 40 000 heures* (Paris, Gonthier-Laffont, 1965); Debord, *Société du spectacle*.

<sup>60</sup> Gaston Berger, *L'homme moderne et son éducation* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1962); Berger et al., *Étapes de la prospective* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1967); Berger, 'Education et enseignement dans un monde en accélération', in Gaston Berger, *L'homme moderne et son éducation* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1967), 115–25.

<sup>61</sup> Jean Capelle, *L'école de demain reste à faire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1966); Capelle, *Tomorrow's Education: the French Experience* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967); Joseph Majault, *La révolution de l'enseignement*, (Paris: Laffont-Gonthier, 1967); Pierre Camusat, *L'éducation permanente: réussir avec ou sans diplôme* (Tournai: Editions Gamma, 1965); Henri Hartung, *Pour une éducation permanente* (Paris: Fayard, 1966); René Maheu, *La civilisation de l'universel* (Paris: Laffont Gonthier, 1966).

radical changes to education and training.<sup>62</sup> Including executives of public and private enterprises, for example Jean Chenevier at BP France, this repertoire demanded far-reaching state intervention to radically reform the entire French initial education system; expansion of post-initial education; and strengthening in-company training within both public and private enterprises.<sup>63</sup>

A fifth, increasingly influential, circuit of influence emerged based on the *Centre universitaire de coopération économique et sociale* (CUCES) (University Centre for Economic and Social Co-operation). Established in 1954 at the University of Nancy – by, among others, Jean Capelle, at the time Rector of Nancy – CUCES was responsible for promoting cooperation between businesses, research and continuing professional education. In 1960, Bertrand Schwartz, a mining engineer and head of the *École des Mines* in Nancy, was appointed as its director. Responding to the closure of coalmines in north-eastern France,<sup>64</sup> he redirected its activities towards community development projects addressing problems confronting companies and workers in local communities.<sup>65</sup> During a visit to the United States in 1960, Schwartz became acquainted with the American variant – *le courant Américain*<sup>66</sup> – among Anglo-Saxon traditions of university extension, community development, adult education and, above all, self-directed learning.<sup>67</sup> At CUCES, adult education methods were increasingly regarded as models for reforming primary, secondary and higher education as learning resources available to local communities.<sup>68</sup> Schwartz later argued that *éducation permanente* was synonymous with adult education, when this involved innovative forms of self-directed, non-formal and informal learning for all ages.<sup>69</sup>

Schwartz's work was also influenced by the development, during the 1960s in the Netherlands, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the United States, of 'andragogy' understood as the art and science of adult learning, or *pédagogie des adultes*.<sup>70</sup> Key concepts in Schwartz's reformulation of andragogy as included individual and collective learning, *autogestion* (self-management), *autoformation* (self-directed learning) and *autodidaxie* (autodidactic learning). CUCES's projects stressed self-management of educational activities by groups of learners; they should at least participate in decision-making about the learning activities undertaken. These ideas were developed in projects investigating how adults in local communities – particularly those with few formal

<sup>62</sup>Raymond Vatier, *Développement de l'entreprise et promotion des hommes* (Paris: Editions de l'entreprise moderne, 1960).

<sup>63</sup>Jean Chenevier, *L'éducation permanente* (Paris: Centre de recherche et d'études des chefs d'entreprise, 1969), Cahier 13; Chenevier, *La collaboration Université-industrie* (Paris: Centre de recherche et d'études des chefs d'entreprise, 1969) Cahiers du CRC, no. 16.

<sup>64</sup>Lucie Tanguy, 'Reconversion industrielle ou conversion culturelle dans un bassin minier de Lorraine au milieu des années 1960', *Sociétés contemporaines* 35 (1999): 43–70.

<sup>65</sup>Laot, 'Collective dimensions'.

<sup>66</sup>Pineau, *Éducation ou aliénation?* 75–105.

<sup>67</sup>Bertrand Schwartz, 'De la formation des ingénieurs à l'éducation permanente de tous adultes', *Prospective* 6 (1960): 15–34; Schwartz, 'Adult Education and the University', *Education in France* 15 (1961):13–24.

<sup>68</sup>Françoise Laot, 'Le rapport à l'école en formation d'adultes dans les années 60: l'exemple du CUCES-INFA de Nancy', *Recherche & Formation* 35, no. 1 (2000): 195–208.

<sup>69</sup>Bertrand Schwartz, 'Reflexions sur le developement de l'éducation permanente', *Revue française de pédagogie* 4 (1968): 32–44.

<sup>70</sup>With regard to 'andragogie', see *ibid.*, 34–7; Suzanne Dumont-Henry and Gaston Pineau, 'Repères sur l'andragogie et l'éducation permanente en Amérique anglophone', in Pineau, *Éducation ou aliénation?*, 78–84; Nicole Anne Tremblay, *L'autoformation: pour apprendre autrement* (Montréal: les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2003). See also: John Alexander Simpson, 'Andragogy', *Adult Education* 37, no. 4 (1964): 186–94. Simpson was actively engaged in the Council of Europe's project on *éducation permanente*.

qualifications and unhappy experiences of initial education – could learn to change their disrupted working and social lives.<sup>71</sup> Schwartz was convinced that problematic situations confronting individuals resulted from structural imbalances in social and economic life rather than individual inadequacies, and that learning should be a collective endeavour.<sup>72</sup> Collective education actions (*action collectives de formation*) mobilised not only mine-workers, but also their wives and families.<sup>73</sup> This strategy contributed significantly to a policy repertoire articulating *éducation permanente* as self-management (*autogestion*) of collective and/or individual learning activities constituting *autoformation*.

These five distinctive policy repertoires advocating *éducation permanente* identified here were rooted in different ideological understandings of modernising the economy, social-cultural challenges confronting different sections of the population, and the promotion of more equal opportunities for social advancement. *Éducation permanente* was articulated by quite distinctive circles of influence voicing the respective virtues of social promotion, associational life, post-initial education, post-industrial society and self-management as social renewal strategies. From the mid-1950s onwards, hesitant public policy formation and innovative practices were shaped by a rich variety of policy actors articulating distinctive, often conflicting, repertoires addressing the need to redistribute educational opportunities throughout life. By the mid-1960s, a broadly based *mouvement social* had been mobilised articulating arguments favouring *éducation permanente* and promoting specific reform strategies.<sup>74</sup> Advocating *éducation permanente*, the rich veins of these social-political programmes contributed to a social movement bridging different institutional milieux, policy fields and organisational settings.<sup>75</sup>

Mediation between these diverse national circuits of influence was enhanced by the French state's corporatist practice of appointing key public intellectuals – for example Arents, Berger, Capelle, Delors, Dumazedier, Schwartz, Vatier – from academic life, popular associations, trade unions and the world of business to key advisory positions as *conseillers* to Ministers of State, and to senior positions as *haut fonctionnaires* in government departments. Continuities and discontinuities between these different national networks were enhanced by a significant feature of the French policy landscape, whereby leading advocates of different ideological currents had multiple memberships in different national networks bridging different organisational sites, or *mondes*, in their advocacy of *éducation permanente*.<sup>76</sup> While leading spokesmen of these circulatory regimes advocating *éducation permanente* could agree on the principle of social advancement as a right of all French citizens, they were, nonetheless, fundamentally divided, in the longer term, on the crucial issue of individual or collective social advancement, as the period 1968 to 1971 was to demonstrate.

<sup>71</sup>Christian de Montlibert, *L'institutionnalisation de la formation permanente* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1991).

<sup>72</sup>Laot, 'Adult Learners in France in the 1960s'.

<sup>73</sup>Françoise Laot, 'La promotion sociale des femmes. Le retournement d'une politique de formation dans les années 1960', *Le mouvement social* 232 (2010): 29–45; Laot, 'Collective Dimensions', 293–4.

<sup>74</sup>Lucie Tanguy, 'Un mouvement social pour la formation permanente en France (1945–1970)', *Education Permanente* 149 (2001): 11–28.

<sup>75</sup>Jeremy Ahearne, 'Public Intellectuals within a "Multiple Streams" Model of the Cultural Policy Process: Notes from a French Perspective', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 12, no. 1 (2006): 1–15.

<sup>76</sup>Forquin, *Les composantes doctrinale*.

## Border-crossings: *éducation permanente* encounters the Council of Europe

In an intergovernmental policy context, ‘permanent education’ was first used in 1959 during a Council of Europe (CoE) seminar, in Paris, devoted to migrant workers and foreign-language learning.<sup>77</sup> Established in 1949, CoE was responsible for pan-European activities regarding human rights and cultural heritage.<sup>78</sup> Anticipating transfer of the Western European Union’s cultural and educational activities to CoE in 1960, the Dutch Minister of Education had invited Ministers from the other six member states of the Western European Union to meet for the first time in 1959 in The Hague. With the intention to discuss common problems and their plans for educational reform, this was the first in a long-standing series of biennial meetings of European ministers of education.<sup>79</sup> To implement its new responsibilities, the CoE established the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC) in 1961 for pan-European policies in the fields of education, culture, media, sport and youth. CCC members comprised government representatives from member states, the European Cultural Foundation (ECF) located in Amsterdam, and senior CCC officials. Day-to-day work was carried out by three standing committees for higher education and research, general and technical education, and out-of-school education and cultural development. The standing committee for out-of-school education was organised in three sections for sport, youth and adult education. Governance of CCC’s work resided with CoE’s Standing Conference of Ministers of Education, and CoE’s Parliamentary Assembly comprising members delegated by the elected parliaments in member states.<sup>80</sup>

During a 1962 debate concerning educational television, CoE’s Standing Conference of Ministers of Education referred to *éducation permanente* in a resolution recommending use of ‘tele-teaching’ as a form of ‘permanent education of adults’.<sup>81</sup> Responding to policy developments in member states, for example *télé-enseignement* in France, *Televisie Academie* in Netherlands, and the so-called University of the Air in the United Kingdom in 1963,<sup>82</sup> CCC agreed in 1965 to debate the policy implications of permanent education.<sup>83</sup> Held in 1966, the debate recognised the influence of permanent education in the efforts by member states to extend learning throughout life.<sup>84</sup> CCC appointed a working group of experts, and a European conference ‘New Trends in Adult Education’, at Marly le Roi in 1967, marked CCC’s official policy engagement with *éducation permanente*.<sup>85</sup> A Parliamentary Assembly resolution, in 1968, determined that CCC’s out-of-school

<sup>77</sup>John Trim, *Modern Languages in the Council of Europe, 1954–1997: International Co-operation in Support of Lifelong Language Learning for Effective Communication, Mutual Cultural Enrichment and Democratic Citizenship in Europe* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2007).

<sup>78</sup>Birte Wassenberg, *History of the Council of Europe* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2013).

<sup>79</sup>Anthony Haigh, *A Ministry of Education for Europe* (London: Harrap, 1970).

<sup>80</sup>Etienne Grosjean, *40 Years of Cultural Co-operation 1954–1994* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1997).

<sup>81</sup>Resolution No. 4 on use of television in education, 3rd Standing Conference of Ministers of Education of Council of Europe, Rome, October 8–13, 1962.

<sup>82</sup>Pete Dorey, “Well, Harold Insists on Having It!” – The Political Struggle to Establish The Open University, 1965–67’, *Contemporary British History* 29, no. 2 (2014): 241–72.

<sup>83</sup>Henri Dieuzeide, *La télévision éducative et culturelle. Contribution du Conseil de l’Europe (1960–1965)* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1966).

<sup>84</sup>*Débat général sur l’éducation permanente et ses implications sur l’enseignement* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1966).

<sup>85</sup>‘New Trends in Adult Education’, *Notes and Studies* 39–40 (1967): 31–51.

education division would henceforth focus on permanent education as the basis of educational and cultural policies.<sup>86</sup> Fifteen studies were commissioned, both theoretical reflections and national studies, which laid the foundations for CCC's policy repertoire. This argued the serious limitations of front-loaded systems of formal initial education in preparing the young for adult life, and that popular education and adult education should have equal recognition. Henri Janne, chairing the experts, argued that the entire education system required radical reform with more opportunities to return to learning throughout life.<sup>87</sup>

French contributions included two by Schwartz – a prospective study on permanent education, and one on continuing education of adults;<sup>88</sup> informal educational activities promoting social advancement of young people and adults in France;<sup>89</sup> ongoing and potential impacts of innovations in adult education for initial education;<sup>90</sup> adults' learning motivations;<sup>91</sup> and the psychology of maturation.<sup>92</sup> Further contributions comprised national studies addressing recurrent education in Sweden;<sup>93</sup> adult education in Federal Germany;<sup>94</sup> funding of adult education in Norway;<sup>95</sup> adult education in Denmark;<sup>96</sup> community development in England and Wales;<sup>97</sup> cultural action and social change in The Netherlands;<sup>98</sup> and social and economic pressures conducive to adult learning in Italy.<sup>99</sup> Following a Parliamentary Assembly resolution in 1969,<sup>100</sup> CCC published these 15 expert papers as the CoE's contribution to UNESCO's International Education Year in 1970.<sup>101</sup>

CCC's critique of traditional front-loaded educational systems was discussed at CoE's 1969 Standing Conference of Ministers, in Paris, where Olaf Palme, Swedish Minister of Education, addressed reform of upper secondary education, targeting the 16–19 age group, and recurrent education.<sup>102</sup> Edgar Faure, French minister for

<sup>86</sup>Recommendation 516 on the function and future of the Council of Europe, Assembly Debate on February 1, 1968.

<sup>87</sup>Henri Janne, *Permanent Education, An Agent of Change in the Present Education System* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1969).

<sup>88</sup>Bertrand Schwartz, *A Prospective View of Permanent Education* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1969); Schwartz, *Continuing Education for Adults* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1969).

<sup>89</sup>Jean Capelle, *The Development of Permanent Education in France* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1968).

<sup>90</sup>Louis Cros et al., *Impact on the School of Innovations in Out-of-School Education* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1968).

<sup>91</sup>Abraham Moles and François Muller, *Adult Motivations to Thought Structuralisation* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1968).

<sup>92</sup>Georges Lanteri-Laura, *Psycho-Sociological Research into the Paths and Phases of Intellectual Maturation and the Desire for Knowledge* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1968).

<sup>93</sup>Ulf Larsson, *Permanent Education in Sweden* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1969).

<sup>94</sup>Hans Tietgens, *Permanent Education in Federal Republic of Germany* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1969).

<sup>95</sup>Kjell Eide, *Permanent Education in Norway: Reflections on Post-Work Education* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation 1969).

<sup>96</sup>Werner Rasmussen, *Concept of Permanent Education and Its Application in Denmark* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1969).

<sup>97</sup>John Simpson, *Permanent Education in England and Wales* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1969).

<sup>98</sup>Herman Frese, *Permanent Education: A Strategy of Social Change* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1969).

<sup>99</sup>Franco Bonacina, *Sociological Motivations and Cultural Prospects of Permanent Education in Italy* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1969).

<sup>100</sup>Resolution 422 on UNESCO International Year of Education, Parliamentary Assembly, 1969.

<sup>101</sup>*Permanent Education: A Compendium of Studies Commissioned by the Council for Cultural Co-operation, a Contribution to the United Nations International Education Year* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1970).

<sup>102</sup>Kjell Rubenson, 'Recurrent Education Policy in Sweden: A Moving Target', *International Review of Education* 40, nos 3–5 (1994): 245–56.

National Education, presented the concept of permanent education.<sup>103</sup> The Ministers' final resolution agreed on 'the urgent need to consider various patterns of post-secondary education suited to the changing needs of society'.<sup>104</sup> During the 1970 Parliamentary Assembly's debate on CCC's work, Jean Capelle, chair of the Assembly's committee on Culture and Education, reported his committee's positive findings.<sup>105</sup> He argued 'the need for a review of the traditional features of education, starting not merely towards the end but from the beginning of schooling ... we must rethink the system of formal education in its entirety'.<sup>106</sup> A Parliamentary Assembly resolution agreed that 'CCC work out a system of permanent education to be proposed to member states'.<sup>107</sup> CCC was invited to draw up a development plan for the 1970s, which would monitor and evaluate 'pilot experiments' in member states.

### 'Reconversion d'une utopie': from collective emancipation to individual educational leave

In the meantime, the *éducation permanente* repertoire developed by CUCES during the 1960s had not involved a new profession of adult educators in France; quite the reverse was the case.<sup>108</sup> Schwartz was convinced that the workers should themselves become 'change agents', responsible both for their own learning, and for their own lives.<sup>109</sup> He regarded the work of trainers as a 'civic duty' involving a *mobilisation générale pour l'instruction générale* (general mobilisation for general education).<sup>110</sup> This involved the refusal to create a new profession of full-time adult educators, but stressed the mobilisation of 'occasional trainers', preferably active trade unionists, who became 'organisers of learning situations'.<sup>111</sup> This was also influential after Schwartz was appointed director of the new *Institut National pour la Formation des Adultes* (INFA) in 1963, with the task of developing a national programme to implement *éducation permanente*. Its militant repertoire of 'occasional trainers' training 'occasional trainers' within a more general strategy of social change at the local level influenced *éducation permanente* activities in France throughout the 1960s.<sup>112</sup> Supported by the Ministry of National Education, INFA's work contributed to social mobilisation at local and national levels during the 1960s. Many *Peuple et Culture* cadre-members, and other

<sup>103</sup>Bengtson reports that Faure 'presented the concept of permanent education, but without a strategy how it could be implemented'. Jarl Bengtson, 'National Strategies for Implementing Lifelong Learning (ILL) – The Gap between Policy and Reality: An International Perspective', *International Review of Education* 59, no. 3 (2013): 343–52.

<sup>104</sup>Resolution No. 94 on educational opportunity for all: evolution prospects and implications for educational policy, 6th session, Standing Conference of Ministers of Education of Council of Europe, Versailles, May 20–2, 1969.

<sup>105</sup>Now a retired civil servant, Jean Capelle was elected 1968–1973 as *député* (member of parliament) for the left-centre *Union des démocrates pour la République*.

<sup>106</sup>Parliamentary Assembly debate, September 22, 1970 (15th Sitting), referring to document 2817, report of the Committee on Culture and Education, 522.

<sup>107</sup>Recommendation 611 on permanent education in Parliamentary Assembly, September 22, 1970.

<sup>108</sup>Emmanuel de Lescure, 'Question sociale et métier de formateur: le refus du salariat 1965–2000', in Hake and Laot, *The Social Question*, 183–94; Françoise Laot, 'La formation de formateurs à Nancy dans les années soixante', in *La formation des formateurs d'adultes*, ed. Dominique Fablet (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 121–44.

<sup>109</sup>Lescure, *Les formateurs d'adultes, un groupe professionnel incertain: Marché du travail et professionnalisation* (thèse de doctorat de sociologie, Université de Provence, 2005).

<sup>110</sup>Schwartz quoted in de Lescure, 'Question sociale', 187.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, 189.

<sup>112</sup>Lescure, *Les formateurs d'adultes, un groupe professionnel incertain*.

activists, were involved in CUCUS/INFA activities. This so-called ‘Nancy school’ comprised a mix of Anglo-Saxon inspiration and traditional *éducation populaire* impulses. By 1968, the CUCUS/INFA network employed 150 full-time staff engaged in training change agents throughout France.<sup>113</sup>

CUCUS/INFA’s repertoire of *éducation permanente* as social action encountered its peak and nemesis during the May 1968 uprising in France. Mass meetings of teachers and educational researchers at Caen (1966) and Amiens (1968) had placed widespread dissatisfaction with social inequalities in secondary and higher education on the radical political agenda of *éducation permanente*.<sup>114</sup> In May, militant adult educators working for INFA questioned whether they should be ‘police agents’ or ‘change agents’; posters to this effect appeared on walls throughout France. After INFA-trained activists joined students and workers on the streets, it became increasingly identified as a bastion of ‘leftist practices’. On 25 May, a debate initiated by directors of *maisons de la culture* about public theatres’ contribution to *éducation populaire* led to the *Déclaration de Villeurbanne*. INFA militants were called upon to focus on mobilising the ‘non-public’, particularly the low-qualified, who had not benefited from their initial education, and were not responsive to ‘mere diffusion of knowledge’.<sup>115</sup>

During this volatile period, Edgar Faure, appointed Minister of National Education following the May events, invited Schwartz to assume responsibility for reform of higher education. Schwartz refused, but became *conseiller* (chief adviser) for reform of the entire education system. His appointment manifested commitment to radical reforms from pre-school to university level. A major success in November 1968 was the *Loi d’orientation* recognising universities’ responsibilities to implement *éducation permanente* by recognising rights of adults, including those without qualifications, to enrol in higher education. Schwartz was also instrumental in 1969 in establishing the journal *Éducation permanente*, a joint initiative by the CUCES–INFA network. In the first number, Schwartz pronounced that *éducation permanente* made it possible for all citizens to become agents of change, better able to understand the technical, social and cultural worlds in which they lived, and to change the structures determining their lives.<sup>116</sup> In 1969, Schwartz was also involved in establishing regional university associations for adult education and training (AUREFA) within a national network for university extension. Created by government decree, they were doomed, however, from the start; the political tide was turning against radical policy change.<sup>117</sup> Schwartz increasingly distanced himself from INFA, resigning in 1969;<sup>118</sup> both CUCES and INFA were eventually disbanded in 1973. Following de Gaulle’s resignation in 1969, Olivier Guichard, a Gaullist technocrat, replaced Faure, and Schwartz henceforth worked with Raymond Vatier – previously responsible for training at Renault and as Guichard’s adviser on vocational guidance, and subsequently director of *formation*

<sup>113</sup>Laot, ‘La formation de formateurs’.

<sup>114</sup>André Robert, ‘Autour de mai 1968, la pédagogie en question. Le colloque d’Amiens’, *Les Sciences de l’éducation* 41, no. 3 (2008): 27–45.

<sup>115</sup>Emmanuelle Loyer, ‘1968, l’an I du tout culturel?’, *Revue d’histoire* 98, no. 2 (2008): 101–11.

<sup>116</sup>Bertrand Schwartz, ‘Pour une éducation permanente’, *Education Permanente* 1, no. 1 (1969): 65–86.

<sup>117</sup>Laot, ‘La formation de formateurs’.

<sup>118</sup>Schwartz’s tense relationship with INFA is evidenced by his concluding remarks in the report of a national conference organised by INFA October 29–31, 1968. *Education et Formation des Adultes en France*, mimeo (Nancy: Institut National pour la Formation des Adultes, France), 220.

*continue*.<sup>119</sup> In February 1973, the Ministry of Education established an *Agence nationale pour le développement de l'éducation permanente* to encourage public educational institutions to offer part-time and distance courses intended to promote individual and collective mobility.

In the post-1968 policy arena, however, major reform initiatives came from the Ministry of Social Affairs, rather than the Ministry of National Education. Restoration of collective bargaining in July 1970 resulted in agreement on continuing vocational education and training, followed in 1971 by a law on *formation continue* recognising education and training within enterprises as the legal framework for implementing *éducation permanente*.<sup>120</sup> Recognised as the father of this law, Jacques Delors was chief adviser for social advancement and *éducation permanente* to the Prime Minister, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, from 1969 to 1973.<sup>121</sup> According to the law, continuing vocational training contributed to permanent education because it enabled workers to adapt to changing techniques and conditions of work. Social mobility was promoted by access to different levels of cultural and vocational qualifications, enabling workers to contribute to cultural, economic and social development. The 1971 law represented a further step towards legal recognition of individual employees' rights to *congé individuel de formation* (paid educational leave) funded by employers' financial contributions, which had first been agreed in 1966. However, it replaced collective arrangements for social advancement of the working class, which had dominated trade unions' policy repertoires regarding *promotion sociale* throughout the 1960s.<sup>122</sup> The 1971 law marked a major rupture in the development of *éducation permanente* in France;<sup>123</sup> for many it constituted a 'reconversion d'une utopie'.<sup>124</sup> It was a turning point leading to erosion of the broadly based social movement supporting *éducation permanente* as a collective *projet social* to radically change French education and society.<sup>125</sup>

Political closure of the 'utopian' phase of *éducation permanente* in France gave rise to a significant domestic intellectual diaspora of 'displaced persons', who had articulated increasingly radical policy repertoires throughout the 1960s. At national level, these erstwhile missionaries of the cause in France subsequently took up positions in progressive enterprises, higher education, or as public intellectuals contributing to newspapers, books and journals. Among different potential transnational and intergovernmental policy arenas, CoE's project on permanent education turned out to be an inviting site for the French 'cosmopolitan diaspora', who remained committed to *éducation permanente* as a mission.

### CoE as a transnational policy arena: pilot experiments in member states

Following Parliamentary Assembly approval in 1970, CCC's 1971 development plan, *Fundamentals of an integrated educational policy*, argued that permanent education was

<sup>119</sup>Raymond Vasier, *Ouvrir l'école aux adultes: une mission originale à l'Éducation nationale: 1970–1974* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008).

<sup>120</sup>Charles Vincent, 'De l'accord de juillet 1970 à la loi de 1971: l'échec d'un paritarisme négocié dans la formation professionnelle continue', *La Revue de l'IREC* 24 (1997): 153–73.

<sup>121</sup>Jacques Delors, *Changer* (Paris: Stock, 1975).

<sup>122</sup>Alain Drouard, 'A propos du développement de l'éducation permanente en France', *Paedagogica Europaea* 9, no. 2 (1974): 76–84.

<sup>123</sup>Guy Brucy, Pascal Caillaud, Emmanuel Quenson and Lucie Tanguy, *Former pour Réformer. Retour sur la formation permanente (1945–2004)* (Paris: La Découverte, 2007).

<sup>124</sup>Forquin, *Les composantes doctrinale*.

<sup>125</sup>Jean-Pierre Le Goff, 'L'érosion des idéaux de l'éducation permanente', *Education Permanente* 129 (1996): 29–33.

required to promote equality of educational opportunities throughout life.<sup>126</sup> A steering committee was appointed to supervise a programme of research and development activities in member states. Three fundamental policy principles were formulated: 'equalisation', 'participation' and 'globalisation'. 'Equalisation' involved cultural democracy open to all citizens irrespective of their initial educational experience and position in society. 'Participation' stressed active participation in social and cultural life, direct democracy in local communities, and self-management. 'Globalisation' addressed distribution of learning opportunities recurrently throughout life. CCC proposed in-depth studies of pilot projects to monitor local experiments in member states. The working hypothesis was that permanent education involved 'recurrent education' in flexible systems of 'alternation' between education and social activities, including work experience, embedded in the lives of citizens in local communities.<sup>127</sup> In contrast to OECD's ongoing work on recurrent education involving periods of participation in study and work in post-initial education, CCC's pilot projects were specifically intended also to explore the implications of self-managed permanent education for initial education.<sup>128</sup>

Bertrand Schwartz was appointed project director in 1972, while Jean-Joseph Scheffknecht, an expert in *éducation populaire* from Nancy, was appointed to coordinate field research. Six pilot projects were selected from 12 proposals submitted by member states. Ten more were selected in 1973 from 30 national proposals; five more pilots were added in 1974; in total there were 21 pilot projects.<sup>129</sup> Selected pilots involved pre-school, primary, secondary education, and adult education institutions to local communities.<sup>130</sup> Despite formal exclusion of higher education, the Open University in the United Kingdom was included, on the grounds that it provided second-chance and second-way opportunities for adults unable to satisfy formal university entrance requirements.<sup>131</sup> Three categories of adult education pilots were identified, which specifically reiterated the structural distinction between individual and collective advancement in the French national debates about *éducation permanente*. These were: (a) individual education for individual advancement, including the Open University; (b) individual education for collective advancement, for example training of trade union officials as change agents in Belgium; and (c) collective education for collective advancement, involving community development projects in rural areas of France and Italy. Visits to the local pilots, lasting three to five days, involved data collection, field observations and discussions with local stakeholders.

With educational provision for the 16–19 age group high on European policy agendas, the 1973 Standing Conference of Ministers was devoted to this topic. Janne

<sup>126</sup> *Permanent Education: Fundamentals for an Integrated Educational Policy* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1970).

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>128</sup> *Permanent Education: The Basis and Essentials* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1973).

<sup>129</sup> Pilot projects selected were nominated by the governments of Belgium, France, the German Federal Republic, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

<sup>130</sup> Adult education projects selected were: trade union education (Belgium); cultural development (Switzerland); educational television in rural development (France); collective permanent education (France); community development (Italy); industrial democracy (Norway); folk high schools (the Netherlands); outreach work of study circles (Sweden); Open University (UK).

<sup>131</sup> Brian Groombridge, *Television and the People: A Programme for Democratic Participation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972); Groombridge, *Television and Participation* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1973); Hermann Frese, *Permanent Education Pilot Experiments: The British Open University as a Contribution to Permanent Education* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1973).

and Lucien Géminard – Director of the French National Institute for Educational Research and Documentation – prepared an analytical report, based on country reports.<sup>132</sup> Janne argued that ‘The education of the 16 to 19 age group needs to be thought out afresh, not in traditional terms as the final phase of school life, but rather as the first phase of permanent education’.<sup>133</sup> With reference to the de-schooling debate (*descolarisation*), he proposed that, ‘“De-schooling” in the sense of an end to the classroom system appears to be essential from the age of 15 or 16... We are faced here with a real change ... particularly if the higher secondary level is regarded as the first phase in permanent education’.<sup>134</sup> The Ministers appear to have agreed; CoE, OECD and UNESCO were invited ‘to promote and pursue studies and research on the needs of the 16 to 19 age group’.<sup>135</sup>

An interim report on the pilots in 1974<sup>136</sup> constituted CCC’s contribution to the 1975 Standing Conference of Ministers of Education in Stockholm. Devoted to OECD’s policy development of recurrent education,<sup>137</sup> part one of CCC’s report argued that recurrent education would necessarily involve reform of initial education to enable schools to act as resources for community development at local level. Part two, on the pilots, argued that ‘it is not possible radically to alter the education system without modifying socio-political structures’, while also pointing out that ongoing changes in socio-political structures made radical reform of education inevitable.<sup>138</sup> Part three pointed out that permanent education ‘recognises the need to make adult education an integral part of the general education system while at the same time developing its special aspects’.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, to implement this, CCC argued that paid educational leave should become a social right for all citizens. This would involve state responsibility for institutional and financial policy instruments. Ministers concluded that while recurrent education primarily concerned the post-secondary sector, it formed ‘an indispensable part of broader socio-economic and cultural policies for translating the concept of permanent education into practice’.<sup>140</sup> To counter growing social inequalities, the Ministers’ resolution asked member states to pay more attention to the needs of the 16–19 age group. It also recommended active outreach policies for the socially and educationally disadvantaged; opportunities to resume education in later life; individual rights to PEL; a coherent balance between funding of youth and adult education; and coordination of education, social welfare and employment policies.

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<sup>132</sup>Henri Janne and Lucien Geminard, *The Educational Needs of the 16–19 Age Group* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1973).

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup>Resolution No. 1 on the educational needs of the 16 to 19 age group, 8th session, Standing Conference of Ministers of Education of the Council of Europe, Berne, June 5–7, 1973.

<sup>136</sup>Steering group on permanent education: Interim Report on the evaluation of pilot experiments (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1974).

<sup>137</sup>*Permanent Education, a Framework for Recurrent Education: Theory and Practice* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1975).

<sup>138</sup>*Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>139</sup>*Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>140</sup>Resolution No. 1 on recurrent education, 9th session, Standing Conference of Ministers of Education of Council of Europe, Stockholm, Sweden, June 9–12, 1975.

In 1977, Schwartz presented an interim evaluation of CCC's pilot projects,<sup>141</sup> which argued that permanent education involved bringing schools closer in touch with communities, and particularly with working life.<sup>142</sup> This was at the core of both of his major publications in this period, *L'éducation demain*, for the ECF's ambitious Plan Europe 2000 project,<sup>143</sup> and *Une autre école*, in 1977, which addressed the domestic political agenda in France.<sup>144</sup> Vehemently opposed to central control of top-down innovation strategies, Schwartz argued that permanent education involved the mobilisation of educational resources at local level. He advocated the 'educational district', where inhabitants develop educational networks utilising educational, cultural and social resources – schools, adult education, vocational training, workplaces, mass media, museums, libraries, voluntary associations, social welfare services – to promote learning throughout life in the community. Democratically organised self-managing educational districts – each with a population of 50,000 – were best equipped to respond to social and economic 'discontinuities' that characterised the day-to-day lives of individuals, families, neighbourhoods and local communities.<sup>145</sup> Schwartz regarded the educational district – a decentralised territorial and organisational space for experimentation with equalisation, participation and globalisation – as the key political structure for implementing the *projet de pratique* (practical project) of permanent education.

Relationships between initial education and local communities were key to the 1977 Standing Conference of Ministers, which discussed a report on CCC's work in the period 1971–1977, on schools as educational resources for local communities. The report argued, 'Never in its history has the school as an institution been on such irritable terms with its surroundings'.<sup>146</sup> Focusing attention on re-establishing community confidence in schools, the CCC report argued for flexible coordination of national reform strategies with more room for local initiatives. Following a vigorous debate on centralised structures, innovation, decentralisation and local autonomy, ministers failed to reach a unanimous resolution. Instead, they issued a 'statement' pointing out that 'It would be a mistake, however, to underestimate the problems arising out of the introduction of such systems, and it is therefore important that the CCC should be able to continue the work of comparison and analysis that it has already undertaken in this connection'.<sup>147</sup> This obvious delaying tactic suggests widespread disagreement with CCC's proposals to decentralise decision-making to the local level, the core of Schwartz's proposals on the self-managed educational district.

<sup>141</sup>Bertrand Schwartz, *Work of Consolidation of the Evaluation of Pilot Experiments in the Permanent Education Field* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1977).

<sup>142</sup>See for reports of visits to pilot projects: James Simpson, *Socio-cultural Community Development for a Common Type of Housing Area* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1975); Bertrand Schwartz, *Report on the Visit to the Comprehensive and Community Schools in Ireland* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1975).

<sup>143</sup>Bertrand Schwartz, *L'éducation demain* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1973); Schwartz, *Permanent Education* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974).

<sup>144</sup>Bertrand Schwartz, *Une autre école* (Paris: Flammarion, 1977).

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.

<sup>146</sup>Paul Vanbergen, *The School in its Relations with the Community* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1977).

<sup>147</sup>Statement on the school in its relations with the community, 10th Session of Standing Conference of Ministers of Education of Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France, June 28–30, 1977.

In 1978, a final integral report on CCC's pilots, by Schwartz and Anne Blignieres, focused on the three basic principles: equalisation, participation and globalisation.<sup>148</sup> Analysing tensions between education for individual and collective development in the lives of individuals and communities, they reiterated Schwartz's core understanding of permanent education as a socio-political strategy to mobilise learners as citizens to become agents of change at local level. They argued that by working both individually and collectively to get things done, people can learn to change their lives and their communities in the face of economic and social change. The final report articulated Schwartz's long-standing understanding of the relationship with 'knowledge', not as 'knowledge to perform', but as 'knowledge to act'.<sup>149</sup> This comprised a critique of individual certification and formal qualifications as symbolic of 'individual advancement', and it raised fundamental questions about individual performativity in the workplace. In conclusion, the report returned to Schwartz's conception of *le district* (educational district) as the most appropriate local structure for mobilising all potential learning resources in communities. Drawing on the evidence established by the pilot projects, the final report argued that the educational district should be the locus for the collective *mobilisation éducative* (educational mobilisation). This mobilisation at local level would claim the democratic right to learn, which would fundamentally challenge the privileges of elite educational and cultural institutions serving the 'cultural capital' of already well-educated sections of the population.

In June 1979, CCC's permanent education project was concluded with a symposium, *Towards a Permanent Education Policy for Today*, organised by the Italian government, in Sienna. It advocated implementation of permanent education in urban and rural areas facing serious economic, social and cultural strains; decentralised action in community development at local level; cooperation between local governments and non-governmental organisations; and rights for individuals to participate in permanent education irrespective of age, sex, social or economic status.<sup>150</sup>

### French 'rooted cosmopolitans': peripatetic militants, missionaries and reformers

The historiography of the engagement of French nationals, and French native-speakers from Belgium and Switzerland, during the second phase of CoE's *éducation permanente* project, suggests different possible interpretations of the roles played by national experts in policy development activities of transnational and international networks.

Schwartz and Janne have been frequently identified for their associations with a variety of transnational and international circuits of influence, such as CoE, ECF, EEC and OECD. Gagnon, for example, has identified Schwartz as one of the many itinerant experts voicing 'a steady stream of scoldings and demands for change that flows from UNESCO, the OECD, the Council of Europe, and Plan Europe 2000, whose managers, experts and publicists form something of an interlocking directorate with the scholar-consultants of comparative

<sup>148</sup>Bertrand Schwartz and Anne Blignieres, *Education permanente: travail de synthèse de l'évaluation d'expériences pilotes dans le domaine de l'éducation permanente* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1978).

<sup>149</sup>Laot, 'Collective dimensions'.

<sup>150</sup>Jean-Joseph Scheffknecht, *Rapport du Symposium sur Une politique d'éducation permanente pour aujourd'hui, Sienna, 29 mai-1 juin 1979* (Strasbourg: Conseil de la coopération culturelle, 1980).

education in the Western World'.<sup>151</sup> In similar vein, Grek and Lawn refer to 'an élite of cosmopolitan educationalists, aware of other ideas and practices'.<sup>152</sup> They specifically identify Janne's 1973 report to the European Commission, *For a Community Policy on Education*,<sup>153</sup> as 'the' precursor of a new generation of reports by 'independent experts' to intergovernmental organisations.<sup>154</sup> Given their co-authorship of *Le Développement européen de l'éducation permanente*,<sup>155</sup> this also implies that Janne and Schwartz contributed to the 'de-politicisation of European policy space'.<sup>156</sup> However, Janne's report 1973 on harmonising EEC policies, although ignored by the EC for policy-making purposes, reiterated CCC's core policy repertoire of permanent education, combining recurrent education with PEL. Furthermore, it did so with an emphatic Federalist political message.<sup>157</sup> Rather than constituting an itinerant European epistemic community of 'ubiquitous experts',<sup>158</sup> the contributions of Schwartz and Janne to CoE's transnational network require serious reconsideration.

Second, those contributing to CoE's policy repertoire were associated with the post-war generation as 'itinerant Europeans', who served the common European good (*bien commun européen*) at local, national and transnational levels.<sup>159</sup> Their active, if critical, contributions to CCC's permanent education project manifested their commitment to CoE's wider mission to promote greater European cultural integration, and to reconcile human rights with economic, cultural and social justice.<sup>160</sup> Rather than serving de-politicisation of educational policies, Schwartz and Janne were recognised, and recognised themselves, as '*hommes politiques*' on European and domestic political platforms. Schwartz and Janne had been wartime intelligence officers for *Forces françaises libres*, were members of their respective *Parti Socialiste*, while Janne was socialist Minister of Education, 1963–1965 in Belgium,<sup>161</sup> and active in the European Movement, and Union of European Federalists.<sup>162</sup> Whether interpreted as militants, missionaries or reformers, even as prophets of *autoformation*, they advocated explicit ideologically informed policy repertoires to establish democracy, human rights, social justice and equal opportunities in post-war Europe. Their close working-relationship involved 'the very diverse activities of Henri Janne as an expert among institutions such as the Council of Europe and the European communities ... a pioneer of the democratisation of education, he became, on a broad front and notably in the company of

<sup>151</sup>Paul Gagnon, 'The Fifth Republic and Education: Modernity, Democracy and Culture', in *The Impact of the Fifth Republic on France*, ed. William G. Andrews and Stanley Hoffmann (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 226.

<sup>152</sup>Martin Lawn and Sofira Grek, *Europeanising Education: Governing a New Policy Space* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2012), 24.

<sup>153</sup>Janne, *For a Community Policy*.

<sup>154</sup>Sotira Grek and Martin Lawn, 'A Short History of Europeanising Education: The New Political Work of Calculating the Future', *European Education* 41, no. 1 (2009): 32–54.

<sup>155</sup>Henri Janne and Bertrand Schwartz, *Le Développement européen de l'éducation permanente* (Brussels: Commission des Communautés Européennes, 1976).

<sup>156</sup>Grek and Lawn, 'A Short History'.

<sup>157</sup>Barry Hake, 'Strange Encounters on the Road to Lifelong Learning', 514–32; José Antonio Fernandez, 'L'éducation permanente: une redécouverte', *Recherche et Formation* 18 (1995): 45–55.

<sup>158</sup>Lawn and Grek, *Europeanising Education*.

<sup>159</sup>Henri Janne, *L'Antialcibiade ou la Révolution des Faits. Les Problèmes de l'heure. Nouvelles perspectives sur le monde d'après-guerre* (Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, 1946).

<sup>160</sup>Kallen, 'Recurrent education'.

<sup>161</sup>A coalition government of Socialists and Christian Socialists.

<sup>162</sup>Elise Schandevyl, 'Early Actors in the Making of Europe: The Input of a Small Group of Belgian Intellectuals', *European Journal of Cross-cultural Competence and Management* 2, no. 2 (2012): 172–81.

Bertrand Schwartz, one of the principle promoters of *éducation permanente*.<sup>163</sup> Janne and Schwartz were also closely involved in ECF's education project within Plan Europe 2000.<sup>164</sup> Janne was chairman of ECF's scientific committee, while Schwartz contributed *L'éducation demain* in 1973, the seminal document explicating his ideas on decentralised educational districts as the key organisational reform for democratic education.<sup>165</sup> Both were invited to submit papers during UNESCO's preparation of Faure's 1972 report on *éducation permanente*.<sup>166</sup> Schwartz and Janne remain widely recognised as partisan cross-cultural intermediaries articulating the case for radical reform in national, transnational and international policy and academic networks.

Third, it needs to be recognised that CoE's transnational networks involved a small CCC permanent staff in Strasbourg with a history of permanent crises involving complaints from member states about inadequate resources allocated by the Council of Ministers.<sup>167</sup> In large measure, CCC's permanent education network depended on the dedicated contributions by civil servants, academics and policy-makers associated with national networks in member states, who were committed advocates of permanent education, and served as authors of reports, rapporteurs, speakers and chairs in developing CCC's distinctive repertoire. Regarding the contributions by French nationals to CoE's transnational network, these were largely channelled through the domestic policy and academic networks associated with, above all, Bertrand Schwartz. Significant individual contributions to CoE's network came from Schwartz himself, Blignieres, both at Paris IX Dauphine, Capelle's significant lobby activities in CoE's Parliamentary Assembly and OECD,<sup>168</sup> and Scheffknecht's *équipe* at the University of Nancy and, indirectly, since 1973, the *Agence pour le développement de l'éducation permanente* (ADEP) in Paris.<sup>169</sup> Based upon contributions by these French 'rooted cosmopolitans', CoE's transnational network was dependent on their ability to maintain their domestic positions working for French institutions within national networks. Schwartz reported that his own work at national policy sites – as adviser to the Minister followed by his appointment as professor of education at University of Paris IX from 1972 onwards – enabled him to engage in transnational policy activities, such as CoE, and the ECF's Plan Europe 2000 project.<sup>170</sup> Together with French-speaking intellectuals from other member states – such as the Belgian Henri Janne and Pierre Dominicé from

<sup>163</sup>Claude Javeau, 'Henri Janne aurait cent ans', *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie* 125, no. 2 (2008): 377–8.

<sup>164</sup>Centeno, 'Lifelong learning'.

<sup>165</sup>Schwartz, *L'éducation demain*; Schwartz, *Permanent Education* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974). A team from the University of Nancy, associated with INFA, was responsible for the empirical research, with Schwartz as supervisor.

<sup>166</sup>Henri Janne and Marie Laure Roggemans, *Educational Systems and the New Demands* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972); Janne and Roggemans, *New Trends in Adult Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972); Bertrand Schwartz, *Innovations dans l'Enseignement Secondaire* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972).

<sup>167</sup>Leo van Ommen, 'Adult Education, Independence and Integration', *Notes and Studies* 59–60 (1973): 8–13.

<sup>168</sup>Jean Capelle, *Modernizing Our Schools: Curriculum Improvement and Educational Development* Paris: OECD, 1966); Capelle, 'Training to Meet Constantly Changing Needs Throughout Working Life', *Education and Culture* 16 (1971): 15–21; Capelle, 'From Traditional to Lifelong Education', *Trends in Education* 33 (1973): 70–9; Capelle, *Éducation et politique* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974).

<sup>169</sup>Jean-Joseph Scheffknecht, *Continuing Education for Adults* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation 1973); Scheffknecht, *Trends towards Self-management in Continuing Adult Education* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1975); Scheffknecht, *A Typology of Adult Educators* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1975); Scheffknecht, *Rapport du Symposium*.

<sup>170</sup>Bertrand Schwartz, 'Trajet', in Pineau, *Éducation ou aliénation?* 125–34.

Switzerland<sup>171</sup> – Schwartz was the key French figure linking CCC's transnational circulatory regime devoted to *éducation permanente* with other national French-speaking networks. For the French, CoE represented transnational opportunities to establish networks linking their domestic and European interests, with references to practices elsewhere often serving to advance the case for reforms at home.

Further research is required, not only in France, but also in other CoE member states, that investigates the specific contributions of 'rooted cosmopolitans' to national networks, and their transnational contributions to pan-European policy development. Such research should address the contributions of policy-makers, civil servants and academics, but it should also include appointed members of CCC, elected members of CoE's Parliamentary Assembly, for example Jean Capelle, together with the involvement of local grass-roots activists in the pilot projects on permanent education in different member states.

### Conclusions: from cultural democracy to personal employability

In the context of post-war reconstruction in Western Europe, French policy repertoires advocating *éducation permanente* were firmly rooted in different meta-narratives addressing modernisation of the economy, equal of opportunities for social advancement, and the socio-cultural challenges confronting different constituencies among the French population. Public policy and innovative practices were shaped by often conflicting socio-political repertoires addressing the redistribution of educational opportunities. Associated with distinct national circulatory regimes, policy repertoires articulated distinctive strategies, measures and instruments, but were distinguished by their focus on collective or individual advancement. These repertoires focused variously on reform of traditional front-ended initial education; a revised *équilibre* between formal, non-formal and informal education; *alternance* between education and work experience; *récurrence* of periods of education, work, leisure and retirement throughout life; collective and individual social advancement; rights to *congé-éducation payé* (paid educational leave); and self-directed learning or *autoformation*. As such, the pan-European movement favouring *éducation permanente* was a manifestation of the social project to radically revise educational architectures, to redistribute opportunity structures throughout life, and to support the self-managed construction of social life and cultural development at local level.<sup>172</sup>

Opportunities for individual and collective advancement throughout life were also key to CoE's permanent education project from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s.<sup>173</sup>

During its first phase in the 1960s, CCC formulated a revised architecture involving reform of front-loaded models of initial education, equal recognition of popular and adult education, while *alternance* for the 16–19 age group became the linchpin for participation throughout life. During the second phase of pilot projects in member

<sup>171</sup>Pierre Dominicé, *Continuing Education for Adults in the Context of Permanent Education* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1973); Henri Janne, Pierre Dominicé et Walter James, *Developpement de l'éducation des adultes: Rapport final* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1980). Geneviève Auroi-Jaggi, *L'œuvre de Bertrand Schwartz: ses archives, et Les Grands Entretiens*, CD et DVD produced by l'Université de Genève et la Télévision Suisse romande (2006). Schwartz was visiting professor at Lausanne 1972–1975, and Geneva, 1975–1982.

<sup>172</sup>Licínio C. Lima and Paula Guimarães, *European Strategies in Lifelong Learning: A Critical Introduction* (Opladen: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2011).

<sup>173</sup>Titz, 'The Council of Europe'.

states, this repertoire, now largely orchestrated by Schwartz, focused on the implications of recurrent education for initial education; alternation of learning with other dimensions of social life; individual and collective *promotion sociale* in community contexts; self-directed learning as *autoformation*; and self-management of decentralised 'educational districts'. This was a politically challenging repertoire 'meaning direct democracy of the self-management type'<sup>174</sup> that articulated new forms of living, working and, above all, learning.<sup>175</sup>

From the early 1970s, however, advocates of *éducation permanente* in France, and supporters elsewhere in Europe, were confronted with serious political problems. In France, the 1971 law implementing individual rights to continuing vocational training split the social movement for *éducation permanente*. At the time, and still today, it was regarded by many on the French left as constituting the *denouement* of collective *éducation permanente*.<sup>176</sup> This shift towards a more assertive political commitment to individual rights to *promotion social* was interpreted by many as redirecting *formation continue* from the public realm to a space of privatised responsibility. For the CGT, *éducation permanente* was redirected away from workers' rights towards duties; emphasised work-related competences, education and training in the workplace; and established an educational marketplace.<sup>177</sup> For many on the French far left, moreover, the law constituted external neo-liberal contamination of French domestic policy. Nonetheless, the post-1971 implementation of *éducation permanente* was largely effectuated from 'within', with conflicting strategies adopted by trade unions playing a significant role.

Domestic crisis in France, however, was compounded by the worldwide 1973 oil crisis, sowing the seeds of doubt about uninterrupted economic growth of post-industrial capitalism. Despite the differential negative effects of global crisis in different European economies, the reformist ambitions of national governments regarding education and training remained intact well into the late 1970s. This decade was marked by continuing engagement of governments, rhetorically if not with adequate public funding, in reformist social-democratic programmes to redistribute educational opportunities throughout life. In France, the *éducation permanente* repertoire acquired a new focus with erstwhile advocates engaged in debates about *déscolarisation*,<sup>178</sup> *autogestion* in the workplace, refocused their attention on *alternance*,<sup>179</sup> or, as did Schwartz, engaged in the local democracy politics of the *Parti Socialiste*.<sup>180</sup> De-schooling continued to attract serious interest throughout Western Europe among advocates of *éducation permanente* and permanent education well to the 1970s.<sup>181</sup> References to *éducation permanente* in France featured in official reports and parliamentary debates

<sup>174</sup>Kallen, 'Recurrent Education', 54.

<sup>175</sup>Rui de Canário, 'Adult Education: Looking for New Ways', in *Local Change, Social Actions and Adult Learning: Challenges and Responses*, ed. Paula Guimarães et al. (Lisbon: University of Lisbon, 2014), 4–10.

<sup>176</sup>Guy Métails, *Formation professionnelle. Réformes de 1971: succès ou échec?* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006).

<sup>177</sup>Jacques Gigou, 'Socialanalyse de l'éducation permanente des socialistes', *L'Homme et la société* 29, nos 29/30 (1973): 313–17.

<sup>178</sup>Jacques Gigou 'Les coûts de l'éducation permanente: une été avec Illich (août 1974)', *L'Homme et la société* 35 (1975): 225–37; and Etienne Verne, 'Une scolarisation sans fin', *Revue Esprit* 10 (1974): 529–46.

<sup>179</sup>Jacques Gigou, *Critique des systèmes de formation des adultes, 1968–1992* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993).

<sup>180</sup>The preface to Schwartz's *Une autre école* (1977) was by Pierre Mauroy, mayor of Lille, Prime Minister 1981.

<sup>181</sup>Ivan Illich and Etienne Verne, *Imprisoned in the Global Classroom* (London: Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, 1976).

in Belgium, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Permanent education, recurrent education and paid educational leave remained on national policy agendas well into the 1970s.<sup>182</sup> There were significant long-standing differentials in the impact of neo-liberal ideologies on domestic policies for education, and social welfare in Western Europe.<sup>183</sup> Further research needs to explore these differential impacts of neo-liberal ideologies on national educational policies during the transformation, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, from post-war growth, through stagnation, to long-term recession.<sup>184</sup>

By the late 1970s, deepening economic recession, rising unemployment, especially among the young, and retrenchment severely hit public, and private, expenditure on education. With trade unions in disarray, neo-liberal policy repertoires impacted on government policies throughout Europe. These developments retriggered long-standing inequalities in European societies, and in the everyday lives of communities ravaged by recession and austerity programmes. While policy repertoires of *éducation permanente* and permanent education had embraced expectations of extended educational opportunities throughout life, little remained of these policy repertoires by the early 1980s. Reform of educational provision for the 16–19 age-group no longer influenced the policy repertoires of governments in any meaningful way. Integration of popular education as an essential element of alternative architectures was either ignored or side-lined, while public funding on adult education for personal development was drastically cut. Focused increasingly on individual employability, neo-liberal policy repertoires left traditional front-ended architectures of initial education intact, while post-initial education was reduced to problems of skills and *recyclage* in relation to training requirements of the workplace.<sup>185</sup>

Overtaken by economic realities, the final conclusions of CoE's permanent project in 1979 might be considered as having been irrelevant. Participants in Sienna identified a 'rampant crisis' in education and training resulting from the unwillingness of member states to take concerted action to implement permanent education. While Schwartz's final report recognised that CoE's pilot projects had failed to address the educational needs of low-qualified workers, women and immigrants, these were identified in Sienna as key targets for neo-liberal repertoires focused on the personal responsibility of individuals for their 'employability'. The final recommendations of the Sienna symposium, however, were surprisingly appropriate given mounting economic problems, social divisions and instability throughout Western Europe. In 1981, in this context of deepening economic crisis, a resolution agreed by CoE's Committee of Ministers – not the Standing Conference of Ministers – argued that 'at the present time, millions of women and men find themselves faced by the urgent necessity for vocational training or retraining and for an updating of their education in order to cope with new patterns of work, of unemployment and of leisure'.<sup>186</sup> Referring to CoE's 1975

<sup>182</sup>Tom Schuler and Jacquetta Megarry, eds., *World Yearbook of Education 1979: Recurrent Education and Lifelong Learning* (London: Routledge, 1979); Tim Simkins, 'Recurrent Education: Some Economic Issues', *Higher Education* 5 (1976): 363–76; Manfred Jourdan, 'What is Recurrent Education?', *Western European Education* 12, no. 1 (1980): 38–44.

<sup>183</sup>Monica Prasad, *The Politics of Free Markets: The Rise of Neoliberal Economic Policies in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

<sup>184</sup>Marc Levinson, *An Extraordinary Time: The End of the Post-war Boom and the Return of the Ordinary Economy* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

<sup>185</sup>Robert Castel, *From Manual Workers to Wage Laborers: Transformation of the Social Question* (London: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>186</sup>Recommendation No. R (81) 17 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on adult education policy, November 6, 1981 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe).

Stockholm resolution endorsing the principles of permanent education, and the Sienna conference conclusions, the Committee of Ministers recommended distribution of the Sienna report, 'as widely as possible among all persons and bodies concerned with the different forms of the education of adults.'<sup>187</sup> Recognising 'the intention of competent national authorities to intensify cooperation and interaction in the field of adult education',<sup>188</sup> the Committee urged member states 'to promote, by means of adult education, the development of the active role and critical attitudes of women and men, as parents, producers, consumers, users of the mass media, citizens and members of their community'.<sup>189</sup> This signalled a significant change of direction for CoE's policy agenda; adult education was reinstated as CCC's core policy area.

This marked the demise of pan-European aspirations during the 1960s and 1970s to radically reform the traditional architectures of initial and post-initial education, and to include both popular education and adult education as equal partners. Amid deepening economic crisis and high (youth) unemployment, the few surviving remnants of socio-political programmes favouring *éducation permanente* and permanent education no longer featured in policy repertoires of the CoE or national governments by the early 1980s. For Schwartz, however, this did not signal the end of the *mobilisation éducative*. A lifelong spokesman for those who are systematically excluded by front-loaded educational systems, he remained committed to the political struggle to implement the social right to participate in 'a long life of learning'.<sup>190</sup> Established by Schwartz and others in 1969, *Education Permanente* remains today a permanent source of critical reflection on ongoing individual and collective social struggles to become 'permanently learning subjects'.<sup>191</sup> In the same year, the major post-war Dutch policy document on popular education quoted Pierre Arents' original argument that permanent education involved the unceasing openness to learning as: '*une constance dans la durée et dans l'espace*' (a constant in time and space).<sup>192</sup> The struggle for collective and individual social and personal development itself remains a historical constant in the nexus of increasingly unequal cultural, social, economic and class relationships.

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<sup>187</sup>Ibid.

<sup>188</sup>Ibid.

<sup>189</sup>Ibid.

<sup>190</sup>Bertrand Schwartz, *L'insertion professionnelle et sociale des jeunes*, Rapport au Premier Ministre (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1981); Schwartz, *Moderniser sans exclure* (Paris: La Découverte, 1994).

<sup>191</sup>Joffre Dumazedier, 'Aides à l'autoformation: un fait social d'aujourd'hui', *Education permanente* 122 (1995): 189–206.

<sup>192</sup>Pierre Arents, 'L'Education permanente', *Revue militaire d'information* 304 (1959): 17. Quoted in: *Functie en toekomst van het vormings – en ontwikkelingswerk met volwassenen in de Nederlandse samenleving* [Present and future of training and development with adults in Dutch society] (Amersfoort/Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1969), 67.

### Notes on contributor

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