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ABSTRACT

This collection of four articles reflects the suspicions of adult education researchers that politicians are exploiting the positive values attached in Finland to adult education, that is, increasing adult education, while imposing tight restrictions in the form of market mechanisms. "Values and Responsiveness in Adult Higher Education" (Matti Parjanen) presents an exposition of the terms "exchange value" and "use value" as a means of explaining the relation between education and working life. It demonstrates the crucial nature of responsiveness in the development of an active society. The article shows that great cultural differences persist in Europe in the conditions for implementation of educational policy. "Values in Adult Education: Unity and Plurality" (Geoffrey Squires) analyzes the values of adult education and emphasizes the close dependence of these values on the socioeconomic climate and suggests two characteristics of the education of adults: "existential centrality" and "institutional marginality." "Towards a Single European Education Policy?" (Matti Parjanen, Reijo Raivola) addressing the European Community's (EC) plans for higher and adult education, takes the view that no normative educational plan and policy exists, and anticipates no great changes in Finland if it enters the EC. "Unity and Diversity in European Secondary Education" (Matti Volanen) predicts that principles of open structures and options and of open knowledge and skills will be important in the EC. It argues that educational needs expressed by labor markets are an insufficient indicator for educational planning. (YLB)

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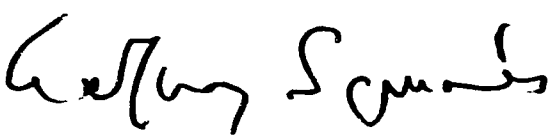

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

Matti Parjanen

The impetus for the writing of this book sprang from the occurrence in the course of 1992 of two phenomena in Finland. These may well be entirely recollected, but yet their simultaneous appearance may be indicative that they are indeed interdependent. These phenomena are firstly the pressure exerted by the prevailing economic depression to review the present system of values in the world of adult education, and secondly the preparatory measures taken in Finnish educational policy with an eye to possible EC membership.

There would appear to be two trends operating in Finland in the ordering of values in adult education. To certain experts these are logical and consistent, to others quite the reverse. This lack of logicality may be attributed to the fact that Finnish political decision-makers regard adult education in particular as one of the most important ways of solving the economic depression. Many supportive measures should therefore be introduced, and have indeed been introduced. At the same time, however, there are plans to make cuts in the network of institutions of liberal adult education whose extensiveness was but lately such a source of satisfaction. There are to be increases in the fees payable for the terms' tuition, and there are to be cutbacks in the only recently improved financial support for those in adult education. In professional and continuing education the laws of market mechanisms are taking hold and so on. Those engaged in research on adult education have cause to suspect that the politicians are exploiting the positive values characteristically attached in Finland to education in general and to adult education in particular. That is, adult education is being increased, but tight restrictions in the form of market mechanisms are being imposed.

In the first article in the book Matti Parjanen presents an exposition of the theoretical terms exchange value and use value as a means of explaining to a considerable extent the relation between education and working life. The ar-

ticle demonstrates the crucial nature of responsiveness in the development of an active society. This means a society in which the societal consensus is high and the cybernetic control is strong. In such a society there is enormous scope for adult education. Parjanen further shows by means of some statistics on social structure what great cultural differences still persist in Europe in the conditions for the implementation of educational policy.

Geoffrey Squires of the U.K. presents an analysis of the values of adult education which is based on his long service as an expert with OECD, where he was involved with comparative analyses between different systems and their cultures. In his article Squires shows how the scope of adult education has changed in the course of the last decades. When analyzing the unity of values of adult education and associated methods he takes a critical stand on andragogy. He further emphasizes the close dependence of these values on the socio-economic climate. Squires suggests that there are two characteristics of the education of adults: "existential centrality" and "institutional marginality".

The last two articles in the book are related to the comments made by Finnish scientific experts on the European Community Commission Memorandum on the goals of EC educational policy published in 1991. Matti Parjanen and Reijo Raivola address the EC plans for higher and adult education. They take the view that there exists no normative EC educational plan and policy. These writers do not anticipate that Finland's possible entry into the EC (EU) will bring about great changes in Finland, although Finnish higher education does differ in certain respects from that of other countries. Possible changes will be both positive and negative. Education planning in Finland will concentrate on formal education, so that the development of formal, non-formal and informal education into a system of lifelong learning will be retarded.

The views expressed in the article by Matti Vesa Volanen are based on the EC Commission Memorandum on vocational training. The case for a close connection between vocational training and adult education is also clear in the EC. Volanen foresees education policy perspectives, and it is his prognosis that the principle of open structures and options and also that of open knowledge and skills will be of import. He argues that the educational needs expressed by the labour markets are an insufficient indicator for education

planning. It will become necessary to create a new kind of *modus operandi* among the representatives of the educational market, labour market, education units and production units.

The composite view to be gleaned from all four articles suggests that, either explicitly, or the reading between the lines, that in European – and so also in Finnish – higher education we are passing through a period of transition from the negative "education of the masses" of the 1960's to qualified (positive) education meant for the masses of the 1990's. In practice it means in the first instance changes in values in the field of education, and in the second it means that a part of those qualified masses are to be channelled through the portals of adult education. Open learning will then take over command from "residential education".

VALUES AND RESPONSIVENESS IN ADULT HIGHER EDUCATION

Matti Parjanen

Abstract

It is the aim of this paper to show how close the connection is between education, particularly as provided through adult education and further education, and other societal institutions. This connection is explained through the concepts of exchange value and use value of education, and the influence of these on higher education pedagogy. Use is made of Amitai Etzioni's theory of the active society, and, in particular the concept of responsiveness. This makes it possible to describe the flexible nature of the relation between education and society. With the demands created by European unity for more uniform educational policy in this continent, the paper presents such structural differences between the countries which would appear to have a bearing on educational policy – either unifying or dividing it. The overall conclusion is reached that in surprisingly many matters the societal structures of the countries of Europe have, contrary to expectations, remained unchanged.

1. Structural differences in European education

The status, prestige and forms of legitimation of education, and even pedagogy and learning systems depend on the history, culture and social structure of the country in question. After the unification of Europe many situations, particularly conflicts, will surely be explained by differences between factors creating social structures. Since World War II sociologists have always gained public attention by explaining, and empirically verifying, how many radical changes in the social structures have resulted in social change. These have

thus sought to be catalysts of social change (referred to maliciously by the President of Finland, himself a social scientist, as soothsaying hags). The predictions have not in the long run proved correct. Thus at this time the sociologists of Europe can bear witness how **unchanging society** has, after all, remained. (c.f. Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992). In addition to registering no change, a development is also to be observed which runs contrary to the predictions of the sociologists. I now propose to present some examples of this.

It is often difficult to define operationally social structure factors because of their intimate connection with culture or because of some other subjective element. At least with differences in mortality these problems do not arise! Those who have faith in the positive development of equality have predicted that the vast differences which once existed in the agrarian and class society will vanish in this century. Findings which recently appeared in Finland show, however, that the health of the nation has improved, but relatively most notably in the upper social classes. The measurement of health may be subjective but mortality is not. Thus in a country like Finland, with its high standard of health care, it was with dismay that we saw that the efforts of health care have not been effective, and that the differences in mortality in the last ten years have, in fact, increased. (Statistics Finland 1992:8.) For example, at the end of the last decade the average life expectancy by level of education (both the subject's own education and that of his/her parents) differed between men with a high educational level and men with basic level by 6.8 years (75.9 – 69.1 years). Likewise the life expectancy of higher white collar workers is longer than that of manual workers.

From the point of view of educational policy one might well conclude that there exists a dependent relationship between health and education, the quality of being **persevering.** By this I mean that to maintain good health and to continue one's education both demand that one keeps a certain aim in view and perseveres towards it. The individual who is healthy, in good shape, and physically optimistic is able to take the risks inherent in studying. This interdependency of health and getting an education relates to both basic academic education and particularly adult education on a voluntary basis. No research has been done on this. The following table presents some idea of the perseverance and its possible growth:

Table 1. Proportion of those beginning their university studies in Finland at the age of 24 and over.

1985	12%
1991	17%

Source: Taskinen 1992

In certain fields of higher education these figures are now over 20%. The relative proportion of over 30 year-olds has increased in the last five years by 150% (the corresponding change for under 22 year-olds is 13%). **The adultification of higher education** is thus no longer a threat, but a reality. Those who favour the leisurely style of exchange value education (evaluation lacking) will naturally not look favourably upon this. The problem can be illustrated as follows:

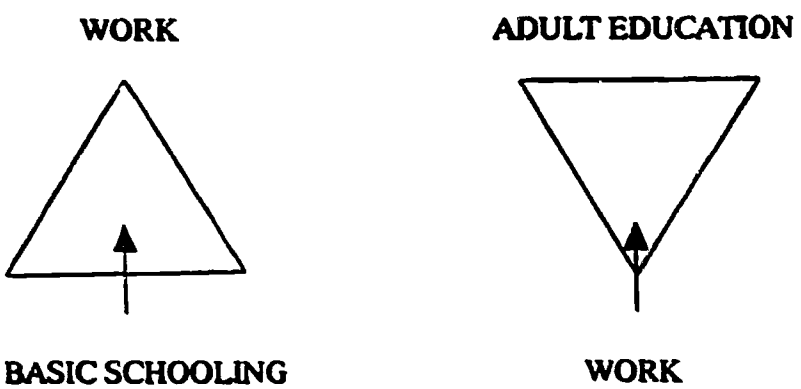

Figure 1. The opposing pyramids of education and work.

The left hand side shows the classic education model, applicable to the entire education system which first offers a broad general education which narrows and becomes more specialized as working life draws nearer. The model on the right is based on the assumption that people go (or must go) into working life

first, but can from there begin to broaden their outlook by participating in adult education. The conflict between these two opposing pyramids has not been sufficiently exploited by the education authorities. Combining the pyramids would give us a rhombus of basic and adult education which does not in its entirety form any broad base rising to a narrow tip (or the other way up).

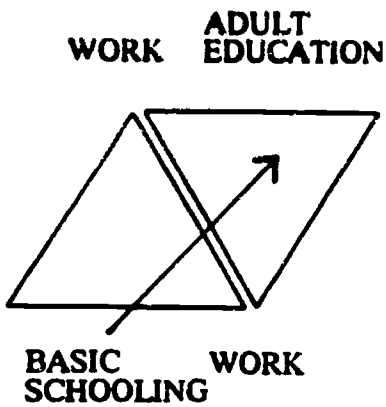

Figure 2. The rhombus of education and work.

With European unity education, its comparability and thereby its legitimation has been given a highly significant emphasis (EC–Memorandum 1991). I have, however, presented in the appendices data on the various structural differences which make the solution to this problem anything but simple. I do not here propose to embark on an analysis of these. The reader will easily see for himself the differences and similarities.

Even within Europe the statistical data on education are seldom comparable. Table 5 in the Appendix, however, includes what is possibly the most easily comparable statistics, provided by OECD. There the average number of the youth cohort in the transition from secondary to tertiary education is 337 promil. The countries of Europe are left well behind Japan and the USA (which has great differences inside the country, c.f. Cross 1989).

Table 6 of the Appendix shows the variation by country in the proportion of women among university students. The small, highly developed countries of Europe (Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland) fall into the "far from equal" group. Gender equality, however, obviously includes many other social aspects such as participation in political decision-making, professional and salary equality etc.

Table 7 of the Appendix presents a comparison of countries inter-generational social mobility between generations using the parameters and concepts of Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) on social fluidity. It can be seen from the table how very homogeneous in terms of this variable western Europe is (with Sweden an exception). Therborn (1992, 42), drawing support for his views from different authorities, states that "Education is an important part of modern movements into positions of the occupational structure... countries differ less in their openness/closedness into higher education or into occupational destinations, than they differ in the **relationship between educational qualification and occupational destination**. "Credentialism", the requirement of formal educational credentials, is most developed in Germany, Hungary, Sweden and, at the top in France, and least in the British Isles." Here, too an explanation has later been sought in the case of Finland for the difference primarily by the historical role of the state in the shaping of the professional-managerial class, a large state role leading to high credentialism.

Table 8 in the Appendix, based on the Luxemburg Income Survey (LIS), shows the distribution of disposable income and the size of the welfare state. Income inequality appears to be similar throughout Europe, and Europe is well able to compete with that Promised Land of gender equality, Australia. On the other hand, it is not so easy to find an explanation for the variations within Europe (for example Sweden and Switzerland).

Therborn (1992, 67-108), drawing on tens of different studies, shows how the countries of Europe differ from each other in the societal factors. Further, interesting differences are also apparent in structural factors within a state. The 101 regions of Western Europe in the OECD mapping were divided in 1986 on the basis of GDP. Thus, in Therborn's terms (1992, 67-71) the three

richest areas include: 1. "super-rich" - Hamburg, 2. "the very rich" - Ile de France, 3. "the wealthy" - Southern Norway and Bremen, ... 12. "the extremely poor" - Northern Portugal. The same cluster analysis was carried out for unemployment in 1987 (Therborn, 1992, 72). Here the highest employment group or "the extremely busy" included Iceland, the Stockholm region and four regions in Switzerland. "The very busy" group included four regions in Sweden and three in Norway, the Helsinki region, Luxemburg and Western Austria. ... 12. "The extremely unemployed" areas are Extremadury and Andalucia-Murcia. Naturally since 1987 there may have been changes at international level (the economic situation in the Scandinavian countries, for example, has deteriorated dramatically).

While living in a time of great economic change, even collapse, it is regrettable that the statistics lag several years behind. For example the OECD statistics published in September 1992 for the procentual proportion of education of public expenditure are from 1988! Table 9 of the Appendix shows how Finland and Switzerland were at the top. In the relation between education and GNP the leaders were Canada, Denmark and Finland.

In addition to the foregoing data, countries have also been compared internationally by some subjective measures. For example Thernborn (1992, 83) and Inglehart (1990, 411) have measured feeling of national pride. Among the first 22 nations in the "very proud" category were USA, Australia, Hungary and Ireland. The trailers in this category were Germany, Belgium and Portugal.

The information just described on differences between countries and even within countries is intended to show that the acceptance of education, and its legitimation, is not an isolated objectively quantifiable phenomenon. Its manifestations are explained by the form of government and the history of the development of education in a given country, by social and cultural factors, and even by its system of values and attitudes. The long term OECD project "Higher Education and Employment: The Changing Relationship" (OECD 1992a) has shown in its reports on countries (c.f. also EC-Memorandum 1991) that the universities should change their present rigid structures which do not take into consideration, for example, the unemployment among the highly educated, the participation of those with working experience in basic

university education, the necessity of innovative recruitment of teachers and instructors, the opportunities afforded by distance learning, the fading of the once clear-cut boundary between public and private education etc. The negative mass university of the 1960's is becoming a more positive mass system where higher education and its contacts with science takes into consideration adults, further education, the non-university sector, the unemployed, fluid credit transfer etc. **Higher education is thus opening up to the qualified "masses" of a developed society.**

2. Legitimation problems in the Finnish education system

The phrase 'legitimation of education' is used here to refer to those formal qualifications which are required of education by the labour markets, and other approbation on the part of the state or its citizens. In addition to these criteria of competence, which may well actually be expressed in the form of statutes, we must not forget **social legitimation**. This refers to those unwritten norms which govern the relationship between the labour markets and education.

The administrative legitimation of education (and the social legitimation attendant upon it) commonly traces its roots to the development of a given country's system of government. If we take Finland as an example, we can see that the legitimation of present-day Finnish university education can be traced back to the time when, first under Swedish rule, and then later as a grand duchy of Russia, the only way to get Finno-philes into positions of power, particularly those relating to matters legal and educational, was to lay down precise, formal competency requirements specifying a certain university degree. In such a situation it was not legally possible to pass over those who possessed these Finnish competence requirements. During the course of political changes these rudiments have lingered on to become a burden on flexible change in the educational establishment. Many other European countries have experienced a similar development (c.f. Alapuro et al. 1985).

Present-day Finland finds itself in a bewildering state of change in the legitimation of higher education:

1. Under the terms of recent plans an academic degree will soon no longer be required for numerous senior positions in public administration. The fear here is that it will no longer be worthwhile to sacrifice time and money for university education. The other fear goes back to the recent past: Will political parties wielding public power again get the upper hand in the selection of "suitable" persons for positions in central and local government?

2. The 1970's and 1980's in Finland saw the abolition of the lower, Bachelor's degree. A prolonged debate has raged as to whether the academic dropout rate and extra long time taken to qualify may in any way be attributed to this administrative decision. It would appear that these intermediate degrees are to be reinstated in the humanities and natural sciences.

3. By virtue of their initially flexible organization and the open door they present to working life, the universities' centres for continuing education are already arranging their own long term training in such a way as affords administrative legitimation. In this respect the Finnish universities have maintained an exclusive university policy, and have not permitted much credit transfer. For example, the cooperation in Britain between academia and the professional bodies is improving in the development of credit-bearing Continuing Professional Development (CPD) courses (Vaughan 1991, Jarvis 1992). Smoothly organized, progressing in the hands of those competent in adult pedagogics, equipped with a high degree of interface with working life, and actually based on commodity- aesthetics marketing tricks, high-level continuing education has earlier achieved its social legitimation. (c.f. Tiwary 1991.) Thus an individual who has been through such a programme merits in many professions at least as high prestige as an administratively legitimized individual who has taken an academic degree. There is in the preparatory stages in Finland a statute which will come into force early next year, intended to confer upon such qualifications and diplomas obtained in centres for continuing education legitimation on a formal and administrative basis, and hereafter also social legitimation.

4. In Finland the time which elapses between the Master's degree and the doctorate is especially long, an average of 10 years. The licentiate degree comes in between. The view persists in many fields of working life that a lower doctorate than this could be more professionally oriented, as indeed it has always been, for example, in the medical profession (all medical doctors complete the licentiate degree whereas others complete the Master's degree). Thus a new type of degree is developing in Finland: a professional licentiate degree alongside the scientific licentiate degree.

5. In 1992 the right was given to 22 institutions to begin experimental high-level binary education. They are called "interim" institutions of vocational higher education and correspond to the German Fachhochschule, the British polytechnic and the American community college. The degrees conferred in the course of this experiment, which now enjoys administrative legitimation, will come just in time to confuse the particularly simple, straightforward set-up which has prevailed in Finland since World War II. ("Experiment" is merely a little administrative trick to set things on a regular footing fast.)

6. Finnish social scientists like to describe the development in education, professions and the system of values attaching to these since World War II as forming three generations for the labour market a) the generation of reconstruction (the youngest of whom reached adulthood in the beginning of the fifties), b) the generation of great migration (adulthood in the mid 1970's at the latest) and c) the welfare generation (of whom the youngest reached adulthood in the mid 1970's at the earliest). These generations have been compared in Finland against tens of variables. From the point of view of legitimation, what is of interest is research findings indicating that the position of the people of the great migration generation on the labour markets has been greatly strengthened by education, but that the welfare generation has turned out to present these with a challenge in the shape of their greater "degree capital". However, the problem of these last-named is that of "inflation" in higher degrees. They are therefore compelled to struggle more than their predecessors with social prestige for their degrees. (Järvelä 1991, 233-255.)

7. European union brings with it new problems of legitimation in questions of equivalence and comparison for every country intent upon maintaining its comparability in internal educational logic. (c.f. EC–Memorandum 1991.)

3. The exchange and use value of education

The legitimation of education is closely related to the effectiveness of education, which has many complicated relationships with the functions in societal reproduction (Raivola 1992). The content of education, however, is related to the concepts of **exchange value and use value** (Parjanen 1992, 1–12). The former means that the student can take his degree certificate along to the employer and "exchange" it for a job. Research findings show that many university students in particular persevere in their studies with only this value in mind. In use–value oriented studies, on the other hand, the student is interested in content and makes an effort to derive directly from the teaching he/she receives benefit in the form of applicability to working life. Continuing professional higher education is characterized by use value learning. The Open University on the other hand frequently includes both exchange value and use value learning. All that has so far been stated about the abolition of formal competence requirements will have the effect of diminishing exchange value, studying only to lay hands on a piece of paper. The following diagram illustrates schematically on the left the extreme in exchange value studies, where education, and teaching are completely unrelated to working life. On the right we have a model where, throughout the period of study, the parties concerned have in mind only practical applications. In university study for a Masters degree the third model is probably the ideal.

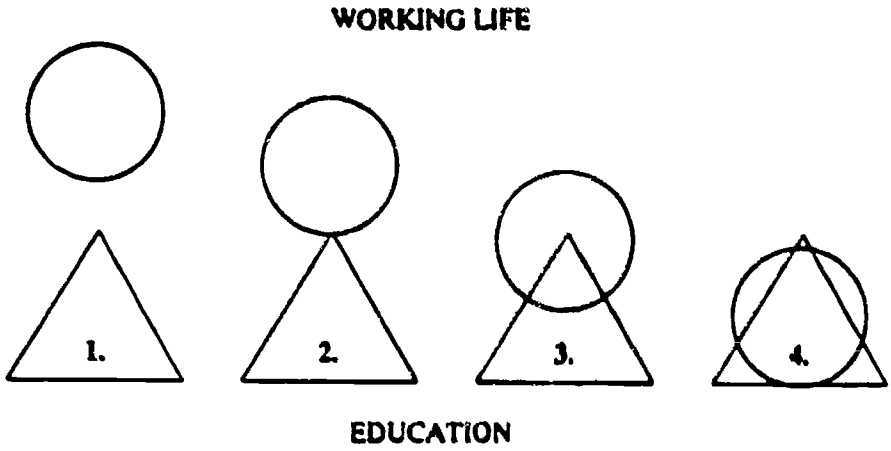

Figure 3. **The connection between working life and education: from the extreme exchange values to the extreme use values.**

Naturally the emphasis placed on exchange value and use value differs at various levels of education, in various fields of education and in various branches of science. At all events one secret of the success of adult education at the universities is the offering of this very use value teaching. Table 2 shows quantitatively how popular study at the university institutes for continuing education has become in Finland. It should, however, always be borne in mind that such "big hits" are prone to notable set-back. Could these already be on their way when the market-inspired "training gravy train" is running low on fuel (that is, money)?

Table 2. Relative growth in the number of students in university education.

Year	Continuing professional education students	Change %	Open university students	Change %	Bachelor, Masters and Doctoral level	Change %
1986	28 000		21 000		93 000	
1991	60 000	114 %	43 000	105 %	112 000	20 %

Source: Adapted from KOTA-Statistics 1991, Ministry of Education, 1992.

For liberal adult education the figures in Finland are also growing. In the remote north and east of the country in the rural areas there are places where even more that 20% of the population are engaged in studies.

The exchange and use values of education are generally linked to education as an institution and to the structural factors of the society concerned, above all to the legitimation of education. Educational curricula may also be selected either with the emphasis on exchange value or on use value. Furthermore, it can be observed that a curriculum apparently emphasizing use value may contain a hidden curriculum with a greater emphasis still on exchange value. For instance, a slow or difficult curriculum may in fact proceed in such a way that by tacit agreement between teacher and students the objective is to get through quickly to the degree.

This model may even affect pedagogy. The following diagram shows, with a certain amount of exaggeration, how the interests of the teacher and the students may sometimes coincide, sometimes not. The students here are dichotomized into exchange value-oriented and use value-oriented, and the teachers into pedagogically-oriented and research-oriented (stretching the truth a little). This division frequently manifests itself in state-run institutions where teachers have life-long tenure. There is then no necessity to offer good teach-

ing to attract able students who are willing to pay, as is typical in the American private universities. The upper model is thus in malicious reality one where both parties are content with sloppy teaching and low demands on the part of the teachers, since all the students want is their piece of paper. The lower model illustrates a situation in which the interests of the students and the teacher coincide: the teacher wants to teach and the student wants to learn, the better to be able to apply what is being taught in later working life.

Adult education in the universities fulfils the conditions of this model, and for two reasons:

a) The students are mature people with experience of work and of life in general, thus they do not need to wait for years before being able to apply what they learn. They can do it immediately in the course of instruction. Motivation among mature students is generally high, as they have been compelled to take risks in their lives by embarking on their studies (family, work, use of time, giving up other hobbies etc.).

b) The teachers do not generally have permanent jobs, but are paid at an hourly rate, so that their pedagogy is constantly under scrutiny both as regards content and administratively. Such teachers teach in continuing professional studies and in the Open University and generally high-level extension teaching as experts, in addition to their normal workloads. Their motivation hinges on the very fact that they can, through their mature students, keep in touch with what goes on outside the confines of the university (if they are university teachers) or within the university (if they are normally employed elsewhere in working life).

Table 3. Conflicts of interest between teacher and student affecting university pedagogy.

TEACHER	STUDENT	
RESEARCH ORIENTED	EXCHANGE VALUE ORIENTED	INTERESTS COINCIDE
RESEARCH ORIENTED	USE VALUE ORIENTED	INTERESTS DO NOT COINCIDE
TEACHING ORIENTED	EXCHANGE VALUE ORIENTED	
TEACHING ORIENTED	USE VALUE ORIENTED	INTERESTS COINCIDE

All in all it must be remembered that, despite attempts, no **grand theory** in the field of adult education has yet been devised. Semlak et al. (1991, 2) analysed over 3,000 articles and papers in the area of adult learning without finding a grand theory. The quest for this, however, is part of the standing mythology of the science of adult education.

4. Societal and educational responsiveness

The organizational theories of Amitai Etzioni have an application here. Etzioni's theory of 1968 of **the Active Society** shows most aptly for the current problems in Europe of political and economic power how society needs both planning and spontaneous consensus. Etzioni contends that American-style spontaneity and the systematicity reminiscent of the socialist countries are not so far from each other that they cannot be considered together. The Scandinavian countries in particular have been accused of creating one official norm after another in their pursuit of welfare, which is to say that the Scandinavian societies have become bureaucratic planned societies (whose dismantling is, however, under way) whether they wished it or not. Etzioni does, however,

state that without planning it is not possible to avert future problems. He mentions **cybernetic control.**

A cybernetically controlled or regulative society has a clear leadership or centre with access to information, and through feedback it can amend its decisions and foreshadow future events. A planned society founded on feedback and amendments may, however, lead to a situation in which people become alienated and feel that they are merely instruments. Etzioni therefore believes that it is necessary that in society there should prevail **spontaneous unanimity of values.** Without this, alienation from society is only to be expected.

Table 4. illustrates an application of Etzioni's (1968) theory of the active society. It cross-refers to social consensus and cybernetic control. The result is a four society model. As an example of the **over-managed society** we may take the Soviet Union and other communist countries at the time when they still displayed a systematised model of society. There was certainly planning, but they lacked the spontaneity whereby people could come to terms about their own wishes. Alienation led to the disappearance in a very short time of this model of society. As an example of the **drifting society** we may, with a certain amount of broad generalization, take the United States, where all facets of life are governed by seen and unseen "market forces". In such a society marginal groups are downtrodden.

The **active society** embodies marked regulation, but at the same time it allows spontaneous unanimity of values. From the point of view of legitimation of education the essential factor in the active society is **responsiveness.**

Table 4. The relations between societal control and concensus.

CYBERNETIC CONTROL	SOCIETAL CONCENSUS (Demands debated and agreed) low	SOCIETAL CONCENSUS (Demands debated and agreed) high
weak	**PASSIVE SOCIETY** – anarchic societies – primitive tribal societies	**DRIFTING SOCIETY** – strong oppress weak – difficulties identified too late
strong (has info, predicts difficulties, reacts to feedback)	**OVER-MANAGED SOCIETY** – totalitarian societies	**ACTIVE SOCIETY** – alienation uncommon – individuals' needs to be taken into consideration – aims of sub-cultures accepted – responsive (reacts to individuals' frustrations and adapts

The responsive society has the capability to react to individuals' needs and frustrations and so adapt itself. In such societies the control may also be strong. They therefore have an information base which makes it possible to predict difficulties. In the field of adult education the responsiveness of the

active society means that, in addition to a strong cybernetic control, the voices of individual citizens and their organizations get a hearing in the making of decisions on educational policy. Educational policy which emphasizes exchange value education finds its place in the over-managed society, when it is characterized by conservatism. On the other hand, working life in such a society may undergo drastic changes both structural and with regard to content, but the educational institution continues to lean on degrees governed by cybernetic control and the competence requirements based thereon. On the other hand, in a drifting society there may prevail so ungoverned a situation that the position of academic degrees is undermined because organizations outside the control of society, for example commercially operated training and consultancy enterprises, award externally the same degree certificates as the controlled, reputable universities. This legitimation situation has obviously been caused by dysfunction, out of which a positive function has been created: use value education has gained the upper hand over exchange value education.

In the western societies the myths prevailing are generally seen as the hidden structures of two languages emanating from the ordinary people and frequently assuming the character of norms. It is, however, observable that the academic élite, emphasizing as they do objective knowledge, stoops like the others to superstition when someone dares to put intelligence, knowledge or education in sporting tradition into order of merit (quiz shows, "brainbag" societies and IQ information). There are both national and international leagues in the science and education competition, for example in the number of doctoral degrees, quotations in publications, capacity of buildings, Nobel prizes etc. At regular intervals the competition for supremacy between American universities is legitimized. Similarly the results lists for the status competition are also beginning to invade the countries of Europe. Their functional, and apparently worthy aim is to publicize one kind of "**responsiveness points**", i.e. that the people can, on the basis of theses lists give feedback to the university institution. In reality this is not what happens. The scores lists remain mere expressions and artificial contacts between the people and the academic élite. As in sports competitions the victors may sometimes fail. As for example the list of 71 French universities (le palmarés des étudiants) shows in addition to the winner (Paris IX Dauphine) that changes in the placings over three years may be as great as ten places. In 1989 e.g. Angers was only 69th, but in 1992 it had

risen to 19th (a rise of 48 places). The points for beauty awarded by students may thus vary dramatically. (Le Monde de l'éducation 1992, 29.)

Responsiveness between university and working life also concerns research. As well as the **instrumental** (data aspect) and **political** (argument aspect) exploitation of research there is also **conceptual exploitation** (Lampinen 1992). In this case the essential aspects of knowledge are new thoughts, **ideas.** It is in this conceptual exploitation process of knowledge that the universities are an important social institution. In concrete responsiveness, however, problems arise because conceptual exploitation embraces all (difficult to quantify) human activity.

The active society which emphasizes responsiveness creates mechanisms which will make flexible the relation between education and working life. If some profession or area of work diminishes or ceases entirely to exist in a society, it is for that society to react promptly and not continue to educate people for that field. Conversely, new types of work in a rapidly changing society should be catered for immediately in the educational institution. This responsiveness is required of adult education more than of others. Adult education in the universities, for its part, has an even heavier burden to bear, for its mission is to educate experts for the upper reaches of working life, people who should be the professional avant garde. Their responsiveness in turn duly has its multiplier impact on the lower levels of the working organization and even on the entire national economy (in a party-political sense, however, this is a sensitive issue to confess to). In the present economic depression in Europe, for instance, the universities' continuing professional education for those in managerial positions plays a particularly decisive role because of its further implications. This thinking is seen in its extreme in the conception of the radical Swedish economist Gunnar Adler-Karlsson that **the secret of success in society is its very inequality.** According to Adler-Karlsson, those who strive for power in the hierarchy drag behind them the less ambitious, less fortunate folk, and society as a whole benefits from this.

The solution of reciprocal responsiveness presented for those countries where education is largely governed and owned by the state is **the privatization of education** (cf. Paijanen 1991). Another possible solution might be seen in the

adoption of a so-called **education voucher,** given by the state to the student for him/her to buy, up to a certain limit, the kind of educatio he/she wants anywhere in that country. (At this moment in Russia attempts are being made to implement this as an incentive to citizens to participate in the capitalization of private enterprise by offering each person a voucher for 10,000 rubles.) In compulsory basic education the conflict between governmental control and a voucher emphasizing freedom may prove overwhelming, but in adult educa tion its applicability is much easier. It is possible that the new "voucher insti tution" will change the status system currently pertaining between the levels and forms of institutions of education. Students may make a rush with their "coupons" for certain places and also leave completely unpatronized such education which, in a governmentally regulated system, might have been as popular as many another place. At all events placing the emphasis on the legi- timation of education can change content by permitting alongside govern- mental planning – yet hardly replacing it – a system of **independent studies** based on individuals' perception of their own needs. This model is probably the best answer to the way the active society could take responsiveness into consideration.

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Appendix table 5. **Proportion of youth being qualified for third level (university or higher vocational) education. 18 – 19-year-olds in 1987. Promille.**

Japan (d)	878
USA (c)	746
Sweden (a)	(757) (b)
Denmark (a)	(713) (b)
Netherlands	(527) (b)
Belgium	510
Greece (c.d)	485
Finland (a)	436
UK	366
Italy (a)	357
Spain	(353) (b)
France	340
Germany (a.c)	284
Austria	259

Notes: (a) aged 19 – 20. (b) Includes some leaving secondary education without qualification to third level. Inflated figure put into parenthesis. (c) 1986. (d) aged 17 – 18

Source: OECD. Education in OECD Countries 1987 – 88. Paris 1990, 112

Appendix table 6. **The female proportion of university students in the OECD Area. Per cent in 1986.**

Female Overrepresentation		Equal		Almost equal		Far from equal	
Canada	54	Greece (b)	43	Austria	49	Belgium(b)	39
Finland	57	New Zealand	44	Denmark(b)	51	Germany(b)	38
France	54	Norway(b)	48	Ireland	51	Japan	25
		Spain	47	Italy	50	Netherlands	38
		USA	46	Sweden	51	Switzerland	36(c)
				UK	45		

Notes: (a) Third level education, level 6, OECD. (b) Includes also post-graduate students. (c) 1984.

Source: OECD, Education in OECD Countries 1987, OECD – 88. Paris 1990, 76 and Thernborn 1992, 21.

Appendix table 7. Overall social fluidity in the highly developed world, β values.

Australia	-0.23
Czechoslovakia	-0.23
USA	-0.20
Japan	-0.20
Poland	-0.18
Sweden	-0.17
Hungary	0.02
England	0.09
Italy	0.12
Germany	0.13
France	0.16
Ireland	0.16
Netherlands	0.16
Scotland	0.19

Note: The crossnational average is set to zero. Positive values mean less fluidity or class openness than the average, negative values mean more fluidity/openness.

Source: Eriksson & Goldthorpe 1992, 381.

Appendix table 8. The distribution of disposable income and the size of the welfare state.

Country	Income inequality	Welfare State
Sweden	.197	33.2
Finland	.216	22.9
Norway	.234	24.2
Germany	.252	26.6
UK	.264	20.0
Australia	.287	17.3
Netherlands	.293	31.8
Canada	.293	19.5
France	.307	30.9
USA	.317	18.0
Switzerland	.336	19.1

Note: Circa 1980. Gini coefficient (a) of the distribution of income after tax and transfers, among households after adjusting for household size according to the OECD equivalence scale. Social expenditure, incl. education, as per cent of GDP in 1980. The Gini coefficient is a measure of equality-inequality. It ranges from 0, and complete equality, to 1, and complete inequality. The higher the value, the more inegalitarian is the country. Only countries from which LIS data were available are included.
r=-0.407, R2=0.166

Sources: D. Mitchell, "Comparing income transfer systems: is Australia the poor relation?", in F. Castles (ed.), Australia Compared. London, Allen & Unwin. 1991, p. 178. H. Uusitalo, Income Distribution in Finland op. cit. p. 32; OECD. Social Expenditure Trends and Demographic Developments, Paris. OECD Manpower and Social Affairs Committee, 1988, p. 6.

Appendix table 9. The proportion of education (%) of public expenditure, 1988.

Finland	17,1
Switzerland	14,7
Canada	14,4
Australia	13,9
USA	13,7
Norway	12,4
OECD average	**12,0**
Japan	11,7
Denmark	11,6
Ireland	11,5
Great Britain	11,4
Austria	11,1
Netherlands	10,9
Portugal	10,7
Belgium	10.5
France	10,2
Spain	9,7
Sweden	9,6
Italy	9,4
Germany	9,1

Source: OECD 1992b. Education at Glance, Paris.

VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION: UNITY AND PLURALITY

Geoffrey Squires

The Scope of adult education

I am very grateful to being one of the authors of this book with the title "Values and Policies in Adult Higher Education". However this topic creates a problem for me, because I do not believe in adult education and I am not sure about values. Let me explain.

In England, people sometimes talk about the 'man in the street'. The man in the street is the ordinary, average citizen who is endowed with ordinary, average knowledge and ordinary, average common sense. If you had stopped the man in the street 100 years ago and asked him 'What is adult education?' you would have got a blank look and no reply. Now, we know that towards the end of the nineteenth century, adults were already being educated and trained. The Mechanics Institutes and other voluntary associations and societies which existed to promote skills and culture for adult citizens had already been in existence for some 70 years (Kelly, 1983). Many of the students in the new 'civic' universities which were established in provincial cities in the second half of the century were part-time adult students who worked during the day and went to classes in the evening (Armytage, 1955). In fact the mature student in British universities is not so much a recent discovery as a recent rediscovery. Such universities had already developed strong links with industry in many cases (Sanderson, 1972). And non-vocational 'extension' work had already begun in some universities, notably Cambridge. However, the label 'adult education' was not yet current, and when we do not have a label for something we tend to ignore its existence.

If we move on say forty years, to 1932, and ask this time the son of the man in the street the same question --- What is adult education? --- we get a reply.

Adult education is identified with the 'liberal' education courses for adults which universities were increasingly providing through their extra-mural departments from the 1920s onwards. I shall not try to define what is meant by liberal: life is short. But I would simply note that such classes and courses were mainly non-vocational and non-professional, mainly in the arts and social sciences and mainly non-certificated (but see Marriott, 1981). They reached a relatively small and mainly educated middle-class segment of the population, although they sometimes embodied a strong commitment to the education of working-class students and potential leaders. Again, I cannot go into all the ideological arguments here; but at least there was by now a label and meaning for adult education.

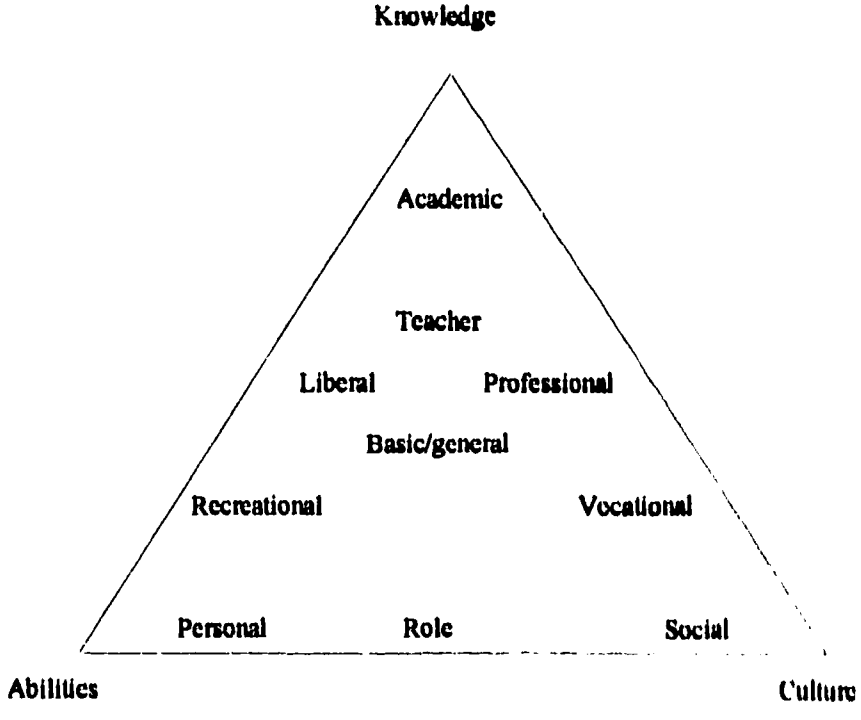

Figure 1. The scope of adult education

Move on another thirty years, to about 1962, and we find that the answer our question (it must ow be the grandson of the original man in the street) has broadened again. To the extra-mural work of the universities has now been

added a large sector of activity by the Local Education Authorities which were given responsibility for providing for the non-vocational needs of post-school students in the 1944 Education Act (Lowe, 1970). The classes they provided reached a wider social spectrum, and covered many fields which we could broadly describe as recreational or personal: for example, classes in arts and crafts, leisure interests, home-making skills or foreign languages.

Ten more years takes us to the 1970s, and two major developments. By now, we should be asking the woman in the street because adult education is beginning to attract women in large numbers, not only those who wanted to develop their home-related and leisure interests but those who were using adult education as a means of entry or re-entry to employment. Such a woman might well have mentioned two new things in answer to our question. The first was the opening of the Open University at the beginning of that decade (Tunstall, 1974). There was some provision for part-time degree study already in the system, particularly in London, but it was limited and low-key, and the Open University had a symbolic as well as actual significance. It put degree studies for adults on the map, and filled the popular press with stories of grandmothers studying sociology and pictures of pensioners in their graduation robes. It extended the scope of adult education to include certificated academic courses leading to Bachelors and higher degrees.

If our woman in the street had the gift of a little foresight, she would also have mentioned the adult literacy campaign, which really took off in about 1974 (Jones and Charnley, 1983). Whereas the Open University catered mainly for the educationally aware and the socially mobile, the adult literacy initiative was the response to the rather shocked and shocking discovery that a modern industrialised country could have large numbers of people who were functionally illiterate (and the problem of innumeracy was and still is as bad if not worse). So the scope of adult education grew again to encompass various kinds of basic education, initially mainly literacy but expanding to encompass numeracy and what in Britain are sometimes called 'coping skills'. And here also we should note that adults were increasingly returning to education to get the school qualifications which they had missed, not to school but to our further education or technical colleges.

You will see the drift of my argument, so I shall finish the story quickly. By 1982, we see the development of vocational training and re-training for adults on a significant scale. This is partly in response to the problems of cyclical and structural unemployment, partly in recognition of the fact that in future the competitive advantage of a country like the UK will lie not in access to capital or natural resources but in the skill of its labour force (National Economic Development Office, 1984). Such training sometimes has an emphasis on social skills --- how to apply for a job, how to manage ones time or money --- which is very different from the more reflective and questioning social studies traditionally found in liberal adult education.

1992 and perhaps the most important development for adults in the last decade has been the growth of continuing professional education, both in terms of short courses and events (Todd, 1987) and modular studies leading to qualifications (Vaughan, 1991). This is in my view an interesting and necessary development, as long as we do not forget that adult professionals learn in informal and private ways, as well as overt and public ones, and that not all continuing learning takes the form of continuing education. And likewise we should not forget that much vocational and professional education involves an element of role education, which goes well beyond merely the knowledge and skills needed for the job to include expected patterns of behaviour and associated attitudes and values.

Of course I have cheated, I have simplified. But I think you will see now why I said that I don't believe in adult education. I do not believe there is any single thing called adult education, but a whole array of quite diverse activities which involve the education, training and development of adults. We can no longer exclude anything, rule out anything. Adult education in the UK has become co-extensive with education in its broadest sense. So if we stop the great-grandson or the great-great-grandson of the man whom we first accosted in the street a hundred years ago, I think he would have to say in response to our question: everything.

Unity, methods and values

Is this a problem? It is not a problem if we simply assume that people will get on with their own work in whatever type of adult education they are involved. One would expect that these different kinds of work would embody different attitudes and values --- that people involved in liberal adult education would have liberal values (I mean educationally rather than politically or economically), those in professional education professional values, those in academic education academic values and so on. One might expect people who work in basic education, for example, to be particularly concerned with the disadvantaged in society, or those who work in social fields to be animated by a strong sense of community perhaps, those in the personal field to hold strong beliefs about individual growth and development. So everyone agrees to differ, everyone gets on with the job.

The problem comes if we expect some kind of unity. If we think that adult education is some kind of discipline or field or study, then we will want some means of unifying all these apparently disparate activities. We will look for some common concepts, theories, models, approaches. Is this some dreadful mistake, some fundamental misconception? Why do we read the same journals or books, with titles like continuing education or lifelong education or adult education or recurrent education or **education permanente**? Why do governments and international bodies like UNESCO and the OECD encourage such language?

If we want unity, if we feel that the picture that I have drawn is too chaotic, too scattered, we can I think try to find such unity in two ways: through common methods and through common values. Since the latter is the theme of this book, I would like to concentrate on that, but it is necessary to say a little bit about the idea of common methods of teaching adults, since they may in themselves embody certain values.

The idea that adults learn in a particular way, and that therefore they should be taught in a particular way is embodied in the concept of andragogy. Many in this audience will know, probably better than I, the origins and development of this concept, through the work of Knowles, Brookfield, Jarvis and others,

which has I think been well described in the recent book entitled **Learning in Adulthood** by Merriam and Caffarella (1991). The general argument is that adults differ from children not so much in physical or physiological terms as in respect of their self-concept, experience, roles and cognitive structures, and in the motivation for and context of their learning. This implies an approach to teaching which emphasises negotiation, relevance, mutual respect and exchange, through the use of participative methods such as discussion, projects and action learning, and the values that are inherent in such approaches.

My own view of the notion of andragogy is that it is incomplete. It is incomplete because it attempts to build a theory of teaching around who we teach, whereas teaching has to take account not only of who we teach but what we teach and where we teach. Alongside the needs of the adults, we may have the demands of the subject and the requirements of the institution, and these do not always coincide. I see the task of the adult educator as being partly one of trying to reconcile or juggle these different priorities, and mediate between person, subject and institution.

Also, theories of andragogy seem to me to be both under-generalised and over-generalised. They are under-generalised in that they under-emphasise the similarities and continuities between learning in schools and learning in adulthood. For example, Knowles' theory of andragogy can be seen as a variant on the well-known child-centred theories of John Dewey (Hartree, 1984; Tennant, 1986). Andragogy also over-generalises in that it glosses over the enormous differences between adults and in how they learn. We are talking, after all, about the most heterogeneous population of learners that we can imagine: the entire adult population. If it is difficult to generalise about children --- and it is --- it is even more difficult to generalise about adults.

If we cannot find unity through method, can we find it through values? Even if we do not all use the same approaches or techniques in our work, are we united by some common set of beliefs or attitudes which underpins that work? It would not be surprising if this were so. Adult education has often existed at the margins and in the interstices of the formal education system, and one may try to compensate for structural weakness through normative strength. In the UK at least some forms of adult education are more like a movement than a

service, even like a church or sect with its own hagiography, its own sacred texts, its own fine and impassioned theological disputes. An evidence of this, one can point to a substantial literature which is concerned with aims, values and traditions (Hoggart, 1957; Lawson, 1975; Paterson, 1979).

Up to this point, I have referred mainly to the UK, which is obviously the country I know best. However in the discussion of values, I would like to talk more broadly now about Europe, drawing on the work which I done on and off for the OECD for the last fifteen years. The OECD, as you may know, is an organisation concerned with economic and social policy in the non-communist industrialised countries, and among its 24 members are the countries of western Europe, North America, together with Japan and Australia. OECD studies lie inevitably in the domain of comparative education, although I would not necessarily claim to be a comparativist; I find myself rather in the position of the character in one of Molière's plays who was amazed and delighted to discover that he had been speaking prose all his life without knowing it. I have done a good deal of comparative work, although I have never trained formally in that particular field. However, I am at least conscious that one of the cardinal sins of comparative education is to dissociate educational systems from the cultures of which they are a part, and hence to under-estimate the overt and hidden differences between them. So one must be very careful about generalising across different countries.

Having said that, however, I cannot help being struck by the periodic major changes in socio-economic climate which seem to have occurred in western Europe in the last forty years, and the consequent shifts in educational policy and values. Of course, such shifts are not clear-cut and in my view there is a permanent plurality in educational values, whatever the main emphasis at the time. So when I identify three main shifts in values, I am talking only about relative emphasis: education has always and I think will always be viewed in cultural, social and economic terms (Squires, 1991).

In the two decades following the end of the second world war, most countries were preoccupied with educational reconstruction, with repairing and building up their systems after the ravages of war and its economic aftermath. Nevertheless, the dominant view of education at that time seems to me to have been

in terms of culture: the broad humanistic traditions of European culture, the particular national cultures which help to sustain national identity, and the sense of individual culture, the 'cultured' person.

In terms of the first, the basic aim and value of education is to induct people into the 'high culture' of Europe --- its philosophy, its art, its literature, its science, its music --- and to present this as a continuing, living tradition, what the English poet Matthew Arnold once called 'the best that has been thought and said (Rothblatt, 1976). The notion of a national culture is obviously more specific than that, but as an Irishman I think I can understand the role that this might play in a country such as Finland, because in both cases, the concept of a national culture, particularly in literature and music perhaps, formed part of the ideological as distinct from the purely economic or geo-political thrust towards nationhood and self-determination. Culture in the sense of the cultured individual is obviously related to both the humanistic and national ideals, but has perhaps a greater emphasis on attitudes, way of life or behaviour, and the expectation that education will in some sense civilise those who receive it: I think of the German concept of **Bildung**, which is difficult to translate into English.

At some point in the mid-1960s, I think, a change occurred, and education came to be seen more in socio-political terms. At its most dramatic, this was the radical upheaval of the French 'événements' of 1968, and comparable movements in other countries. Whereas the notion of 'culture' was strongly associated with the humanities, the social perspective drew heavily on certain trends within sociology, of a Marxist or neo-Marxist nature. To put it very simply, the view was that the value of education lay in enabling people to criticise the world they found themselves in and to contest its norms and structures. This perspective ranged from a radical and revolutionary one, through various reformist positions to the milder concern with remedying disadvantage where ever it existed --- what Griffin has described as a social welfare model of adult education (Griffin, 1987). The leading figures of that period --- people such as Adorno, Habermas, Marcuse, Gramsci --- may now seem to belong to the sixties but I think this perspective on education is still a powerful one which has a permanent place in any consideration of values.

Then at some point in the 1970s --- perhaps the sudden oil price rise is 1974 is a convenient marker --- another change in the socio-economic climate occurred, which led in turn to a shift in educational policies and values. The social concerns with equality, opportunity, reform or liberation in turn became partially displaced by a preoccupation with the economic, employment and efficiency aspects of education. In some countries this was a direct response to a worsening economic climate and rising youth and adult unemployment, but it also perhaps signalled a more general awareness that the place of European countries in the world economy was beginning to change, visavis not only the oil-producing countries but more importantly the growing centres of economic power in Asia.

As with the cultural and social perspectives, there are variants within the economic perspective. Pure 'free market' ideologies have of course had a major impact in the UK, and have had a significant influence on some other countries such as the Netherlands. The concept of the social market is associated more with modern Germany and, though I hesitate to speculate here, Scandinavian countries. The social market modifies the free market at the level of the system, by retaining a concern for welfare and social justice; whereas the concept of professionalism modifies market values more at the level of the organisation or the individual, with its emphasis on professional values such as service, ethical standards and collegiality.

As regards education, the economic perspective leads to a shift in emphasis and a shift in language. The values of education become mainly instrumental and vocational, the language mainly functional. We speak of clients not students, outcomes not aims, value for money rather than value per se. To people who have worked in the system for some time, its seems like a new, and not always brave, world, in which extrinsic priorities take precedence over internal or purely educational ones.

Again I have had to simplify, and there are a hundred ways in which one could qualify what I have said. But I think the experience of people who have worked in education over the last few decades largely substantiates the kinds of changes I have described. It is not that the older emphases on culture or society disappear, merely that they have become marginalised; it is a question

not of presence and absence, but of foreground and background. While we are still aware of the cultural and social dimensions, the dominant frame of reference for many of us now is economic, and depending on our personal values, we may feel more or less comfortable with that.

At this point I would like to digress a little, and say something more about the relationship between education and the economy. This is not because I think it is necessarily more important than the other cultural or social perspectives I have mentioned, but because the economic and employment aspects of education, including adult education, are high on the current policy agenda in most European countries, including Finland and the United Kingdom.

It helps, I would suggest, in this type of analysis to begin not with education but with the economy, and to work back towards education (see Fig. 2). Nineteenth century economics identified what came to be called the three classical factors of production: **land, labour** and **capital**. In contemporary terms, we would speak of natural resources, human resources and financial resources. If we focus for the moment on the labour factor, we can in turn identify three elements which have a major influence on its productivity: the way it is **organised**, both at the macro level in terms of the stock and availability of manpower, and at the micro level in terms of the management of organisations; **skills**, in terms of the knowledge and competences which the workforce possesses; and **culture**, in terms of the attitudes, values and norms which affect the work people do and the way they do it. Taking again the middle factor, we can see that the skills of the workforce may be acquired **formally**, through the mainstream education/training system, **nonformally** through organised education, training and development outside the mainstream system, and **informally** through everyday experiential learning. Formal education can in turn be sub-divided into three main phases: **compulsory** (typically up to the age of about 16 in most European countries, although part-time education and training is compulsory beyond that in some countries such as Germany); **consecutive**, meaning the further and higher education that follows on from this without a break for many young people; and **continuing** education which may occur intermittently throughout the rest of the life span.

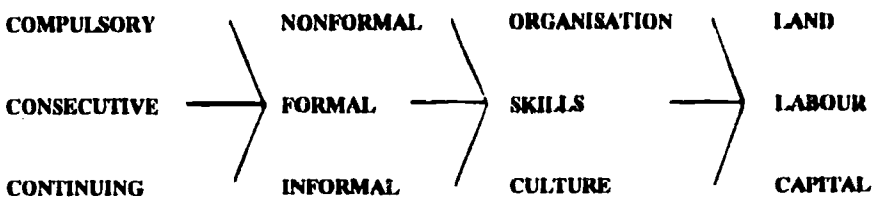

Figure 2. Education and the economy

The model set out in Fig. 2 cannot pretend to be a tight, quantitative model of the relationship between education and the economy, but it may help us to map the relevant factors and analyse policy trends and issues more clearly. To begin with, the attempt of the human capital theorists of the 1960s to establish a direct relationship between educational provision and economic performance --- essentially the horizontal line across the model --- now looks simplistic, given the complexity of the factors operating at each stage in the analysis. And the model itself grossly oversimplifies such factors: for example, the interaction between of partial substitution of land, labour and capital is itself influenced by the prevailing political climate both national and international, trends in global finance and trade, the many interfaces between government and the economy, and wider social and cultural trends.

If there is a general economic lesson to be learned from the model it is perhaps that national economic performance is unlikely to be improved by a limited of myopic concentration on one or two economic factors. Governments seem prone sometimes to focus on a particular aspect of the problem --- be it the money supply or exchange rate or balance of trade --- to the virtual exclusion of everything else. Five years later, the focus switches and a new measure becomes all-important. Instead, we should surely be attending continually to all the relevant factors and seeing to what extent they can be optimised in the medium-term. Less tactics, more strategy.

The model can also be used to analyse the existing balance of emphasis in public policy and economic culture, a balance which is likely to reflect a range of socio-historical factors and which will doubtless vary from country

to country. Has the relative abundance of both capital and natural resources led to an historical under-emphasis on the labour factor in the United Kingdom? Was Mrs Thatcher's emphasis in the 1980s on the "right to mange" and on the "enterprise culture at the expense of investment in skills? Or does the "Dutch disease" reflect a degradation in the work culture, a going soft, a loss of entrepreneurial edge? Do we habitually emphasise formal education and training at the expense of nonformal and informal modes? And what about the prevailing balance of emphasis on the compulsory, consecutive and continuing stages?

Thirdly, the model implies that the "economy", far from being a free-floating or autonomous market, is deeply embedded in the society and its polity and culture. Labour contracts, economists tell us, are inherently incomplete, because they do not and cannot specify attitudes to work, relationships within it, the complex packages of self-concept, role perception and value structure that every individual brings to the job. This suggests that the conventional educational distinction between vocational and non-vocational, professional and liberal is much less neat than is appears, and that it is not only vocational forms of education which contribute to economic growth. If that were so, how could one explain the fact that one of the most economically successful countries in the world (Japan) also has one of the most **general** systems of education?

Finally, the model suggests that education is only one among a whole range of factors affecting economic performance. It is important, but equally it cannot be expected to perform miracles on its own. In the more radical, egalitarian days of the 1960s and 1970s, some people believed that education could transform their societies and erase the inequalities of life-chances within them. Nowadays, politicians and others sometimes look to education to get them out of the economic quagmire. In both cases, expectations are unrealistic. Only if educational policies are pursued in parallel with a wider range of economic and social policies are results likely to be achieved. Investment in education will be wasted if the economy and the labour market cannot make use of it. Highly educated manpower can easily be lost in an increasingly international labour market. There is little point in trying to raise the educational status of vocational courses and qualifications if such skills are not rewarded by the wider economy and society. We need to avoid both under-estimating

and exaggerating the importance of education to the economy, particularly at a time when crisis sends us searching desperately for any solution to the problem.

Where have we got to? I have tried to set out what I see as the problem in talking about values in adult education. I have argued that there is no single thing called adult education, but rather a multiplicity of different types of education for adults --- professional, vocational, recreational, liberal, basic, personal and so on. It seems to me that each of those types of adult education will typically have different values associated with it, and that therefore there is no natural or inherent value consensus in the field.

Could it be that despite this diversity, we are all nevertheless united, or bound together in some way? Again, rather summarily, I have dismissed the idea that we are all drawn together by the same methods of teaching, because I regard andragogy as a rather simplistic and incomplete theory. That then leaves the possibility that we all hold to some underlying common values, which unite us irrespective of the particular type of adult education we are engaged in.

However, those broader values also seem to me to be historically relative, and to have changed over the last forty years. Obviously those changes will have occurred at different times and in different ways in different countries, but there do seem to me to be some common trends in the European experience. Some of us may still see education primarily in terms of the concepts of culture, which I have argued, dominated the post-war period; some of us see it mainly in terms of the socio-political perspectives which emerged in the sixties; for some of us the dominant concerns are the current economic and employment ones.

The picture I have painted has thus been of plurality, change and perhaps even conflict. If there are multiple possible perspectives on this wide range of activities, it seems likely that in adult education, and among adult educators, diversity rather than unity, argument rather than consensus, tension rather than harmony will be the norm. Next, I would like to explore two characteristics of adult education which may lead to a common perspective and shared values in what we do.

Existential centrality, institutional marginality

There are perhaps two characteristics of the education of adults, underlying all its various forms, which have implications for the way in which adult educators think about values. The first of these I shall call '**existential centrality**'.

What do I mean by this? It is difficult to formulate this notion precisely, but it lies in the feeling that in some way adult education is 'close to life'. That could be a rather banal, meaningless phrase, but I think there is evidence that adult education is typically embedded in the lives that adults live. There is for example the emphasis on experiential learning which one finds in Kolb's (1984) work, the cycle of experience, reflection, analysis and experimentation. At a more abstract level, there is Riegel's (1979) argument that adult learning adds a fifth stage of development, going beyond the formal operations of Piaget, to involve what he called dialectical learning --- the encountering and resolution of contradictions which are thrown up by the relationship between thought and action. And even if the effects of adult education are often less profound or dramatic than the 'perspective transformation' described by Mezirow (1981), we are still often concerned with its impact on how people see themselves and how they live.

For me, some of the most interesting writing in recent years has also explored how adults think and work in a professional context. Here again, the drift of theory seems to be towards a recognition that practice --- what e actually do --- is by no means the direct or simple application of theory, but the result of a complex process of reflection which involves both past experience and current action. This seems to me what emerges, in different ways, from the work of Dreyfus (1979), Argyris (1982), Benner (1984), Schon (1987) and more recent if less well known writers such as Boreham (1988).

In short, the existentiality of the adult --- his or her self-concept, roles, past experience, future expectations --- seem to be central to adult learning and education in a way that is perhaps not quite so true of children or even adolescents. Adult education is immersed in, related to, bound up with, constrained by, what the German philosopher Husserl (1931) called the **Lebenswelt** --- the life-work --- of the adult. This suggests that whatever type of adult edu-

cation we are talking about --- whether it be liberal, recreational, academic, professional, vocational, social and so on --- there is going to be a deeper agenda or purpose which has something to do with the being of that person, what I have called elsewhere a kind of 'existential drift', which will affect and colour whatever we or they are ostensibly trying to teach or learn (Squires, 1987).

This closeness to life, or relevance to existence or whatever we want to call it can I think be regarded as a positive thing, but the other characteristic of adult education which may affect our perceptions of values appears at first sight a rather negative one: I mean its institutional marginality.

There is an Arab proverb which I like which goes: when I meet a strong man I look for his weakness; and when I meet a weak man I look for his strength. In many ways, adult education is rather weak, compared to the rest of the education system. It lacks solid institutions. It is often under-funded, or relies on what the Americans call 'soft money'. There is little sense of professional identity. It is often difficult to define and describe, and hence lacks a clear profile which could command wider public support. It often seems to exist at the margin, especially in higher education: the very term 'extra-mural' of course indicates something that lies outside the walls.

And yet the margin is an interesting place and perhaps an important one. Because that very marginality, the very distance from the core structures of education allows adult educators to avoid becoming completely professionalised and institutionalised. And this is important in relation to our perception of knowledge. Winston Churchill once remarked that men shape their institutions, and thereafter their institutions shape them, and this is I think often true of education and perhaps particularly of higher education. I do not want to argue, as some sociologists did in the 1960s and 70s, that academic disciplines are purely artificial and arbitrary, and a mere consequence of our social construction of reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1971). That seems to me too easy an answer to an epistemological problem which has been troubling us for many centuries, even millenia. But disciplines are not only bodies of knowledge, they are bodies of people as well (Squires, 1990). And it seems to me all too common for academics and students to become locked into the frame

of reference of a particular discipline, and thereafter to see the world only through that particular lens.

We cannot live without academic structures, but neither can we live wholly within them, and I think the very marginality of adult education helps us perhaps to maintain a due sense of the contingency of organised education --- its institutions, its disciplines and subjects, its professions, its rituals and rites. We are perhaps in the uneasy position of belonging but not quite belonging, because Janus-like we point two ways, inwards towards the institution and its structures, but also outwards towards that messy place we call the world. Someone once said that whereas universities have disciplines, societies have problems. Again, I think that is a bit too simple; after all, Karl Popper placed the concept of problem-solving right at the heart of his theory of knowledge. But there is some truth in the contrast. And perhaps this is why the apparent weakness of adult education in institutional terms can turn out to be a strength in epistemological terms, because to quote Brecht, 'the most penetrating dialecticians are the exiles' (Brecht, 1961).

What are the implications of these two characteristics of adult education --- which I have dubbed existential centrality and institutional marginality --- for the broad frames of reference, the cultural, the social and the economic, which seem to have dominated educational values and policies in the post-war years in Europe, and which I was discussing earlier? It is not of course that any of these frames of reference is false or wrong in itself. It will always be legitimate to look at education in general and adult education in particular in terms of culture, society and the economy, whatever particular gloss we put on these concepts. The problem is that they are inherently incomplete, in two ways.

They are incomplete first because they have nothing at their centre, their core. We are not clients, customers, citizens, students. We are not economically active or socially disadvantaged members of the population. We are not examples of the urban professional classes or of a particular ethnic minority. We are not book-readers or music-lovers. We are not this, not that. We are people. I do not mean that as a naive or sentimental statement, the expression of

some kind of vague, warm humanism. I mean it as a precise description of our experience of what it is to be alive.

Others have put this much better than I can. The French philosopher Merleau-Ponty (1962) said: 'The world is not what I think, but what I live through'. What this restores is something at the centre of all our frames of reference --- cultural, social, economic --- which reflects the reality of our life to us. And I would argue that it is adult education, more than any other form of education, which can help to remind us of that reality, because whatever form it takes, and I have suggested that it takes many, its centre of gravity lies in the direct experience of the person, and the consciousness of the adult of what it is he or she is living through.

Without that centre of gravity, things risk becoming both meaningless and unreal. Meaningless, because the individual person has no way of relating the abstractions which fill our discourse to the reality of his or her everyday life, no way of connecting what he or she experiences to what is said or written about it. Unreal, because unless there is something in which to ground all the partial or specialised frames of reference --- the cultural, the social, the political, the economic and so on --- we begin to take the part for the whole, and produce policies which are correspondingly unrealistic because they are not based on an adequate conception of the actual situation which people will be in. So it is important for adult education and educators to keep posing the question: what is it like to experience this? What is like to live through this? What is the reality of this for the person who is at the heart of it? One of the basic insights of the phenomenological tradition is that we are all, inescapably, at the centre of our own world, and in that striking phrase, condemned to meaning.

The other way in which the various frames of reference --- the cultural, the social, the economic --- are incomplete is in their lack of totality. Each constitutes a partial view of the world, rigourous and powerful in itself, but operating essentially in isolation from all the others. And here we begin to see the need for some sense of the totality and interdependence of things, and of the fact that there will be multiple facets of any particular phenomenon we are looking at.

This sense of interaction and interdependence is becoming increasingly strong in several domains. We have only to look at the realm of communications to see that we are truly becoming inhabitants of a global village; we have only to consider the complex web of economic influences to realise that we are all part, like it or not, of a global economy. And the message of globality is carried most dramatically by the growing awareness of environmental interdependence. For me, the environmental movement has both a retrogressive and a progressive side. On the one hand, it is driven by a certain nostalgia, a dream of what was lost, an idealisation of pre-industrial society which I do not think stands up to serious analysis. But it also brings and is bringing something which is I think quite new, and which is becoming part of the normal consciousness of our children: the need to see and think of the planet as a whole, in a way that transcends and brings together the partial perspectives of culture, society and economy.

I have suggested that the various frames of reference that we have used in the past need to be related and integrated in terms of two new poles of awareness, the existential and the global. Everything that we think is, on the one hand, a facet of our own lived existence, the Lebenswelt; and on the other hand, an aspect of the world, the planet we live on. Of course, this leaves many questions unanswered, issues unresolved. But I suspect that towards the end of this century we may be experiencing one of those slow, broad, vague shifts in consciousness which only really become clear with hindsight.

For adult education and adult educators there is I think a particular challenge and a particular opportunity. I have argued that of all forms of education, adult education is most closely involved in life it is lived, with what the phenomenologists have called our being-in-the-world. I have also suggested that the very marginality of adult education in terms of institutions gives it a certain distance and relativity in terms of the received ideas and established structures of organised knowledge, and in particular the specialist frames of reference which provide powerful but limited ways of viewing that world: the lenses of the specialist disciplines and their academic professions. The value of adult education may thus lie, on the one hand, in helping us to relate to our own being, and on the other hand to our world in all its interdependence and totality, and hence to our being in our world.

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TOWARDS A SINGLE EUROPEAN EDUCATION POLICY?

Comments on memoranda from the European Community Commission

Matti Parjanen & Reijo Raivola

1. Underlying philosophy

The members of the European Community are also members of OECD. There is a great deal of overlapping and uncoordinated preparatory and planning work in the two organizations, resulting on occasion in virtually identical documents. The situation is anomalous in that the EC has declared its principle rivals to be the USA and Japan, and these countries are represented in OECD. In the case of very small member states it is the same representatives who take part in the strategic and indeed the tactical planning of both "blocks". Since both Unesco and the World Bank are also engaged in education research and planning, there is a strong case for coordination of activities.

The EC Commission memoranda on education policy are clearly based on an underlying concept of **continued economic growth**. Creating efficient internal markets and sufficiently unified mechanisms for planning and decision-making, the future union will be able to secure for itself the biggest possible share of global growth. Production will concentrate on the education-intensive, high-technology based commodities and services, leaving mass production to those countries with low labour costs. Education and research will become a central strategic development factor with human resources the most important factor in production. Despite the demurrings of the reports on the subject, opinion will be guided by the **theory of technologically directed and production oriented human capital** as an underlying theory of education

policy. This will function as an ideology of osmosis which legitimizes the concepts and language used and also the proposed activity processes.

It is thus surprising that reports address very little attention to the cost factor involved in the production of top level labour. It is assumed that competition governed by market forces and the privatization of education will take care of the cost/benefit ratio. This is one of the reasons why reports confine themselves to **describing at top political planning level the maximal sectoral targets**. Targets are indeed tied to their context in real time, but they are nevertheless expressed at a level and in a manner which scarcely admits differences of opinion in respect of analyses made and the goal setting based thereon - always assuming that the basic premiss of continued economic growth in competitive economy is accepted. Difficulties are only encountered when the language of planning is dismantled into an operative directive for action for people and for education systems.

What if the problems of the industrial nations (imbalance of trade, unemployment, debts, cessation of economic growth) are not rapidly passing phases but warning signals of the beginning of a protracted downward trend, and an indication of the need for a new economic order? The economic and political changes which first made themselves felt at the end of the 1980's were proof that the world was in a state of uncertainty, whose underlying cause was the uncontrolled phase movements of sub-organizations. In the theory of decision-making the problem is obviously that of the choice between **political and biophysical reality**. There is an ever-increasing body of opinion which is convinced that the earth cannot support the present level of production, let alone any growth in the volume. The politicians, however, are unable to rid themselves of the pressures put upon them by the majority of the people to create more to share by increasing production and productivity. And yet at the same time that very fordism, in all its traditional rationalism the driving force of growth, finds itself in a state of crisis on all sides.

It then appears virtually inevitable that **education planning directed solely by the growth logic of economic life** will also produce dysfunctional results. The directives on degree programmes and recognition which have been created to promote the mobility of labour are circumvented, various forms of pro-

tectionism are becoming apparent, the permanent unemployment among those educated narrowly in the natural sciences, engineering and economics causes social problems, it becomes necessary to dismantle education constructs, inequality between regions and various social groups becomes more accentuated and so on. The foregoing is intended to indicate that if the scenario logic chosen is that of **a future void of alternatives**, the effects of the malfunctions of any central sub-organization will permeate far into economic, political and social fibre. Even as an intellectual exercise or as a precautionary measure, it would be interesting to make an alternative vision of education based on the principle of sustainable development.

The following overview concentrates on the question as to whether we are, by way of a unified educational policy, on the road towards converging education systems, congruent curricula and towards a homogeneous European level of skill and knowledge. Examination is further undertaken of the extent to which education is to be made to respond to the challenges of economic life, and of the problems of the Finnish university departments on the threshold of integration.

2. On the road to unified education?

It may with justification be claimed that there exists in the EC no normative education planning or policy. Only the opportunity to propose general principles for vocational training is afforded by Article 128. The Commission repeatedly emphasizes its respect for national autonomy in matters pertaining to education, and also its appreciation of the synergetic energy generated by a multi-cultural, multi-lingual Community. That vocational and technical education should be comparable is a central target at which to aim. And still the Council of Ministers and the Commission have brought considerable influence to bear on education in the Member States countries in the form of resolutions, (over 50 in the last 15 years), recommendations, memoranda and reports. It should be mentioned that the European Court deemed all elements of the education system to be part of the professional training system, and thus

that the authority of the Community extends over the entire system (Erasmus decision 1989).

J. Delors has employed the term "**European Social Space**" when exhorting Member States countries to a social dialogue on their citizens' working and living conditions. The right to interfere in education springs from the agreement to harmonize working and living conditions in Member States countries, education is, after all, one of the tools of social policy. It has therefore been felt that education policy in the Community and in the nations can serve as an implement for economic integration. The report "Education in the European Community: Mid-term prospects 1988-92" (1989) presents three aims: to utilize the contribution of education in the creation of the internal market, to forge firm links between education, research and business life, and to decrease regional, social and economic differences. The free movement of labour places the burden of operational unification squarely on the shoulders of vocational and university education. Employers must be able to assure themselves of applicants' level of expertise. Therefore the Community has made a requirement that the accreditability of studies and their compensatory value be allowed, and determined standards as to the reciprocal recognition of complementary degrees. Even if the equivalency classes of degree studies is not precisely defined, it is obvious that the duration of education and the content of curricula will to a considerable extent be brought into line. The practice, however, will need to rest on mutual trust rather than on a formal system of degrees.

The internal markets then cannot but have a profound effect on national education. L. Cedych divides theses effects into three. **(1) What must be done?** Students from Member States must be treated in the same way as a member state's own students (admission criteria, social study benefits, fees), and former studies must be accepted. In many member countries the right of the teacher to a permanent job is restricted by his position as a functionary of the state. These official positions are not to be opened on a permanent basis to citizens of other countries (e.g. police, judge). The problem of the teacher is how to be released from his/her position as a functionary without jeopardizing his/her job security and social benefits. **(2) What are the changes which will facilitate the implementation of the country's own educational policy?**

These are primarily the Community's own numerous action programmes (COMETT, ERASMUS, ESPERIT, SCIENCE etc.). For participants not only the concrete benefit accruing is important, but also the symbolic: recognition for the organization, enhanced credibility for the country's activities. (3) **Changes which provide an excellent catalyst for the further development of the country's own activities.** The member states have taken the opportunity of developing their curricula and education structures. The condition of being European has created pressures for the diversification of the university system, and to broaden the spectrum of those who use it. The universities have been thrown into competition with each other and with private educational and research institutions. They have been compelled to open their doors to society.

Many voices have been raised to dispute this. School and university are first and foremost cultural institutions. To harmonize the educational institutions would mean to harmonize the cultural institutions. The debate in Germany in particular has taken a critical stand on the integration of education. The internal markets are perceived as an entirely economic community, not even political, despite EU efforts, let alone cultural. There are great differences between the Member States in their cultural and historical ways of connecting work and education. The German dualistic system is not easy to adapt to suit the requirements of the majority school-centred vocational education. It has further been pointed out that it is quite problematic enough in a country composed of confederated states to achieve harmonization of education even at national level. There also exists a suspicion that it is only top level experts who will be mobile or who will be mobilized by the companies. The gap between the educated and the uneducated will grow. The universities in all the Member States have expanded and become much more varying, frequently without actual planning. Most of the Community's 3,500 institutions of higher education – as many as there are in the USA – were founded to satisfy the needs of purely national, regional and even narrowly one sector of economic or cultural life. How is this heterogeneous group to be made to create a European identity?

The Europe Dimension in education has been chosen as a tactic which takes effect slowly. Awareness in young people of their European identity is to be

strengthened, and the lasting values produced by the historical development of European culture are to be demonstrated: democracy, social justice, and respect for human rights. This presupposes a knowledge of the historical, cultural, economic and social developments of the Member States and of the status quo. The preparation and distribution to all institutions of a basic document on the subject has been proposed. It has not been deemed wise to make this a separate subject of study. There is surely reason for every country to revise the curricula and teaching materials – consider what adjoining countries have to say about each other in the history books! Referring to the power of osmosis of nationalistic thought, de Gasperi has stated that the unification of Europe will require that more be rejected than erected. The condition of being European must be catered for in teachers' pre-service and further education. One means would be to increase teacher exchanges (ARION). The language question is central. It is a prerequisite of all kinds of co-operation that a common language be found. There are at present in the Community nine official languages. English and French are undeniably world languages, but political considerations make it impossible to give either of these official preference. It is therefore as well to support the initiative taken on language teaching, above all the Lingua programme, which aims to ensure that small languages are also spoken. Regrettably the Finns' difficulties in communication are considerably greater than those of the central Europeans. Increasing the amount of teaching in English is no solution.

3. The European qualification markets

The common denominator in all the documents is how to maintain and improve through top level education the level of expertise in Europe. The need to increase educational efficiency comes from disquieting demographic considerations and especially from threatening educational competition in the shape of Japan. Albeit, the conclusions drawn about Japanese education, particularly those drawn by IRDAC, are simplifications which do not readily lend themselves to comparison with European work and education culture. Japan stands as an example of how the relation between education and work can be arranged differently from the way this is done in Europe. Japanese education and

working life are not market oriented, but are centred on the organization. The country does not have functional labour and recruiting markets. The field and content of education are of less significance than is commonly assumed by technical functionalism.

Working life is constituted by **economic-technological, economic and social organizations.** When education is organized as an investment in productivity, it takes on different forms depending on which of the above organizations is being accorded special attention. The documents still suggest a pronounced technological bias. It results, however, as a by-product, in **an everyman's labour market**, the segmented and "flexible" use of labour. Labour is engaged close at hand for temporary use in declining fields of industry. The process of unification hardly touches this except that the main body of this labour force appears to consist of immigrants and refugees. The economic justification resulting from the internal markets, however, would appear to be at least equally significant. It presupposes **labour markets based on skilled labour or on the companies.** It is in the interests of both to form European qualification markets. The former includes wide-ranging skills, rapid variability and standardized and legitimized competence. The "passport of professional training" admits the holder regardless of where the job is located. Company-centred markets, on the other hand (compare Japan) are problematic. Qualifications are tied to a given technology and work process. The employee is unable to transfer these to another company without forfeiting benefits and part of his/her skills. For such a worker free mobility is being placed in a subsidiary of the same company in another country, assembly, maintenance, purchasing or other work done as something temporary abroad. It remains unresolved whether those with the least education will be by-passed on the market because of inadequate professional skills, or whether, because of the present structures of working life, they will form a necessary buffer between the supply and demand for labour. Are we here discussing only the central workers in central industry? Is the professionalization of work a relative and historical phenomenon, or is it absolute? At all events the development of unification inevitably raises again **the thesis of polarization.** The greatest change, however, will be in work as a social system.

If 1992 mobilizes a sizeable labour force, the national quantitive planning of education will be in straits. The objectives of vocational education at least will require a broader definition. It will be necessary to monitor the movements of labour and make efforts to create models to facilitate planning. Will this trend lead to common quantitive planning? The key to the post-fordist production model will be the flexibility and versatility of the utilization of resources. **Static flexibility** will be required of the labour force, i.e. if it possesses many skills it will be in a position to react quickly to the new demands work places upon it. **Dynamic flexibility**, moreover, means that the worker, with the help of the heuristic skills he/she has acquired in the course of his/her basic training will be able to learn while at work the skills required in that present work, or that he/she, after strategic supplementary education can then be deployed without interruption to fulfil new functions. International education for internationalizing labour markets produces both static and dynamic capabilities.

For Finland the problem is that the relations between education and economy have been made within the frame of reference afforded by the Scandinavian concept of welfare state. This has included an able economy, efficient mechanisms for the resolution of conflicting interests, the participation in considerable numbers of women in paid work and a comprehensive system of services in the public sector, all resting on neo-Keynesian regulatory systems relying on mass industry. The transition to open competitive economy will rock the foundations of the welfare state as it has so far been understood. It is inevitable that the role of education will also change. Its selective function will become more powerful. It will no longer be a sufficient condition for economic and social welfare, but indeed an essential.

4. Distinctive features of Finnish education in the European context

4.1. The legitimization of university education

It is our conception that the system of legitimization of Finnish higher education is more homogeneous than elsewhere in Europe (not to mention the USA). This is because the judicial legitimization has hitherto been achieved through Statutes laid down by the state which govern academic degrees, and conversely through Statutes governing the competence required on the labour market of public administration. Such administrative legitimization has in the course of time reflected on **social legitimizations**, to the effect that in the private sector, too, social prestige may clearly be seen to attach to university degrees, if not necessarily to university teaching. This connection with the state in the legitimization of higher education, rooted as it is in history, has also been carried over to influence pedagogics and the content of teaching so that there exists between teachers and students a tacit agreement whereby **the exchange value** (the degree certificate as a passport to a job) outweighs **the use value** (study and teaching specifically for application in working life).

It may well be that such thinking will vanish from Finland in the coming years, as the Ministry of Finance workgroup (1990 VM:33) has proposed a radical relaxation of the competence requirements in public administration. The EC Member States' new degree regulations are likely to exert influence in the same direction. This change is welcome in Finnish economic life. Employers have long insisted on "know-how" in education and the life thereafter. In university "neo-traditionalist" circles, however, this has been met with reservations, and even with trepidation. At all events these structural changes are likely to give rise to farther-reaching reforms within the universities than have been brought about during years of official ministerial pressure to make changes.

The rigidity of the Finnish university degree structure has been a source of discontent both within the universities and outside, primarily because undergraduate studies lead only to first degrees at Master's level. On the subject of scientific postgraduate degrees, particularly their one or two-tier nature, no

unanimity has been reached even within the universities themselves. There is even greater dissention, and also lack of knowledge, on the plans concerning firstly professional specialized degrees and high-level continuing education "diplomas", and secondly on postgraduate professional degrees. In this respect it is assumed that the EC plans on educational policy will bring to Finland a new and more liberal approach. In many European countries these degree structures are already administratively and socially in legitimized use. Conversely, it has already become apparent that the degree accrediting systems adopted by USA and the UK cannot easily be applied to Finnish higher education.

It is a risky business to make any assessment as to whether Finland is ahead or behind the other EC countries in matters of education policy. There is, however, one distinct field in which we feel we are definitely lagging behind: **adult education in the universities, its social and administrational legitimization.** This is a new venture, and catching up with the rest of Europe clearly began in the 1990's. On the other hand, differences between the respective attitudes of EC and Finnish education policy to **the formal and non-formal system of learning** are discernible. EC goals have been inclined towards formal organization. Scholars in the sociology of education favour the organization in Finland of reformed continuing higher further education in the non-formal area. Organized in conjunction with the Finnish universities, professional continuing education, open university and consultancy, although still very much in their infancy, have grown quantitively and have diversified (this includes among others distance learning and Professional Development as applications of diploma level teaching).

There are at present in the centres of continuing education more students enrolled (albeit part-time) than there are enrolled on undergraduate university studies. Although these former are indeed studies at university level, deft use has been made of the network, well-established in Finland, of regionally disseminated citizens' institutes and other institutions for adult education. It is thus only in the legitimization of education that we lag behind the EC countries.

4.2. Higher education policy v. regional policy

In Finland the interests of regional policy have been openly involved in the founding of the universities. The country's 20 universities and the 20 institutions filials are as a whole satisfactory to the political decision-makers, but regional support policy remains a delicate matter to which an objective solution is hard to find.

It has proved difficult in respect of regional policy to accommodate the desires of Helsinki University, the country's only really large university, to participate on its own account in regionally oriented benefits by creating its own "network university". This university, now at the planning stage, would spread its net throughout the country in such a way that part of the undergraduate studies could be completed in some smaller place. This innovation has not been welcomed by the Finnish provincial universities. Further, the student organizations are not positively disposed towards the new "mobility culture". Finland is not accustomed to this. It has also been felt that the present network of open university is already sufficient.

On the other hand, Finland has evinced positive interest in education networks within Europe. There has also been a desire among the peripheral areas of Europe to create some kind of communications network between each other. A working example of this is to be seen in what is known as the Calotte Cooperation between the northernmost areas of Finland, Sweden and Norway.

4.3. Distance learning: a combination of new and old

The EC Commission has great expectations of distance learning. As in the other Scandinavian countries, distance learning in Finland is closely linked with open university, which in turn forms part of university activity. At European level it would be a good thing to weight the merits of the various solutions and the various ways of organizing distance learning. No university of distance learning is envisaged either for Finland or the other Scandinavian countries, thus emphasis should be laid on the possibilities of the universi-

ties with networks, where such exist, as a new resource, especially in distance learning – and this at national level.

The EC documents make frequent reference to the "economies of scale" as a peculiar advantage of distance learning. This holds good to an extent, but problems of language, logistics and adapting to local use and tutoring detract from the "classic" economies of scale. It would be more satisfactory to describe this as "**scale of experience**", which help smaller countries in particular to achieve top level expertise.

The Finnish model incorporates the existing secondary and higher levels, and also the liberal adult education facilities as an important part of a successful distance learning organization. It is thus possible at no great extra expense to disseminate education in several fields near the students. It must here be emphasized that the same institutions have the capability to offer both conventional teaching and distance learning.

It has been seen as one of the possibilities of distance learning that the pressures to get through mass courses could be relieved and the labour thus saved directed into such activities which have hitherto received too little attention (among them tutoring and small group work). A sensible division of labour between conventional and distance learning would make it possible to create new resources for allocation in the field of conventional university teaching.

The traditional European conception of distance learning has been based on the idea of "open access", in which students are fairly independent of the institution and study according to teaching packets and entities. This view has meant that the American "**electronic campus**" thinking, through which the opportunities of the students are enhanced at different points, has not been apparent in Europe. Both views are important, however, and discussion on them is desirable, the more so as the new communications technology offers significant new possibilities through mini-satellites and information networks among others. The Finnish view is that the concept of distance learning should be made to include "normal" study happening at a distance on the electronic campus, which would have the effect of reducing the need for students to travel, make it possible for lectures to be divided among several units etc. Euro-

PACE and EUROSTEP are comparable attempts at European level, but these have so far kept a fairly low profile.

4.4. The effect of structural factors on university pedagogy

In Finland the effect of structural factors on academic teaching and study is not always acknowledged. The theoretical construct described in Table 3. (page 18) rests on the notion that in the extreme case the student is either oriented towards exchange value or use value. The university teacher likewise may be markedly oriented towards either research or to teaching. In the terms of this theory the good or bad results of university teaching are attributable to whether **the interests of the student and of the teacher coincide**. In the first case (which is probably the more common in Finland) the interests are one and the same, education progresses, but neither party is concerned about pedagogics. In the second case, however, education as a whole progresses, likewise pedagogics and the expectations of the applicability of academic education as perceived in working life.

4.5. Efficiency – a great change?

It has at several points in the EC memorandum been stipulated that the educational institutions of the member states be flexible in their yielding to pressures for change coming from either the state or from the EC. The Finnish Ministry of Education has here determined to create novel structural changes within the universities such that they are granted greater freedom of action in order to increase their **efficiency**. The Ministry has laid down certain conditions for granting such freedom. For instance, it requires that new **strategies** be created and that the organization and decision-making be so arranged as to support management for results (Communication from the Ministry of Education to the universities and to the Finnish Academy 1992). In practice these conditions mean clear administrative and managerial changes in regulations and attitudes in each university. The direction of management, firmly dictated

by norms, does not appear to be very easy to change. On the other hand, the state is also required in this structural change to relax its grip on the meticulous and in the view of the universities, often restricting regulations and their application. In this structural change of direction within the universities and in state administration in general both direct and indirect pressure on the part of the EC will be an advantage. The reservations of university teachers and students could be dispelled if the Member States of the EC had at their disposal working models of the new division of accountability.

It was characteristic of the 1980's that Finnish politicians and civil servants advocated that much greater financial resources be allocated to education. As an example of this it may be mentioned that in the parliamentary memorandum on the Government report on education the desire was expressed that the share of education of the GNP should be increased by 1% in the 1990's. Similarly a Ministry of Education memorandum "69 measures for the development of adult education" (1989) called for an additional FIM 120 million per year in the years 1990–91 to be allocated to the expansion of voluntary professional adult education. The memorandum on the expansion of adult education called for a rise of FIM 15 million per year. As yet another example of the tens – if not hundreds – of encouraging reform proposals made by the government, mention could be made of the system of financial support for mature students, which actually reached the implementation stage, and was hailed as the "best in the world", only to fall under the economic axe before any of its results could be observed.

The reality following on the heels of positive proposals is, however, quite different. Repeated demands for greater resources and their repeated failure to materialize constitute a kind of "**social policy game**" whose rules are familiar to those who play it. The game is used to sustain faith that central government is amenable to greater inputs. After this is easy to ask in advance for greater outputs.

4.6. Duration of studies – no problem after all?

Finnish higher education and university policy are different by reason of the higher average age of students. This is apparent even in first-year students, 16.6% of whom in 1985 were over the age of 24, whereas in 1990 the corresponding figure was 17 %. The duration of study for a Master's level university degree is likewise generally long. This has given rise to concern both in central government and in economic life, and popular use was even made of it to support demands for internal changes in the universities. Researchers into higher education, however, did not see reason in this appeal to the gross time taken for studies, as the students' own use of **"voluntary recurrent education"** (since the education system and working life as an institution were not equal to this) was not necessarily as dysfunctional for society as has been publically claimed in Finland year after year. An individual who has equipped him/herself with practical work experience is in a position to bring that experience to bear in his/her studies in such a way that the later study phase may be of particular use value.

It is our impression that it would not in Finland be useful to emulate the quick education which is prevalent in many EC countries. Without changes in the system of financial support for students and in the system for gaining practical experience it would at present scarcely be possible.
In order to curb popularism it would be essential to calculate the significance from the point of view of national income of **the "in-and-out" ideology** of qualifying quickly as opposed to **the principle of life-long learning**. This latter ideology perceives it as economically (as well as pedagogically) desirable that the university student in the later stages of his/her studies be engaged in salaried employment. The modest remuneration (in relation to the capacity) benefits the employer, and the most modest of salaries is of help in financing studies. Acquiring work experience without the pressure contingent upon an academic degree to make demands helps the student in his/her later career.

The frequent emphasis in EC education policy on the effectiveness of "in-and-out" does not, in the opinion of the writers, take sufficiently into account the psychological and social problems likely to arise if a university student is

isolated from the rest of society for a number of years. The attitude in the EC, however, to mature and part-time students is generally positive – although commonly as a second chance route – although they could not raise the degree of "in-and-out" of the university. In Finland, by contrast, university teachers tend to take a cold attitude to such students. This unbending attitude has continued to make itself felt in the university centres for extension studies, who have made it their business to make matters easier for such students. Of the five **"critical areas for development"** named in the EC Commission memorandum, three ("continuing education", "open and distance education" and "partnership with economic life") are the very areas which these centres cater for. The support the EC Commission has thus expressed is seen in the centres for extension studies to be extremely positive and encouraging.

4.7. The functions and dysfunctions of competition

Owing to the fact that Finnish school education is state-run, competition within it and around it has been very slight. In the late 1980's the notion of payment for services came to the fore in university activities, and in the 1990's, with the beginning of institutions of higher vocational education (polytechnics), the situation is also undergoing changes in this respect. Competition has become visible. It occurs between individual universities and also between universities and lower level institutions of education. One may even speak in a social scientific sense of **the theory of competition** and its functions, latent functions and dysfunctions.

In the field of continuing higher education, for instance, several competition models may be observed. In the fields of continuing professional education, consultancy and the open university **the competitors** are:

- the centres for continuing education of other universities
- undergraduate studies in the same university
- scientific postgraduate education in the same university
- institutions of vocational higher education (polytechnics)
- educational institutions below university level

- vocational adult education centres
- training centres of companies
- commercially run training and consultancy enterprises
- individual consultants
- foreign educational institutions and institutions for distance learning

At the present stage of structural change in Finnish education, some speculators are of the opinion that such a competitive model is useful, likely to cut down costs and likely to engender novel personnel motivation. There are others who see this as dysfunctional, and conceive of their competitors as "enemies". In those countries where education is less markedly state-run than in Finland such competitive models have long been a reality. In Finland, however, such a situation will give rise to uncertainty and the accompanying adverse effects. In the extreme case the winner of the competition will be declared to be the educational institution one which can show the greatest margin of profit. There is then the great danger that factors relating to educational policy, social and regional equality, and particularly to matters of pedagogics, will be trampled underfoot in the battle of competition.

4.8. The conflicts of the policy of subsidy

Finnish social policy over the last 50 years has been characterized by the assumption that social development progresses best through **a policy of subsidy**. The economic depression which began in the 1990's has shaken old structures, and attitudes to all kinds of subsidy policies have also become negative. Indeed, an excessive and party-politically allotted subsidy system has been declared to be one of the main reasons for the depression. Too sudden a change from a heavily subsidized system to the conditions of the free market have caused Finland to run into problems of adaptation. **Privatization** has been seen to be the great cure for all the ills of the policy of subsidy.

Education policy is already beginning to experience the effects of privatization and the principle of competition closely related to it. The advocates of privatization wish to discontinue, for example, the annual Ministry of Educa-

tion subsidy of FIM 24 million to continuing higher education. Such a cut would have the immediate effect of completely wiping out many academic areas of education from the universities' continuing professional education. These areas include such professions as social workers, librarians, journalists on minor papers, municipal officials etc. The ruthless pursuit of a maximal margin of economic profit would result automatically in the reduction in the number of professions where education could be offered.

As the Finnish universities currently make the transition to the implementation of the relaxed government regulations on payment for services, there occurs a clash between a certain government control and the mechanisms of the free market. Indeed, it is to be feared that the rift between the utilitarians, who place their faith in the release from all control, and the traditionalists, who attach value to social justice, will grow deeper to the extent that there will be in Finnish university policy consequences so far unseen.

The shelving of the policy of subsidy and the arrival of free markets may also cause changes in the system of financial support for university students (this has to some extent already begun), and also in content and structural factors of university teaching and study. For example, making the appointment of professors temporary (i.e. withdrawing life-long job subsidy) could affect the afore-mentioned university pedagogics - presumably positively. Obviously, the criteria used in the future to assess efficiency would cause changes in the objects of such assessment.

The foregoing comments on the characteristics of Finnish education rest on the underlying belief that it is not sufficient for Finnish education policy to acquire an antenna. There is also a need to identify the roots. The "European identity" mentioned in the memorandum of the EC Commission will only be established in Finland through taking account of the country's prior development in education policy!

5. Conclusions

The principles which guide the creation of Community action programmes through decisions of the Commission, the Council of Ministers or some other body are gradually forming a frame of reference also valid for schemes for development at national level. Thus national education initiatives converge. There are those who suspect that unless decision-making at national level can succeed in producing sufficient isomorphic systems accompanied by degrees which can withstand comparison and central teaching content, education will become a subject for Community decisions. (Compare the work of CEDEFOP!) This would mean a loss in democratic decision-making. Matters would be handled to a considerable extent by functionaries, and the voice of one single (small) member state would not carry very far. Traditionally matters of education have been among those political solutions in which citizens have been able to make their opinions felt. Parents and tax-payers have kept an efficient control of education. Decision-making above national level would exclude discussion from the arena; there is not even a European public to do the discussing. In each country the debate would be carried on by a restricted circle of experts.

At the heart of the neo-classical competitive economy are markets so large that there will be no monopolies, and also not in education. The mega-markets, however, make uniform planning difficult, the more so when planning periods have become shorter and shorter and uncontrolled boundary conditions are on the increase. Education has always been the scene of conflicts of interest. In this case planning and negotiation are not finding a solution, but rather resolving a conflict. It is dialectic, situation-specific and transactional activity. In supra-national education policy there is a time bomb ticking away: Conflicts at micro and meso level are covered up in order to arrive at decisions.

Education is further an area of social policy which is difficult to direct. Through the individual interpretations of teachers it retains its autonomy. It is as well to bear in mind R. in't Veld's observation on the restricted nature of the life and effectiveness of all administrative models and policies. The members of an organization act reflexively: they minimize the unwelcome effects of

decisions by evasion, resistance, watering down and sabotage. Individuals act strategically in order to preserve as far as possible their autonomy, so also the educational organizations. Politicians frequently fail to comprehend the reasons for ineffectiveness and react by increasing and adjusting the norms and directives by going further and further into detail. A failed policy results in "more policy", policy upon policy. It is counterproductive to make the norms too tight. The particular problem at EC level is that of how to translate the consensus achieved by functionaries of the Commission into action policy for the Member Countries. The direction of initiatives would appear to be the opposite: national aims must be coordinated into a unified policy.

What will happen in education if Finland joins the EC (EU)? Initially nothing big. There will be a transition from a beginning with a move away from task- and expense- related allocation automatics to a mode of operating and organization culture based on achievement and calculation which will correspond to the demands of the market and will raise the productivity of education. It will cause the organizations offering education to compete against each other for resources, and also for students. Mutual recognition of middle and upper level certificates and of degrees will come efficiently into force. It will be necessary to contribute financially to EC educational action and science programmes. (It is, however, important not to overestimate the economic benefits this will bring. The EC expends on exchange and scientific programmes 1 billion ECU p.a. and from the structure funds 15 billion ECU in five years. This seems an enormous investment, but it is modest if compared to the investment in education of a large Member State country or an industrial giant. It must be seen as a symbol and a practical added value, as an initial investment or a nationally non-binding, free resource.) It will be necessary to do more towards the education of immigrants and their children and to expand the teaching offered through the medium of foreign languages. It will be necessary to provide for the recruitment of teachers at all levels from the member countries if they can manage the language. Public support for the universities will change from being more clearly distributive to being linked to the expenses and loading of the institution, and to achievements, to being meritocratic. Adult and part-time education will be greatly increased in the universities, and the teaching offered will become more diversified.

Negative effects are to be expected. For several years the flow of human resources (expertise, investments made) will be away from Finland towards the EC, the balance of educational exchange will be clearly negative. In the 1990's Finland will experience a period of high graduate unemployment, as did the EC States in the 1980's. The Community believes the public sector is reviving and so for its part relieving the problem of finding jobs. Finland continues to make cuts in the public sector in order to reach the same level as the member countries, i.e. that a maximum of one third of university graduates are employed in the public sector. This leads to the consideration of cuts in education programmes or to reforms. Education planning will concentrate on formal education, to the detriment of the development of formal non-formal and informal education into a system of life-long learning. There will not, however, arise major differences of principle between the education ideologies and recommendations of Finland and the EC.

UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN EUROPEAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Educational policy perspectives and individual possibilities

Matti Vesa Volanen

1. General remarks: an introduction

It is an empirical fact that the more you have educated yourself, the more likely you are to plan educating yourself a little more, or to put it the other way round: the less education you have, the less likely you are to plan having more of it. Adult education is not an alternative for initial education: You have to acquire quite a broad general and vocational educational basis during your years of youth. It is a condition for educational motivation during the years of active work life.

In the European discussion the following main principles concerning the development of vocational education may be found (see e. g. European Community, 1991):

1. The Human resource approach;
2. The creation of a European qualification and/or education market;
3. The improvement of the transparency of the education market;
4. The improvement of the relationships between vocational education and production units.
5. The development of flexibility in the labour force.

Quite obviously, these principles are partly conflicting, if not antagonistic, and it will be necessary to find some kind of functional balance among them. This will not, however, be easy.

Some elaboration on the above may be given:

1. The discussion plays around with two very different basic notions, which are substantiated by the use of terms "human resource" and "human capital". It may be noted that "human resource" is not an investment, but a condition for well-functioning production. Thus the issue cannot be whether one will invest or not in the human capital, but one must necessarily recognize that any kind of productive activity is impossible without sufficient human resources.

The human resource approach necessitates a strategy for human resources development at the national level. This particular point of departure gives prominence to the general potentials created by education, which can be employed quickly and with reasonable expenses. At the same time it brings up the issue of the relationship between work and learning and demands an analysis of the (hidden) curriculum of various vocations and work tasks. Such implicit influences may constitute an essential obstacle to organizing the development work as an element of a person's work image.

2. The discussion is often devoted to the idea of creating an educational market, but it does not analyze the relationship between this educational market on the one hand, and the labour market on the other. Within the former, demand is created by educational needs as indicated by the students themselves. It is rather different from those educational needs which are the result of labour market processes. The notion of a 'market' may lead into two non-desirable outcomes:

In the first place, the regulation of schooling becomes indirect, i.e. seeking its effects through student interests and motivations. The control of demand and supply is essentially the same as in the labour market, where flexibility becomes the focal point. This happens even if the education market prices were fixed, and if educational expenses, in the main, were covered by public sector subsidies.

On the other hand, educational demand and supply will slowly but surely break down the (present) segmentation of education into fields and levels to create a new structure. This may result in an increase of flexibility in educa-

tion, but this again would imply its diminishing transparency. At the same time, the engagement of education with certain basic structures – such as vocations – will necessarily weaken and become replaced by a modular task–associated structure. Thus flexible education will not always be conducive to flexible production of labour force, but also the opposite may happen: Flexibility in the organization of education may result in the dropping–out of that very part of the educational material, which would provide for flexibility in solving problems of work organization.

This all will foreshadow difficulties, because a central task of education is to teach for command of change, and not confine people to this or that work task. This demand for **open knowledge and skills** is apt to assign a central place for a solid liberal and general–vocational education in schooling.

3. The starting assumption in the development of flexible and innovative work force cannot be a maximally close – not say overlapping – cooperation between educational institutions and industrial production units. Rather, the association of these two should be characterized by the so–called 'cross–(il)–lumination' principle. Vocational education shall be based on a different kind of basic structure than the currently prevailing work tasks and occupations in order for the vocationally educated persons to come to possess the ability for developing their own field of work. In other words, professional skill shall imply an ability to improve productivity, while observing the psychological, social, and environmental context factors. If vocational education results in the replication of the existing professional and work tasks, the opportunity for developing flexibility and innovativeness in working life is lost.

2. European traditions and policy perspectives in education

Briefly stated, there are four principal types of educational systems in Europe: The **institutional** one, in which the administration structure may be either **centralized** or **distributed**, the **dual** one, in which training takes place both at schools and at places of work, and the fourth model emphasizing the role of the **work environment**. Each one of these has its own merits and drawbacks.

Typical of today is the attitude by which other systems' solutions are highly appreciated, without a clear understanding of the problems involved.

Among the problems of the dual system are its relative rigidity in quickly changing circumstances, and also the "dead ends" of educational career involved. Thus it is not much favoured among the young people.

Among the developments of the institutional models one may detect trends for decentralization in those countries where educational planning has been more centralized (e.g. Finland, Norway, Sweden), and on the other hand a pursuit towards a (more) centralized defining of at least the main lines of educational development, in countries with regional and local (school-centred) tradition of planning and administration (e.g. England).

When assessed from the viewpoint of average level of educational outcomes, the model based on centralization and educational equality principles has brought about fairly wholesome results. Both models, however, seem to experience pressures for change: improvements in the relationship of education and the working life are thought to be effected through **either** decentralizing decision-making, all the way down to the school-level, **or** directing education in a centralized manner towards new concepts of "professionalization". The former tends to lead into a rather firm association of education with the local labour market and its often obsolete conceptions of theory and praxis, while the latter is threatened by a thinning-out of general liberal education. Neither path seems to be able to cope with the problem from the viewpoint of the working life developments in sight, whereby both the intensive use of the labour force (i.e. continuous education) and the expansion of know-how constitute essential elements of competitiveness.

3. Adolescence, youth cultures, and education

One result of youth research has been the finding concerning the change of the position of work in the life of young people: Whereas in the past, the life outside of work was construed according to the work itself, there is a change to-

wards the domination of life outside of work, whereby one's work will be accommodated as part of one's life. On the other hand, there is the observation that certain identification processes inherent in youth culture share less and less common ground with the tasks and demands of formal social institutions, such as schools. In addition, attention has been drawn into the fine differentiations of youth culture and their widening gaps with regard to the previous generation. The net result is a multitude of possibilities for young people to choose their lifestyle, but also a good deal of emotionally painful self-identification work.

What will be the response of youth education to these problems? Will it become more active and experiential?

4. Conflicting attractions by education and the working life

According to observations, young people will not make their educational choices according to signals from the labour market, but their occupational orientation is based on other factors. This will result in undue pressures on higher education. The question remains, what will be the role of the educational and labour markets in determining the directions of the structural, the quantitative, and the content orientation of education.

The traditional point of departure in educational developments has been the accounting for labour market signals in quantitative planning. This model of planning has several problems, for instance:

- The signals coming from the labour market are usually too quickly changing to be functional for educational planning.

- The signals concerning the production process on the one hand, and the labour market on the other are often incongruent and even conflicting.

- In taking education decisions at the individual-level, labour market considerations are but one - and not necessarily a central - factor

among the reasons considered. Personal attitudes may deliberately even play down their role.

- The needs (for e.g. labour force) indicated by the labour market are often different from the educational needs indicated by the students themselves. The question remains what is the role and importance of the educational market forces resulting from the educational needs expressed by those to be educated.

It is to be noted that an individual assumes different roles in the educational vs. the labour market. In the latter he is selling his own working capacity, whereas in the former he is buying educational services for himself with a state "voucher". A person therefore has to decide whether he accepts his quality-of-work criteria, or whether he has to make a transition to the education market. In so doing, the economic and social expectations are decisive.

The decentralization of educational planning and decision-making will necessarily result in the emergence of some form of educational market, which is apt to break the boundaries of the heavily compartmentalized situation typical of today. The educational market forces will create pressures which tend to dissolve the tightly entrenched segments based on the level and the field of education received. This again means that the education planning machinery will lose almost all of its main tools. Perhaps the only remaining ones are found among various examinations and their administration, as well as the related powers of control.

What then will happen to educational equality as a goal? How about the comparability and legitimization of education, or of occupational qualifications?

5. Institutional autonomy of schools and the flexibility of education

Discussion on the flexibility of education is going on in virtually every European country. What is meant by 'flexibility' is generally related to a quick adaptation of education – and actually of the entire social policy – to the needs of economic and industrial policies.

Flexibility may also refer to the ability of the work force – or even individual persons – to react to new, unexpected and challenging situations and demands. As regards educational policy, it is important to notice that greater flexibility demands placed upon the labour force will presume more solid general educational background. The "stick and carrot" principle employed by the labour market policies will no more be effective in bringing about sufficient flexibility.

Traditionally one has tried to alleviate the inherent conservatism of the educational system either by state reform policies or by developing an educational market. The former model tends to produce institutes which lack independence and school-level profile, while the latter will pull down and shatter several of the essential working ideals of education.

6. Integration of academic and vocational education new conceptions of citizenship and expertise

There are generally speaking **five** different principles for conceptualizing the contents of secondary education: the occupational fields, the disciplines of knowledge (subject domains), the fields of production, the essential problems of everyday life, or the basic problems of the era. Various combinations of these are also being used. As examples one may take certain experiments in Germany, which have combined the disciplines of knowledge and the occupational fields to provide central criteria for pedagogical entities; or the Finnish developments in which fields of production (as basic lines) are combined with occupational fields (as trained vocations).

The issue of systemic principles has emerged as a central one for at least three different reasons:

(1) It is related to a pursuit of finding a common basis for conceptualizing the role of vocational and general educational contents. It may be remembered that the term 'general education' has its roots in the traditional approach in terms of disciplines of knowledge.

(2) The rather emphatic transition into a course– or module–based organization pattern in education has the consequence of preventing the use of one single principle, e.g. occupational field, as the sole criterion, because a particular credit may be obtained in terms of a variety of contents.

(3) The general rationale for the education of youth more and more often implies an emphasis on general liberal education. This presumes a rather broad orientation to work, and cannot be developed with a narrow vocational basis. The point of departure will then become the education of a full–fledged citizen, either through the study of fundamental everyday issues, or by examining some of the basic, principal problems of our era. In so doing one is educating a mature citizen rather than an expert in a particular field. This line of thought has been introduced at least in Germany, England, and Italy (see e.g. Enquete Komission, 1990; Finegold et al., 1990; Martinez, 1992)

7. Open structures and options in secondary education a challenge to unity vs. diversity principles

Vocational education often bears the stigma of being the second best alternative after leaving basic education. Therefore those who continue in the vocational sectors, may experience it as a failure. One may alleviate this stigmatization by ensuring a general eligibility for further (and especially higher) education to those proceeding through this channel. But again, if this would be too straightforward and happen very frequently, there would be the danger of using vocational programmes as a roundabout way of access to university education. Changes in the general task of vocational education and the conse–

quential demands for institutional changes constitute the main points of departure in the development of youth education. Some of the basic motives have to do with their relationship with university education: is it not conceivable that changes in vocational education would diminish the pressure on higher education? In this connection one tends to refer to signals from the labour market, which cannot, or will not, be interpreted in the "right" way.

Here we are faced with two contradictory aims:

1. Vocational education ought to be equally highly valued as the general education programmes, i.e. those choosing it should have available an equal number of open educational and life options as those proceeding through the general education channel.

2. Vocational education should not become just an intermediate stage on the road to university studies, because this would create an instrumental relationship between vocational education courses and actual vocational skills. Consequently, one would expect those who have made the vocational choice to stick to their choice and exclude other open options.

It seems that a person's choices after basic education are determined by his/her level of school achievement, the level of education attained by the parents, and an idea of the so-called **open options**, in other words: a preference for choices which open up a maximum number of opportunities at the next stage. For youth, the general education programmes are those that reinforce this model of schooling.

It is interesting to observe that the idea of open options is quite often considered as freedom to postpone the decision on occupational choice into a more distant future, and not vice versa, i.e. as a possibility to choose first one's vocational orientation and only afterwards one's eventual **level** of attainment. In educational planning one is currently searching for organizational models which would allow keeping both the "vertical" and the "horizontal" dimensions open, and not blocked by once-and-for-all final solutions.

8. The Issue of examinations and evaluation

Examinations are of central importance for the entire education system. They represent a manifestation of the goals and outcomes of education both to the student himself, and others (e.g. receiving educational institutions and employers). Examinations are also an instrument for evaluating and steering the system. The trend of moving the center of gravity in decision-making towards the level of the schools through administrative decentralization underscores the importance of examinations as a vehicle in the assessment of the successfulness and effectiveness of schools. When at the same time certain ideas are entertained about making school resources dependent on the successfulness (results) of their activities (as indicated by e.g. examination results), this is apt to challenge the schools with entirely new demands.

The likely consequence of an enhanced emphasis on examinations will be the birth or development of systems of final examinations. This again will create further problems: the development work and its validity assessment are a slow and expensive process. Furthermore, the content control aspect is likely to involve several societal interests – especially within the vocational domain – which later on will constitute an impediment in further development of the examinations.

Also in the development process certain pressures exist for seeking their basic rationale from existing occupations (in vocational education), or disciplines of knowledge (in general academic education). On the other hand, there may exist tendencies of regarding the entire examination simply as a collection of successfully passed learning units which do not necessarily constitute a particular, pre-conceived whole or entity with either vocational or academic rationale.

9. Policy perspectives, a summary

(1) **The principle of open structures and options**. From a learner's point-of-view, the education system should be open. Instances of choice and selection shall be so arranged that they open up new opportunities at the next decision point. All erroneous choices should be retrievable without undue personal losses. Thus the structure of education should be based on broad programmes of learning, rather than a narrowly conceived study-line rationale.

(2) The aim of flexibility in vocational education implies the mastering of complex work situations. This assigns a central role for sufficiently **open knowledge and skills**. This again presumes a new kind of integration of academic and vocational education – new conceptions of citizenship and expertise.

(3) **Education market, labour market, and social partners.** The notion of an educational market is contradictory to the three-partite idea of educational regulation. When adopting the concept of educational market, one comes to face the fact that demand (for educational services) is created by the image of the necessary education by the trainees themselves, whereby only indirect influence on demand is possible. In the long run therefore, the steering of the content of education and examinations by the principle of social partnership will become more and more problematic. In that situation, the educational needs signalled by the labour market will not constitute an adequate basis for educational planning. It will then become necessary to create a new kind of *modus operandi* among the representatives of the educational market, labour market, education units and production units.

(Translated by Kimmo Leimu.)

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