BUILDING EUROPE THROUGH EDUCATION, BUILDING EDUCATION THROUGH EUROPE

ACTORS, SPACES AND PEDAGOGIES IN A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Edited by
Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz and Simone Paoli

Building Europe Through Education, Building Education Through Europe

This edited volume explores the role of education in the process of European cooperation and integration as it has been conceived and realized in the late 20th century and the early 21st century, as well as the mirror of this narrative: the effects of the European integration process on education.

Through this dual analysis, the contributors reflect on the concept of Europeanization by showing the complex interplay between Europeanization through education and Europeanization of education. Part I offers a critical overview of the actors, spaces, actions, and pedagogies designed to promote the European project and build Europeans. Part II examines how work done on the European continental level has impacted the educational sphere and national education systems. The case studies cover a wide range of international institutions (College of Europe, European Schools, European Centre for Culture, European University Institute), international organizations (EC/EU, OEEC/OECD, Council of Europe, UNESCO), and transnational actors (European Trade Union Committee for Education, European Federation of Education Employers), providing interdisciplinary insight into how this dialectic contributed to shape Europe as a whole.

This book will be of interest to graduate and postgraduate students, teachers, and researchers of international cultural relations, Europeanization, and education from a transnational perspective.

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Introduction

Europeanization and Education from the Aftermath of the Second World War to the Post-Pandemic Era

Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz and Simone Paoli

Introduction

The process of European cooperation and integration is not a linear phenomenon, as the recent shock of Brexit in 2020 reminded us.[1] Punctuated by challenges and setbacks, the history of this process has repeatedly highlighted the urgent need for popular support to make it legitimate. Education has long been seen as a way to increase the popularity of this project among the public. In recent years, discussions on education at European level, as well as on the formation of European identity and citizenship, have gained importance in the face of the weakening of public trust in the European Union (EU) and its institutions. Indeed, the political and economic context, marked by an acceleration of nationalistic tendencies and the rise of populism and illiberalism in many European countries, plus the difficult integration between Western and Eastern Europe, growing socioeconomic imbalances, lack of social mobility, the "refugee crisis", and, more recently, the COVID-19 pandemic, have contributed to making the union project increasingly unpopular (regarding the current crisis, see Grimmel 2020; Hirschmann 2020; Riddervold, Trondal, and Newsome 2020; van Kemseke 2020; Wolff and Ladi 2020).[2] Politicians, as well as researchers, agree that cultural and educational issues, too long neglected within the union, may partly explain this situation. Particularly when this argument is used by pro-European politicians, however, it often seems like a "fig leaf" to mask real failures, mistakes, and contradictions.

The literature tracing the history of European cooperation and integration, even recent studies, reinforces this feeling of neglect. Indeed, the question of education is never or only marginally mentioned (see the very recent works of Leucht, Seidel, and Warlouzet 2023; Warlouzet 2022; Patel 2020; Loth 2015). Historiography generally agrees that culture and education have been the poor relations in the process of European integration. However, this collective volume demonstrates that this observation, repeated over and over again, deserves to be put into perspective and qualified. By focusing on actors other than the European institutions, such as international organizations, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and other associations, and by combining various approaches (the cultural history of politics and the history of education in particular), the strength of this viewpoint is crumbling. We postulate in this book (and think we are able to demonstrate)

that education has been a key factor in the process of European cooperation and even integration, and not only after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, when for the first time the EU was formally given responsibility in the education policy area. We postulate and demonstrate, too, that international organizations, the European Communities and later the EU in particular, played an important role in influencing and, at times, even shaping education in Europe.

The subject of education is the central axis of this book. The contributions collected in the first part of the volume highlight the role of education in the process of European cooperation and integration. The purpose of this is to offer an overview of the actors, spaces, educational projects, and pedagogies that have been designed to promote the European project and build Europeans, and which have been involved in the creation of a European supranational community from the end of the Second World War to the present day. Most of these various initiatives are rooted in a campaigning educational project: "Education for Europe". In the second part of the book, the contributions question, in a mirror effect, the repercussions of the European integration process on education. The aim, here, is to analyze how the process of European integration impacted on the educational sphere and to what extent European policies affected national education systems in the second half of the twentieth and early twenty-first century. Individually and as a whole, these contributions focus on international actors and networks that have been at the heart of the processes of developing "European education".

Between the Deconstruction of the Emergence Process of European Integration and the Renewal of the History of Education

The distinct but intertwined questions that structure this volume encourage the deconstruction of the process of emergence of the idea of a united Europe (political and social) while rewriting the history of education. The purpose, on the one hand, is to contribute to a new written record of the history of European integration by focusing on social groups and non-governmental organizations that have barely been taken into account until now. This approach is part of the historiographical renewal that has been underway for about a decade, which aims to revisit the history of the European project by reinserting it into general and global history (see a recent issue of *the Annales*, 2021; see also the work undertaken by the labEx EHNE https://ehne.fr/en/about-us/about-us, as well as the contributions collected on the website *Why Europe, Which Europe? A Debate on Contemporary European History as a Field of Research* (https://europedebate.hypotheses.org/); see, finally, the works of Kiran Klaus Patel (2013, 2017, 2018)).

In this context, the volume also aims at rewriting the history of European education policy. Early studies on this topic focused on political actors (the European Commission, members of government, and parliamentarians) and explained European higher education policies from the perspective of the EC/EU's own logics and dynamics (Neave 1984; Corbett 2005; Pépin 2006). Encouraged by a more general historiographical renewal, our volume focuses on other actors, logics, and dynamics that have worked in the educational sphere at the European level.

Indeed, at the end of the Second World War, several ideas, proposals, and initiatives emerged within networks of various kinds and began operating on various levels (local, regional, national, European, international) to simultaneously support the process of European construction through education and promote in-depth cooperation on school and education policy. Although not always implemented, these projects and initiatives have been the breeding ground on which European education policies have subsequently taken root. Looking at the educational sphere and thus highlighting actors that are more rarely taken into consideration, such as non-Community actors, it is possible to ascertain that the process of European integration is not only the work of the EU and the organizations that preceded it, nor is it just the work of professional politicians. The educational perspective also makes it possible to grasp the complexities and contradictions involved in the notion of Europe, a concept that is very malleable depending on the circumstances. This notion can be understood respectively as a social, political, cultural, and economic space under construction (a "lived community"), a "natural" entity linked to a form of "European civilization", and as an "imagined community" – and in the context of the Cold War and the post-Cold War period, a more ideological conception (a third, or middle, way). The educational approach also makes it possible to understand how these various European realities have been constructed and layered.

The objective of this volume, on the other hand, is to move away from a history of national-centered education, emphasizing theories rather than practices and focusing solely on education in the school setting. Traditionally, the theme of school and education has been associated exclusively with nation states. However, this book questions the idea that education systems and policies are essentially directed by the actors, interests, and specific considerations of individual nations, and also questions the impact of the European scale on the history of education. This reflection is in line with first the transnational, then the global turning point that has affected research on the history of education. From the 2000s and 2010s, the latter has placed more emphasis on movement and mobility, a useful approach for decentralizing and "de-exceptionalizing" national trajectories (Sonderfall) (Caruso, Koinzer, Mayer, and Priem 2013; Fuchs and Vera 2019; Defrance, Faure, and Fuchs 2015; Droux and Hofstetter 2015; Popkewitz 2013), and for highlighting transnational aspects of knowledge and its circulation (Burke 2016; Lässig 2016). With the notable exception of Romain Faure's (2015) research on the revision of textbooks in Europe, very little work has focused on education on a specifically European scale, beyond a comparative history of European education systems that has been conducted from the 1980s and 1990s onwards (Ringer 1979; Frijhoff 1983; Green 1990; Albisetti 1993). Few (if any) studies have critically questioned the existence of a specifically European educational dimension.[3] So far, researchers have mainly studied the methods of teaching European history through the content of textbooks or teacher training systems (Bergounioux and Odul 2006; Catala 2001, Section Four; Korostelina and Lässig 2013; Challand 2009), as well as initiatives taken out by the European institutions, which have been mainly carried out in the field of higher education (Hesse and Maurer 2011; Paoli 2010; Corbett 2005). More recently, studies have focused on the circulation of educational models on

a global scale and the emergence, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of a European educational model (Bagchi, Fuchs, and Rousmaniere 2014; Caruso and Maul 2020; Alix and Kahn 2023; Matasci and Ruppen Coutaz 2024). In addition to emphasizing the importance of the international dimension in shaping European education policies and systems, this volume also shows that, although it was probably the most influential one, the European Community/EU was not the only international organization that affected education. It is important to note that education – here – is not limited to its school and academic dimensions. The history of education cannot be reduced to the history of schools and universities, as other works have recently shown, for example, in the case of transmitting "Europe" to young people via places of remembrance, youth literature, museums, or sport (Ledoux and May 2023).

Reinserting the history of European integration into general and global history also implies taking into account the other major phenomena that marked the period, such as the process of decolonization (Hansen and Jonsson 2014) and the Cold War (Ludlow 2007), which also had an impact on the educational policies developed in Europe in the second half of the twentieth century.

Cross-Europeanization Processes: Europeanization *through* Education and *of* Education

The dual questions that are at the heart of this volume also make it possible to extend recent reflections on the very multifaceted concept of Europeanization. This notion, which became very popular in law and political science in the early 2000s (Cowles, Caprosa, and Risse 2001; Featherstone and Radaelli 2003; Goetz and Hix 2000) covers both the transfer of powers from national sovereignty to new forms of European governance, and the impact of the measures implemented under these new forms of European governance at national and sub-national levels. Claudio M. Radaelli brings these two processes together in a single definition: "This term refers to the processes of construction (a), dissemination (b), and institutionalization (c) of formal and informal rules, procedures, public policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things', and shared beliefs and norms, which are initially defined and consolidated at the European level, and then incorporated into the logic of discourses, identities, political structures, and public policies at the national/subnational level"[4] (Radaelli 2010, 247–248).

The studies produced at that time focused on the divergent impact of European policies on the European Community and then on EU member states (Bulmer and Burch 1998; Harmsen 1999; Héritier *et al.* 2001; Knodt and Kohler-Koch 2000), but also on EU candidate countries (Ágh 1999; Featherstone 2000; Kazan and Waever 1994; Grabbe 2003; Sedelmeier 2006). Other terms that have been used include "EUropeanization" (Frank 2007, 151) or "EU-ization" (Flockhart 2010), which were coined to describe the increasing pressure exerted by Community institutions, as they saw both their political and administrative skills grow and their impact on the process of Europeanization rise (Featherstone 2003, 7). For a long time, Europeanization was therefore perceived essentially as a phenomenon

directly linked to the process of European integration and produced by politics. Even if it remained essentially presented as a vertical/top-down process, the idea quickly emerged that Europeanization was also the expression of "more 'horizontal' processes of dissemination, imitation, and emulation between member states, with the EU then playing the role of context, dissemination platform, or socialization agent"[5] (Radaelli 2010, 248). The impact of the Europeanization process on culture and values is noted by the authors, but they mainly mention its effects on "the soft (e.g., administrative, culture, and values) machinery of government" (Featherstone and Radaelli 2003, 338).

Over the past decade, the concept of Europeanization has attracted more and more attention from historians (Conway and Patel 2010; Kaelble and Kirsch 2008; Osmont, Robin-Hivert, Seidel, and Spoerer 2012). Europeanization is then less approached as a concept than as "a multifaceted process" (Greiner, Pichler, and Vermeiren 2022, 9; Schmale 2010). Additionally: "[Europeanization] needs to be perceived as a changing historical factor which has taken different shapes at different times" (von Hirschhausen and Patel 2010, 6). From this perspective, Ulrike von Hirschhausen and Kiran Klaus Patel propose a new definition of Europeanization that broadens its spectrum: "a variety of political, social, economic, and cultural processes that promote (or modify) a sustainable strengthening of intra-European connections and similarities through acts of emulation, exchange, and entanglement, and that have been experienced and labeled as 'European' in the course of history" (von Hirschhausen and Patel 2010, 2). Europeanization is not limited to a process that is uniquely linked to the history of the EU's political and institutional development and would therefore be understood as a mere project of the political and bureaucratic elites. This perspective brings a historical depth to this phenomenon, which is older than that of European integration: "In many cases, […], it did not require a vision of Europe to initiate processes of Europeanization" (von Hirschhausen and Patel 2010, 10). The connections between European countries are of multiple natures (cultural, socioeconomic, political) and go back well before the second half of the twentieth century, even if they clearly gain in intensity during this period. Moreover, Europeanization is not a phenomenon that is reduced to the territorial borders of the European continent. In its "ancient and colonial" sense, Europeanization refers to the export of social norms, values, and cultural models to non-European spaces (Frank 2007, 151). This process does not work in a vacuum; the influences are mutual. Other phenomena can overlap, such as Americanization or globalization, and lead the process of Europeanization, in reaction, to reshape itself. Highlighting these interconnections removes the pitfall of the European *Sonderweg* and underlines *a contrario* the history of a globally embedded Europe (von Hirschhausen and Patel 2010, 7; Chakrabarty 2008).

Ulrike von Hirschhausen and Kiran Klaus Patel also highlight the fact that Europeanization is not a linear phenomenon (whether the influx is vertical or horizontal) and that episodes of "de-Europeanization" are also an integral part of its history (von Hirschhausen and Patel 2010, 3). Europeanization is a process that is neither inexorable nor irreversible; "ambivalent" in concept at times, it is not always perceived positively by contemporaries; it is not always liberal and

peaceful, "well-intentioned", and successful either (Beichelt, Frysztacka, Weber, and Worschech 2021; Gerwarth and Malinowski 2010; Gosewinkel 2015). The creation of European organizations by Nazi Germany to counteract existing international institutions that were considered too democratic and too liberal is the most obvious case of the "dark side of Europeanization" (von Hirschhausen and Patel 2010, 15; Dafinger 2022). Any process of Europeanization, even in the twentieth century, did not necessarily have as a waiting horizon the integration of Europe. Violence and war are both factors in decline and retreat, but they can also lead to forms of rapprochement (von Hirschhausen and Patel 2010, 10).

Such an approach highlights less political and economic processes than social and cultural processes, such as the phenomena of intra-European circulations, interactions, connections, readaptations, and re-appropriations (Marcowitz 2007; Kaelble and Kirsch 2008). This development offers the possibility of embracing Europeanization outside the usual European governmental bodies and thus of broadening the spectrum of actors and networks concerned, whether at local, regional, national, European, or international level (Beck and Grande 2004, 151). Recent historical publications have been marked by this "cultural turn" (Bottici and Challand 2013; Fritsche 2018; Greiner, Pichler, and Vermeiren 2022, Section 3; Halle 2014; Kaelble 2019; Pukallus 2019; Vonnard 2020; launch of the book series "Making Europe" in 2013, accessed 09.12.2022: www.makingeurope.eu/books). These different researches exemplify the multiple forms of Europeanization, which can sometimes occur simultaneously, and the diversity of motivations and mechanisms that underlie them. As Martin Conway pointed out, in conclusion, this plurality allows us to speak of Europeanizations in the plural: "In doing so, it is, however, essential to approach Europeanization not as a fixed phenomenon (against which the tides of history might be measured), but as an inherently plural concept that was part of the historical process and evolved over time" (Conway 2010, 271).

Also, in the field of political science, the concept of Europeanization has recently been applied to previously unexplored or almost unexplored areas (Demir 2020; Chatzopoulou 2020; Dooley 2019; Van Wolleghem 2019; Violakis 2018; Clemens 2017), and has been studied from original and promising angles (Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm and Cin 2021; Liebert and Jenichen 2019). However, the notion of Europeanization is very rarely applied to education in historiography, with a few exceptions that focus on particular sectors of education, such as vocational training (Ante 2016) and European higher education (Sin, Tavares, Cardoso, and Rosa 2018; Lehmann 2021), or specific policies such as the politics of multilingualism (Kraus and Grin 2018). By looking at the various forms of Europeanizations at work in the educational sphere – Europeanization *through* education and Europeanization *of* education – this volume shows parts of this phenomenon that have been hitherto unknown. Hidden behind the lack of commitment of the European institutions to the educational sphere, the process of Europeanization *through* education has been substantially neglected by historiography. As for the process of Europeanization *of* education, this has been mainly studied by Martin Lawn, a former professor of education, in two pioneering publications that he co-edited and co-authored with

António Nóvoa and Sotiria Grek, respectively (Lawn and Nóvoa 2002; Lawn and Grek 2012). These two books' purpose is to understand and explain the formation of a "European Space for Education". Nevertheless, Martin Lawn and his colleagues understand this space essentially as a political space, whereas, as clearly demonstrated by contributions in this book, it is in fact also a social and cultural space. Meanwhile, this volume shows that Europeanization processes in the field of education are far from being always an undisputed success, and that they meet with the active or passive resistance of several actors: nation states, teachers' circles, political and cultural forces.

"Education for Europe", a Form of Pedagogical Activism

Although the distinct aims of spreading pro-European sentiments and establishing a European education space have always coexisted, the former clearly prevailed in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.[6] Important institutional, political, cultural, and social actors operating both inside and outside of schools, in particular, very quickly perceived Europe not only as a "cultural tradition" stemming from a common history and cultural heritage but also as a "learning process" (Therborn 2005, 25). Within this context, they set up projects, institutions, and pedagogical approaches that aimed to redefine the mental geography, identities, knowledge, and skills of young people in order to stimulate in their consciousness a sense of Europeanness, and ultimately create a United Europe.

As early as 1948, at the Congress of Europe meeting in The Hague – the first major gathering of supporters of the European project in the post-war period – the Committee on Cultural Affairs stressed in its resolution the importance of awakening and developing a "conscience of Europe" based on a "true unity" that would build on a "common heritage of Christian and other spiritual and cultural values and [a] common loyalty to the fundamental rights of man, especially freedom of thought and expression".[7] The failure of the European Defence Community project in the summer of 1954, and, in this context, of the European Political Community, made even more obvious the need to develop a European sentiment among the population in order to put an end to resistance. This awareness then saw the birth of several private initiatives aimed at creating a supranational European Community through educational projects. The sources of funding behind these various initiatives were largely based initially on American funds, including the American Committee for a United Europe, the Ford Foundation, and the Farfield Foundation (Cohen 2017). Committed to the fight against communism, the American authorities supported the project of European unification with a view to containment (Aubourg, Bossuat, and Scott-Smith 2008; Heyde 2010).

In an article entitled "Training Europeans," published in 1956, the Swiss writer and federalist Denis de Rougemont, head of the European Centre for Culture (ECC), laid the doctrinal foundations of "Education for Europe" as "an education intended to develop in our various countries the awareness of the community of civilization and historical destiny of all Europeans".[8] Even if the original idea was to intervene in the field of popular education (see Stenger's chapter in this volume), the

ECC, founded in 1950 following the Hague Congress, also turned to the teachers' and students' world, encouraged by the rapport that it enjoyed with a professional association created in 1956, the Association européenne des enseignants (AEDE)/ European Association of Teachers (Ruppen Coutaz 2019, 2023). Only professors and teachers could be part of this association of federalist pro-European activists, which was first developed in Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Italy, and Germany. Led at the beginning by the Belgian André Alers, the prefect of Athénée in Brussels, and the Frenchman Alain Fréchet, "agrégé" professor of history and a member of the European Federalist Movement, this association had, 10 years after its foundation, 30,000 members divided into 12 national sections, all based in the West. The objective of the AEDE was to bring together teachers to reflect together on ways to "Europeanize" teaching and, by the same token, the European youth who would constitute the citizens of tomorrow, with a particular focus on primary and secondary school levels. With this in mind, training courses were organized (more than 300 in 1966), and specific magazines and brochures were published, such as the *Guide européen de l'enseignant*, which appeared in 1958 with the collaboration of the European Centre for Culture and which met with some success (the circulation totaled more than 80,000 copies and it was translated into 4 languages). The entire profession of teaching was called upon to change their teaching practices to a European perspective. This was not a question of teaching Europe as a new subject, but rather of taking a fresh look at all the subjects taught.

Another important project was the revision of school textbooks, which was believed to have enormous power to shape the understanding of the world in the minds of the younger generations (Lässig 2016, 41). The movement to revise textbooks in the interests of peace and international understanding had already manifested itself many times since the late nineteenth century, but rethinking these textbooks in a European rather than a national framework was a perspective specific to the second half of the twentieth century (Bendick *et al*. 2018, Part 1). It was no longer just a question of purging textbooks of historical errors and inaccuracies that would perpetuate nationalist prejudices and lead to conflicts but also of putting forward the idea of a common heritage on which European culture would be founded and highlighting the need to unite in order to survive in a world undergoing profound change.

These pro-European educational movements were also aware of the need to arouse young people's interest in European issues. With this in mind, the European School Day was set up in 1953 at the instigation of the European Movement and the European Youth Campaign, which financed it (Norwig 2016; Palayret 1995). This annual international competition aimed to judge the following: at primary level, a drawing (for pupils up to 14 years); for secondary level, an essay (for pupils aged 14–16 years); and at tertiary level, a dissertation (for students aged 16–19 years) on a common European theme chosen by an international committee chaired by the Dutchman Hendrik Brugmans, Rector of the College of Europe. In 1959, about 800,000 students from 11 countries took part in this competition.[9]

Between the late 1950s and early 1960s, the European Communities too developed limited but significant activities of (pro-)European information in

schools and universities. This was particularly due to the work of the Division "University Information, Youth and Adult Education" and, within this context, Fausta Deshormes La Valle's Section "University Section"; resources came especially from the Kreyssig Funds, promoted by the European Parliamentary Assembly in 1959 and established in the 1960 Community budget (Calligaro 2013).

In parallel with these initiatives, several institutions "possessing new knowledge" were set up to train "new elites" on which the "European field of power" could be based (Cohen 2017, 70). These included the College of Europe created in 1950 in Bruges (see Behar's chapter in this volume), the European Schools, the first of which was founded in 1953 in Luxembourg (see Leaton Gray's chapter in this volume), and the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, which was created in 1972 after debates initiated in the mid-1950s (see Palayret's chapter in this volume). What they had in common was that they sought to promote the idea of a united Europe through education. These independent educational spaces were and largely remain within the bounds of the European institutions. However, the scholarly constructions elaborated there were not simply the mechanical result of the process of European construction, but they participated in political constructions in a dynamic of co-production (Cohen 2017, 69). Even if relatively few students and extremely few pupils have been involved in these educational programs and they ultimately remain quite marginal, they shed light on a modest but significant aspect: the Europeanization of the elites.

In order to create a sense of community among young people from different European countries, other forms of exchange were encouraged directly in schools – from school pairings or twinning to the exchange of correspondence and study trips – but also in an extracurricular setting, such as youth meetings. These included the great European meeting of the Loreley, on the banks of the Rhine, in the summer of 1951, which brought together 35,000 young Europeans under the motto "Youth Building Europe" (Defrance 2023). This was not so much a question of telling a story of Europe, but rather of mutual exchange – to get to know each other and to explain national cultures. Shared experience was central among the pedagogies implemented within the framework of "Education for Europe". Media devices were also set up to educate about Europe, particularly in the context of the Community Information Policy (Rye 2008), as on the occasion of Expo 58 (see Remes and Burton's chapter in this volume), or through advertising films (Clemens 2016). These different forms and spaces of rapprochement, whether very concrete or primarily symbolic, were all opportunities to promote adherence to the idea of a united Europe (Bock, Defrance, Krebs, and Pfeil 2008).

The European educational fabric thus created constituted the basis on which a Community education policy was able to take shape. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that resistance to "Education for Europe" was also emerging – opposition came primarily from nation states and university rectors, but ideological objections also arose from certain left-wing teaching circles, particularly around the question of school neutrality. Some criticized what they perceived as an infiltration of government policy in schools.[10] Resistance was also silent. Passive resistance and indifference on the part of teachers were perhaps the most important challenges.

Proof of this was evidenced in that "Education for Europe" did not follow the natural development its initiators had imagined.

Ultimately, "Education for Europe" was a political pedagogy, in the sense that it articulated a political project and a mode of enunciation of knowledge that took the form of particular pedagogical transmission techniques. Focusing on lived experience by mobilizing a specifically European past (e.g., the common history linked to the two world wars), its aim was, while distancing itself from nationalist stereotypes, to inculcate a teleological narrative in the minds of citizens and, more particularly, young people, in order to make them feel European and to consider European integration as a happy destination. This pedagogy also relied on new lived experiences, which invested in the various stages and aspects of childhood (not only in the school setting), to put into practice central values for this political–pedagogical project, such as peace, democracy, and responsibility.

"Education for Europe" was not based on new scientific knowledge of children, but on quite old methods, such as the idea of creating a new European person, which had the clear danger of falling into the area of propaganda and thus making the movement become to some extent what it criticized. This pedagogy had its origin in the logic of the federalist movement, for which political commitment must start from the bottom and be based on a personal and responsible commitment. It also had its origins in movements other than those directly linked to the ongoing process of European unification, such as the movement for peace education that took shape at the end of the nineteenth century and which expanded in the interwar period in the wake of the League of Nations (Hofstetter, Droux, and Christian 2020). "Education for Europe" was also being shaped in response to American and Soviet attempts to penetrate educational and intellectual circles.

Even if this pedagogical project remains, to a certain extent, a utopia or a pious wish, its study makes it possible to highlight the diversity of actors, institutions, organizations, and networks that have embodied and implemented it, actors too often ignored in studies on Europeanization processes, such as non-governmental groups (professional associations, pro-European activist movements) and professional categories (intellectuals, experts, bureaucrats, pedagogues, teachers, academics, and university rectors but also students themselves). The various case studies shed light on the outlines of a phenomenon of Europeanization through education that took the form of a process of acculturation of the masses in favor of the European project, whose mechanisms and workings were similar, to a certain extent, to other phenomena, such as the processes of Americanization and Sovietization. The process of Europeanization through education was most certainly a key factor in creating fertile ground for the development of European integration. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that while "Americanization does not automatically produce more 'America in the head'"[11] (Frank 2007, 146), Europeanization through education influences frameworks of thought but does not Europeanize them. Although repeated attempts to develop pro-European education have so far led to a number of curriculum revisions and may have influenced national education policies to some extent, they have largely failed to create a widespread sense of European identity.

"European Education": A Contested Process of Europeanization

As clearly shown, political and institutional actors were not alone in establishing and shaping education cooperation at European level. Nonetheless, their role was crucial in this respect. Contrary to widespread beliefs, all the main international organizations created in post-war Europe, with the significant exception of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), were given some competence in education, and especially culture. The Brussels Treaty establishing the Western Union in 1948 made explicit mention of the aim to lead the peoples of the contracting parties towards a better understanding of the principles that formed the basis of their common civilization; in this context, a formal commitment was made to promote mutual cultural exchanges. The North Atlantic Treaty, signed in Washington in 1949, did not explicitly mention education and culture, but it stressed the importance of bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which free institutions were founded. The statute of the Council of Europe, adopted in London in 1949, went even further by emphasizing the need for the organization to discuss issues of common concern, stipulate agreements, and develop common action in cultural and scientific matters.

The general idea behind all these provisions was that any successful project of European integration was to be rooted in some European consciousness and possibly identity (St. John 2021). This aim, in turn, was strongly supported by the United States administration and foundations: in the context of the Cold War, the strengthening of pro-European sentiments was considered as a valuable antidote against the spread of communism in Western Europe.

But the willingness to promote European awareness was not the only driving force for educational cooperation at European level. The European Communities, in particular, also pursued a distinct set of aims, which were more based on socioeconomic considerations. In fact, the treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), signed in Rome in 1957, made provisions for the establishment of a Joint Nuclear Research Centre, schools for the training of specialists, and, more importantly, an institution of university status; although, due to French resistance, it was not clearly specified, this institution was to be aimed at forging European consciousness among a qualified elite. Unlike the EURATOM, however, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), established in Paris in 1951, only focused on financing vocational retraining, the aim being to help workers having to change their employment as a consequence of the restructuring of the coal and steel sectors. While it did not mention general education and culture, similarly, the treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC), signed in Rome in 1957, explicitly announced the intention of establishing principles for the implementation of a common policy of vocational training, capable of contributing to the harmonious development of both national economies and the common market; given the low complexity levels of production processes, vocational training seemed then enough to achieve this ultimate goal (Berner and Gonon 2016).

At an early stage, despite provisions and expectations, educational cooperation within the Communities did not make great strides. The heads of the most important universities in Europe were resolute in their determination to defend academic freedom and autonomy from both national governments and international organizations. The Standing Conference of Rectors, Presidents, and Vice-Chancellors of the European Universities, known in short as the European Rectors' Conference (ERC), confirmed this attitude at its founding conference in Dijon in 1959. Most importantly, national governments did not want to give up their sovereignty in such a sensitive policy area; this, incidentally, explains why the OEEC and especially the Council of Europe, which were intergovernmental in nature, were initially considered as more suitable forums for cooperation in education than the European Communities (see Williamson's chapter in this volume).

This, however, does not mean that even in the 1950s and the 1960s there was not any progress at all. Not only did the Council of Europe and to a lesser extent the OEEC start to develop initiatives in the educational field, but the European Communities, too, used the powers and resources at their disposal to play a role in this policy area. West Germany was well disposed towards cooperation in higher education, due to a combination of ideological and institutional motives; the political commitment to the European ideal, in particular, combined with the desire of the federal government in Bonn to gain educational powers, to the detriment of *Länder* authorities. Italy, too, was interested in implementing collaboration in both vocational training and education due to political and socioeconomic reasons; the urgency to contribute to the development of its southern regions was crucial in this regard. Also, civil servants and members of the European Commission and the European Parliamentary Assembly, later the European Parliament, supported educational cooperation in order to extend the powers of their respective institutions and foster a common identity across European Community (EC) countries. On the one hand, both the ECSC and the EEC promoted educational initiatives to provide information on their activities and raise European awareness within the general public, the youngest in particular. On the other hand, the EEC started to lay the foundations for a common vocational training policy. In 1963, in particular, the EEC adopted the general principles for its implementation; although it then seemed a minor decision, it was the first important legal act ever enacted in the educational field in the Community.

The situation radically changed between the late 1960s and early 1970s. The European economy entered a new phase, characterized by important innovations in technology and production processes and a gradual shift of labor from manufacturing to service industries. These developments came together with the completion of the European Customs Union in 1968. Against this backdrop, politicians and representatives of trade unions and employers' associations began to argue that there was a need to implement general education policies at European level as a necessary complement to vocational training.

Meanwhile, student protests during 1967–1968 compelled both political and academic authorities to turn to European organizations in search of a solution to

the educational crisis affecting all Western European countries. Significantly, at its general assembly in Geneva in 1969, the ERC, while confirming the centrality of academic freedom and university autonomy, agreed on the strategic value of international cooperation.

The crisis of European education systems combined with the increasing anxiety over the spread of radical Third-Worldism and the deterioration of the United States' image in Western Europe; this provided a further incentive to create and spread a European cultural and educational model and convinced French authorities to partially put aside their traditional mistrust of international interference in these policy areas. The French Minister of National Education, Olivier Guichard, in a public speech in The Hague in 1969, proposed the establishment of a European Centre for the Development of Education, which was outside the Community framework but under the responsibility of the education ministers of the six members of the EC; its aims were to collect and exchange data and information, encourage university cooperation, promote staff and student mobility, and harmonize teaching contents and educational structures. This plan was rejected because of its anti-American and anti-Community spirit. However, it significantly contributed to relaunching the debate in the Community, which was simultaneously propelled by key members of the European Commission and the European Parliament; concerned with the youth movements' lack of interest towards the European integration, they were becoming even more convinced of the need to include education in the Community scope. The education ministers of the member states of the EC met within the Council for the first time in 1971.

This came at a time when the Council of Europe and, thanks to financing from the Ford Foundation – and later on the Shell Petroleum – the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) strengthened their commitment to education policies and introduced a series of reforms in their own governance structures to deal more effectively with these issues (see Brøgger's-Ydesen's chapter in this volume). This came at a time, too, when the Great Détente opened up room for maneuver for education initiatives across the Iron Curtain. The UNESCO-sponsored European Centre for Higher Education was established in Bucharest in 1972 to promote dialogue between institutions and institutes in the West and the East; although it did not produce great results, it represented a first, valuable experiment of collaboration at a pan-European level (see Cuvelier's chapter in this volume).

However, in that period it became clear that the Community, due to greater resources and powers and to more homogeneous membership, was going to become the leading international organization dealing with education at continental level, despite its limited formal responsibility in that policy area (see Varsori's chapter in this volume). The economic crisis caused by the 1973 oil shock was an important factor in this process. The growing rate of unemployment, especially youth unemployment, persuaded experts and politicians that Community education policies could help alleviate this problem and its troubling social and political repercussions; this, in turn, intertwined with the growing commitment of the Community to social objectives.

Mainly owing to the pressure from trade union representatives in the European Economic and Social Committee, and with the strong support of the Commission, in 1975 the EC set up the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) in West Berlin; its aim was to assist in the development of common vocational education and training policies and contribute to their implementation. Meanwhile, after the first enlargement of the EC, the European Parliament and, more importantly, the European Commission were reorganized to manage nascent education policies; Ralf Dahrendorf was appointed as the first European Commissioner for Research, Science, and Education. Shortly afterwards, the education ministers of the EC countries meeting within the Council in 1974 adopted a resolution on cooperation in the field of education that laid down the areas of action for which cooperation was possible and the underlying principles of such cooperation. Two years later, in 1976, they approved a resolution on an action program in the field of education, which stated the main priorities in that policy area: between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s, the European Community implemented measures to facilitate the transition of young people to working life, promote cooperation between universities, improve the education of the children of migrant workers, and encourage the exchange of information. The member states of the EC also agreed on the creation, on an intergovernmental basis, of a EUI in Florence. Although it was inspired by the EURATOM provision for an institution of university status, it was established as a mere postgraduate and postdoctoral institution due to political and academic resistance; its convention entered into force in 1975 and its activities started in 1976 (see Palayret's chapter in this volume).

Conditions, however, were not easy; the lack of legal bases and financial resources devoted to education prevented the Community from developing effective action. The situation changed again in the mid-1980s. The political climate became increasingly favorable to measures aimed at bringing the European Community closer to its citizens: the Fontainebleau European Council in 1984 mandated the Adonnino Committee to draw up a plan to improve the image of the European Community and to make it more appealing and valuable to ordinary people. Its final report, adopted by the Milan European Council in 1985, stressed the significant role that education could play in achieving such objectives. Meanwhile, the Cockfield White Paper on the completion of the Single Market, approved by the same Milan European Council in 1985, argued that greater cooperation on education would have helped create a more modern and integrated European economic system, which, in turn, might have helped member states tackle the challenges of an emerging technological and globalized economy. Moreover, the principle of freedom of movement for people, which was an integral part of the Single Market project, meant that the concept of an open labor market could no longer apply only to industrial workers but also to more highly qualified professionals; the university system, consequently, had to become able to offer students a "European" perspective, which would clearly involve better knowledge of foreign languages and experience of studying abroad. Member states remained jealous of their powers in the educational sphere, but they realized that cooperation within the Community

framework was needed to move forward the process of integration and establish the Single Market (Paoli 2017).

The Court of Justice of the European Communities, through its broad interpretation of the treaty establishing the EEC, provided the Commission with the legal instruments to act. This action was favored and supported by social partners and academic milieus. The European Round Table of Industrialists, an interest group set up in 1983 to bring together leading industrial companies in Europe and lobby Community institutions to promote policies more favorable to business interests, began to advocate education policies geared to meeting market needs and enhancing competitiveness; higher-level qualifications, in particular, were seen as the keys needed to respond to increased competition from the United States, Japan, and the so-called Asian Tigers, that is, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. The European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), and the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE) in particular, also insisted on implementing educational and vocational training policies at Community level, the aims being to help workers cope with rapid economic and technological changes and to assist the unemployed to find a job (see Stevenson's chapter in this volume). It was clear, however, that these social considerations were rapidly giving way to market and competitiveness imperatives (Cino Pagliarello 2022). Meanwhile, the academic world became increasingly aware of the importance of internationalization to promote both teaching and research, and to attract and generate additional resources. Both the ERC and the Liaison Committee of Rectors' Conferences of the Member States of the European Communities, established in Brussels in 1973, staunchly supported the Commission and its efforts to encourage cooperation in higher education.

Problems and tensions did not magically vanish. The legal basis and budget were the subjects of much discussion and, sometimes, controversy. Between the mid-1980s and early 1990s, however, a wide range of action programs in the field of education and training were adopted and implemented: a great role was played by the Commissioner for Competition, Social Affairs, and Education, Peter Sutherland, and, after the Mediterranean enlargement of the Community, the Commissioner for Social Affairs, Employment, and Education, Manuel Marín. These programs included the Community Programme in Education and Training for Technology (Comett), the European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (Erasmus), the Community Programme for the Vocational Training of Young People and their Preparation for Adult and Working Life (Petra), the Community Programme to Promote Foreign Language Competence (Lingua), the Community Programme for the Promotion of Innovation in Vocational Training resulting from Technological Change (Eurotecnet), and the Community Programme for the Development of Continuing Vocational Training (Force). Immediately after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Commission proposed a new higher education program specifically tailored to former communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe. This program was adopted by the Council and the European Parliament in 1990 under the name of Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies (Tempus).

Meanwhile, a further attempt was made to promote and develop European studies. National European studies associations, which merged into the European

Community Studies Association in 1987, were very active in lobbying the Commission to take the initiative in this area; the University Information Division headed by Jacqueline Lastenouse, in turn, was quick to convert this request into a proposal. In 1989 the Jean Monnet Program was launched: its aim was to support the introduction of courses and modules in the field of European studies and to establish European centers of excellence. The line between information on Europe and pro-European propaganda was once again blurred (Paoli and Varsori 2019).

The time was then ripe for a breakthrough: education was finally incorporated into the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, so becoming a formal competence of the EU. This change coincided with two new challenges for the EU and its member states: both of them called upon education. The first challenge was the prospect of the central and eastern enlargement of the EU. The second was the rise of globalization and, in this context, the advent of the information society (Martin 2011). Facing these challenges, the Commission proposed to extend the scope of cooperation, moving towards greater consistency between education and training and simplifying the management of activities. In accordance with this philosophy, two action programs were adopted, in 1994 and 1995, respectively: Leonardo da Vinci, in the field of vocational training; and Socrates, in the fields of university and, for the first time, school education. Meanwhile, the concept of education was rapidly changing, with new emphasis placed on the notion of lifelong learning (Parreira do Amaral, Kovacheva, and Xavier Rambla 2020). Between the mid- and late 1990s, this concept was placed at the very center of the overall EU strategy and its ambitious attempts to combine economic integration, competitiveness, and social cohesion (Riddell, Markowitsch, and Weedon 2012); in stressing the importance of lifelong learning, the EU strongly influenced all its member states and even some non-EU countries relying on international donations, especially in South-East Asia (Egetenmeyer 2016).

Alongside the programs conducted within the Community framework, important initiatives were taken at the intergovernmental level as well (Chou and Gornitzka 2014). They mostly originated from the positive experience gained in the context of the Community cooperation. The most important intergovernmental initiative was the so-called Bologna Process, launched between 1998 and 1999 by education ministers from France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom; they were, respectively, Claude Allègre, Jürgen Rüttgers, Luigi Berlinguer, and Tessa Blackstone. The participants aimed at coordinating national policies in order to establish, within ten years, a European Higher Education Area (Sin, Veiga, and Amaral 2016). Higher education led on to school education and, later, to vocational education and training. In Florence, in 1999, the ministers responsible for school education from seven European countries signed a declaration. Modeled on the Bologna declaration, this document announced a commitment to create an area of cooperation in school education at European level. In Copenhagen in 2002, similarly, the ministers responsible for vocational education and training in 31 European states signed a declaration recognizing the need to enhance European cooperation in their sectors. In the meantime, in 2000, the OECD implemented the most important assessment program at international level: the Programme

for International Student Assessment (PISA). Although its explicit goal was not to promote convergence of national policies and systems, the standardization of assessment methodologies and targets promoted by PISA greatly affected national education policy choices (Bieber 2016).

Meanwhile, an extraordinary European Council met in Lisbon in 2000 on the initiative of the president of the Socialist International and the Council of the EU, António Guterres. Under the influence of the "Third Way", it gave the EU a new strategic goal for the following decade: to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth, with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. Investment in education and training was recognized as the most important instrument to achieve all these aims (Sin, Tavares, Cardoso, and Rosa 2018). In addition to fresh purposes, the Lisbon Strategy gave the education policy a new mode of governance: the open method of cooperation. This implied that, while respecting the treaties, the member states were free to collaborate outside the EU framework in order to promote convergence of national policies and attain shared objectives (Keating 2014).

The launch of this ambitious and complex plan paved the way to the renewal and reform of both Leonardo da Vinci and Socrates. The most striking innovation was the budget. Leonardo da Vinci II and Socrates II, stretching from 2000 to 2006, could rely on more than double the resources devoted to Leonardo da Vinci and Socrates from 1995 to 1999. Although the share of the EU budget devoted to education and training remained low, the increase was steady and noticeable. In the second half of the 1980s, the resources given to education and training measures represented 0.1% of the Community budget. In the first half of the 2000s, they reached 0.6%. When Leonardo da Vinci II and Socrates II were close to their conclusion, the EU adopted two new programs alongside the two umbrella action programs. The first was the eLearning Programme, whose aim was to encourage the efficient use of information and communication technologies (ICT) in European education and training. The second was the Erasmus Mundus Programme, which aimed at enhancing academic cooperation between the EU and non-EU countries; 80 states from all over the world were involved in the program.

Shortly afterwards, the European Commission proposed to replace all existing action programs with a comprehensive European Union Action Programme in the field of Lifelong Learning, which was to last from 2007 to 2013. This program, devoted to achieving the objectives established under the Lisbon Strategy, reflected the integration of education and training measures and all levels of education, from primary school to university. Significantly, it exceeded the symbolic threshold of 1% of the Community budget. The Action Programme in the field of Lifelong Learning was succeeded by Erasmus+ for the period from 2014 to 2020; this program was considered as crucial to achieve the economic, social, and environmental goals identified in Europe 2020, the successor to the Lisbon Strategy adopted by the EU in the immediate aftermath of the Great Recession, in 2010 (Traianou and Jones 2019). Erasmus+ took its name from the program that had become one of the most representative symbols and the most astonishing successes of the EU: Erasmus. When Erasmus+ started to be implemented, it was estimated that over four million

students had benefited from Erasmus grants and that all 3,300 higher education establishments in the EU were participating in the program. Erasmus+ aimed at increasing opportunities for mobility of teachers and staff, achieving full integration of education, training, and youth measures, and simplifying the administration of projects.

In the meantime, from 1999 to 2015, 48 countries with different political regimes and cultural–educational traditions, plus the European Commission, joined the Bologna Process. Participants were not limited to all the main European countries: they also included non-European (Kazakhstan) and transcontinental countries across Europe and Asia (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Russia, Turkey). Non-governmental organizations plus the Council of Europe and UNESCO also participated in the process' follow-up (Marquand 2018). Under the Bologna Process, participating countries adopted on a voluntary basis significant higher education policy reforms and reduced obstacles to academic mobility and cooperation across the area (Vögtle 2014). This convergence, which did not come without problems and protests, was not only the fruit of the Bologna Process but the culmination of a longer and more complex evolution of decisions and practices, which was strongly influenced by both transnational networks and international organizations, the European Community/EU in particular (Dobbins 2011; Dobbins and Knill 2014). The outcome, in turn, was more a combination of educational models rather than a mere adaptation to the Anglo-Saxon one, as many critics argued. At the same time, it was clear that education had primarily become an economic issue and that the Bologna Process and the EU had played a decisive role in shaping and popularizing this conception (Barrett 2017).

These progresses went hand in hand with emerging tendencies in the EU's approaches and objectives, especially in the area of higher education (Donskis, Sabelis, Kamsteeg, and Wels 2019). First, the aim of enhancing the role and image of the EU in the world and attracting non-European students to higher education establishments in Europe was prioritized over that of creating and fostering a common identity among European citizens. Second, the aim of accompanying the establishment of the European Single Market was gradually overshadowed by the purpose of helping the European economies to become more innovative, dynamic, and competitive in the context of globalization and the spread of information technologies. The aim of stimulating collaboration between higher education institutes, finally, was largely replaced by that of encouraging competition and concentrating resources on "excellence" (Regini 2011). This development was favored by the establishment of the European Research Council in 2007; composed of a tiny elite of European scholars, it has assumed an increasing role in setting rules and criteria of research and teaching in Europe.

It is questionable whether in the period from 2021 to 2027, Erasmus+, which puts particular emphasis on encouraging participation in democratic life, common values, and civic engagement, accompanying the digital and green transition and especially promoting diversity and inclusion, will strengthen, confirm, or reverse those trends.

New Research Perspectives at the Crossroads of European and Education Studies

This volume heavily drew on an international workshop, "From pro-European to European education: institutions, actors, and policies", which we organized in Paris in 2020 within the context of the European Research Project "*LabEx* (*Laboratoire d'Excellence*) *EHNE* (*écrire une Histoire Nouvelle de l'Europe*)" at the *Paris-Sorbonne Université*. Bringing together early career researchers and more experienced scholars from different disciplinary fields who shared an interest in European education studies, we then started a dialogue across disciplines, generations, and genders that culminates – but, we hope, does not conclude – with this book.

The case studies presented in the volume cover a wide range of international cultural and educational institutions both connected to (European Schools, EUI) and, at least initially, completely outside of (College of Europe, European Centre for Culture) the Community/EU framework. They also address the cultural and educational role played by a variety of international (European Communities/ EU, OEEC/OECD, Council of Europe) and transnational (ETUCE, European Federation of Education Employers) actors. The focus is on Western Europe, but international institutions also operating in the East are taken into consideration too (European Centre for Higher Education).

In the research that informs the chapters, the authors applied a variety of methodologies, ranging from historical analysis to institutional, pedagogical, and sociological approaches. The contributors also used a wide range of sources, including national and international archival documents, published official texts, published and unpublished memoirs, institutional websites, interviews, comics, leaflets, photographs, films, and press articles. The richness of methodologies and sources enables the volume to analyze and intersect different aspects and angles of the complex relationship between education and European dimension from a historical perspective.

The volume, as mentioned, is structured into two parts, which reflect the dual research question at its basis. The first part, "Europeanization through Education: Institutions, Projects, and Pedagogies", primarily deals with the multiple attempts conducted at European level to create and spread pro-European attitudes in either selected elites or the public at large. The second, "Europeanizing Education: Organizations, Policies, and Strategies", is primarily concerned with an intertwined but distinct phenomenon: the attempts made at European level to create a European education space.

The first section opens with Maxime Behar's Chapter 1, "Who Really Needs a College of Europe?: Creating a New European Being through Education". Based on a socio-historical analysis and largely unexplored documents from the Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU) in Florence and the Historical Municipal Archive in Bruges, this study adopts a long-term perspective to reconstruct and partially rewrite the origins of the first institute for European studies established after

the end of the Second World War: the College of Europe in Bruges. Challenging still widespread teleological and hagiographic interpretations, Behar shows that, far from being the obvious outcome of noble sentiments and shared views, the College of Europe was the unpredictable result of conflicts and compromises between cultural and social elites, who strove for both their ideas and interests between the late 1940s and early 1950s; in this context, a crucial role was played by a group of personalist intellectuals active from the 1930s, whose main aims were to maintain a high social status and political and cultural influence over pro-European movements. Accordingly, personalism, an anti-Marxist and anti-liberal strand of thought informed by Christian principles, strongly affected not only the peculiar, non-neutral conception of Europe taught in Bruges but also the structure, pedagogies, and class contents of the institute. This doctrine, combined with an open anti-Soviet ideology directly sponsored by United States networks, in turn influenced the views and mentalities of students and greater numbers of leading professionals who gravitated towards the college.

Meanwhile, another limited but highly interesting pedagogic experiment was conducted in the interests of the children of the employees of the ECSC: the European Schools. Drawing on selected studies and published documents from the EU and the European Schools, Sandra Leaton Gray's Chapter 2, "Pedagogies of Identity: The Formation and Reformation of the European Schools", adopts a combination of discourse analysis and social theory to investigate the origins, evolution, and current state of this peculiar form of European education. Even more than the College of Europe, the European Schools were born from below: it was the *Association des intérêts éducatifs et familiaux des fonctionnaires de la Communauté*, an association bringing together Community officials with children, that promoted and largely contributed to shape these establishments. When compared with the College of Europe, moreover, the European schools did not reflect so much the Cold War logics and dynamics but the widespread post-war values of peace and international cooperation, which were an important component of the early process of European integration. There was, however, a characteristic that was common to both: the inherent tension between the aim of creating and spreading a European mindset and a distinct elitist nature in the approach and cultural–social composition of students. According to Leaton Gray, this original contradiction, combined with and exacerbated by the increasing auto-segregation of this system and its astonishing resistance to change, represents the current main challenge facing the European Schools. If they will not be able to cope with the emerging political, social, and pedagogical needs, not only will they not succeed in encouraging pro-European sentiments but they will even provide a further argument to Euroskeptic discourses.

This, however, does not mean that elites were the only targets of the pro-European initiatives developed in the 1950s; nor does it mean that, in the same period, cultural and educational institutes were the only contexts within which they were developed. Chapter 3, "A Pavilion and a Comic: Teaching Children about European Integration at Expo 58", jointly produced by Anastasia Remes and Jessica Burton on the basis of a multiplicity of sources from the HAEU, clearly

shows that the pavilion organized by the ECSC at the 1958 *Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles* represented a formidable opportunity for pursuing a series of goals: transmitting European knowledge; spreading pro-European attitudes; and raising European awareness among the public at large – in particular, in a crucial though often ignored category of citizens, that is, the children. Although its official mission was to simply inform the public on the nascent process of European integration, in fact, the ECSC's Press and Information Service used a variety of cultural and educational means both within and outside classrooms to enhance consensus on and commitment to European unification and to create and disseminate a sense of European belonging; the ultimate aim, according to the authors, was nothing less than to re-educate people from being national citizens to becoming members of a European Community. Remes and Burton point out that the initiative was taken by a relatively small group of Community civil servants, who made a serious and sincere effort to adapt formats and contents to different audiences and stimulate their active participation. An important attempt was also made to encourage collaboration between the three main Western European organizations then existing: the Community, the OEEC, and the Council of Europe.

The combination of activities within and outside classrooms to establish and spread European consciousness was not a prerogative of the Community. Established, like the College of Europe, on the initiative of the 1948 Hague Congress, the Geneva-based European Centre for Culture represented a pioneer in the field of pro-European cultural and educational policies. Drawing extensively on documents from the Historical Archives of the European Centre for Culture in Geneva, Nicolas Stenger's Chapter 4, "Shaping Education in Europe Inside and Outside the School System: The Role of the European Centre for Culture (1950s–1970s)", illustrates the strengths of this institute and its founder and first director, Denis de Rougemont. At a very early stage, de Rougemont grasped the significance of culture and education in the construction of Europe. He was also able to understand the importance of promoting associations, encouraging collaborations, and developing projects on a transnational basis, as well as denationalizing historiography in order to promote a European consciousness and, through this, achieve a European federation from below. At the same time, Stenger emphasizes the center's weaknesses, which led to its substantial failure and increasing irrelevance. Despite funding from the European Cultural Foundation and later from the US Ford Foundation, the center has always struggled with financial constraints, which combined with an overstretched agenda. Also, it faced resistance from national university environments, especially French academics, who were generally suspicious of the center's ideological intents. The growing involvement of the Community in cultural and educational policy areas in the early 1970s, finally, came as a coup de grace to the center's ambitions.

The complex relationship between international cultural and educational institutes and national political and academic circles is also at the center of the troubled process leading to the establishment of the EUI in Florence in the mid-1970s. Being based on documents from the HAEU, the Historical Archives of the French, German, and Italian Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Historical

Archives of the Dutch Education Ministry, Jean-Marie Palayret's Chapter 5, "A University for Europe?: The European University Institute in Florence", reconstructs the genesis, establishment, and development of this international post-graduate and postdoctoral institute. Education and culture were not crucial to the origins of the European Communities; nonetheless, as stressed by Palayret, higher education and, in particular, the German idea of a European University was an issue in the relaunch of the European integration process in the mid-1950s. This proposal, which was eventually embedded in the treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community, met with fierce opposition from Gaullist France and the academic world; while the former did not consider the Community a suitable actor for developing education policies, the latter was more generally critical of any centralization and political interference with academic autonomy. The result was a mere university institute with an uncertain status, identity, and relationship with the European Communities, later the EU. According to Palayret, however, the EUI had a great merit: unlike European schools, it managed to innovate and constantly adapt to changing conditions and challenges. In so doing, it was gradually able to gain a recognizable role on the international academic scene.

The second part starts with Antonio Varsori's Chapter 6, "The European Communities/European Union and the Search for a European Education", which focuses on the historical role played by the European Communities, later the EU, in culture and education. Basing the chapter on selected literature and personal study results, Varsori reconstructs the main initiatives and the dynamics and motivations behind them to conclude that Community educational and cultural policies were always due to a complex and changing combination of economic, social, and political factors; the aim to support the establishment of the European Customs Union and later the European Single Market, in particular, went hand in hand with the need to accompany the construction of a European social model and the definition and spread of a European identity. Despite ambitions and attempts, however, achievements were far below expectations. The goal to implement a European education space met with national and local traditions and political resistance, as well as with conflicting and somewhat contradictory views at Community level as well; it was objectively difficult, in particular, to reconcile harmonizing tendencies with the "unity in diversity" rhetoric. Education, therefore, largely remains a national and sometimes regional domain, and the EU can only marginally influence education systems, policies, and contents. Meanwhile, the objective of developing a European identity clashed with surprisingly resilient national identities and with a constant change of values. As a consequence, as clearly shown by the recent emergence of populist movements, the Communities and later the EU basically failed in their long-standing purpose of creating a European culture and transmitting a common identity to European citizens.

Chapter 7, "The Crafting of a European Education Space and Europeanization: The Role of the EU and the OECD", jointly written by Katja Brøgger and Christian Ydesen, provides a more "optimistic" interpretation. Using the governance theory as a conceptual framework and drawing on published documents and material from the OECD Historical Archives in Paris and the Danish National Archive, the authors

analyze the parallel emergence of the European Communities, later the EU, and the OEEC, and later the OECD, as important education actors. After initial competition, the two organizations agreed on the socioeconomic significance of education policies and collaborated in pursuing common goals and even developing joint initiatives. They remained different, of course, in terms of scope, powers, and resources, but adopted similar approaches to governance, priorities, and strategies. Through this partnership and convergence, according to Brøgger and Ydesen, they were able to create, legitimize, and popularize standards, assessment methodologies, and measurement technologies, which strongly influenced national education policies and represented the real essence of the European education space. The inter-organizational cooperation, in addition, helped to gradually "Europeanize" education systems and policies both in Southern and Eastern Europe, and to give the EU an otherwise unlikely chance to affect the Western education model as a whole.

The EC, later the EU, and the OEEC, later the OECD, were not the only international organizations that affected education systems and policies in Europe. In addition, it is erroneous to think that education is to be meant only as a formal activity; education, in fact, is a more complex and multifaceted process whose general aim is to transmit or advance knowledge and skills in learners. Analyzing a specific but very significant case, in Chapter 8, "Non-Formal Education and Learning in Europe: The Role of the Council of Europe", Howard Williamson uses a combination of multidisciplinary literature and published documents to show that the Strasbourg-based organization developed a surprisingly effective and influential action in the complex realm of non-formal education and learning; this action included a wide range of programs of personal and social development addressed to young people, which were implemented outside the formal educational curriculum, especially in youth organizations. The success, according to Williamson, was essentially due to two major factors. The first was the ability of the Council of Europe, and in particular its Youth Directorate, later Department, to adapt messages, methods, and strategies to the changing cultural, economic, and social conditions, and to the peculiar characteristics of education's users, especially the young people. The second was the minor attention that national authorities paid to non-formal education and learning when compared with school education; this relative indifference enlarged room for maneuver of international organizations to act and make their mark.

While in the post-Cold War period the initiatives conducted by the EU, the OECD, and the Council of Europe gradually involved both Western and Eastern countries, during the Cold War era, they were obviously limited to the Western part of the European continent. At that time those organizations were of course only composed of Western European countries. This, however, does not mean that even during the Cold War attempts were not made to encourage education cooperation at a pan-European level too. Drawing on documents from the UNESCO Historical Archives in Paris, and French and Romanian National Archives, Stéphane Cuvelier's Chapter 9, "The European Centre for Higher Education: The Receptacle of a Will for a Pan-European Higher Education?", examines the origins

of the UNESCO-sponsored European Centre for Higher Education. Established in Bucharest in the early 1970s, this institute aimed at promoting collaboration in higher education between countries across the Iron Curtain; this came in the context of the Great Détente, despite initial skepticism from Western European countries and the United States' efforts to interfere. The impact of the European Centre for Higher Education was, in fact, quite limited, not least because of its structural underfunding and the impossibility of implementing academic staff and student mobility. The institute in Bucharest, however, acted as an important laboratory, where ideas and views from the West and the East could circulate in spite of lingering ideological and political divisions.

Unsurprisingly, international governmental organizations were at the forefront. However, Howard Stevenson's Chapter 10, "Europeanizing Europe's Education Policy: What Role for Education Trade Unions?", provides convincing evidence that non-governmental organizations, too, were very active in the education policy sector, although hardly influential. The major exceptions in this regard were the ERC and the Liaison Committee of Rectors' Conferences of the Member States of the European Communities, later the Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences. These organizations and the European University Association, which emerged in the early 2000s from a merger between the CRE and the Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conference, were not only active but also authoritative in the European policy decision and implementation processes. The Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (UNICE), later the Confederation of European Business, and especially the European Round Table of Industrialists were also important, albeit more unevenly. Using published documents from Community institutions and from the ETUCE and the European Federation of Education Employers, Stevenson emphasizes the social dimension of European education and makes an interesting distinction between the EU's formal powers and its actual capacity to exert influence; in his opinion, education largely remains a national domain but, both before and especially after the COVID-19 pandemic, it has been an area to which the EU has aspired and has to a great extent managed to play a crucial role. In this context, and in particular in the context of the European social dialogue, education trade unions struggled hard to advance their causes and agendas. This gave them a significant opportunity to exchange ideas and views and to form and express opinions at European level. At the same time, the structural weaknesses of the social dialogue combined with the ongoing situation of crisis and decreasing status and resources of trade unions to undermine the capacity of the European organization of education workers to effectively impact on political processes.

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Notes

1 The chapter is the fruit of joint reflection and collaboration. Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz is primarily responsible for the first four sections of this chapter ("Introduction", "Between the Deconstruction of the Emergence Process of European Integration and the Renewal of the History of Education", "Cross-Europeanization Processes: Europeanization *through* Education and *of* Education", "'Education for Europe', a Form of Pedagogical Activism"), while Simone Paoli is primarily responsible for the last two sections ("'European Education': a Contested Process of Europeanization" and "New Research Perspectives at the Crossroads of European and Education Studies").

2 Unpopularity, which seems to be permanently tied to the EU, has appeared to decrease since the outbreak of war in Ukraine.

3 *European Histories of Education* is a collective project currently underway on this issue, led by Rita Hofstetter (University of Geneva), Solenn Huitric (University Lumière Lyon 2), Jérôme Krop (University of Nantes), Stéphane Lembré (University of Lille), and Damiano Matasci (University of Geneva).

4 Original quote: "Ce terme fait référence aux processus de construction (a), de diffusion (b) et d'institutionnalisation (c) de règles formelles et informelles, de procédures, de paradigmes de politiques publiques, de styles, de « façons de faire », de croyances partagées et de normes, qui sont dans un premier temps définis et consolidés au niveau européen, puis incorporés dans la logique des discours, des identités, des structures politiques et des politiques publiques au niveau national/infranational".

5 Original quote: "processus plus 'horizontaux' de diffusion, d'imitation et d'émulation entre États membres, l'UE jouant alors le rôle de contexte, de plate-forme de diffusion ou d'agent de socialisation".

6 This panorama of "Education for Europe" is an expanded version of the note "From education for Europe to European education", written by Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz and Simone Paoli and published in the online *Encyclopedia EHNE*, 2020, https://ehne.fr/fr/node/21415.

7 Congress of Europe, Cultural Resolution of the Hague Congress, 7–10/05/1948. On the Hague Congress, see Guieu and Le Dréau (2009).

8 Original quote: "une éducation tendant à développer dans nos divers pays la conscience de la communauté de civilisation et de destin historique de tous les Européens", Denis de Rougemont. 1956. "Former des Européens". *Bulletin du Centre européen de la culture: "Pour une Éducation européenne"* 4, April–May 1956, 32.

9 Florence, Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU), AEDE-109, André Alers. 1960. "Journée Européenne des Écoles 1960". *Bulletin intérieur d'information et de presse de l'AEDE*, March 1960, 3.

10 Florence, HAEU, HC 4, Proceedings of the Franco-German University Meeting, 22–24.08.1957, 4–5.

11 "l'américanisation ne produit pas automatiquement plus d'Amérique dans les têtes".

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Part I

Europeanization Through Education

Institutions, Projects, and Pedagogies

1 Who Really Needs a College of Europe?

Creating a New European Being Through Education

Maxime Behar

Introduction

> The fate of Europe is at stake today.[1] Before 1952, an important (and irrevocable) step must be taken towards the economic and political unity of our part of the world; otherwise, we will have missed our last chance at salvation. […] However such a transformation cannot be performed by the old teams, encumbered by their traditional reflexes, their instinctive positions, which used to be appropriate, but are becoming anachronistic in the Union's perspective. […] If Europe must be governed by Europeans, they will have to be trained, starting with a small team of future leaders […] who really have the vocation to devote themselves practically – professionally – either to European institutions, political or functional, or to the formation of a European "public spirit". […] This is what the College of Europe in Bruges will strive to achieve.[2]

This leaflet, written by the first Rector of the College of Europe, Hendrik Brugmans, was published during its first academic year, in 1950. It comports with the routinized description of the European postwar federalist militant approach with which the College of Europe is regularly associated. This institution was created in 1949–1950 in Bruges (Belgium), and is generally presented as the first (and most prestigious) European institute for European studies providing a "European mindset" to its students (Vermeulen 2000), which is also still how the institution presents itself to this day. Having received the official, albeit symbolic, support of the European Movement (EM) in 1950,[3] the school is often presented as one of the successes of the EM. At odds with teleological interpretations of this success and with the idea that European integration and European education projects such as the College of Europe as we know them today are above all the result of a complex history of balances of power, I would like to demonstrate the crucial role played by the competition between elitist groups of actors over the definition of what European integration should be. The College of Europe, as an education project based on an anti-state political view, served as an opportunity for certain actors to find a professional position after the Second World War, from where they were able to defend their definition of Europe and of European integration.

The complex historical process that explains the birth of the College of Europe began amid a flurry of openings of new schools and cultural institutions, aimed at fostering a non-national sense of belonging across the continent. Post-1945 examples of this include international schools (Dugonjic-Rodwin 2022), and regarding European integration more specifically, the European Cultural Centre, created in 1950 (Puymege 1993; Stenger 2015), as well as the European schools (Gray 2003; Pukallus 2019) or the short-lived European institutes created in Nancy, Saarbrücken, Rome, and Turin (Bailleux 2014). All these institutions shared the premise that education could create a sense of shared and supranational identity. The specificity of the College of Europe must then be found elsewhere and its history remains to be uncovered: some authors partly explored it through a comparative approach in research on the emergence of the European Community (Canihac 2020); others, focusing on the role played by the first Rector H. Brugmans (Schnabel 2002), have shed light on the first decades of the alumni network. This chapter adopts an original approach, examining both the social uses of this school by a larger network of actors involved in the creation of the College of Europe between the 1930s and 1960s, and the institution's educational and ideological production. The College of Europe was geared towards young, highly educated adults, from all over Europe and beyond, who were expected to guide European institutions in their first steps. However, it was established at a time when these institutions where the future students were supposed to work did not yet fully exist. Then, the creation of the College of Europe must be reconsidered within a broader historical context than European integration. Crucially, the College of Europe was the materialization of the philosophical, religious, and political doctrine of personalism that had emerged during the 1930s. According to personalism, parliamentarism was the cause of multiple political crises in Europe and the remedy resided in the creation of numerous small local communities. The personalists saw the first steps of European integration as an opportunity to implement their ideas with a broader scope.

How and why did this network of actors invest in this European education project? What are the ideological roots of this doctrine, and how was it implemented at the College of Europe? What do the contents of the teaching offered there during the first years tell us about the idea of Europe they defended?

This personalist stance on European integration, which has been described as a "militant" approach (Canihac 2020), has a clear sociological background (Corbett 2005, 3). Following a socio-historical methodology, the demonstration in this chapter will operate on two levels. First, at the local level, I will retrace the collaborations between different groups of actors, who were in it for various reasons during the creation of the College of Europe. Then, focusing on the personalist group and on the spiritual origins of their definition of Europe, I will demonstrate that in the process of investing in the College of Europe to develop and apply their philosophy, they ended up following a socially downward trajectory. Lastly, and because the College of Europe is strongly dependent on the international context, I will show how the context of the Cold War effectively impacted the definition of Europe taught in Bruges.

Three Different but Interconnected Groups of Actors. The Sociopolitical and Ideological Roots of a European Elitist School

Institutionally, the College of Europe at its inception was composed of a Board of Governors (7 members) and of an Administrative Council (15 members).[4] In theory, the former was consulted by the latter on matters such as syllabus contents or the choice of the Rector and of the faculty. The Administrative Council, with the support of an "Executive Bureau" composed of members of that council, made the main routine operational decisions. In practice, the Board of Governors' members did not intervene in the orientations of the College of Europe and are rarely mentioned in the Report of the Administrative Council, or in the administration's correspondence during the first decade. This is mostly because these board members were leading European political figures who were selected for their symbolic capital. They held positions at the Council of Europe (Count Carlo Sforza, President of the Committee of Ministers; Paul-Henri Spaak, President of the Consultative Assembly; Alessandro Casati and Victor Larock, President and Reporting Secretary of the Cultural Commission) and at the EM (Paul-Henri Spaak, President of the Council and of the International Executive Committee; Salvador de Madariaga, President of the International Cultural Commission).

The main role was played by the members of the Administrative Council; the following analysis of their shared sociopolitical background sheds light on how and why they invested in the creation of this institution.

Mainly financed by the Flemish local authorities and the Belgian state[5] during its first years of existence, the College of Europe is not an international school, but it is recognized as a public interest organization under Belgian law. Welcoming a small group of 40 students each year, the College of Europe appears to have been a minor concern among the ranges of educative projects that were supported by the EM.[6]

While all the members of the Administrative Council did not play the same roles in the creation of the institution, they all shared some ideological and social characteristics, which is important when trying to understand the social dynamic of the process. According to the 13 reports of the Administrative Council issued between 1950 and 1960, the members were all men from Western European countries, and most were social science graduates. They were all raised Christian and predominantly upper class. For the most part, as a result of WWII or through their educational trajectories, they had access to other national spaces and were involved in non-nationalist postwar political movements.

However, among these members, three groups can be distinguished based on social origins and professional careers for the purposes of this study. The first group includes members who were less invested in the everyday operations of the College of Europe but who were also the most internationalized and brought their own social capital to the institution ($n = 6$). Duncan Sandys, Paul-Henri Spaak, André Philip, Joseph Retinger, and Jean Drapier, for instance, were all in positions of power or had ties to the EM during the 1950s. Among them, the case of Salvador

de Madariaga y Rojo stands out, in that he was both invested in the creation of the College of Europe and a teacher in Bruges. Born in 1886, his father was a senior Army officer. Madariaga studied first in Madrid and then Paris, at Polytechnique and at the *École des Mines de Paris*, and returned to Spain in 1911 to work for the national rail company. In 1916, he moved to London, where he worked for *The Times*; in 1921 he began working at the secretariat of the League of Nations. Then, he taught as a professor of Spanish literature at Oxford. In 1931, he was appointed Spanish ambassador to Washington and then to Paris. After a brief stint as Minister of Spanish Civic Education in 1934, he became a permanent Spanish delegate to the League of Nations. The Spanish Civil War coincided with his move to Oxford. After the war, he got involved in European movements: he participated in particular in the liberal Mont-Pèlerin Society, where he met the personalist and liberal economists Maurice Allais, Friedrich Hayek, and Wilhelm Röpke, all of whom were considered for teaching positions at the College of Europe.[7] Due to his position at the League of Nations, his academic standing, and his many publications, Madariaga was appointed as head of the Cultural Commission of the Hague Congress, where the idea of creating a European cultural center was first formulated, in 1948 (Guieu and Le Dréau 2009).

The second group of individuals involved in the creation of the College of Europe was made up of 24 local public figures in Bruges. Most were liberal Flemish-Belgian industrialists and part of the Flemish network that connected industrialists and political circles (Tordeurs 2000). Among them, the Capuchin friar Karel Verleye was close to the federalist movements, active in the Universal Movement for a World Confederation (MUCM) created by Alexandre Marc (see later) and a well-known personality in Bruges. Beginning in 1948, his role as a connector between the industrial group and the members of the first group was crucial. As a member of the Belgian delegation in The Hague, he monitored the work on the European Centre of Culture. He then contacted A. Marc (May 26, 1948) and Denis de Rougemont (June 24, 1948), two prominent figures of the personalist movement, and submitted the idea of headquartering the European Centre of Culture in Bruges to them. Later that summer, he reached out to the president of the Belgian National Council of the EM, Julius Hoste (August 3, 1948) for the same purpose, but Geneva was already chosen to host this institution. Verleye, with his local ties in Bruges, pursued his project undeterred. He relied on a local cultural association of liberal industrials that had been founded during the postwar period, "Les Amis de Bruges" (Verleye 1957).

In practice, this association led to the structuring of informal networks between local political and industrial leaders and Europeanists, and played a key role in the establishment of the College of Europe in Bruges. Its president, Louis de Winter, was in contact with the Brussels industrialist Maurice Hamesse. The latter, a member of the European Federalist Union (UEF), participated in the opening of a local UEF office in September 1948 in Bruges (Duchenne 2009). At the center of these networks, Verleye was the link between the local Flemish and Belgian national political authorities, in addition to his involvement in the Europeanist networks. Verleye moderated the first meeting of the Bruges UEF Committee on

September 28, 1948, and met two other protagonists in Brussels one month later: the Catholic and liberal president of the Belgian Council, Paul van Zeeland, founder of the Independent League for European Cooperation (LECE), and Duncan Sandys, President of the European movement's International Executive Bureau (Verleye 1957, 113). He drew on his relationship with J. Hoste to gain support both from the Belgian government[8] and the EM. In January, March, and April 1949, Madariaga went to Bruges with Hoste to discuss the possible establishment of a European university center, before J. Retinger, Secretary General of the Executive Committee of the EM, took note in May of the opening of the College of Europe.[9] Although the Belgian state, Flanders, and the city of Bruges financed 85% of the institution's budget, the leaders of the EM took symbolic credit from the school's creation.

Finally, a third group was composed of members who oversaw the routine operation and organization of the College of Europe ($n = 4$). These university graduates, formerly journalists, politicians, or political militants at the UEF, shared a distinct idea of European political integration and used Bruges as an arena to put the ideological corpus of the UEF into practice.

This was the case of H. Brugmans, who was appointed as rector in 1950 after the first *Année préparatoire* of the College of Europe in 1949. Brugmans was born in 1906, in Amsterdam,[10] to a Protestant family. His father was an anti-communist historian and his mother was a housewife without academic qualifications. He studied French literature at university and was active in the Flemish emancipation movements during the 1930s. After his Ph.D., he moved to Paris, where he read Proudhon and became interested in the *Banlieues rouges* movement. Back in the Netherlands in 1932, he worked as a teacher and became President of the Worker Education Institute. Shortly before the war, he was elected as a substitute for a socialist member of Parliament, where he sat for a short period of time until the war broke out. He was arrested in 1942 during a large round-up of opponents and deported to the Gestel hostage camp, with other notables, such as E. Sassen, the future minister in charge of the Dutch Colonies and then member of the Euratom commission. This encounter led him to revisit personalism doctrine books, which he would go on to defend after the war, first within the European Federalist Union Party and then at the College of Europe.

This latter group of members of the College of Europe's first Administrative Council played the most determining role in the creation and shaping of the institution during the first decade. Brugmans, one of the main leaders of the UEF after the war, ran the institution as the Rector during its first 22 years and strongly influenced the organization of the school: picking the faculty, sources of funding, and the political networks in which the College of Europe invested as an educational institution. However, as I will demonstrate further, the personalist doctrine was not at first theorized as a pedagogical one, and its European educational dimension of personalism came later. Personalism began as an ostensibly militant and revolutionary political project. Where did it come from and how did this doctrine transition from the political to the educational field?

In the process of answering these questions, this chapter will evidence how educational projects such as the College of Europe were tied to European integration

and show that educational institutions offered alternative opportunities for certain groups of actors who were looking to push federalist agendas. This demonstration will first require a further step back in time, taking us to the 1930s.

Theorizing a New Approach for the Integration of Europe

As many authors have already underlined, the idea of Europe as a political project predates 1950. This is also the case of the Personalist definition of Europe: taught in Bruges from 1950, this doctrine emerged in the 1930s, a period characterized by a flurry of anti-statist debates, networks, organs of reflection, and press publications. In that context, two journals that were known for promoting personalism, *Ordre Nouveau* and *Esprit*, were platforms for debate between members of a network of interwar intellectuals. Their shared ideology was meant to extend beyond nations and emphasized the role of the younger generations.

The founder of *Ordre Nouveau* was Alexandre Marc. Previously close to *Action Française*, Marc, who had maintained relations with sympathizers of national socialism (Hellman and Roy 1993), kept distance from them during the 1930s. During this decade, he participated in the debates on the "crisis of the European civilization" (Roy 1998), which took place within the *Moulin vert*, a gathering of young intellectuals that led to the creation of his political party *Ordre nouveau*, in 1932, with the aim of spreading nonconformist theories. He sought to form a "French section of a Single Front of European Youth" (Loubet del Bayle 2001, 82), an idea he later expanded upon in his 1933 book *Jeune Europe*. This work can be read as a manifesto, a call for federalist, philosophico-religious, and European actions. In the foreword, the "turbulent, determined, heroic, tough, fierce youth" is called upon to organize itself to generate a new order, "placed under the sign of the spiritual and centered on the human person".[11]

Fighting those whom they saw as responsible for the "decomposition" of Europe, they defended an in-between position: anti-Marxist, anti-parliamentary, anti-capitalist, focused on the realization of the person, informed by Christian philosophical thought.[12] Alongside Robert Aron, a former surrealist and future member of the Board of the College of Europe and teacher during the first academic year of 1950–1951,[13] and Arnaud Dandieu, a former Proudhonian socialist, Marc undertook a theoretical effort that nourished the *Ordre Nouveau* doctrine. They developed critiques of nations in 1931 in books named *Décadence de la nation française* and *Le Cancer Américain*. They called for *La Révolution nécessaire,* which, they argued, would not result in anarchy but actually restore order.[14]

This political doctrine was also structured by a Catholic spiritual dimension. Emmanuel Mounier, one of the founders of *Esprit* and of the theoreticians of personalism, combined a critique of the French Third Republic and of individualism with a promotion of the spiritual, which referred both to Catholic spirituality and to a belief in political engagement as a spiritual commitment above all. His first editorial for *Esprit* emphasized the connection between "personalist revolution" and "community revolution".[15] The organization of social life in small communities in which corporations would play a central role was contrasted with the Left's collectivist social vision and the Right's liberal economic vision. These spiritual and

political tenets of personalism and the form of community life they promoted were implemented in different schools, such as *L'École des cadres d'Uriage*, known for their close ties with the Vichy regime (Hellman 1992), and also in Bruges.

Back in the early 1930s, *Esprit* joined *Ordre Nouveau* in political combat. In 1932, it acquired a political arm, called the *Troisième Force*, named after a column by Marc. That short, aggressively worded text encapsulated the impetus of the Third Force's personalist doctrine. It extolled the "observation of a failure: the refusal of all conformism, will, and revolutionary audacity, the taste for construction and order. […] The observation of the liberal bankruptcy, of the sterile and inhuman current disorder, of the instinctual disgust that the parliamentary and pseudo-democratic illusions now awoke in every well-born soul".[16] In the 1930s–1940s, this discourse was used primarily in a fight against the centralized state, led by Marc more than Mounier (who died in 1950), first during the war, and within the main international networks working towards European integration through the UEF.

In 1946, Brugmans became the UEF's first president; many among those who had worked ardently for the creation of the College of Europe were also UEF members. The UEF was then a force to be reckoned with. By 1948 it was a major network of 100,000 federalist supporters throughout Europe (Vayssière 2007, 174), defending a personalist doctrine theorized in numerous writings, whose authors were all invested in the political movement. Brugmans argued that the movement should adopt "integral federalism" as its doctrine and definition of Europe. This was formalized at the movement's First Congress in Montreux (August 27–31, 1947), attended by some 40 federalist activist groups from 16 European countries. The general definition of integral federalism required that federalism must be understood above all in the sense of a profound rejection of the nation state as the main political stratum, in favor of both a community life at a "human level" and a "globalist" federation.[17] This called for compliance with the principles of subsidiarity, solidarity, and autonomy, through adherence to a common charter.[18] Lastly, integral federalism was positioned as a "Third Way" between the two blocs of the United States and the USSR, and would – according to the movement's doctrine – bring about global stability.

In the late 1940s, as several international conferences were being held on the future of Europe, the EUF movement had to face a challenging political situation. Marked on the one hand by the Prague Coup, the partition of Germany, and the Marshall Plan, and on the other hand by the revival of the pre-war national political parties in Western Europe, the Cold War context made their position difficult on the eve of the Hague Congress. Looking at the balance of power in this Congress gives a good understanding of how members of an international political party ended up creating a fairly small educational institute.

Scaled Down Ambitions: From a Political Project to a Project for a Politicized Education

The Hague Congress, which took place from May 7 to 11, 1948, was organized by the new International Coordinating Committee of Movements for European Unity, created from November 10 to 11, 1947. It included the social and political forces

that were to be expressed in The Hague. Most of the UEF members and those who invested in the creation of the College of Europe were present at the congress and were largely marginalized. Expecting to play the leading roles, they mainly occupied second-best positions.

On the executive committee of the congress, the conservative "unionist" majority was clear: Duncan Sandys, Winston Churchill's son-in-law, was the president of the executive committee, even if J. Retinger held the post of secretary general (Guieu and Le Dréau 2009). The Hague did not aim to constitute a representative congress of the "European social forces, dear to the integral federalists" (Vayssière 2007, 180). Moreover, when the International Coordination Committee became the Joint Committee, the personalists were marginalized. W. Churchill was honorary president, P. Ramadier, President of the Council of the Fourth French Republic, was head of the Political Commission; the Economic and Social Commission was headed by the neoliberal P. van Zeeland of the Independent League for European Cooperation movement (LECE), which campaigned for the formation of a free and common European market. The LECE's co-founder J. Retinger, a federalist who did not embrace the UEF's doctrine, was appointed honorary secretary. In effect, those who represented the political enemies of the UEF occupied all the positions of power.

This explains why, in the Political Commission, which discussed plans for the institutional form of Europe, none of the UEF's proposals were accepted. The European Assembly backed by the UEF was mentioned in the debates, but its election by universal suffrage was rejected, and the parliamentarians who were supposed to sit in it had to be elected in their national political spaces. In this commission, as Executive President of the Union of European Federalists, Brugmans could only deplore the fact that "European unity" was not the "primary question, the one that takes precedence"[19] over all the discussions between the political forces at the table.

The less prestigious Cultural Commission was entrusted to Salvador de Madariaga and included more cultural and federalist elites than the other two commissions. Marc played an important role in the preliminary work; the rapporteur was de Rougemont and all the former members of *Ordre Nouveau* were present (Cohen 2012, 329). With this favorable balance of power, the Cultural Commission was the one whose conclusions were the closest to the expectations of the UEF members. A large place was given to the European culture, "European identity", and to educational and cultural projects, but the College of Europe was never mentioned in the Cultural Commission.

Overall, this congress was a resounding victory for the UEF's opponents (Cohen 2012). Brugmans's inability to impose the UEF's presence, ideas, and political visions during the Hague Congress and in the European Movement's leading positions plunged the party into a crisis. As the UEF's main representative, Brugmans faced virulent criticisms from some UEF members, who accused him of having made ideological compromises. The issue of *Esprit* that followed the Hague Congress contained some scathing words: Brugmans' action was judged by his peers as a "pastry laced with suspicious smells where what is called European

federalism is leavening today".[20] Brugmans' former allies cited anti-Sovietism and capitalism as the congress's big winners, and accused the United States of having launched the "largest ideological operation that capitalism has ever attempted". Their "strategic bloc", in their view, amounted to "another way of achieving Hitler's plans";[21] they claimed that "Hitler […] would call himself a federalist today".[22]

Marginalized within his own movement even as he remained its president, cut off from his ideological partisan "base" and isolated within Europeanist battles, Brugmans still adhered to the "revolutionary" thesis of Integral federalism, on which he wrote works dedicated to the "application" of its principles.[23] At the same time, he described himself as a "man of synthesis" who, between 1946 and 1949, "had slid inexorably towards the margin".[24] At that moment, the UEF leaders' political fight for a federalist project in the EM or in national political spaces was a lost cause. The creation of schools seemed like the least bad solution: they would be arenas to promote the idea of an integral federal Europe. Marc, who was quite broke (Bailleux 2014, 36), applied to be Rector of the College of Europe, but his adamant political, personalist, and federalist positions were reason enough for the EM to reject it. He then created his own school, the *Centre international de formation européenne* (CIFE), which focused on promoting federalism in Europe. Brugmans, on the other hand, benefited from his "moderate" image in the eyes of the EM leaders. Thanks also to his teaching experience, and more broadly to his cultural dispositions, his nomination was validated by the EM in December 1949.

The College of Europe was never officially presented as a school of European federalism by the EM – neither in brochures nor in the Rector's correspondence with the European chancelleries. Its objective was generally presented, in line with those of the EM, as follows: "To train a European elite, composed of young females and males who – in diplomacy, international institutions, public life, journalism, etc. – are professionally destined to work at the international and particularly European level".[25]

From the EM's perspective, supporting the creation of the College of Europe was a means to push the UEF's members towards the margins of European integration. The College of Europe was not meant to be an important project for the EM, as reflected in contrast by the far greater financial and official support granted later to the European Institute (Palayret 1996, 2002). From 1949 onwards, the EM exercised a significant degree of control over the College of Europe: D. Sandys was a full member of the Administrative Council and the EM and the College administration corresponded extensively, including on key matters such as finances or student selection. Still, the influence of personalism on the concept of Europe taught and implemented in Bruges was palpable in class contents and organizational routines.

European Spirituality, Education, and Civics. The College of Europe as a New Opportunity for Personalism in Practice

In the same year that Brugmans became Rector of the College of Europe, he published a short book with a publishing house named *Le Portulan,* favored by

the personalists, titled *La Cité européenne (Programme fédéraliste)*. This book connected the personalist theory developed during the 1930s with the framework and practices of teaching in Bruges. In this book, Brugmans described his federalist political project, the difficulties of Europe, and his proposals to remedy them, fully based on the personalist doctrine. The spiritual dimension played a prominent role in his argument: "National liberation movements have always drawn their strength from a religious or social faith. In the same way, European federalism will remain anemic as long as it has no moral foundation and no social goal".[26] To the personalists,[27] this moral foundation was the responsibility of an "avant-garde" of younger Europeans, trained by a "new European education", based on a "European civic reform": "Isn't it true that each pedagogy is based on a specific conception of humanity and of society, of good and evil?"[28]

As this "European civic" reform would not be achieved through institutional political positions in the EM or at the international level as seen earlier, schools were thought of as alternative spaces to make it happen. In 1953, at a conference given at the Free Europe University in Exile, an anti-communist school for young refugees who had fled their Soviet-controlled countries to come to the West (Durin-Hornyik 2018), Brugmans articulated that European civics and integral Europe had to be the backbones of a political program:

> When we speak of Europe, we are not thinking only of Western Europe, but of the integral of Europe. […] European civism must be not only civism open to the world, but also a spiritually conquering civism, constantly vigilant and ready to exploit the opportunities for expansion that history often offers to those who know how to seize them.[29]

At the same moment in Bruges, everyday life reflected this mix of intellectual and spiritual life in education, meant to defend a specific political idea of Europe. As far as curricula were concerned, references to the "European spirit" developed through this way of life abounded, and teachings were consistent with personalist theories.[30] The work of Jacques Maritain, a former member of the *Action française* (Beneton 1973) and one of the main theorists of "integral education",[31] was often referenced in the teaching and books of Brugmans[32] and provided a philosophical and conceptual context for the "integral European education" offered in Bruges. The framework aimed at combining the "spirituality of the person" with their actions in their individual environment, that is, community life. In his theory, the role of education is to counteract the West's crisis of "civic conscience" by drawing on individual spirituality. Maritain's conception of education was fundamentally political, "aiming essentially not at producing a cultural type in conformity with the wishes of the community, but at liberating the human person. […] The problem is to replace the individualism of the bourgeois age […] by a personalist and community civilization".[33]

In Bruges, the community experience was an integral part of learning "European civics", which Brugmans defined as a purely European "moral revolution and social reorganization" in the face of the perceived external and internal threat of

"Bolshevik" ideology. This reflected an "awareness of what is collective in our ideal and in our situation";[34] European civics could not be reduced to an elitist "unitary cosmopolitanism".[35] On the contrary, it is because everyone belongs to a "scale" of communities (local, regional, national, and European) that Europeans are different. It is in these communities that European-style social life had to thrive: the application of European traditions was going to allow for the development of civic-mindedness and European solidarity, based on the premise that Europeans must find common solutions to common European problems.[36] As Brugmans further elaborated: "The cultural unity of Europe exists before it is even affirmed. One needs not invent it: it is a fact […] its origin is to be found in our common instinctive reactions, in the particular forms of our intelligence, in our way of understanding man and respecting him".[37] From a geographical perspective, Europe was defined through this shared culture. Europe is hard to define "in absolute terms". But

> the only tenable position [was] the one taken during the first international federalist conference held after the war (Hertenstein September 1946) [which led to the creation of the UEF in December 1946]: all peoples who assert their European character and declare themselves ready to share in the common discipline belong to Europe.[38]

From a cultural point of view, this required "a moral awareness",[39] grounded in Greek culture, the visual arts, and the New Testament.[40] National cultures were considered merely as "epiphenomena"[41] of a unique European culture. In this sense, educational institutions such as the College of Europe were used as spaces for experimenting and spreading a specific definition of Europe.

The student experience in Bruges was characterized by a close-knit community life. The objective was to ensure that students learn, through practice, how to live together. Brugmans particularly emphasized that it is through these daily interactions that students can build and experience European civic life on a daily basis. To facilitate these daily interactions, Brugmans made it a point of honor to ensure that students lived in the same home, a private mansion in Bruges, with the teachers. During the daytime, all classes were mandatory for everyone, and even when departments were introduced, the classes on European civics remained compulsory.[42] Brugmans maintained close personal relationships with the approximately 40 students studying in Bruges each year, fostering long-term connections (Schnabel 2002).

The College of Europe was not only a place of doctrinal production but also one of doctrinal dissemination. During its first decade, with the support of the Council of Europe, the College undertook several educational projects with a European and civilizational dimension. With the aim of defining and disseminating the notion of European civics, Brugmans spoke at numerous conferences in other international schools and in Bruges.[43]

Moreover, with the financial support of the Council of Europe, the College of Europe hosted a week-long training event in Bruges in 1952, bringing together

secondary school inspectors. The objective of this event was to define an educa-
tional framework that would allow students to learn about European civic values.
The discussions were summarized in a booklet titled *Western European Civilization
and the School*, which presented European culture and civic values to secondary
school teachers, defined as a "moral and civic rearmament": the secondary school
curriculum was seen as an opportunity for the expansion of European civic values
among the youth of Europe. In order to "vividly prepare our children to become
good Europeans […], the attention of all teachers was drawn to the importance
of demonstrating the connections between European countries on every occasion,
across all disciplines".[44] Each discipline must be approached "with a European
spirit", and it was a program for "our schools to embrace a new mindset. […] [By
doing so, children] would become conscious of the value of their civilization, stand
in solidarity in its preservation and continuation, and finally remain loyal to this
[European] civic consciousness".[45]

In sum, for the purpose of popularizing the theorization of European civics
and integral pedagogy throughout the Brugmans era (1949–1972), the College of
Europe hosted a large number of guests ("leaders already engaged in professional
life (trade unionists, ecclesiastics, journalists, officers, etc.), in order to give them
the desired European information and education").[46] These professionals came to
Bruges "in search of knowledge about European problems and the functioning of
our house".[47] After a little more than a decade of existence, the College of Europe
claimed to have welcomed 57 groups, that is, 2,654 people, even though the student
body was limited to only 40 individuals.

Lastly, the definition of Europe taught in Bruges was also impacted by the gen-
eral context of the Cold War. While in the postwar period Brugmans had assidu-
ously worked to forge ties with pro-Western networks in Eastern Europe,[48] once in
Bruges, he sought to integrate the institution into US networks in Europe. This is first
illustrated by the recruitment of students from North America (35 in thirteen years),
and by his 1952 request to the *Free Europe Committee* (FEC), a US committee
aiming to organize US propaganda networks geared towards Eastern Europe (Faure
2002), to finance scholarships for the "refugee students" from Eastern European
countries.[49] Brugmans also supported student participation in *Radio Free Europe*
programs,[50] and took part in some broadcasts with intellectuals and teachers in
Bruges, such as Leo Moulin, Jan Tinbergen, Paul Guggenheim, and Raymond Aron
(Mahncke *et al*. 1999, 70). Brugmans's conception of European civics in the 1950s
was compatible with what he called "Atlantic civics". In 1954, for instance, he
proposed the creation of a "Chair of Atlantic Civics – Applied Social Psychology"
in Bruges, for which he contacted many leaders of NATO's political department.[51]

In its provisional state, the chair imagined by Brugmans brought together a
group of teachers who referred directly to members of the Executive Committee
of the Congress for Cultural Freedom – Michel Collinet and Raymond Aron. The
congress was an international group, indirectly supported by the CIA and financed
by the Ford Foundation, in which Maritain, Raymond Aron, and Madariaga
held positions and in which de Rougemont served as President of the Executive
Committee (Grémion 1995, 160). In the chair, Brugmans offered to direct a study
seminar on "The Common Elements of Western Civilization".[52]

As the institution's recurring financial difficulties threatened to hinder his mission,[53] Brugmans received support from American networks, from which he requested funding in exchange for political and educational actions. For instance, the Ford Foundation, which had connections to the American secret services and funded many European integration-related projects (Cohen 2017; Gemelli 1998; Tournès 2002), paid for part of the college's library (Vermeulen 2000, 39–55). As the College of Europe found itself in a very difficult economic situation in the late 1960s, the administration used the international networks of Madariaga, who was no longer president of the Board of Governors in Bruges but very much involved in Atlanticist networks, to submit a request for funding to the Ford Foundation. To this extent, the College of Europe was not only a training school for European executives but also a part of a transatlantic space and elite network.

Conclusion

As European integration was in its infancy, the College of Europe served as a fallback plan for a social group of intellectuals who had not been able to gain a significant foothold in politics during the 1940s. European integration was at the time an international space in which their cultural capital allowed them to gain access to certain positions of power, but these positions did not allow them to compete with the political professionals in place. The relative pedagogical freedom that they acquired in this minor Bruges-based project allowed them to implement and disseminate their philosophical, political, and civic theory, which was founded on personalist precepts.

In the same way that the College of Europe cannot be reduced entirely to an offshoot of the EM, it cannot be simply described as a place where only an orthodox personalist definition of Europe was developed. Amid the turmoil of the Cold War, the College of Europe, through its teaching and pedagogical actions, was one of the schools that contributed to the work of pro-US anti-Soviet networks. At a local scale, the creation of this institute served the interests of the EM and of the pro-Atlanticist networks, and was used as an arena for a group of personalists who were able to put their definition of Europe into practice on the margins of the European political integration process.

Notes

1 This article received support from the Excellence Initiative of the University of Strasbourg (funded by the French government's Future Investments program), and from the Maison Interuniversitaire des Sciences de l'Homme d'Alsace (MISHA).

2 Original text: "C'est aujourd'hui même que se joue le destin de l'Europe. C'est avant 1952 qu'un pas substantiel – un pas irrévocable – doit être fait vers l'unité économique et politique de notre partie du monde, sinon nous aurons manqué notre dernière chance de salut. […] Mais une telle transformation ne saurait être l'œuvre des vieilles équipes, incommodées par leurs réflexes traditionnels, par des prises de position instinctives qui furent justes naguère, mais qui deviennent anachroniques dans la perspective de l'Union. […] Si l'Europe doit être gouvernée par des Européens, il faudra former ceux-ci, en commençant par une équipe restreinte de futurs dirigeants […] qui aient vraiment la vocation de se consacrer pratiquement – professionnellement –, soit aux

institutions européennes, politiques ou fonctionnelles, soit à la formation d'un "esprit public" européen. […] Or, c'est à cela que va s'appliquer le Collège d'Europe à Bruges". All quotes were translated from French into English by the author. Florence, Historial archives of the European Union (HAEU hereafter), ME-35.02 Collège d'Europe, File ME-801, Relations entre le Secrétariat international et le Collège d'Europe, vol. 1, Brugmans. 1950. Texte promotionnel du Collège d'Europe, 1.

3 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Recommandations relatives au Collège d'Europe à Bruges, 1950, 2; Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Télégramme à destination du Bourgmestre de la ville de Bruges, 1.

4 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Projet de Statuts du Collège d'Europe, 07.04.1950.

5 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, Collège d'Europe, File ME-1872, Conseil d'Administration du Collège d'Europe, Notes sur le Collège d'Europe à Bruges, 1951, 2.

6 Bruges, Stadsarchief, afdeling algemeen bestuur (AAB hereafter), doos number 26, Europacollege, Résolutions et déclaration finale de la Conférence européenne de la Culture du Mouvement Européen, Lausanne, 8–12.12.1949, 4.

7 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Annexe à la correspondance avec Paul Lesourd (Comité International pour la Civilisation Chrétienne), Notes sur les professeurs, 1950. 3.

8 During the early years, J. Hoste repeatedly defended the cause of the College of Europe before the Belgian government to obtain financial support. See Bruges, AAB, doos number 26, Europacollege, Procès-verbal du Conseil d'administration, 20.03.1952, 1.

9 Bruges, AAB, doos number 26, Europacollege, J. Retinger letter to V. Van Hoestenberg, 1949, 1.

10 Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Brugmans' life are from his autobiography. Brugmans, Hendrik. 1993. *À Travers Le Siècle*. Mémoires d'Europe. Bruxelles: Presses interuniversitaires européennes.

11 Marc, Alexandre, and René Dupuis. 1933. *Jeune Europe*. Paris: Plon. Foreword. Quoted by Cohen (2012, 133).

12 *Ibid*.

13 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Prévision pour le troisième trimestre de la première année académique du Collège d'Europe, 1951, 3.

14 Aron, Robert, and Arnaud Dandieu. 1933. *La Révolution nécessaire*. Paris: Grasset, XVI.

15 Mounier, Emmanuel. 1934. "La révolution Personnelle", *Esprit*, December, 1–22; Mounier, Emmanuel. 1935. "La révolution Communautaire", *Esprit*, January 1935, 1–33.

16 Original text: "La constatation d'une faillite; le refus de tous les conformismes, la volonté et l'audace révolutionnaire, le goût de la construction et de l'ordre. […] La constatation de la faillite libérale, du désordre actuel stérile et inhumain, du dégout instinctif que les illusions parlementaires et pseudo démocratiques éveillent désormais dans toute âme bien née". Marc, Alexandre. 1932. "Vers un Ordre Nouveau", *Esprit*, November, 330–334.

17 Henri Brugmans. 1966. *L'idée Européenne. 1918–1966*, 2d ed., Cahiers de Bruges, no. 12, Bruges: Collège d'Europe, 61.

18 Luxembourg, Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe, Digital Research in European Studies (CVCE-DRES), Union européenne des fédéralistes, Rapport du premier congrès annuel de l'UEF, 27–31.08.1947, 1–4.

19 Brugmans, Henri, 1949. "Contestations. Les deux visages du fédéralisme européen". *Esprit*, June, 910.

20 Original text: "cette pâte très mêlée d'odeurs suspectes où lève aujourd'hui ce qu'on appelle le fédéralisme européen". Unsigned editorial. 1948. "Les deux visages du fédéralisme européen". *Esprit*, November, 601–602.

21 *Ibid.*, 654.

22 Ronsac, Charles. 1948. "Les Etats-Unis américains d'Europe ne sont pas l'Europe". *Esprit*, November, 657–678.

23 Brugmans, Henri, and Pierre Duclos. 1963. *Le fédéralisme contemporain. Critères, institutions, perspectives*. Leyden: A. W. Sythoff.

24 Brugmans, Henri. 1993. *À travers le siècle*. Brussels: EIP, 285.

25 Original text: "Former une élite européenne, composée de jeunes filles et de jeunes gens qui – dans la diplomatie, les institutions internationales, la vie publique, le journalisme, etc. – se destinent professionnellement à travailler à l'échelon international et particulièrement, européen". Bruges, AAB, doos number 26, Europacollege, Brochure de présentation du Collège d'Europe, 1952, 4.

26 Original text: "les mouvements de libération nationales puisèrent leurs forces dans une foi religieuse ou sociale. De même, le fédéralisme européen restera anémique tant qu'il sera sans base morale et sans but social". Brugmans, Henri. 1950. *La cité européenne (programme fédéraliste)*. Paris: Le Portulan, 8.

27 This political project is also developed in similar institutions, created in the same historical periods. On this issue, see Chapter 4 of this book, by Nicolas Stenger.

28 Original text: "N'est-il pas vrai que toute pédagogie part d'une conception de l'homme et de la société, du bien et du mal?" *Ibid.*, 63.

29 Original text: "Si nous parlons de l'Europe, ce n'est pas seulement à l'Europe occidentale que nous pensons, c'est à l'Europe intégrale. […] Le civisme européen doit être non seulement un civisme ouvert au monde, mais également un civisme spirituellement conquérant, sans cesse vigilant et prêt à exploiter les chances d'expansion que l'histoire, souvent, offre à ceux qui savent s'en saisir". Strasbourg, National Library of Strasbourg (NLS hereafter), COL 4°279 (1953–1), Henri Brugmans' written notes, conference titled "vers un civisme européen", given at the College de l'Europe Libre. 1953, 13.

30 Other authors have analyzed how the legal theorization of human rights has been strongly influenced by personalist ideology and authors. See Moyn (2010).

31 Maritain, Jacques. 1936. *Humanisme intégral*. Philosophie. Paris: Aubier.

32 Brugmans, Henri. 1956. *Panorama de la pensée fédéraliste*. Paris: Editions du Vieux Colombier.

33 Maritain, Jacques. 1947. *L'Education à la croisée des chemins*. Paris: Egloff, 168.

34 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Brugmans, Henri. Notes introductives du cours "Eléments de Civisme européen", 1952, 25.

35 *Ibid*., 8.

36 Strasbourg, NLS, written notes, conference titled "vers un civisme européen", given at the College de l'Europe Libre, 13.01.1953, 3.

37 Original text: "L'unité culturelle de l'Europe existe avant même qu'on ne l'affirme. Il n'est pas nécessaire de l'inventer, elle est un fait […] dont l'origine se retrouve dans nos réactions instinctives communes, dans les formes particulières de notre intelligence, dans notre façon de comprendre l'homme et de le respecter". *Ibid*., 13.

38 Original text: "Seule parait tenable la position prise par la première conférence fédéraliste internationale tenue après la guerre (Hertenstein, septembre 1946): appartiennent à l'Europe tous les peuples qui se réclament d'un caractère européen et se déclarent prêts à partager la discipline commune". Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Introductory notes of Brugmans' teaching: Eléments de Civisme européen, 1952, 2.

39 *Ibid*.

40 Strasbourg, NLS, written notes, conference titled "vers un civisme européen", given at the College de l'Europe Libre, 13.01.1953, 5.

41 *Ibid*.

42 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, File ME-1758, Collège d'Europe: Demandes de subvention à la Ford Foundation et à la Volkswagen Stiftung, Curriculum de l'année 1964–1965, 1964, 2.

43 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-1872, Rapport sur l'activité du Collège d'Europe au cours de l'année académique 1955–1956, 1956, 2.

44 HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Draft of the manual titled "La civilisation européenne occidentale et l'école". 1952, 3.

45 Original text: Pour « préparer d'une manière vivante nos enfants à devenir de bons Européens […] l'attention de tous les professeurs [est attirée] sur l'importance qu'il y a de montrer à toute occasion les liaisons existantes entre les pays d'Europe, et ce à travers chaque discipline ». Chaque discipline doit être traitée « dans un esprit européen » et c'est un programme pour "nos écoles [d'] un esprit nouveau […] [Les enfants devenant ainsi] conscients de la valeur de leur civilisation, solidaires dans sa sauvegarde et dans sa continuation, fidèle enfin à ce civisme » européen. Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Draft of the manual titled "La civilisation européenne occidentale et l'école". 1952, 11.

46 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, File ME-2198, Relations entre le Secrétariat international et le Collège d'Europe, vol. 2, Le Collège d'Europe: Résultats et Perspectives, 1954, 2.

47 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-1872, Huitième année d'activité du Collège d'Europe. Perspectives. 1958, 2.

48 This sheds light on the presence in Bruges of students with "refugee student" status (nearly 25 in 22 years): under Brugmans' definition of Europe, Eastern and Western Europe were a single political entity. See Luxembourg, CVCE-DRES, Rapport du premier congrès annuel de l'UEF, 27–31.08.1947, 1–4.

49 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-801, Correspondence with M. Retinger, 1952, 1.

50 Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-1872, Procès-verbal du Conseil d'administration, 07.10.1959, 5.

51 Bruges, AAB, doos number 26, C.A / P / 34, Création d'une Chaire de Civisme atlantique, 5.

52 *Ibid*.

53 Among others, see Florence, HAEU, ME-35.02, ME-1872, Procès-verbal du Conseil d'administration, 10.10.1956.

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2 Pedagogies of Identity

The Formation and Reformation of the European Schools

Sandra Leaton Gray

Aims and Ideology

To consider the European Schools and their relevance to the European Union (EU) means asking what really lies at the core of what is known as Europeanization. Is it a useful mechanism for ensuring a degree of educational equilibrium among diverse groups, because each necessarily struggles for dominance? Is it something simpler: in other words, an intergovernmental project of pedagogic collaboration, pragmatically reconciling logistical and philosophical differences from different member state education systems? Or is it an example of a process that stimulates political conflict? In reality, it is likely to be all of these things at different times. In order to understand why this might be the case, however, it is necessary to understand some of the subtleties of the European Schools' history and their current arrangements.

The European Schools were founded in 1953 in Luxembourg and confirmed as a legally defined body in 1957 via the *Convention Defining the Statute of the European Schools*. As Pukallus reminds us, the Higher Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) originally did not have any competences in the area of education, and it was not mentioned in the founding treaty or the Treaty of Paris. However, rather than simply arrange for children to be integrated into the local Luxembourgish schooling system, the Higher Authority attempted to find a way of sustaining mother tongue education whilst at the same ensuring that children were educated together rather than apart in different institutions.

The initiative was largely a parent-led effort underpinned by diplomatic negotiations by key officials. It began with Marcel Decombis, a member of Jean Monnet's Cabinet (who would later become head teacher at the European School in Luxembourg), visiting Monnet and suggesting an integrated education system for the children of ECSC employees. Monnet took this to the President of the Common Assembly, Paul-Henri Spaak, who expressed support and convened a meeting of the Secrétaires Généraux. They were supportive in principle but did not feel it appropriate to take responsibility for the fine detail of setting up such a system. A special committee was therefore founded by Albert van Houtte (Registrar of the European Courts of Justice, 1953–1982). Van Houtte negotiated an exemption of a Luxembourgish 1912 law in order to allow for schools to be established that did not

conform to the national system. Following this, in 1952, the *Association des intérêts éducatifs et familiaux des fonctionnaires de la Communauté* was established, and it was here that parents became heavily involved in creating the fine detail of the system (Pukallus 2019, Olsen 1993).

As stated earlier, the primary aim was to provide a mother tongue education for the children of employees of what was then the ECSC (joined by the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957, which became the EU in 1993). The initiative originally involved the cooperation of six national governments with regard to admissions, teaching arrangements, curricula, and recognition of assessment, and the first European School opened in Luxembourg in 1957. The European School System was to grow significantly, both in size and complexity, and there are now 13 schools (Alicante, Brussels I (Uccle + Berkendael), Brussels II (Woluwe + Evere), Brussels III (Ixelles), Brussels IV (Laeken), Frankfurt am Main, Mol, Bergen, Karlsruhe, Munich, Varese, Luxembourg I, and Luxembourg II) in 6 countries (Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Luxembourg), with a total of about 28,300 pupils on the rolls (March 2022). At this time, there are also 14 (soon to be 17) "accredited" schools (using the European Schools model but not centrally funded or run).

The European Schools are run by a board of governors that consists of the following *ex officio* members, as enshrined in the 1957 Statute:

(a) the representative or representatives at ministerial level of each of the member states of the European Communities authorized to commit the government of that member state, on the understanding that each member state has only one vote;

(b) a member of the Commission of the European Communities;

(c) a representative designated by the Staff Committee (from among the teaching staff);

(d) a representative of the pupils' parents designated by the parents' associations.

In addition, a student representative may be invited to attend meetings of the board of governors as an observer for items concerning students. The board of governors is convened at least once a year, by its chair. The office of chair is held for one year by a representative of each member state in turn.

The European School System is headed by the officially appointed Secretary General, with involvement from a range of EU agencies and institutions. The schools consist of three sections: nursery (two years), primary (five years), and secondary (seven years). Students are offered a broad academic education that culminates in the European Baccalaureate (EB) at the age of 18, based on what was commonly available as a school leaving qualification in 1957, and designed to be recognized by all higher education institutions in each member state, mutually recognized as a valid university entrance qualification.

The foundation stones of each of the school contain the aims inscribed on parchment:

> Educated side by side, untroubled from infancy by divisive prejudices, acquainted with all that is great and good in the different cultures, it will be borne in upon them as they mature that they belong together. Without ceasing to look to their own lands with love and pride, they will become in mind Europeans, schooled and ready to complete and consolidate the work of their fathers before them, to bring into being a united and thriving Europe.

Mindful of this, the European Schools have since their inception sought to reconcile young people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, align with other national education systems within Europe, and encourage the formation of a European identity among citizens of the future, whilst encouraging them to maintain their own national identities. As such, they promote cultural exchange (Theiler 1999, Carlos 2012). They provide basic instruction in all official EU languages apart from Luxembourgish and Turkish (this definition means some minority European languages such as Basque and Catalan are omitted), in addition to mother tongue instruction. They instruct students in aspects of common European artistic heritage, common European history, and they teach related topics through what is known in the European School System as "European Hours". This is complemented through the development of a European and international perspective on other subjects throughout the curriculum.

The aims expressed in the foundation stones may be seen as idealistic and rooted in the post-World War II ideals of peace and cooperation across Europe. These ideals were underpinned by the need for physical reconstruction, as well as the need to establish new democratic structures and organizations to allow for the rebuilding of society. However, the structures and principles of the European Schools have remained stubbornly intact for the following 68 years in the face of great change around them. This includes significant European expansion from 6 to 28 (now 27) member states, a quadrupling of the number of languages used in the schools, and frequent calls for curriculum reform. What "schooled and ready" might have meant in 1957 was always going to mean something quite different two generations later, but accommodating change has been very difficult given the proliferation of governments involved, and given that everything needed to align very carefully to individual national systems (and avoid the extreme struggles for dominance mentioned previously). This led to much frustration among the original supporters, who were generally employees of the ECSC anxious to create something suitable for their own children. As founder Albert Van Houtte said informally in 2001 in the teachers' canteen of the European School in Luxembourg, to Kari Kivinen, who was later to become Secretary General of the European Schools,

> Listen, young man. I am really disappointed. We drafted the basis of the European School System in a hurry. It only took us a few weeks to sort it out. Now, fifty years later, you have not managed to change and develop it in any way whatsoever!

> (Leaton Gray *et al.*, 2018: v)

It is this inherent resistance to structural change, combined with the increasing social segregation of the European School System, which has led to cracks in the façade as it comes under increased scrutiny in a number of ways: academically, politically, and financially. This chapter asks what form the pedagogy of the European Schools is taking in the light of this fragmentation, and how this relates to the changing social identity of students. It does this through a sociological, interpretivist documentary analysis of the academic and policy literature. It examines the role of the European Schools in the light of problems surrounding social constructions of Europeanization, as well as problems underpinning its existing structures. Finally, the chapter asks what relevance this has in terms of understanding the future of Europe. The next section of the chapter explores these tensions from a sociological perspective in the light of European expansion and new social imperatives.

Pedagogy in the European Schools

There are two defining features of the pedagogical approach of the European Schools. The first, as mentioned earlier, is that a European dimension is embedded within the curriculum and takes a number of forms, for example teaching subjects through the lens of European values and traditions, exploring subject matter linked to Europe in history and geography, and prioritizing European languages and traditions. Cultural and linguistic factors are combined to form a focus for this, with the goal of encouraging a European mindset. This provides a key framework for all teaching and learning activity, or what the sociologist Basil Bernstein (2000) might term a "pedagogic device", creating a set of rules that determine what is to follow.

One of these pedagogic devices is that a multilingual framework for activity is used, reflecting the multilingual construction of the system's political home (i.e., the EU). This is influenced by the EU's political and economic discourse, or to a broader extent its *Weltanschaunung* (world view), rooted in the primacy of cooperative regional multinationalism, in which individuals are classified as European citizens. In addition to being members of a "language section", or mini-school within a school, based on their native language (if local numbers permit), students are allocated individual subject timetables that range across multiple languages. Consequently, they might, for example, study mathematics in their mother tongue (L1), but geography in their third language (L3), as the diversity of available languages of instruction has increased over time with each EU expansion, as well as the organizational complexity of the schools. Pedagogically, this is argued to be in the interests of the student, in that it adds to their overall linguistic repertoire by applying it to subject content in an everyday context. The approach is termed Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), and it is one that is not confined to the European Schools by any means. It can also be encountered in the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy, to give three examples, which might be seen as a consequence of the influence of Europeanization on national schooling systems. CLIL is also evident in the "immersion" technique of language learning deployed by schools internationally, for example, where classroom instructions

are given in the target language alongside actual linguistic curriculum content. However, where this becomes problematic is when there is insufficient explicit teaching of the additional languages, and language development in content classes (such as geography) is seen as somehow incidental (Leaton Gray *et al.* 2018). This means that in language classes, the experience of the student potentially becomes somewhat shallow, focused on things like grammatical constructions and basic forms of expression. It becomes hard for the student to think critically in these other languages, because the only time they encounter them in this sense is whilst also trying to divine the content of, say, geography lessons. The solution lies in bridging language study and other curriculum subjects, through providing meaningful content in language classes and explicit linguistic content in the curriculum subject classes. This encourages the kind of motivation and higher order learning that is needed for a student to reach his or her potential (Davison and Williams 2001; Lightbown and Spada 2013; Cammarata 2016; Cumming and Lyster 2016). While the European Schools have recently sought to reform their curriculum in this regard, during the period 2015–2022, through aligning language instruction more closely to the Common European Framework of Reference for language learning developed by the Council of Europe (Gouiller 2007), it is fair to say this synthesis of language and content in the fullest sense of the word is a work in progress. The multilingual motive may be pure, but its application becomes more and more problematic with every European expansion.

The second defining feature is that the educational model is retrospective, in the sense that it reflects to some extent the patterns of social and cultural capital that were dominant among EEC employees in 1957, when the first European School was opened. Initially the model was broader, including provision for vocational education[1] and liaison with other local education authorities and systems to allow for inclusion, but since 1969 this has gradually become distilled into a model that is largely focused on access to elite forms of higher education through the EB, as a result of the ongoing preferences of graduate parents and teachers who were involved in governance (Leaton Gray *et al.* 2018). This is a qualification resembling the demands and traditions of the French Baccalaureate and the German Abitur, but without the diversity of provision that has developed over time within these programs to accommodate different types of students, such as professional and technological streams in France, or in the case of Germany, the *Hochschulreife* for sciences and professional subjects. It is here, in the lack of flexibility and diversity, that the EB also struggles within a broader European context, and it is here that we can trace the problem through mapping another pedagogic device, involving the dominance of particular power structures and social groups, as manifested in the organization and membership of the board of governors, as well as the various education working groups that are regularly convened from time to time to address particular issues of concern in relation to school improvement. It finds its form within the EB.

The EB was first awarded in 1959, and from its inception has been legally mandated in all EU member states as qualifying candidates for university entrance; it is supposed to reflect the philosophy of a broad and liberal education, or what

might in German be described as *Bildung*. In this sense, it represents a culmination of a long post-Reformation and post-Enlightenment European educational project leading towards the modern day. However, we see evidence of bias in the structure of the EB, as well as the approach taken with regard to its preparation. The formal examination itself involves candidates taking three oral and five written examinations, and having to display written and oral proficiency in at least two languages. There is also some classwork assessment (class marks), to allow for a degree of formative as well as summative assessment within the program.

Since 2015 there has been increasing use of comparison, or benchmarking, statements as a basis for assessing pupils. Since 2018 there has also been increased use of a competency-based approach generally. In this approach, eight key competences for lifelong learning are mapped across different subjects and areas of study. The reference framework sets out these competences:

(1) Literacy competence;
(2) Multilingual competence;
(3) Mathematical competence and competence in science, technology, and engineering;
(4) Digital competence;
(5) Personal, social, and learning to learn competence;
(6) Civic competence;
(7) Entrepreneurship competence;
(8) Cultural awareness and expression competence.

(Council of the European Union 2018;
Pedagogic Development Unit 2018)

In this way, the assessment process makes claims to breadth as well as seeking to modernize assessment practices.

However, while its academic ideals may be clear, and its philosophical underpinnings evident, it cannot be seen as a socially comprehensive qualification including all types of pupils across the full range of social classes and intellectual ability levels, nor are alternatives available within the European School System. The EB accommodates the academic subjects and approaches that are the desired objective for the university-track children of graduate parents, and nothing else. This has an impact on inclusion. After investigating the situation empirically during a research study that took place from 2014 to 2015 at the request of the European Commission (Leaton Gray *et al*. 2015), we found that by upper secondary level, some categories of students start to leave because the curriculum no longer meets their needs, particularly in subjects such as the sciences, where there is a sudden and largely unwarranted increase in difficulty at the age of around 15, which fails to accommodate the needs of pupils who might benefit from a smoother academic path, with more difficult topics being introduced more gradually. This sudden increase in difficulty in the sciences regardless of a pupil's natural ability levels or intellectual/vocational inclinations represents a form of elitism

and exists despite the European Schools being meant to be inclusive of nearly all children from virtually all backgrounds, from the nursery class to the age of 18. Leading up to the examination, practices of ability streaming/setting and retention (keeping students back to repeat a year) are applied differentially in different schools and even within the same school in different language sections (e.g., if you are in a Francophone section, you can be five times as likely to have to repeat a year than in an Anglophone section, where this is much less common, because it is not normal practice). This can result in discrimination against some categories of student, often those without graduate parents, or those with specific learning difficulties or disabilities for whom adequate provision is not being made. Therefore, we see social discrimination (being the child of non-graduate parents, for example) being compounded by cultural practice (finding yourself in a particular language section that is one of the least prepared to tolerate difference). Despite efforts centrally in Brussels over the last decade to resolve these inequalities via discussions in working groups and central monitoring of pupil progress statistics, such students are frequently seen at a local school level as somehow alien to the system and pressured to move to other schools outside the European School System. They have what we might describe as "spoiled identities" in sociological terms, as opposed to the "ideal type" of student that takes the academic subjects on offer readily in his or her stride (Leaton Gray *et al.* 2015). In their detailed study of attitudes within a European School in Brussels, Drewski *et al.* (2018) also encountered this phenomenon, with lower attaining students being perceived as lacking a form of symbolic capital, in which high personal status is attained through apparently effortless achievement, and low status attributed to academic difficulty or visible hard work.

In this way, the upper secondary phase of the European Schools, along with the EB examination, both fulfill a social function in reproducing existing forms of power among EU civil servants and their families, through restricting access to homogeneous rather than heterogeneous types of students. This is further compounded by the fact that it is very difficult for members of the public who do not have a EU civil service connection to be given places in these schools, something which particularly affects other workers who have key roles as part of the Brussels and Strasbourg machinery, such as lobbyists and journalists, but also workers who have outsourced ancillary functions, such as cleaners and maintenance staff hired by private companies but working exclusively or almost exclusively in EU buildings (see van Parijs 2009b). Although the regulations permit broader recruitment of students, current admission processes lack local transparency and accountability, and have therefore recently been changed to include an automated preference process in the case of the most over-subscribed schools, for example in Brussels (Central Enrolment Authority 2020). The schools are entirely independent of local school authority admissions, monitoring, and inspection processes in their home countries. Also, compared with the experience of other local school students, those in European Schools rarely appear to interact with other school communities regionally in the manner that might normally be expected, for example for trips, joint concerts, or sporting fixtures, or certainly at the levels that might be expected (Oostlander 1993).

This disconnection from mainstream conceptions of engaged European citizenship has moved some distance from the comprehensive intentions of its founders, as well as those of the founders of the original EEC, as outlined earlier in the chapter. It positions the European Schools effectively as "company schools" and a free alternative to the expense of sending children to fee-paying international schools, rather than representing a full reflection of a democratic project. To some extent this has been offset through the introduction of the "Accredited" European Schools from 2007 onwards. These schools were introduced to broaden availability to this type of education beyond the children of those directly working for the EU. These schools are run privately, using the same academic model but without being centrally controlled or funded by the EU. However, this does not remove the problem of inherent bias in the European Schools' assessment and admissions processes (although in a general sense, there is a growing appetite for greater alignment with the wider educational models promoted by organizations such as the OECD; see Brøgger and Ydesen, Chapter 7).

Political, Legal, and Financial Aspects of the European Schools

One significant reason behind the extremely slow reform of the European School System is likely to be the sheer complexity of the multiple political and intergovernmental relationships surrounding it, and the principle of subsidiarity leading to close involvement of each member state. This has become magnified as a consequence of EU expansion. As stated previously, until 1957, the European School was run by the Parents Association. On 12 April 1957, the convention defining the Statute of the European Schools was signed and the European School (there only being one at this stage) was given the legal status of an intergovernmental school. At this point it started to be run collaboratively by the six member states at the time. In terms of daily management, the European School was run by four bodies: the *Conseil Supérieur*, the *Conseils d'Inspection* (Board of Inspectors), the *Conseil d'Administration* (Administrative Board), and the Director of the School. This has evolved over time to reflect the increasing complexity of the system, and currently, the following EU institutions all have different forms of involvement (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Governance structure of the European Schools

European Parliament	European Commission	Member states
Promotion of the European School system, in alignment with lifelong learning policies. Some supervisory and administrative functions.	Responsible for around 50% of the financing (other sources of income include other European agencies and institutions, as well as some commercial financing).	Secondment and financing of teachers in proportion to the number of language speakers within the system. School inspection. School buildings (provision and maintenance).

Mapping the governance and management out in this way, it is immediately possible to see areas where there are likely to be political tensions. For example, there is generally a shortage of seconded teachers, an area which is supposed to be the responsibility of the EU member states. The current target is 65% and the actual figure deployed is nearer 50%, despite recent efforts to address this through the encouragement of member states to be more generous. The shortfall is made up through local hires, often casualized and traditionally with inferior terms and conditions (although in some cases this is starting to change). Until leaving the EU in 2020, one member state, the United Kingdom, found itself providing state-funded, seconded teachers well in excess of the number of UK students within the European School System, partly because of the shortfall, and partly because English was seen as a *lingua franca* internationally. This meant that other non-UK students from countries that did not have English as an official language were increasingly joining English language sections to improve their prospects generally. This orientation towards international schooling as a precursor to competitive entry to the labor market is not confined to the European Schools (e.g., see Bunnell 2016). However, it is normally associated with the fee-paying schools sector rather than the state-funded schools sector. This led to expansion of those sections, with the United Kingdom increasing its funding share disproportionately. Consequently, since the United Kingdom left the EU, there is now a shortage of native English speakers within the system, as L1 provision is left to Malta and Ireland. This is perhaps an example of the phenomenon of "adventitious beneficiaries" (Archer 1979), ways of benefiting from systems set up by others, when interests happen to align usefully with something that is provided. Here it allows families and their children to gain an advantage from the European School System that was never intended. As argued previously, the schools were never meant to be a free alternative to fee-paying international schools offering an English-speaking track, but rather a facilitating mechanism whereby families could move freely into and out of schooling systems for EU purposes, without disadvantaging their children's education. In addition to funding discrepancies, such misapplication of policy ultimately also caused problems for teachers, who found themselves teaching non-native speakers in their L1 classes (Kinstler 2015).

Secondment of teachers from member states links to another area of political tension within the system, which is the organization of school inspections. The aim is ensuring alignment to national systems so that students (and teachers) can return to their systems of origin as seamlessly as possible, so national inspectors each inspect their own country's seconded teachers. Yet the lack of a conventional middle management structure in the European School System providing oversight results in consequences for both teacher and inspector secondment that play out locally. Seconded teachers (as opposed to those hired locally to fill particular roles) end up not being responsible to individual head teachers in the same way that they might be in a national system. They also work under differential employment law, depending on their countries of origin. This compounds the problem of teacher management as well as the problem of setting the direction of a European School (which in any case has limited autonomy, as it is controlled centrally to ensure consistency, and necessarily works to a fixed educational model).

On the other hand, local hires bring their own issues to the table, in terms of being funded out of the European Schools' European Commission budget rather than by individual member states. This has the effect of further reducing funding that is supposed to be available for other requirements, such as investment in ICT equipment. Indeed, the COVID-19 pandemic was later to expose this lack of investment extremely painfully, as the European Schools struggled to develop a policy framework for a consistent remote learning offer for students (Office of the Secretary General Pedagogical Development Unit 2020). Therefore, the financing of the European Schools is somewhat entangled with the political complexities of their day-to-day organization, with funding not used as efficiently or appropriately as it might be as a consequence. This is despite the fact that students are funded at a per capita rate of approximately $2\times$ or $3\times$ the level they might be in their own national education systems (Leaton Gray *et al.* 2015).

In all of these aspects, we therefore see an ongoing conflict between centralized and decentralized functions and education systems, both at a EU level and also at a national level. Indeed, the legal status of the European School System itself is not even particularly clear within this conflict. Within the current framework, parents and teachers have no legal recourse or remedy in terms of raising issues or appealing decisions with the board of governors, even though they are ultimately responsible for hiring the Secretary General as well as school directors, as it is unclear whether this lies under the jurisdiction of individual member states or centrally with the EU. This even applies in the case of relatively serious responsibilities such as child safeguarding. There was an attempt to resolve this situation by the European Parliament in 2011 via a resolution stating that "the European Schools should be brought under the umbrella of the Union" under Article 165 of the Treaty of the Functioning of the EU, but as yet the situation still remains unresolved. There is perhaps no bigger indicator of the European Schools' current identity crisis.

Relationship with Higher Education

As stated previously, the aim of the EB is to allow graduates of the European Schools access to higher education across European member states, and this works fairly automatically for most courses other than highly competitive ones such as medicine. In this sense it allows for significant international mobility, reflecting the 1957 Treaty of Rome that originally founded the EEC, which described as an objective "ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe" (meant in a social rather than a political sense). It also anticipated the Bologna Process, which sought to bring coherence to higher education across EU member states (see Overheidt *et al.* 2007) and a broader desire for pan-European higher education initiatives (see Cuvelier, Chapter 9). In addition, Bologna sought to encourage international mobility, most obviously amplified through the Erasmus program that supported international exchanges among schools and universities. This trend towards increasing internationalization has run alongside the vast expansion of university education generally in Europe since World War II, something Trow (1973)

describes in relation to higher expansion internationally as a shift from elite, to mass, and eventually to universal higher education, within the context of advanced economies.

It is clear the EB is an internationally mobile qualification, and in terms of access to elite multilingual careers within advanced economies, a powerful one at that (Leaton Gray *et al.* 2018). However, what is particularly interesting in the light of this chapter is how the precise distribution of (frequently elite) university applications plays out among European School students, and how this potentially links to parental preferences for places in English-speaking sections earlier in a student's school career, regardless of their nationalities of origin. This is because around 50% of European School applications to universities, at least from 2015, have been to UK universities (Whether this has changed since Brexit is difficult to tell, and it is likely that lack of access to the UK's government loans for higher education may in future play a part here, but at the time of writing this policy is only just changing.). The remaining 50% of applications are for universities in Europe, the United States, English-speaking Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Therefore, the majority of applications are for universities in English-speaking countries or regions, rather than evenly distributed across EU member states, or even linked to students' countries of origin. If the latter were the case, we would expect to see approximately 22% of applications being for Francophone universities, 12% for German-speaking universities, and 8% for Spanish-speaking universities (basing our figures on those kept by the Office of the Secretary General of the European Schools regarding the typical range of student nationalities upon admission, Leaton Gray *et al*. 2018). The fact that they are not distributed as expected reflects the trend towards European Schools being used as much for attaining career-level proficiency in the English language as accommodating young people from a range of international backgrounds. We see this in the way that outcomes (in this case post-school credentials achieved using the English language) demonstrate a hidden curriculum with a form of linguistic homogenization at the core, rather than true linguistic pluralism. In a sense this does not entirely come as a surprise, given the global trend towards using English as a dominant language within a knowledge-based, technologically driven economy. What we do see here in addition to that trend is a tendency towards a kind of supranational identity attained by European School families. English language skills are the mechanism by which this identity is facilitated and reinforced, providing access to elite education and employment opportunities linked to international mobility.

In this way, the career trajectories of European School students are perhaps more obviously linked to the education and employment histories of their parents than in other countries, even the highly stratified system seen in the United Kingdom, to take one example (Hansen and Vignoles 2005). What isn't taken into account when mapping European Schools policy is the potential harm that this ultimately has on the students themselves, as well as other social groups. Van Parijs (2009a) made the argument that "when you are admitted to an elite school by virtue of the status of your parents, it is hard not to develop a feeling of superiority towards those who are not".

During the course of our 2014–2015 research, we certainly found evidence of this in our interviews with 18-year-old student representatives at the European Schools. When they were asked what had happened to students who had left the school for academic reasons, unable to cope with some of the curriculum difficulties presented by a poorly planned science program, for example, the response was quite often that the student representatives didn't know and were no longer in touch with their schoolmates, even if they had known them for some time as younger children. They considered academic difficulties to be the fault of the individuals concerned, and their own ability to cope to be a consequence of their own superior abilities. "After all", said one representative to the research team, "we are being prepared for roles as future leaders within Europe and this is an elite education. If they can't cope with it, then it is right they should leave". This attitude is similar to what has been found by other researchers (e.g., Shore and Baratieri 2006) and represents an example of how a social system ignores those not convenient to it, something Osler and Starkey (2006) describe in a similar context as education programs encouraging Eurocentric attitudes or feelings of cultural superiority. It is also an example of how education systems try to reproduce power structures that are convenient (as stated previously, this also applies to many children with special educational needs, who often never apply to attend European Schools, or if they do, are eased out along the way). Academic ability is conflated with social class and used as a justification for a scholastic red carpet funded by taxpayers, while the comprehensive and socially inclusive origins of the system are forgotten, and education systems of the country of residence are rejected as inadequate (Favell 2010). In this way, what might have been originally seen as an inclusive and essentially pragmatic education project aimed at all employees of the ECSC has become increasingly reductive over the years, providing for a sub-group of employees of the EU rather than the children of all colleagues. This leads us to another concern, namely the problem of sustaining European social democratic values and integration generally within a globalized economy.

The Problem of Sustaining Europeanization

In relation to Italian regional policy, Enrico Gualini (2003) considers the term "Europeanization" as something of a problem in search of an explanation, rather than representing the explanation itself. We now find ourselves 15 years after the global financial crash, and post-Brexit, where the project of Europeanization is being scrutinized as never before. Once it might have been seen as a convenient, collaborative solution to the problem of rebuilding society after two world wars. However, dramatic expansion, particularly after the conclusion of the Cold War, has led to new problems integrating disparate social and political cultures, as has the attempt to align European member states in Northern and Southern Europe.

In the specific case of education, the EU's governance and institutions struggle to accommodate the needs of a modern European School System that has grown exponentially, and which continues to expand. The territorial bias of many education policies lies at the root of its everyday difficulties in this regard, rooted as

they are in a long history of state actors taking radically different approaches to educational planning and delivery. The European School System therefore finds itself struggling to achieve an equilibrium between its aims of providing a pro-European education via initiatives such as "European Hours", fitting within a common European area of education to allow for family mobility, and avoiding homogenization of different cultures via policies actively encouraging pluralization, for example through the provision of linguistically based language sections in as many schools as possible (Swan 1996).

Tomorrow's Europe?

In some ways, to consider the European Schools in context is to consider the future of Europeanization in general, as it is both a consequence of, and a reflection of, difficulties in the modernization of the European project. This is a school system that was set up specifically to serve, reflect, and promote a particular type of Western European philosophy and to help mitigate against forms of ultranationalism that proved so damaging in the 20th century (Starkey 2017). It has now found itself struggling to cope with the demands placed upon it after several waves of expansion, and it is now seeking to redefine its identity accordingly. It continues to explore ways of improving lines of accountability and governance, through the involvement of stakeholders, and it tries to reconcile the desire of end users for an elite form of educational provision with the needs of the wider community. One way of understanding these attempts is to see them as organic forms of adaptation that allow for social contracts among actors to be redefined to achieve a new equilibrium, although that may represent an equilibrium that doesn't quite satisfy everyone. Another way is to consider the changes taking place as an efficient form of reorganization, given that such systems always need to change over time. Both these positions have some credibility when applied to the everyday situation of the European School System as a whole. However, there is a more concerning viewpoint available to us, in which attempts at European integration seem to have become so internally focused and self-interested that they represent a major risk to the idea of social stability throughout Europe, especially given the rise of greater nationalism combined with Euroskepticism in European politics. This means that unless the European School System succeeds in opening up provision much more widely, incorporating significantly greater diversity within all aspects of its operation, it may eventually act as a symbol of the gradual decline of the EU, in the same way that it symbolized its inception. We can only hope for a more positive future.

Note

1 Previously in 1969 the following vocational offers were in place: (Group 1) Geometric Drawing, Notions of Technology, Handicraft (Group 2), Accounting and Commercial Arithmetic, Typewriting, Shorthand and Commercial Correspondence (Group 3), Childcare, Domestic Science, and Art. Vocational programmes are no longer offered.

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3 A Pavilion and a Comic

Teaching Children about European Integration at Expo 58

Anastasia Remes and Jessica Burton

Introduction

> What do we ultimately want? We want a transformation of people. We want people, insofar as they regard themselves in political terms, to no longer only see themselves as members of traditional state structures, but also members of the big European family.[1]

Walter Hallstein, the first president of the Commission of the European Economic Community (EEC), envisioned a future in which the people living in the European Community would feel kinship to each other as if they were members of the same family. Already in the 1950s, the formative years of the European integration process, a variety of initiatives were pursued by the first community, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), to sustain a project of transfers of political affiliations among the European public. Within the High Authority, the ECSC's executive body, a Press and Information Service was set up. This Service would be responsible for informing the public on the process of European integration that was under way (Casini 2012). Its official task was to inform the public of the existence of the new institutions and showcase the progress achieved in the process of uniting Europe. Yet the underlying goal of these information activities was to infuse the European public with a European consciousness, even though European identity did not become an explicit goal of European cultural policies until the 1970s (Harrison and Pukallus 2015). A note from Max Kohnstamm, the Service's first director, emphasized its necessity:

> The activities of the High Authority can only contribute to convincing the public of the merits of this method as long as everything that happens in Luxembourg is brought to its attention in a clear and understandable manner. It is only by adopting this system that the High Authority will be in a position to fulfill its role in the battle, where the joining of new supporters of the integration achieved by means of transfers of sovereignty is at stake, while this system also allows it to disarm the opponents of integration.[2]

The goal, therefore, was not only to inform the public, but to *educate* them and, through this process, create Europeans (Rye 2008).

The intention to teach Europeans about the Community project appears in the Press and Information Service's engagement with young audiences. Youth was, in fact, defined as one of the Service's key target audiences. The ECSC cultivated relationships with youth movements, such as the European Youth Campaign, and with students and employees of universities (Reinfeldt 2014, 51). In its outreach to universities, the ECSC demonstrated its desire to reach educational institutions. One of its activities was the awarding of a prize for theses on European integration (Dumoulin 2014, 523). The establishment of European schools, educational facilities that offered a European curriculum and which were set up primarily to offer an education to the children of European civil servants, is perhaps the most explicit demonstration of the Community's commitment to raising Europeans (see Sandra Leaton Gray's contribution in this volume, or Pukallus 2018). Yet the Europeanization of education was pursued in other primary schools as well. In educational institutions throughout the Community, educational films commissioned by the Press and Information Service and film strips were used as tools to teach children of the benefits of the project of integrating Europe (Tilstra-van Wijk 2017). By the mid-1950s, the ECSC had established contacts with teachers, through the use of activities deployed "with the aim of helping educators to get to know the Community and to spread the knowledge around them".[3] Also, the Council of Europe (CoE) pursued the Europeanization of education, for instance through the project of revising history books in a European vein (Cajani 2018; Sammler 2020).

Scholars have primarily looked at the European institutions' initiatives to reach children in Europe in the context of educational facilities, within the school walls. This chapter takes on a new approach by examining the Community's initiatives taking place *outside* the classroom, at the very beginning of their own institutional development. How were children addressed *beyond* the school walls by the European institutions?

We take the participation of the ECSC in Expo 58, the first Universal Exposition of the postwar period, as a case study to answer this question. Specifically, this chapter looks at two educational devices – a pavilion and a comic – and analyzes how these were developed to engage the young public in the project of European integration at Expo 58. We argue that these projects aimed to instill a sense of European belonging in a new generation. In the first instance, this chapter examines the ECSC pavilion's connections to youth. In what capacities were children part of the story of the pavilion and how were they addressed as an audience? Second, the chapter analyzes the comic, entitled *EUROPA*, which was distributed at the Expo site and visually narrated the history of European integration. How did this comic visualize the project of uniting Europe for children? Since the comic was the result of a collaboration with two other European organizations, this part of the chapter also considers instances of cooperation and competition in the project of defining and claiming Europe.

The ECSC Pavilion's Outreach to Teachers and Children

Belgium wanted the project of uniting Europe to be firmly present at Expo 58, which it hosted in its capital in 1958. For the first time in Expo history, a specific

section of the site in Brussels was dedicated to international organizations, the majority European. Next to the buildings of the United Nations and the Benelux, visitors found a pavilion shared by the CoE and the Organization for European Economic cooperation (OEEC), and, lastly, the pavilion of the ECSC (Figure 3.1). While the ECSC had been setting up a range of initiatives to convince Europeans of the merits of the new organization, the creation of a pavilion for Expo 58 was its most ambitious outreach to the European public in its young history (Remes 2021).

The exhibition in the ECSC pavilion showcased the European innovations in the coal and steel sector, as well as the nascent social policies that would improve the quality of life of European workers. The families and children of workers were also depicted in the exhibition (Figure 3.2) to stress how the project to address work safety would also be to their benefit. The European civil servants in charge, among whom were Jacques-René Rabier, the director of the Press and Information Service, and André Lamy, who led the Service's section for fairs and exhibitions, expected that the topic of European integration would not be the prime interest of visitors. Arthur Groote, one of the designers hired to develop the pavilion, warned that "the man on the street" could "only be pulled into our sphere of influence through lived experience".[4] The answer was a pavilion that sought to offer a spectacle to visitors, primarily through a large-scale model of a modern coal mine,

Figure 3.1 The pavilion of the ECSC. Florence, HAEU, CEAB12-531, Photograph, 1958.

which provided an immersive experience that the designers thought was sure to draw in the Expo crowds.

Just like the information policy at large, the Expo pavilion was understood as an educational exercise. Albert Wehrer, the member of the High Authority who was named the pavilion's Commissioner General, said that "more than a propaganda operation", "the ECSC's participation was a successful pedagogical achievement" (Wehrer 1959, 109).[5] By visiting the exhibition, visitors would ideally learn about the necessity and benefits of European integration and thus adopt a pro-European attitude.

The ECSC pavilion at Expo 58 connected actors who would come to play a key role in the field of Europeanizing education. Between April and October 1958, the pavilion replaced the High Authority's headquarters in Luxembourg as the meeting place for organizations of European civil society actors. A total of 30 conferences were held during the Expo in the pavilion's cinema, which doubled as a conference room.[6] The *Association Européenne des Enseignants*, which had been set up two years prior with the aim to Europeanize education (Ruppen Coutaz 2019, 89–90), was one of the organizations that met in Brussels, benefiting from the ECSC's hospitality. The *Commission Internationale pour l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* met in the European pavilion to discuss the matter

Figure 3.2 The ECSC guarantees security for the family. Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1016, Photograph, 1958.

of teaching the history of colonial expansion.[7] Youth organizations themselves also took advantage of the ECSC's offer, and the European pavilion's conference room provided an opportunity for the *Jeunesses Fédéralistes Européennes* and the *Étudiants Européens* to meet to discuss their goals.[8] Plenty of organizations thus used the facilities offered by the ECSC to sustain European conversations on the topic of education.

The largest educational meeting was the *Congrès des Universitaires d'Europe* (Congress of European Academics), for which the ECSC took on the costs and even provided simultaneous translation.[9] From 10 countries, 120 university professors met in the Expo grounds. The association of European universities had been founded three years prior in Trieste and was interested in "restoring the community of teachers and students in Europe" and "in developing culture in the direction of a European spirit".[10] The ECSC was able to put its stamp on the meeting in Brussels. Not only was the meeting attended by high-ranking Community officials, including Walter Hallstein, but the ECSC had also proposed the general theme of the conference: "Marché Commun et Institutions Communes" (Common Market and Communal Institutions).[11] The conference room thus offered a space for transnational networking of pro-European actors who were committed to the Europeanization of education. Moreover, the fact that they met in the ECSC pavilion meant that they would likely visit the exhibition and thus find concrete and tangible arguments for the necessity of Europeanization, which could then become part of their repertoire.

Children were directly involved in the ECSC pavilion at Expo 58 in multiple capacities. Importantly, they were invited to participate in the preparation of the exhibition. Their direct input was requested for one of the displays in the foyer of the ECSC pavilion, which would be dedicated to famous Europeans from the past. A gallery of illustrious Europeans, showcasing that "the greatest figures sought a union of European peoples", invoked a sense of European unity, through the common European heritage these men reflected.[12] Yet the European officials were well aware that the nationality of the selected Europeans could become a source of contention. Albert Wehrer, the member of the ECSC's High Authority who had been named the Commissioner General of the pavilion, warned that European populations tended "to still be separated and fractured by a tradition of selfishness, prejudice, and bias".[13] W. Salewski, who worked on industrial matters in the High Authority and was involved in the preparation of the exhibition, added:

> It is absolutely clear that national considerations will play a much greater role than the more neutral sector of industrial history in which national claims are much easier to mitigate by hierarchical views.[14]

The solution to the politically sensitive selection of historical figures was original: European children became a part of the selection committee that was tasked with this responsibility. More precisely, these were children who attended the European school in Luxembourg, the offspring of the first generation of European civil servants. The invited pupils were thus children that were already socialized

in a European sphere, representing a very limited segment of the European population. Jacques-René Rabier asked the teachers at the European school to help with the selection of the European men.[15] When writing to the teaching staff, he requested them to indicate:

> The names of twenty great Europeans of all times and countries (excluding contemporaries) […] who have made a particular contribution to culture and civilization in any field and who, in your opinion, are the most representative of the European intellectual world.[16]

The teachers' answers show that they not only communicated their own selection but that they also provided lists compiled by their pupils. Figure 3.3 shows a list prepared by a pupil in the German-speaking primary school class. Almost half of the listed "Great Europeans" were from Germany, and most of the others were Swiss or Austrian. These trends also persisted in the lists that compiled the answers by all German pupils. In the French section, the selection was more diverse.[17] In the promotional material of the Community, for instance in the European film *L'autobus part à 8.05*, the pupils from the European school were fashioned as "free from prejudice" and the first "authentic Europeans".[18] Yet the list of the German pupils shows that, despite the fact that children attending the European school were often fashioned as the first generation of Europeans that was freed of national prejudice, their choices were still shaped by their national context.

At the ECSC pavilion, children were also featured as the face of the Community project. On 9 May 1958, the ECSC commemorated the Schuman declaration. The organization celebrated Robert Schuman's call for transnational cooperation on its special day at the Expo, through a gala event that included a performance by the pupils of the European school in Luxembourg. The children's choir sang European folk songs at this first public celebration of Europe Day.[19] Children were also asked to hand out flowers to the famous visitors of the pavilion (Figure 3.4). These included high-profile politicians, such as West Germany's Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and President Theodor Heuss, and some royals, including the Belgian King Baudouin and Queen Juliana of the Netherlands. The children who were selected to act as a welcoming committee for important visitors may have been the offspring of European officials as well, but the sources are inconclusive on this matter. What is certain, however, is that, with their presence, the children were able to project a youthful and fresh image of the Community. Children were seen as a segment of society that could embody the promise of a future in which all member states' nationals had fully embraced the European idea. The European officials used this image to present a hopeful presentation of the future.

Children were not only invited to be the face of the Community pavilion but they were also warmly welcomed as guests. The European officials organized specific activities that were geared to attract children in particular. One of these was a balloon competition in which children under the age of 14 could participate (Figure 3.5). The child whose balloon traveled the furthest journey would win a free trip. The balloon release encapsulated the promise to young children of a
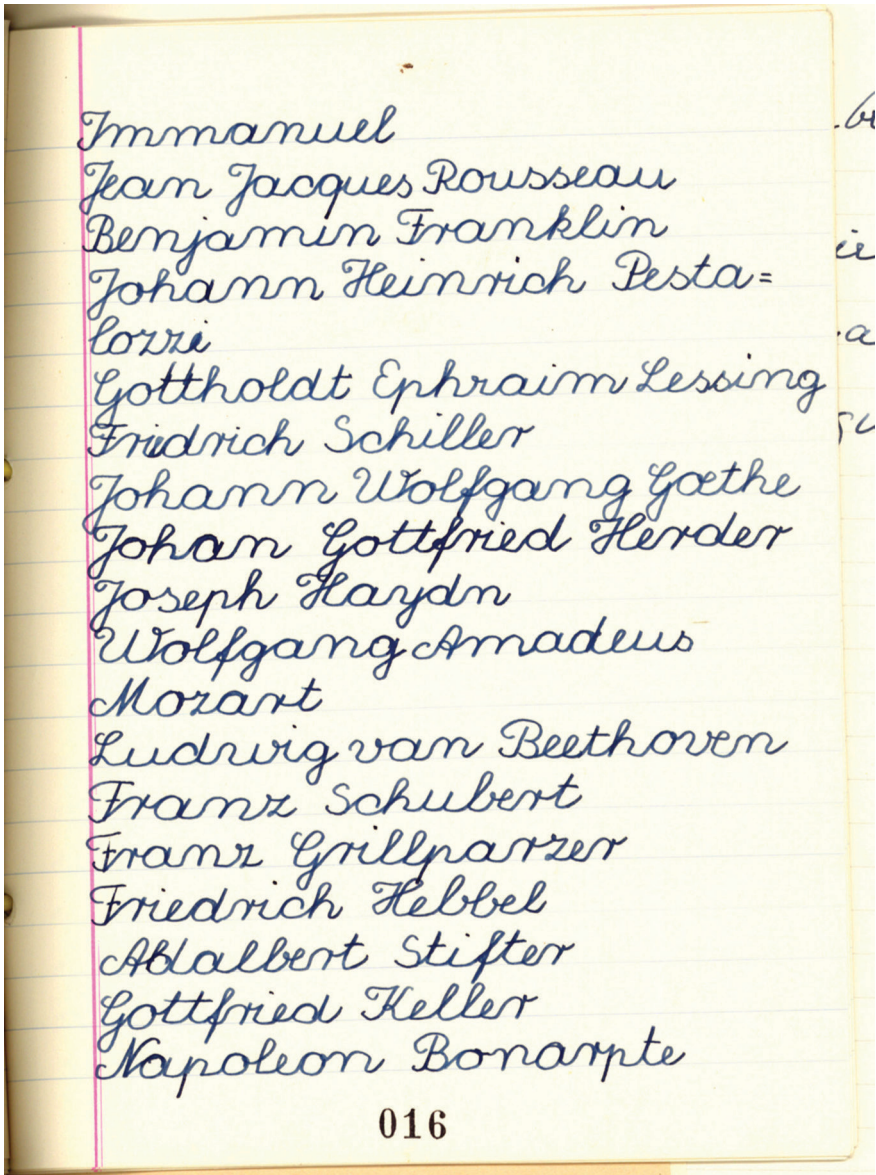
Figure 3.3 A list of "Great Europeans" by a pupil of the European school. Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-981, Grands Hommes d'Europe. Classe primaire allemande.

Figure 3.4 The children of the pavilion welcome a VIP visitor. Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-
1016, Photograph, 1958.

future of border-free travel in Europe. The ECSC also paid the traveling expenses
for a Scout Group so they could be present, while the mine workers' fanfare played
outside of the Community pavilion on Europe Day. All of these public outreach
activities were intended to draw attention to the pavilion created by the ECSC for
the Brussels Expo and to attract more people to visit the pavilion and learn about its
message.[20] Children would visit the pavilion with their parents, and the Community
officials hoped to thereby inspire a European sentiment in two target audiences
at once.

To promote the ECSC's pavilion in the Expo, specific initiatives were under-
taken to reach the Community's school population. The European officials were
especially eager to attract school groups to the pavilion. The Press and Information
Service supplied teachers with didactic folders, which included maps to be hung
on classroom walls. Furthermore, special guided tours were put together for the
visits of school groups. The combination of these outreach activities turned out to
be very effective. Thousands of school groups who came to the Expo included the
ECSC pavilion within its itinerary. While the majority of the school groups were
from Belgium, the pavilion also welcomed groups from Luxembourg, Germany,
and France.[21] According to Albert Wehrer (1959, 109), the ECSC pavilion was one
of the pavilions that received the most visits from school-going children. One of
the advantages of a visit to the Community pavilion was that it allowed teachers

Figure 3.5 A balloon competition at the ECSC pavilion. Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1015,
          Photograph, 09.05.1958.

to demonstrate to children what the abstract process of European integration
could mean in concrete terms. Figure 3.6 shows a group of young schoolchildren
admiring a display on social housing projects for European coal and steel workers.
The display showed the promise of social policies to improve the living conditions
of workers and their families.

   The European officials saw reaching schoolchildren as extremely valu-
able because they believed that if they could be convinced of the importance of
the European project, "the pupils themselves will take on a propagandistic role
towards parents and teachers" (Wehrer 1959, 110).[22] Convincing children, who,
the European officials presumed, were not encumbered by stereotypes, would in
turn help convince adults, who perhaps tended to be more ingrained in traditional
patterns of competitive nationhood, and thus more skeptical of the Community's
activities and goals. The children were thus understood to function as what the
ECSC's Press and Information Service called information "multipliers" (Terra
2010), only this time, they were not actors who were influential opinion leaders
because of their professional profiles. They were not academics, journalists, or
business elites. They were young children who would in the context of their own
home spread the word about the merits of the European project.

Figure 3.6 Schoolchildren look at the display on housing for workers. Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1015, Photograph, 1958.

Despite the fact that the pavilion covered a new engagement with the European youth in various aspects, not all of the ECSC officials' ambitions for the pedagogical potential of the pavilion were fulfilled. Originally, they had planned to organize a special day dedicated to youth. Next to schools, youth movements and youth publications would have been targeted to engage them in promoting the project of uniting Europe. A special homage would be dedicated to young Europeans who were enrolled in vocational training to become miners, and a large puzzle featuring a topographic map of Europe would be created. In the end, limited personnel capacity within the team running the pavilion resulted in the fact that no specific day for young Europeans could be organized (Libois 1958, 28). Despite these limitations, we have seen that the pavilion disposed of a variety of tools to ensure that European children were taught about the ECSC and its benefits on every day the Expo was open – and long after that. The meeting of school directors of the six member states even led to the creation of a school program for the future (Wehrer 1959, 109). Overall, the pavilion, which was visited by tens of thousands of children, was a particularly powerful educational device to promote the project of uniting Europe under the Community, and its impact would be felt in years to come.

EUROPA: An Illustrated History

In addition to the ECSC pavilion, there was another educational device designed specifically to appeal to children: a European comic. The comic form had great educational value, given its participative and highly individual reading experience, whereby readers had to use their imaginations to complete a story (McCloud 1993, 63). At around half a million sales every week in the 1950s for each issue of comic magazines in France and Belgium alone, comics were the primary way of reaching a young audience and were read by a significant proportion of European children (Lesage 2018, 412). As such, comic stories were considered as a tool for promoting common traits among young readers of different countries, often linked to questions of a shared morality, and played a role in building the self-identification processes of their readers (Tinker 2008, 12). Comic magazines meanwhile used travel features and encouraged their readers to interact with like-minded readers from around the world, including through pen pal letters (Cullen 2016). Some features on what "Europe" (Bayard, 1963) meant to readers additionally appeared in comic magazines in the early 1960s.[23] The comics medium is pertinent to debates on a Europeanization of education for several reasons, as its production underwent an extent of Europeanization in the postwar period, primarily in terms of reducing industry reliance on imports of American comic books while fostering collaboration between European publishers (Burton 2023).

For Expo 58, the OEEC, the CoE, and the ECSC struck up a collaboration to create the comic *EUROPA*. While these European organizations found common ground in the task of soliciting support for the project of uniting Europe, at times they faced each other in a confrontation over which entity could claim to represent Europe. The representatives of the ECSC were unhappy with the decision of the CoE and the OEEC to call their joint Expo pavilion "EUROPA", while they, on the other hand, were stuck with "ECSC", an acronym few members of the public were familiar with.[24] At times, the European organizations' engagement in cultural politics was determinedly competitive (Calligaro and Patel 2017), but the collaboration on the *EUROPA* comic turned out to be more productive. In this project, the organizations managed to work together for the goal of European education while also promoting their differences:

> We wish to present to the general public and to school children in particular the great issues of European unification, the vocations of the various institutions and their common objectives. One has to show the public that they are not overlapping, and rather one has to emphasize their particular characteristics.[25]

The three organizations collaborated to create a brochure, a three-page comic strip on European unity between 1945 and 1958, compressed into 30 illustrated *épinal* prints (Figure 3.7). In other words, it was a visual history of European integration, which would also later be considered an integral method of history book depictions (Liebhart and Mayrhofer 2014). The comic was created in conjunction with Parisian/Swiss PR company, Public Relations S.A., and printed in the Netherlands.

Each of the European organizations assumed a third of the costs, or 1.6 million French francs of the total 5 million francs budgeted for the brochure.[26] Two million copies of the brochure, which was available in five languages (French, German, Dutch, Italian, and English), were distributed in the pavilions of the three international organizations, as well as in the pavilions of their member states. Extracts of the comic were also planned to be published in two national newspapers per member country, though archival documents proving this have not been found.

The use of the comic form for educational purposes has been a prevalent part of the medium's history, and has been well documented (Syma and Weiner 2013). The very process of reading is a learning experience: most humans, and particularly children, learn best visually and the process of combining text and images facilitates understanding through an individualized consumption of the available information. The result is most aptly described by comic scholar Mila Bongco (2000, 66):

> This completion of the story […] is attributed to the reader's capacity to engage in a process of imaginative reconstruction, accomplishing a leap of faith between the content of one frame and another via the act of reproductive imagination […] in order to provide readers with minimum signals to mentally construct a continuous, unified reality.

This reflection is particularly relevant for the considerations here, as the European institutions were using the pavilion, and thereby the comic, as an exercise in imagining the Europe that has been in order to transform into the Europe in progress. In constructing their own image of the story of the comic, readers may also have envisaged the future of a continuous, united Europe.

The brochure consists of four pages, three of which are comic pages. The title page says "EUROPA" on a blue background, set above the flags of the organizations' member states. The bottom two-thirds of the page are occupied by six panels, set in two rows of three with text below each panel. The next 2 pages are full comics, laid out in a 12-panel grid. The pages are very deliberately laid out in this way, as it is the easiest possible reading experience: the uniformity in order and size of the panels means no deviation from the logical reading order (left-to-right, top-to-bottom of page). Such a layout appeals to a child audience that is as wide as possible, including non-comic readers, and aims to preserve the perceived educational value of the publication. The narrative is not a story as such, but rather a chronology of significant events that led to the formation of the European organizations, thereby using the technique mentioned earlier of imaginative reconstruction to allow readers to piece together these events. The underlying message of the comic depicts the consequences of a disunited Europe, and text in captions uses evocative language. The captions demonstrate the sentiment of Europe as a beacon of civilization but also as needing help from outside forces, as part of a global effort to unite and reconstruct. It also alludes to the colonies previously held by European countries and presents Europe in opposition to the increasing global power of the United States and the USSR.
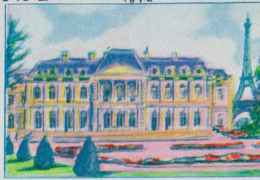
Figure 3.7 (a–c) The *EUROPA* comic. Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-972, *EUROPA*, by the ECSC, OEEC, and CoE. Public Relations, the Netherlands, 1958.

Figure 3.7 (Continued)

Figure 3.7 (Continued)

In general, all image panels are given equal attention, but there are a few examples where the eye is drawn to a specific panel using color or art composition. In comic terms, something that is visually slightly different immediately draws the eye there first, before the reader then takes in the rest of the page. The comic begins with the striking image of two armies (Soviet and American) shaking hands while stepping over a red swastika flag (Figure 3.8a). The caption below reads "May 1945. The World War ends. For the second time in 25 years, Europe lies exhausted among its ruins". The eye is immediately drawn to this image because of the colors, and the blank space in the middle of the image gives visual room to the symbolic image of a handshake. The first page ends with another striking panel of the flags

representing the Benelux held by three lions, symbols of strength and power. A further instance of visual symbolism is the eighth panel of the third page; placed just below the center of the page are shown the yellow stars on a blue background, the symbol of the CoE at the time, which draws the eye via its contrast against the densely populated and darkly colored panels that surround it. The first part of the caption reads: "The first official emblem of Europe: on a sky-blue field, a crown of 12 gold stars, the symbol of union in equality". This "symbol of unity in equality" is therefore placed as a strong visual clue to the primary aim of the brochure's intended message. The panel directly next to the emblem on the left shows people flocking in the direction of the right edge of the panel, that is, towards the symbol of unity. The described panels center around symbolic flags and treat them very differently: the first displays a crumpled red Swastika trodden on the ground, while the second shows the blue CoE emblem flying in full view on a flagpole, high in the sky above the national flags (Figure 3.8b). The contrast in color and visual symbolism is highly significant and likely to stick in the mind of the reader, even though the panels are not placed directly next to one another. The aim of these panels then is to show strength in unity by putting aside old ideologies. This is the message of the comic overall, and it is told through the lens of the European institutions. Via the process of familiarizing children with the institutions, it provides a model for collaboration in spite of the differences between the groups – a model that could be enacted into the wider European integration project.

The art style is realistic rather than cartoonlike, in order to insist upon the seriousness of the topic as well as the educational purpose of the brochure. There is little information to be found about the artists, besides a small credit on the back page indicating "art created by P. Breves and P. Noel". The second was likely Pierre Noel, a French comics illustrator who worked for comic magazine *Ames Vaillants* on stories inspired by historical events in the 1950s with a similar art style to the art depicted in the comic. It seems that the artists were given some freedom for the images, as the outline script differs from the end product: for example, the descriptions of the images are not given in the order they appear on the final page and differ in their details.[27] The panel with the soldiers and Swastika is just one instance, which in the script simply describes a handshake between a Soviet and an American soldier and makes no mention of the flag. Meanwhile, one panel that was not included in the final art depicted a passport with a visa crossed out to represent free travel, shown instead by a bus of tourists. It is possible, of course, that the script in the archive is only an early draft of a multi-stage process.

The leaflet also functioned as a way to advertise a European photography competition on the final page (Figure 3.9). Young people under the age of 20 years, who were citizens of one of the 17 member states of the organizations were encouraged to submit a photograph accompanied by a phrase summarizing the European idea. Historical events that could inspire the participants of the competition in their conception of the European idea could conveniently be found in the brochure itself. The 20,000 best submissions would receive a prize, including plane trips to the European capital of the winner's choice.[28]

May 1945 – The World War ends. For the second time in 25 years, Europe lies exhausted among its ruins.

The first official emblem of Europe: on a sky-blue field, a crown of 12 gold stars, the symbol of union in equality. The twelve stars, being the symbol of perfection, will remain unchanged irrespective of the number of Member countries.

Figure 3.8 (a,b) Two flags representing alternative designs of Europe. Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-972, *EUROPA*, by the ECSC, OEEC, and CoE, Public Relations, the Netherlands, 1958.

As well as a collaboration between the European institutes, the competition also represented a collaboration with private enterprises – such as Kodak – and airlines, who supplied the prizes. The competition was also advertised on national radio stations during slots aimed at children or generalist audiences.[29] There were some limitations to the competition, however. Though the two million copies of the comic was a vast number, many more visited the Expo, with six million visiting the ECSC pavilion alone, meaning that not all visitors were able to get a copy of the comic. This did put limitations on the number of youths who could enter the competition, as the physical token cut from the back page of the brochure was required to enter, therefore limiting entries to those who had been able to travel to Brussels and pick up a copy. In addition, the chance to participate was also, of course, limited materially to those (or their parents) who owned cameras. Information about the amount and the content of entries received is not available, but the large number of prizes would indicate that the organizers expected a high level of participation. Contests continued to be used as a tool for promoting and educating youths on the integration process throughout the 1960s.

The Expo brochure represented one of the first occurrences of European institutional embracing of the comics form. The *EUROPA* brochure created for the Expo in 1958 was the forerunner of several subsequent transnational European comics initiatives, one of which was the editorial youth publications group Europress Junior, formed in 1961. Europress Junior encouraged its member publications to

Figure 3.9 Photography competition announcement. Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-972, EUROPA, by the ECSC, OEEC, and CoE, Public Relations, the Netherlands, 1958.

promote the idea of shared European traits.[30] The Press and Information Service itself had a hand in the group's creation: its director, Jacques-René Rabier, suggested the idea to *Journal de Tintin* editor Raymond Leblanc. The main aim was to facilitate meetings between international European editors to ensure adherence to an eventual "European Moral Code" set out by the group, whose first article explicitly stated that publications' "first goal must be educative" (Pernin 1974). The logo of the group was akin to the ECSC map emblem commissioned for the 1958 Expo (Figure 3.10), and was a visual representation of the group's claim (Dargaud 1963) of reaching 30 million readers monthly through its 250 affiliated youth publications.[31]

Europress Junior was later inspired by the earlier competitions run in schools and through the Expo, and ran two significant competitions in the 1960s. The first, in 1963, asked readers to draw a logo to signify European Youth, where the prize was a two-week tour of Europe for eight winners. Rabier accorded great importance to this competition for its status as the "first collaborative European youth editorial project that should show young readers that the Europe in the process of being created is of interest to them and concerns them personally", and advocated the prize experience of a tour of the Europe that bonded these young people together.[32] The next major competition came in 1968, requiring entrants to write an essay on the "gradual establishment of European unity", with a prize of the winner's height equivalent in books.[33] Details of the competitions were published in Europress Junior affiliated magazines, including comic magazines, which already had experience of running their own competitions.

In addition to the *EUROPA* brochure, existing popular comic publications also embraced the educational spirit of the European presence at Expo 58, to convey the message to a wider comics-reading audience. There was, for example, a comic segment in the popular Belgian comic magazine *Spirou* (Dupuis, 1958) that depicted a visit to the pavilion and was entitled *Spirou Discovers Europe* (Figure 3.11).[34]

The strip of the visit to the European pavilion itself appears as part of the Oncle Paul feature of the magazine, a regular educational feature, usually describing an aspect of history or society. This four-page strip shows a tour of the pavilion, but also gives some brief explanations of the purposes forming the organizations in 1958, with the first panels describing:

> Will Europe manage to unite to live as one people? This for its own happiness, because well-being will be increased and war abolished… uniting people who have been tearing each other apart for 2000 years is not, one suspects, an easy task!! … Yet this miracle has begun. In the Metropolis that is Expo 58, 6 countries united in a pavilion which splits the clouds with its steel bows in a common and triumphant flight. This flight represents Europe under construction.[35]

Figure 3.10 (a,b) The ECSC emblem at Expo 58 and the Europress Junior logo. Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1015, Photograph, 1958; Logo of Europress Junior, appearing in all publications belonging to the group after 1961, this image is taken from Georges Dargaud, ed., *Journal de Tintin #768*, 11 July 1963.
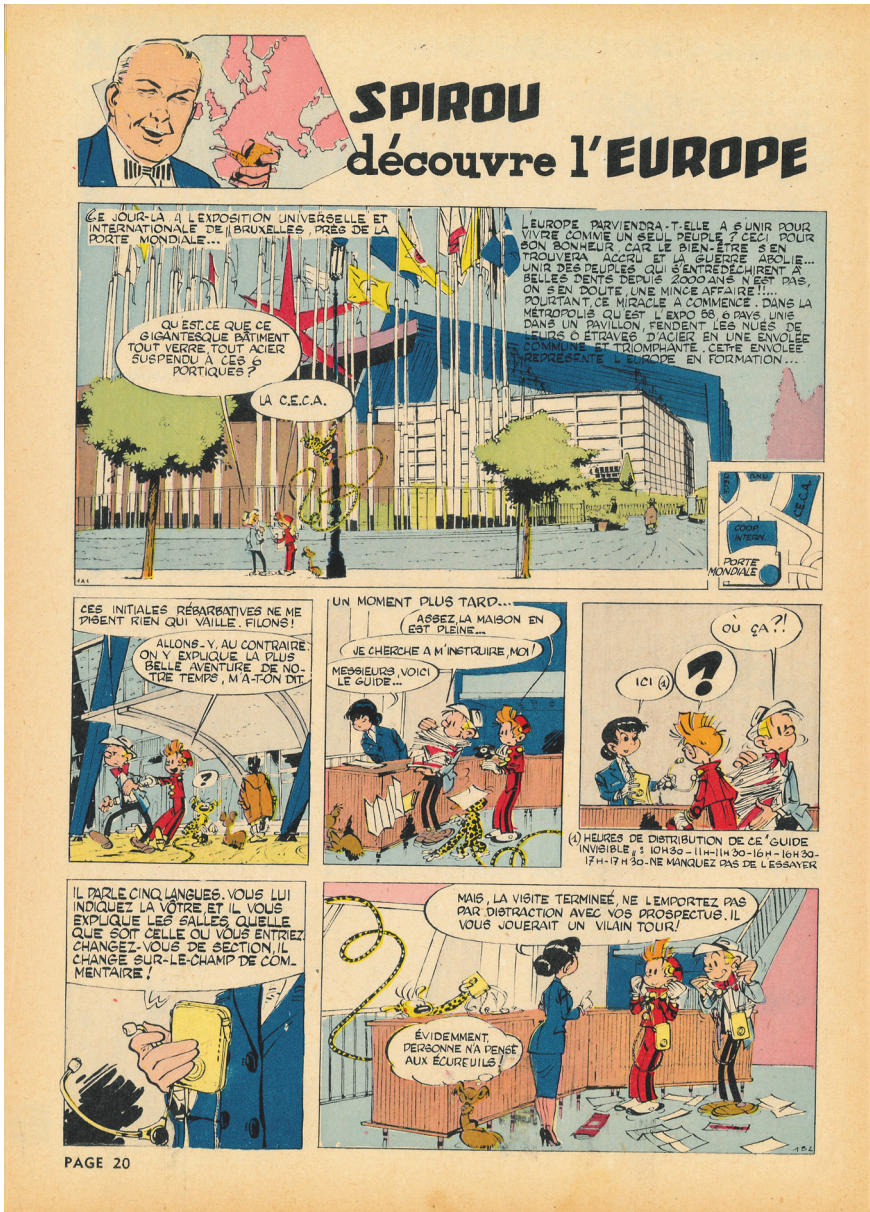
Figure 3.11 "Spirou découvre l'Europe". Comic strip showing characters visiting the ECSC pavilion at Expo 58. Dupuis Jean, ed. *Spirou* #1065, 11.09.1958. Brussels: éditions Dupuis. *Spirou et Fantasio – L'intégrale – Tome 6 – Inventions maléfiques.* © Dupuis, 2008 – Franquin. www.dupuis.com. All rights reserved.

The strip's final two panels end the piece with the following captions:

> Yes! Coal and steel for all! But since 1957, the European Community extends its common market to all products including the atom (Euratom); it is the core of the future Europe…
>
> Disunited, Europe, ruined by wars, would have continued to sink. United, it will resume a preponderant place between the American and Soviet colossi. This union will work not only for the well-being of Europeans, but also for world peace.[36]

Though this is just one piece of the Europeanization of wider media, the first and last panels are the epitome of the educational idea that the European organizations were trying to put across in these comics. Both the *EUROPA* comic and this *Spirou* strip contain the same essential message but differ in their delivery. *EUROPA*'s art style is realistic and serious, the mark of an educational piece, while *Spirou* utilizes a more cartoon-like style to appeal to the playfulness of its existing child readership. The strip of Spirou, Fantasio, and Maruspiliami visiting the ECSC pavilion was one of several features covering the Expo in *Spirou* magazine over the year. Rival magazine *Journal de Tintin,* meanwhile, extensively covered Expo 58, including at least one editorial feature per issue on the fair for 36 issues in 1958, with feature titles like "the world at the moment of friendship".[37] None of these features specifically covered the European pavilions, however, but gave a more general overview of the fair in Brussels.

Conclusion

The educational initiatives of the European institutions went beyond the official European school and university structures; rather, the goal was to educate the entire population on the initiatives of the Community and even the aspects of their common cultural heritage in order to move forward with a shared future. Ultimately, the process was one of re-educating people from considering themselves as national subjects into regarding themselves as members of a European community. By the time Expo 58 arrived, nationalized conceptions of history were still dominant, and the European institutions had to walk a fine line between unity and recognition of national character. Children were the primary target reception for ideals of unity, as they represented the future generations of a united Europe and were considered more open to them, as well as offering the potential to convince their parents of the benefits of the integration project. But children were far from passive vessels for knowledge. Children from the European school became active participants in defining the Great Europeans of the past, and thousands of children were asked to capture the European identity in a photograph. Even in this regard, though, the list of famous Europeans shows that choices were clearly influenced by the national contexts of the children.

Expo 58 was one of the first tangible moments of the Community's outreach to children outside of the context of formal education. The number of initiatives

surrounding the exhibition was a clear demonstration that the Community and the institutions understood the importance of child participation and offered the potential for them to do so in a variety of ways. The competitions like the balloon launch competition and the photography competition advertised in the comic brochure held great symbolic significance, with the balloons representing a borderless Europe free to be experienced. Children were, furthermore, the face of the Community project at the exhibition, with performances by the European school's choir and the presentation of flowers to special guests by children all heavily publicized. A visit was intended to be an educational experience for children themselves, with many outreach initiatives from the ECSC to attract school groups and resources provided for classrooms.

The Expo also acted as a unifying space for educational and transnational exchange. This operated both as a physical and an ideological space. The Expo brought official partnerships between the European institutions: between private companies, the press, and teachers, and school groups. The space itself was of importance in this exchange and was used for conferences and debates on European issues, and on European education in particular. Ideologically, it first and foremost brought together the OEEC, the CoE, and the ECSC in the pursuit of a common goal, the comic brochure, in the midst of in-fighting, and gave a glimpse into the future of European institutions as one entity. The message of the comic provided a model for collaboration via the process of familiarizing children with the institutions and the events that led to them using strong symbolism.

Arguably, the *EUROPA* brochure created for Expo 58 was also a catalyst for several transnational European comics initiatives of the 1960s, resulting in the continuation of competitions based on defining elements of European belonging and the desire to use comics as a tool for promotion of this ideal. Expo 58 is proof that the organizations experimented with differing vessels and formats to reach a broad youth audience. In creating the *EUROPA* comic brochure, and designing the pavilion with children in mind, the organizations were making the abstract constructs of European unity into a tangible, educational product that utilized the learning potential of the comics medium and the lived experience of participation to inform its audience about the milestones in the building of a united Europe, as children in the great European family, just as Hallstein desired.

Notes

1　Original text: "Was wollen wir letztlich? Wir wollen eine Verwandlung der Menschen. Wir wollen, daß die Menschen, soweit sie sich als politische Wesen betrachten, sich nicht mehr nur begreifen sollen als Mitglieder der überkommenen nationalen Staatsgebilde, sondern auch als Angehörige der großen europäischen Familie". Speech at the inaugural meeting of the European Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg, 19.03.1958 (Hallstein 1979, 50).

2　Original text: "Les activités de la Haute Autorité ne contribuent à convaincre le public du bien-fondé de cette méthode que dans la mesure où tout ce qui se passe à Luxembourg est porté à sa connaissance d'une manière claire et compréhensible. C'est uniquement

en adoptant ce système que la Haute Autorité sera en mesure de remplir son rôle dans la bataille dont l'enjeu est l'adhésion de nouveaux partisans de l'intégration réalisée par la voie de transferts de souveraineté, ce système lui permettant d'autre part de désarmer les adversaires de l'intégration". Florence, Historical Archives of the European Union (henceforth HAEU), CEAB01-940, Max Kohnstamm, Note sur l'organisation du Service d'Information de la Haute Autorité, 10.06.1954, p. 2.

3 Original text: "pour but d'aider les éducateurs à connaître la Communauté et à la faire connaître autour d'eux". Florence, HAEU, CEAB13-69, La communauté et l'enseignement (bilan d'action), 19.10.1955, p. 1.

4 Original text: "der Mann auf der Strasse"; "nur durch einen Erlebnisvorrang in den Bannkreis unsere Ideen gezogen werden". Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-938, Arthur Groote to Charles Reichling, letter, 24.02.1956, p. 3.

5 Original text: "plus qu'une opération de propagande, la participation de la CECA fut une réalisation pédagogique réussie".

6 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1270, Service d'Information au Pavillon de la Communauté Européenne, Pour la Communauté Européenne l'expérience expo fut très positive, 21.10.1958, 2.

7 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1107, Commission internationale pour l'enseignement de l'histoire, IIIèmes [sic] journées internationales pour l'enseignement de l'histoire, 31.

8 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1270, La Communauté Européenne (CECA) à l'Exposition de Bruxelles (avril–octobre 1958), Rapport d'activité, 6.

9 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-918, Jacques-René Rabier to Joseph Dinjaert, Objet: Utilisation de notre salle de conférence au Pavillon de Bruxelles, letter, 11.03.1958.

10 Original text: "de restaurer en Europe, la communauté des maîtres et étudiants; "développer la culture générale dans la ligne d'un esprit Européen". Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1005, Marché commun, institutions communes, brochure, 24–27.04.1958.

11 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1107, Jacques-René Rabier to Albert Coppé, Enzo Giacchero and Roger Reynaud, Invitation au Congrès de l'Association des Universitaires d'Europe, letter, 12.04.1958.

12 Original text: "les plus grands esprits ont recherché l'union des peuples européens". Florence, HAEU, CEAB01-41, Albert Wehrer to Messieurs les Membres de la Haute Autorité et Messieurs les Directeurs des Divisions, Le pavillon de la Communauté Européenne. Situation au 31 décembre 1956, 16.01.1957, 4.

13 Original text: "encore séparées et désunies par toute une tradition d'égoïsmes, de préjugées, de partis-pris". Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-917, Albert Wehrer, Message de S.E.M. Wehrer, Membre de la Haute Autorité, Commissaire Générale de la Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier, 1.

14 Original text: "Il est absolument clair que les considérations nationales joueront un bien plus grand rôle que dans le secteur plus neutre de l'histoire industrielle dans lequel les prétentions nationales sont bien plus faciles à atténuer par des points de vue d'ordre supérieur". Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-991, W. Salewski to Albert Wehrer, Objet: Exposition universelle de Bruxelles 1958, Letter, 04.01.1957, 1.

15 For the European civil servants, it was not questioned that the selected "Great Europeans" would all be men.

16 Original text: "die Namen von zwanzig grossen Europäern aller Zeiten und Länder (mit Ausnahme von Zeitgenossen) […], die auf irgendeinem Gebiet einen besonderen Beitrag zur Kultur und Zivilisation geleistet haben und Ihrer Ansicht nach die repräsentativsten Vertreter der europäischen Geisteswelt sind". Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-981,

Jacques-René Rabier, Aufzeichnung für die Damen und Herren des Lehrkörpers der Europäischen Schule. Benennung grosser Europäer, 18.10.1957. Underlined in the original.

17 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-981, Réponses des élèves de l'Ecole primaire (section allemande et françaises).

18 Original text: "libres des préjugés"; "Européens authentiques". Florence, HAEU, AE-78, *L'autobus part à 8.05*, directed by Dieter Seelman (Monitor-Film, Hamburg, 1967), 15 min.

19 Brussels, Historical Archives of the European Commission, BAC 63/1980/20, "Europäische Abend in Brüssel", *Tageblatt*, 12.05.1958.

20 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-972, Jules Gérard-Libois to Jean Virgona de Villeyre, letter, 10.03.1958.

21 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-1270, La Communauté Européenne (CECA) à l'Exposition de Bruxelles (avril–octobre 1958), Rapport d'activité, 2.

22 Original text: "les écoliers eux-mêmes se chargeront de la propagande auprès des parents et des enseignants".

23 Including a special issue on the lives of European youths and the functions of European institutions, ed. Bayard, *Record #13,* Paris: Bayard Press, January 1963.

24 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-926, Albert Wehrer to Dustan Curtis, letter, 03.03.1958.

25 Original text: "On désire présenter au public en général et à la jeunesse des écoles en particulier les grands problèmes de l'unification européenne, les vocations particulières des diverses institutions et leur communauté d'objectifs. Il faut montrer au public qu'ils ne font pas double emploi, mais il faut insister sur leurs caractéristiques particulières". Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-972, Projet d'image d'épinal sur l'histoire de l'idée et des institutions européennes, 1.

26 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03- 972, Document [agreement on cooperation on the comic between the ECSC, CoE, and OEEC], 21.03.1958.

27 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-972, Projet d'image d'épinal (texte).

28 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-972, Projet de Règlement.

29 Florence, HAEU, CEAB03-978, Diffusion Radio Concours Européen, 91 and 96.

30 Online, Archive of European Integration, 5135/PI/66 – F, La Jeunesse et l'Avenir de L'Europe: Exposé de M. Jacques-René RABIER directeur du Service de Presse et d'Information des Communautés européennes, au quatrième congrès de l'Association européenne des Éditeurs de Publications pour la Jeunesse (EUROPRESSJUNIOR), Brussels, 28.04.1966, p. 19.

31 Information on the logo appearing in all publications, clarified in competition results in Georges Dargaud, ed*. 1963. Journal de Tintin* #768, 11.07.1963, 42.

32 "Interview of the winners of the 'Europress Junior' competition and of Jacques-René Rabier", https://audiovisual.ec.europa.eu/en/video/I-009173.

33 "Awarding of Prizes of the Europress Junior Competition", 19.04.1968, https://audiovisual.ec.europa.eu/en/video/I-008843.

34 *Spirou découvre l'Europe, Spirou #1065*, 11.09.1958. Brussels: Éditions Dupuis, 20.

35 Original text: "L'Europe parviendra-t-elle à s'unir pour vivre comme un seul peuple? Ceci pour son bonheur, car le bien-être s'en trouvera accru et la guerre abolie… unir des peuples qui s'entre déchirent à belles dents depuis 2000 ans n'est pas, on s'en doute, une mince affaire!! … Pourtant ce miracle a commencé. Dans la Métropolis qu'est l'expo 58, 6 pays unis dans un pavillon fendent les nuées de leurs étraves

d'acier en une envolée commune et triomphante. Cette envolée représente l'Europe en formation". *Ibid*. 20.

36 Original text: "Oui! Charbon et acier pour tous! Mais depuis 1957, la Communauté Européenne étend son marché commun á tous les produits y compris l'atome (Euratom); elle est le noyau de la future Europe …"; "Désunie, l'Europe, ruinée par les guerres, aurait continué à sombrer. Unie, elle reprendra une place prépondérante entre les colosses américain et soviétique. Cette union travaillera non seulement au bien-être des Européens, mais encore à la paix du monde". *Ibid*. 23.

37 *Tintin,* (BE) #05/58, and *Tintin,* (BE) #06/58, Lombard, 1958.

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4 Shaping Education in Europe Inside and Outside the School System

The Role of the European Centre for Culture (1950s–1970s)

Nicolas Stenger

Introduction

> We have a motto that governs all our activities: making Europe is first and foremost making Europeans, i.e., training citizens who understand the problems that arise in the world today and that require the union of Europe. How can we train these Europeans? It is obviously a question of education above all, outside the schools as well as within schools.[1]

This quote from a 1957 radio interview clearly sums up one of the main ambitions of the European Centre for Culture (ECC), which was directed from its foundation in 1950 by the Swiss writer Denis de Rougemont. Denis de Rougemont's and the ECC's determination to give education a central place in the construction of Europe was reflected in a considerable number of associations and projects, including the Association of Institutes for European Studies (AIEE), a commission to reform history teaching, the European Bureau of Adult Education, colloquia and studies on the creation of a European University, and a Campaign for European Civic Education; partnerships have also been established between the ECC and the European Youth Campaign, as well as with the European Association of Teachers (AEDE), among others. The *Bulletin du Centre européen de la culture*, which regularly reported on its activities between 1950 and the end of the 1970s, illustrates the importance of education in the agenda of this Geneva-based organization, which was created after the war under the auspices of the European Movement.

As Denis de Rougemont's above-quoted statement indicates, the objective of the ECC was largely political. Indeed, beyond the transmission of knowledge, it aimed at "forming responsible citizens", capable of understanding the world around them and of solving a contemporary challenge, "the union of Europe", by two means: on the one hand by adopting a European point of view in the teaching of disciplines considered too nationalistic (history in particular); on the other hand by creating associations and collaborations between different educational actors on a transnational scale. These two means give an idea of what could be the "Europeanization" desired by Denis de Rougemont,[2] which must be understood as a horizontal process: the role of the state (central since the 19th century, due to the importance of compulsory education in the formation and consolidation of nations

and national identities) was criticized or marginalized in favor of transnational networks and groups. In accordance with Rougemont's federalist and personalist philosophy, convergence had to come from the bottom, neither from the state nor from the European Community institutions. Furthermore, this "Europeanization" of education as well as of cultural and educational circles must inspire the political form of Europe – federal and decentralized, according to Rougemont's ideal.

The aim of this article is to explain the origins and the main characteristics of this conception of education, put into practice by the ECC under the impulse of Denis de Rougemont, and to analyze the projects, the institutional dynamics and obstacles, as well as the concrete achievements, of which the ECC has been the initiator and the mediator. This organization has so far been the subject of few studies, even though it was at the heart of many cultural cooperation projects after the WWII. Some authors (Puymège 1993; Ackermann 2000, 81–113) have drawn up an initial assessment of its activities: while they make it possible to identify the general lines of the action impelled by Denis de Rougemont, their work makes little use of archives, so that it is difficult to measure the behind-the-scenes aspects of the various activities undertaken by the center. By exploiting some of these sources, our thesis (Stenger 2015) offers a vision that is, if not complete, at least dynamic in its history. Our reflection on the educational aspect of the activities of the ECC and Denis de Rougemont has then been pursued in the context of a colloquium on the genesis and institutionalization of European studies, organized by the University of Lorraine (Stenger 2018; Stenger and Saint-Ouen 2018; Larat, Mangenot, and Schirman 2018), then on the occasion of the publication of a special issue of the *Revue historique neuchâteloise* (Stenger, Saint-Ouen, and Wenger 2019). The present chapter offers an attempt to synthesize this work, based on the archives of the ECC and the *Bulletin du Centre européen de la culture* (published from 1951 to 1977), as well as on the Rougemont 2.0 website (www.unige.ch/rougemont/) created in 2020, which offers a digital edition of the writer's complete works and archives.

The Global Ambition of the European Centre for Culture

In order to understand the philosophy underlying all the educational projects developed in Geneva between the 1950s and the 1970s, it is necessary to clarify the general aims of the ECC and its founder. The ECC is indeed inseparable from the intellectual project of Denis de Rougemont. Born in 1906 in Couvet, in the canton of Neuchâtel, Rougemont established himself in France as a leading essayist in the 1930s, before becoming famous at the international level with the publication in 1939 of *L'Amour et l'Occident* (Ackermann 1996; Hériard Dubreuil 2005; Santschi 2009). After his return from the United States, where he lived from 1940 to 1947, he became one of the prominent voices of European federalism. Denis de Rougemont played a leading role during the Hague Congress organized by the European Movement in May 1948 (Guieu and Le Dréau 2009), where he distinguished himself as rapporteur of the Cultural Commission and author of the *Message to Europeans* read out at the final session. The creation of the ECC

two years later in Geneva provided him with the opportunity and the means to give substance to his ideas. At the official inauguration of the ECC in Geneva on 7 October 1950, Denis de Rougemont gathered around him delegates from the Council of Europe, representatives of the Swiss and Geneva authorities, and leaders of the European Movement. These various patrons sketched out the institutional and political environment in which the ECC evolved in its early days. Established in Switzerland as an NGO independent of governments, the center was nevertheless linked to the militant activities of the European Movement, which was partly subsidized by the Americans (Rebattet 1962; Aldrich 2001) and saw itself as the cultural arm of the Council of Europe, an ambition that was however quickly thwarted by the weak financial support of the council's member states (Stenger 2015, 175–193). With a small operational team, the ECC, despite its modest resources, was nevertheless characterized by its willingness to provide a platform for the exchange of ideas about European culture in a comprehensive way (not just the arts, or education, or science, etc.), and by its federalist orientation that Rougemont has theorized since the interwar period.

Rougemont wanted to build a kind of federal union of culture, which would have been a model for the European federal union he was calling for. We must here explain what Rougemont meant by federal union, which was directly inspired by the personalist movement to which Denis de Rougemont belonged. As its name suggests, personalism is based on the concept of the person, which is a certain idea of man, both "free and responsible". But mankind can only be free and responsible in small communities, not in large, centralized nation states. Rougemont's federalism was then characterized by two key elements. First, it proceeds from the bottom up, following different levels: federation starts with individuals, then proceeds to municipalities, then to regions, in order to form the continental union. Second, this federalism applies to all areas of life: in other words, it is as much an overall philosophy of human and social relations as the mere scheme of a political constitution. By putting the person at the center of the theory, personalist federalism basically promotes a decentralized organization. The power has to be given not to nation states but to individuals and groups, while their links have to be strengthened horizontally, crossing national borders.

Such a social and political organization was to be taught and learned inside and outside the school system and based on a conception of European culture as "one and diverse", a conception that the ECC aimed to embody through its activities. The *raison d'être* of the ECC was much more to play "the role of a catalyst" by providing a space where actors in the cultural and scientific fields could meet and share their knowledge and expertise, work together, and have documentation at their disposal. In his ECC inaugural speech, which he delivered in Geneva in October 1950, Rougemont spoke of the threat posed by "organized culture". For him, it would have been better to have no culture at all, if need be, than to have an "organized culture". What Rougemont meant by this quite radical statement was that European culture was to be built through informal exchanges. It was time therefore to stimulate and let them develop again, after over a century of "nationalization of cultures" imposed by modern states. For instance, the idea of "organizing cultural exchanges

between nations", as it was sometimes expressed in reports from official experts, seemed absurd to him, and contributed to strengthen nationalist myths by recognizing the right of the states to regulate the circulation of ideas. It was instead necessary to release the cultural forces and link one with another, make them meet, help them work together, beyond borders.[3] Such was the role of the working groups of the ECC, where people from various nationalities could discuss and elaborate plans. As examples outside the educational sphere, let us mention the talks between scientists held in Geneva in December 1950, a milestone in the prehistory of the CERN, created in 1954 (Pestre 1987), the creation of the European Association of Music Festivals in 1952, or the creation of a European Federation of Book Guilds, which awarded a European Literary Prize in 1953 to the Polish writer (and future winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature) Czesław Miłosz, for his novel *The Seizure of Power* (Stenger 2015, 195–215).

Education According to Rougemont: A First Synthesis in Graphs and Figures

It was in the field of education that Rougemont's objective of strengthening European cultural community found its most obvious outlet. This leads us to ask how Denis de Rougemont conceived of this educational work on a European scale. A brief statistical exploration of his written work, now almost entirely digitized by a project developed within the University of Geneva (Rougemont 2.0: www. unige.ch/rougemont/), provides a first glimpse of the priorities for action in this field: nothing here invalidates the researcher's conclusions – after a careful reading of the texts – but instead a very clear statistical and visual confirmation emerges.

What can we learn from these graphs and this table? First, we notice that it is during the postwar period (Fig. 4.1) that the use of the word "education" in Rougemont's work multiplies, as a direct consequence of the activities of the ECC, which he regularly commented on in the *Bulletin*. This logically explains the strength of the link between "education" and "Europe" (Fig. 4.2). As suggested previously, education had a social and political character for Rougemont (the adjective "social" appears in a prominent position, in 10th place among the co-occurrents): educating Europeans meant above all working towards the federal union of the continent. We also note that the adjective "civic" appears in third place among the co-occurrents, which shows that educational activity according to Rougemont was of little interest if it did not lead to an active engagement in city affairs – the author insists very clearly on this aspect in many texts, including those that do not have education as their main theme. Indeed, it is one of the main characteristics of personalism to favor by all means the development of free *and responsible* persons. One last remark: the adjective "popular" appears in fifth place among the co-occurrents, whereas "school" only appears in eighth place. This shows to what extent European education, according to Rougemont, was conceived outside the framework established since the 19th century by the nation state and compulsory education.
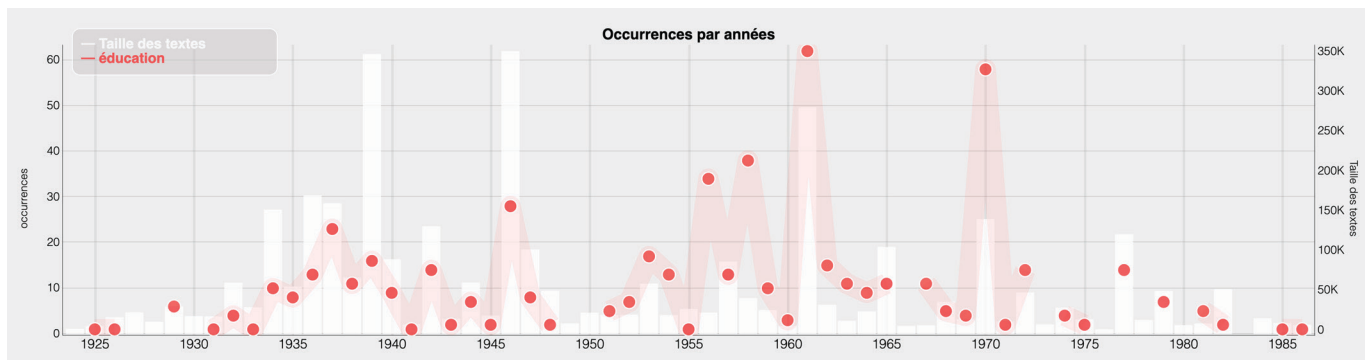
Figure 4.1 Number of occurrences of the word "education" in the work of Denis de Rougemont, in chronological order.

Source: DDR Lab (https://oeuvres.unige.ch/ddrlab/), Creative Commons CC-BY-NC 4.0, 2023.

	Graphie	Catégorie	Occurrences	/mots	Résultats	/textes
1	éducation	Substantif	547	/ 547	211	/ 211
2	Europe	Organisation	92	/ 10 989	38	/ 743
3	civique	Adjectif	35	/ 520	25	/ 204
4	campagne	Substantif	23	/ 399	15	/ 218
5	populaire	Adjectif	21	/ 421	13	/ 253
6	problème	Substantif	21	/ 2 252	19	/ 647
7	culture	Substantif	21	/ 2 753	20	/ 482
8	scolaire	Adjectif	11	/ 139	9	/ 91
9	recherche	Substantif	15	/ 768	10	/ 324
10	social	Adjectif	15	/ 1 899	15	/ 555
11	artistique	Adjectif	7	/ 79	3	/ 54
12	général	Titulature	12	/ 1 349	12	/ 556
13	comporter	Verbe	8	/ 244	5	/ 190
14	expériences-pilotes	—	5	/ 14	5	/ 5
15	national	Adjectif	11	/ 1 392	8	/ 388
16	peuple	Substantif	13	/ 2 694	13	/ 636
17	information	Substantif	7	/ 243	7	/ 143
18	dressage	Substantif	5	/ 37	4	/ 13
19	effort	Substantif	9	/ 931	8	/ 433
20	dilemme	Substantif	6	/ 170	6	/ 119

Figure 4.2 The 20 co-occurring words of "education" in the written work of Denis de Rougemont.

Source: DDR Lab (https://oeuvres.unige.ch/ddrlab/), Creative Commons CC-BY-NC 4.0, 2023.

Out-of-school education has been a *de facto* priority for the ECC since its creation. It is worth explaining the reasons for this, both conceptual and contingent. In an article titled "Forming Europeans", published in 1956, Rougemont concluded by calling for the development of "popular education, that is to say, forms of teaching that are more concrete and closer to life, which take place alongside school hours and beyond school periods".[4] This type of education made it possible, in his view, to anchor people in local realities, in an environment where they live and where they can "act". The writer contrasted this "active" conception of education with "instruction", which he painfully experienced on the benches of primary schools and vehemently criticized as a kind of overload in a youthful pamphlet entitled *Les Méfaits de l'Instruction publique*, published in 1929 (Mole 2019). In many respects, the school system of the 1950s had not changed according to him: "The programs are already overloaded. The 'topics' are becoming ever more complex and numerous. The length of study is constantly extending into early childhood (social and moral training) and into middle age (ever greater specialization)".[5] Furthermore, Rougemont considered that schools were still trapped in nationalist thinking and argued, at least at that time, that little could be gained from it and that it was therefore necessary to turn to other forms of education. Hence the special attention he gave to local efforts, especially to all forms of popular education, as will be seen later in this chapter.

The focus on out-of-school education contrasts, however, with the original mission of the ECC, as Rougemont himself formulated in the General Report submitted to the European Conference on Culture in Lausanne (December 1949), following The Hague Congress of May 1948. According to the writer, it was then up to the ECC to ensure documentation, coordination, and initiatives in the following areas, all of which were linked to school and higher education: "European teaching in primary and secondary schools – Training of teachers in a supranational spirit – Existing or future European institutes – Equivalence of diplomas and courses of study – Revision of textbooks".[6] However, several of these objectives, such as the Institutes for European Studies or the revision of school textbooks, came up against serious obstacles at the beginning of the 1950s. This was due in particular to the desire of the associations created within the ECC to maintain their autonomy and to the difficulty of the ECC in finding solid support in French academic circles. The difficult beginnings of the Association of Institutes for European Studies illustrate the first obstacle.

The Association of Institutes for European Studies and the Problem of Autonomy vis-à-vis the ECC

After several meetings organized by Denis de Rougemont from spring 1949 to spring 1951, six institutes signed, at the College of Europe on 10 June 1951, the "Bruges Protocol", a founding text for the Association of Institutes for European Studies (AIEE). Under the auspices of the ECC, the AIEE gathered together the Centre européen universitaire de Nancy (J. Capelle), Europa-Archiv in Frankfurt (W. Cornides), the Secrétariat catholique pour les problèmes européens in

Strasbourg (J.-J. Baumgartner), the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik in Berlin (C.-D. von Trotha), the Institut international de Tours (P. Dubois-Richard), the Österreichische College (O. Molden), and the Collège of Europe (H. Brugmans). As Rougemont stated in the "Protocol", the aim was to avoid "duplication, unintended competition and dispersion of energies".[7] During the meeting in Bruges, the question of the creation of a European University, the equivalence of diplomas, how to facilitate research on the union of Europe, and the means of achieving the institutes' will to cooperate were discussed.

What united this first core of institutes was the will to build Europe: the association was born from a militant approach, while the quality, nature, and function of the various members were extremely variable (documentation, propaganda, training, and postgraduate studies). Yet this diversity of actors contributed to blurring the institutional identity of the association.[8] Moreover, although the AIEE showed a certain attractiveness by rapidly enlarging its membership[9] and acquiring a participatory status within the Council of Europe in October 1955,[10] it only succeeded in working effectively from 1957 onwards, when its statutes were amended. They had been the subject of lively discussions during 1951–1952, resulting in a shaky compromise that hampered its proper functioning for several years.

The point of disagreement concerned the autonomy of the Association vis-à-vis the ECC, a problem raised by the first president of the AIEE, Jean Capelle, an important figure in the French world of higher education. Indeed, Capelle very early on displayed a desire for independence from the ECC, deciding, for example, without consulting the other members, to address the Council of Europe directly, on behalf of the AIEE, for recognition and financial support,[11] while at the same time inviting Rougemont to "accept abnegation" and "let the association develop on its own".[12] Rougemont, anxious to retain control over a central aspect of the center's legitimacy, drew up a draft additional protocol to that of Bruges with the support of Henri Brugmans and Jean Drapier – respectively, rector and administrator of the College of Europe – establishing the organic link between the center and the association.[13] The draft was submitted to the institutes at a meeting of the AIEE in Nancy, in Capelle's fiefdom, on 3 and 4 March 1952.[14] While complaining that he had not been informed beforehand of the drafting of this text, Capelle reiterated his fear of subordination of the AIEE, and affirmed the need for it to be "independent of any orientation" and "free to define its general policy". Rougemont had his full confidence, he claimed, but he saw only disadvantages in establishing an organic link, which would otherwise add no prestige to the center.[15] Rougemont replied that it was a fundamental problem that was at stake, not prestige: "The Centre is the ensemble formed by different activities that tend towards the unity of Europe. If each activity separates from it, it no longer has a reason to exist". Jean Drapier confirmed this point of view, insisting that the association should act in concert with the ECC, which he saw as a kind of federal government, and the AIEE as one of its specialized authorities. He recalled the center's original role, which was to coordinate the cultural activities it had created:

This Centre wishes – and rightly so – that, having created these institutions with the same objective from the start, they do not claim a fierce autonomy, with a spirit of secession from other organizations that have been created in the same way. […] Our association is not under supervision but is part of a solidary whole.

To reassure everyone, it was specified in the statutes, drawn up in Tours at the next meeting on 28 June 1952, that "the means of the AIEE shall in no way affect the freedom of each of its members to organize its work and to define its external relations" (Article 3). Furthermore, Article 5 specified that the AIEE comprised the adherent members, the associate members, and the ECC, which placed the latter on an equal footing, not as the umbrella organization. The role of the secretariat in determining the policy of the association was also strictly limited. However, these concessions made the work more complicated and weakened the AIEE. By giving full powers to the presidents, who were elected for only one year (too short a period to properly grasp the association's problems), no one took into account the fact that they were overloaded with work and had little energy to ensure regular follow-up, a role that should have been entrusted to the general secretariat. At the end of 1956, the results were very unsatisfactory. Therefore, a modification of the statutes was unanimously adopted in April 1957, giving more powers to the Geneva secretariat (now under the responsibility of a new recruit from the ECC, the political scientist Dusan Sidjanski), and increasing the period of its mandate, as well as that of the president.[16] The association then found a new lease of life, developing its work in several directions: exchanges of professors and students, publication of a yearbook of European institutes listing the course and research programs of its members, and colloquia on various subjects, including one on the European University, organized in 1958 with the Association of European Academics, at the time when this project was made public by the European Communities (Stenger 2018, 414–420; Palayret 2018).[17]

From the Failed Project of Brochures for Teachers to the European Youth Campaign

Another ambition defined at the congresses in The Hague in 1948 and in Lausanne in 1949 concerned the teaching of history in primary and secondary schools and the revision of textbooks. In December 1950, a commission of historians and sociologists convened by the ECC, led by the Austrian historian Walther Tritsch[18] and including Georg Eckert[19] and Joseph Hours,[20] among others, drew up a list of brochures about 20–30 pages each, with the ECC ensuring the widest possible distribution to teachers. Here is the provisional list, as planned by the historians' commission in December 1950: *Formation du nationalisme* by Walther Tritsch, *Esquisse d'un enseignement européen de l'histoire* by Georg Eckert, *Les origines de l'unité européenne* by Herbert Kühn, *Histoire de l'unité européenne* by Emmanuel Berl, *L'évolution de la conscience européenne* by Hans von Eckardt, *Essai sur les nouvelles données de la conscience européenne* by Jean Gebser, *Les essais de*

réalisation de l'unité européenne by Joseph Hours, *Prix et fragilité des libertés* by Denis de Rougemont.

Ethnologist, sociologist, writers, philosopher, linguist: let us first notice the diversity of profiles and the under-representation of academic historians in this panel. Unfortunately, we do not have access to the content of these brochures, which remained at the draft stage. Nevertheless, one may wonder about the quality of certain contributors, such as Emmanuel Berl, who had certainly published the first two volumes of a *History of Europe* with Éditions Gallimard, but who had little legitimacy in the academic world. As for Denis de Rougemont's essay, it was in fact published in 1951 under the title *Les Libertés que nous pouvons perdre* by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a transnational organization of intellectuals then in the vanguard of the anti-communist struggle (Grémion 1995; Stenger 2015, 217–230; Scott-Smith and Lerg 2017; Chenu 2018; Stenger 2018). In his essay, Rougemont defended "personal responsibility" and "the critical mind", cardinal values of Europe that he said should be developed by education in the face of "the 'cultural' collectivism dictated by the Russian bureaucrats".[21] This shows that at the beginning of the Cold War, the promotion of the European idea was defined in Denis de Rougemont's mind not only as a fight against nationalist stereotypes but also as a counter-propaganda to the Soviet attempts to penetrate educational and intellectual circles.

In addition to the diversity and uneven quality of the contributors, the publication of these brochures was also hampered by several problems. The first one was the difficulty for the ECC in finding outlets for their distribution. It was planned to work closely with teachers' associations, especially in France and Germany. While there seemed to be no obstacles on the German side, this was not the case in France.[22] The second difficulty was the inability of the ECC to pay its authors. The center was poorly funded at the time (not yet benefiting from the small subsidies of the Council of Europe and its member states, the ECC lived essentially on private donations, such as those from the Nestlé company), a quasi-structural problem that affected many of its new activities. A funding solution was found with the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which was responsible for administering Marshall Plan aid, but the money was partly absorbed by the Institut d'archéo-civilisation, headed up in Paris by Professor André Varagnac, whom Tritsch had contacted to write one of the planned brochures. Varagnac was a member of the French section of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS), chaired by Lucien Febvre, who, eager to defend his own preserve, gave a cool reception to Tritsch's approaches. The archives show that in November 1951, Tritsch was summoned to a meeting of the ICHS and, in his own words, was greeted rudely by Febvre, who accused him of "abusing French compensation funds at the ECA. […] The commission that you have not succeeded in forming for six months, I can put together in three or four days. And this on an *in-ter-na-tio-nal* level".[23] In fact, Walther Tritsch, to whom Rougemont had entrusted the leadership of the historians' commission, struggled to play his role effectively. A man full of ideas but not very diplomatic and poorly organized, he was eventually excluded by Febvre and Varagnac from the commission financed by the ECA, while the ECC's historians' commission remained at a standstill (Stenger 2019, 78–85).

   In 1952, the center's publication projects found a solution with the European Youth Campaign initiated in 1951 by the European Movement, with the aim, among other things, of counteracting Communist-supported youth movements (Palayret 1995). With the help of Joseph Retinger, a key figure in the European Movement, the ECC was given the task of drafting "plans de causeries" – that is, brochures smaller in size but comparable in theme and spirit to those planned by the historians' commission – that would provide lecturers and the young people targeted by the campaign with a framework on European history and current affairs. Some 20 plans were drawn up and more than a million copies were distributed, published in German, English, French, and Italian. The "plans de causeries" emphasized the common values of Europeans, inherited from the ancient Greek, Roman, and Christian cultures (freedom, reason, individuality; public order, law; solidarity, value of every man before God), as well as the pluralist character of their culture, "one and diverse"; the need for union; the risk of the "Russian danger" and "American leadership"… Halfway between a scientific and a propaganda document, they manifested the militant character of the ECC, which was certainly apolitical in principle, but was in fact fully engaged on the Western side of the debates of the Cold War.[24]

From "Foyers de Culture" to the European Bureau of Adult Education

It was not only the public of the European Youth Campaign that the "plans de causeries" were aimed at, but a whole network of "foyers de culture" that Rougemont was trying to unite at the same time. What did the writer mean by "foyers de culture"? "It's not easy to say", admitted one of his collaborators![25] Cultural centers, community centers, youth centers, adult education centers… the expression covers a variety of experiments and types of organizations. These "foyers" nonetheless embodied the cultural vitality of Europe, Rougemont asserted. For him, culture was only alive on the scale of a local group and could only survive through exchanges with other groups. Identifying these "foyers" and their leaders, pooling their experiences and methods – these were the alleged aims of the "Communauté européenne des foyers de culture", founded in Geneva in 1952. This initiative was initially supported by the European Youth Campaign[26] and the French Federation of Youth and Cultural House (created in 1948 by the socialist André Philip, himself active in the European Movement).

   For Rougemont, the advantages were obvious: to disseminate its conception of Europe more widely, to benefit from a distribution channel for the ECC's brochures, to create synergies with other associations (festivals, institutes) affiliated to the center… For those invited to join, however, the advantages appeared less clear, hence there were some difficulties in agreeing on its statutes and making it operational. There was a divergence of views between those who supported Rougemont's federalist approach and those who, while wishing to develop relations between adult education institutions, had reservations about the "political" nature of the project.[27] As in the case of the AIEE, the degree of autonomy of the new association in relation to the ECC was also discussed. As for the diversity of forms

of out-of-school education – implied by the vagueness of the term "foyers de culture" – this made it difficult to share experiences between organizations that sometimes had little in common.

It was two Dutchmen, Oscar Guermonprez and G. H. L. Schouten, respectively, director of the *Volkhogeschool* and the *Sichting Europees Volkhogeschoolwerk* in Bergen, who eventually found a way out. They had solid experience in the field and had already drawn up their own project for rapprochement with other *Volkshochschulen* (a project to which the Scandinavians had been receptive), which was more selective and less politically linked to the union of Europe. Guermonprez and Schouten convinced Rougemont to start the activity without delay with the means at their disposal in Bergen, where they set up a European Bureau of Adult Education. Operating independently, with occasional financial and material support from the European Youth Campaign, the Bureau organized regular training courses and published a newsletter in three languages – *Notes & Studies* – reporting on adult education activities in various countries. Its attachment to the ECC was symbolic, as the latter was struggling to cover its own operating costs (Schouten 1978; Stenger 2020).

From "Pilot Experiments of European Education" to the Campaign for European Civic Education

The creation of the European Cultural Foundation in Geneva in 1954, at the ECC's headquarters and under Rougemont's direction, enabled the writer to relaunch his projects, both inside and outside the school system. One of the first grants from the foundation (later taken over by the Ford Foundation) led to the setting up of "pilot experiments of European education", developed from 1956 to 1959.

In the school environment, these experiments were conducted in close collaboration with the AEDE, founded in July 1956 and linked to the European Federalist Movement. Under the leadership of Gérard Pfulg, inspector of secondary and primary education, two types of activities were organized in the canton and city of Fribourg: on the one hand, a series of conferences, accompanied by regular mailings of documentation to several hundred teachers; on the other hand, a survey on the state of mind towards European issues of 450 pupils aged between 13 and 16 years, an age group that would be particularly prone to "national stereotypes".[28] The success of the Fribourg experiment[29] led the ECC to encourage the AEDE, an indispensable relay in this field, to set up other experiments in schools: involving a total of 880 teachers and 4,664 pupils in Switzerland, France, and Belgium (Ruppen Coutaz 2019, 99), these led to the publication in 1958 of a *Guide européen de l'enseignant*, indicating certain ways of approaching the various school subjects (literature, history, geography, economics, civics, philosophy, sciences…) from a "European perspective".[30] Tens of thousands of copies of this guide were published, translated into four languages, and it was followed by another publication entitled *Guide européen de l'enseignement civique*, which examined how civics was taught in various European countries (France, England, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria, Italy, and the Federal Republic of Germany), and how it

could be expanded to promote European citizenship.[31] In accordance with the point of view developed elsewhere by Rougemont, particularly within the historian's commission, it encouraged teachers not to develop teaching on Europe in isolation from other disciplines, but to Europeanize existing disciplines, to change the "angle of vision" (according to Henri Brugmans, quoted by Ruppen Coutaz 2019, 101).

Outside the school system, four "pilot experiments" were carried out in rural areas in Mane (Haute-Provence), Aire-sur-l'Adour (Landes), Santu Lussurgiu (Sardinia), and Terracina (Lazio), using different formulas: field surveys and opinion polls, sending experts and teaching materials, workshops, exchanges between sister cities, subsidies to development projects… The Mane experience gives an idea of the manner in which Rougemont wanted to operate at the local level. Its launch was the result of the meeting between the *Alpes de Lumière* movement, founded in 1953 by Abbé Pierre Martel with the aim of highlighting the cultural wealth and revitalizing the Upper Provence (Basset 2009), and Rougemont's desire to support initiatives that contribute to the influence of the regions, which he considered to be part of European heritage. A detailed survey and poll were carried out by sociologists from the University of Geneva in order to better understand the expectations of the local population and the economic and social needs of Mane and three neighboring communes, which had been facing massive depopulation for a century, notably due to the closure of a mine and problems of land exploitation. The weaknesses and assets of the site were evaluated (industrial and agricultural activity, climate, natural resources, archeological and architectural heritage), the survey concluding that it was necessary to develop tourism, as Pierre Martel had recommended in his own project for the renovation and improvement of the habitat and the territory. However, this vision was not unanimously supported by the "locals", in particular the farmers, who were in favor of a new irrigation system to improve yields and considered tourism to be a "second best" practice. The "pilot experiment" shows a paradox between the proclaimed ambition to respond to the "real needs" of a community, to make it master of its destiny, and the will to "educate" it, to guide it (rightly or wrongly) in its choices. In addition to the financing of the sociological survey, the Mane experience resulted in a grant from the ECC to the *Alpes de Lumière* movement, and in a series of conferences during which Rougemont and his collaborators defended, among other speakers, their ideal vision of Europe and federalism.[32]

In the wake of the "pilot experiments", Rougemont decided to broaden the scope of the action, thanks in particular to the support of the Council of Europe and the European Communities. The Campaign for European Civic Education was then born after several preliminary meetings in the early 1960s, again with the support of the AEDE, and also of the European Schools Day and the European Cultural Foundation. The campaign included surveys of the education ministries, the organization of 32 training courses for primary and secondary school teachers in various European cities and capitals, publications… It involved nearly 1,500 teachers from 14 countries, with the ECC providing the management and secretariat. "Civism", a theme dear to Rougemont (like Europe), was not conceived as a specific discipline (like the "civic education" lessons reinstated in France in 1985), but as

an attitude to be adopted in the face of the concrete problems of the community, whether they were economic, psychological, historical, political, or social. There is no civic problem in itself, and civics in itself cannot be an isolated object of teaching, but there is civics in the way of taking a stand,

he claimed (Saint-Ouen 2019, 112). This analysis is interesting from an intellectual point of view, but it came up against the concrete difficulties of an undertaking aimed at promoting civic-mindedness in a transitional phase, while European citizens did not yet exist and Europe lacked a political existence.

Conclusion

It is difficult to measure the concrete impact of the activities developed by the ECC in the educational field from the 1950s to the 1970s. In the case of school textbooks, for example, the ECC would have had to collaborate concretely in the reform of the curricula in order to be able to evaluate its capacity to make its mark. But the short-lived existence of the historians' commission and the lack of a foothold in national educational institutions did not allow the ECC to exert any influence in this area. In addition, some of the projects developed by Rougemont were taken up by other associations, such as the European Bureau of Popular Education, to whose birth the ECC contributed, before being marginalized. It should also be noted that the ECC did not have enough financial resources to invest in the mass media, such as television, even though, as Rougemont pointed out, "television will soon become in Europe the most formidable instrument of emotional and intellectual, artistic, social, psychological, and political action that has ever been available. This instrument can unite the people".[33] Finally, the only "large-scale" undertaking that can be quantified at all is the Campaign for European Civic Education, which involved nearly 1,500 teachers from 14 countries. But here again, a more detailed study would be necessary to determine, at least, the profile of the teachers and the follow-up of the activities initiated during the numerous courses organized in the 1960s and 1970s. Despite the large scale of the campaign, it would be appropriate to ask, for example, whether the teachers involved were within the orbit of militant pro-European associations (such as the AEDE), or whether the courses were able to reach out to circles that were more reticent and less acclimatized to federalist ideas.

Thus, the ECC appears both everywhere and nowhere. Everywhere, because it was undeniably a force for proposals and initiatives, a suggestion box at the heart of multiple cooperation networks. Nowhere, because we must also underline the relative failure of this organization to pursue a substantive work and to have the means to match its ambitions. *De facto*, the educational projects developed by the ECC from the 1950s to the 1970s were the result not only of philosophical and strategic choices but also of constraints linked to the center's financial difficulties. At the beginning of the 1950s, the latter appeared to be limited in the school environment, especially as the ECC was struggling to establish itself firmly in France. Salvador de Madariaga, then president of the center, declared that "all our enemies come from France (to be precise: French university professors, a race more intriguing than the worst politicians: Capelle, Varagnac, Auger)".[34] This criticism is partly

unfair, because while these professors may have advocated their own agenda,[35] sometimes against the interests of the ECC, considering them as "enemies" masks a less flattering reality. One may thus wonder why the leadership of the historians' commission was attributed to Walther Tritsch, rather than to a personality of the stature of Lucien Febvre, who was much more influential at the institutional and moral level. It is clear that there was an obvious casting error, as well as a project that was, all in all, rather ill-defined, lying somewhere between scientific work and anti-communist propaganda.

At the beginning of the 1950s, the ECC paid particular attention to everything that went beyond the framework of the school system ("foyers de culture", adult education, European Youth Campaign, etc.). From the mid-1950s onwards, with the support of grants from the European Cultural Foundation that he had set up, and with the contacts he had established with the AEDE, among others, Rougemont, without abandoning the outside-school field, decided to tackle the problem of primary and secondary education head-on, via the "pilot experiments", and then within the broader framework of the Campaign for European Civic Education. The ECC and the AEDE acted as pioneers in this respect, while at the time the educational field was still very little invested in by European officials. This no doubt explains Rougemont's strong reaction when the European Communities, which had been one of the campaign's backers, planned to centralize European education policy and manage it themselves. Conceived in the context of the 1973 enlargement, which saw the British assigned to the Directorate-General for Information, this project was catastrophic for the writer, as the very existence of his ECC was at stake, with the campaign providing a large part of its income. He confided in his colleague Henri Brugmans in a letter that should be quoted at length at the end of this chapter:

> It is proposed to take the Campaign away from the Centre and give it to the Communities, whose constitution, doctrine, and practice I do not know to be precisely federalist! […] The only explanation for this obvious illogicality would be pressure from the EEC, which I am told is obliged to spend many millions on education and culture from now on, and which does not really know where or how to do so. […] I have been working for Europe for 27 years and the Europeans have been thanking me with cactus shipments. Two and a half years before my retirement (without a paid pension, by the way), I am not prepared to leave the last word to civil servants who have not proven their competence in our cultural field. There are not too many of us who know what it is all about. So let's get rid of the amateurs for whom only the job (salary, rank, and pension) or the interests of the EEC (which is in the throes of a meltdown, especially on the English side – at least that's what I feel, in my remote and eccentric Geneva, but I think that if I were in a position to "keep my finger on the pulse of the EEC", I'd feel it beating too). "Let's be realistic: let's demand the impossible", i.e., the European federation, not the bankrupt "realism" of the Nine.[36]

Unfortunately for Rougemont, the takeover bid he had so feared took place, leaving the ECC without the resources to pursue its educational projects. What remained in the "remote and eccentric Geneva" was the European Institute of the University of

Geneva, which Rougemont had founded in 1963 (Stenger and Saint-Ouen 2018). Benefiting from an academic base and financial stability that the ECC lacked, the institute offered a space where Denis de Rougemont could still freely teach the main themes that structured his work: Europe and its culture, federalism, the Europe of the regions and ecology, which was at the heart of his last commitments.

Notes

1 Archive of Radio Télévision Suisse (RTS), "L'éducation au Centre européen de la culture", 29 April 1957. Interview by Lyne Anska with Denis de Rougemont, Pierre Moser, Henri Brugmans, and Abbé Gérard Pfulg. This archive and the texts by Rougemont quoted afterwards are accessible online on the Rougemont 2.0 website, which offers a digital edition of the writer's complete works: www.unige.ch/rougemont/

2 It should be noted that this term is only used on very rare occasions in his writings, without being really defined.

3 "Fragments of a speech for the inauguration of the European Centre for Culture", 07.10.1950. Quoted in Rougemont, Denis de. 1970. *Le Cheminement des esprits*. Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 32.

4 Rougemont, Denis de. 1956. "Former des Européens". *Bulletin du CEC*, no. 4 (April–May), 41.

5 *Ibid*.

6 "General report presented to the European Conference on Culture (Lausanne, 8-12.12.1949)". Quoted in Rougemont, Denis de. 1970. *Le Cheminement des esprits*. Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 26.

7 Geneva, Geneva Graduate Institute Library, Archives du Centre européen de la culture (henceforth, CEC), Box II-I-33-a, Denis de Rougemont, Le Protocole de Bruges, 10.06.1951, 6–7.

8 Author's interview with Professor Dusan Sidjanski, 21.08.2008.

9 There were 19 members in 1957, from 7 countries: 1957. *Bulletin du CEC*, no. 5 (October).

10 CEC, Box II-I-16-a, minutes of the AIEE meeting, 10.12.1955.

11 CEC, Box II-O-16-a, letter from Denis Rougemont to Salvador de Madariaga, 21.12.1951.

12 CEC, Box II-O-16-a, letter from Denis Rougemont to Henri Brugmans, 22.12.1951.

13 On the College of Europe, see Chapter 1 of this book, by Maxime Behar.

14 CEC, Box II-I-33-a, draft for the Additional Protocol of Nancy, 02.03.1952. See also: Neuchâtel, Archives of the Public and University Library of Neuchâtel (henceforth, BPUN), Collection Denis de Rougemont, Box 3067, Denis de Rougemont, Cahier noir, 02.1952.

15 CEC, Box II-I-16-a, Speech by Jean Capelle. Stenographic record of the AIEE meeting, 03.03.1952. Idem for the following interventions.

16 CEC, Box II-I-16-c, draft reforms presented by Otto Molden to the General Assembly of the AIEE, 26.11.1956.

17 On the European University, see also Chapter 5 of this book, by Jean-Marie Palayret.

18 He is the author of a biography of Charles V and took part in the Speyer meetings between French and German historians.

19 Director of the International Textbook Research Institute (now the Georg-Eckert-Institut) in Brunswick.

20 Philosopher and historian, then responsible, among other things, for teaching history at the khâgne in Lyon.

21 Rougemont, Denis de. 1951. *Les Libertés que nous pouvons perdre*. Paris: Les Amis de la liberté, 7.

22 CEC, Box II-A-59, letter from Michel Martin (recipient not mentioned), 28.12.1951 and CEC, Box 203, *CEC Journal*, 31.10.1951 and 03.11.1951. The affiliation of the *Fédération de l'Éducation nationale* to UNESCO posed a problem for official collaboration with the ECC, while relations between Tritsch and Édouard Bruley, who was then president of the *Association des professeurs d'histoire et de géographie*, became strained without the exact reason being known.

23 CEC, Box II-A-59, "Affaire Tritsch". Aide-mémoire pour S. E. l'Ambassadeur d'Autriche à Paris, undated, 1–2.

24 A first example of "plans de causerie" can be found in the *Bulletin du CEC*, no. 2 (April), 1952, 16–19. For a complete list, see: *Bulletin du CEC*, no. 3 (May), 1952, 15.

25 Silva, Raymond. 1952. "Qu'est-ce qu'un foyer de culture?" *Bulletin du CEC*, no. 2 (April), 1952, 10.

26 "Des animateurs de 'foyers de culture' de 10 pays se réunissent à Reims pour échanger leur méthode et définir leurs objectifs". *Jeunesse d'Europe. Bulletin d'information de la Campagne européenne de la jeunesse*, no. 8 (October), 1952, 2.

27 "Bureau européen de l'éducation populaire", *Bulletin du CEC*, no. 3–4 (May–July), 1954, 14–15.

28 *Ibid*.

29 An account can be found in *Bulletin du CEC*, no. 4–5 (December), 1959, 3–29.

30 *Bulletin du CEC*, no. 5 (November), 1958, 1.

31 *Bulletin du CEC*, no. 4, 1960–1961, 1.

32 *Ibid.*, 64–90.

33 Rougemont, Denis de. 1950. "Pour un standard unique de la télévision", *Le Monde*, 18.11.1950, 12.

34 Box 3067, Denis de Rougemont, Cahier noir, 02.1952.

35 For example, the physicist Pierre Auger, who worked with the ECC during the first talks aimed at creating the European Organisation for Nuclear Research (CERN), ceased all collaboration as soon as the dossier was taken over by UNESCO and the governments of Western Europe, supported by the United States.

36 Leuven, Archives of the University of Leuven, Henri Brugmans' collection, letter from Denis de Rougemont to Henri Brugmans, 04.04.1974.

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5 A University for Europe?

The European University Institute in Florence

Jean-Marie Palayret

Introduction

The idea of a European University fluctuated over the first 20 years of Community history between different sets of institutions or cooperations to be developed within or outside the Community framework. Its creation appeared as the outcome of 20 years of vicissitudes, the avatar of the progress and setbacks that characterized the process of European construction itself: the question of the seat, the opposition between a supranational and an intergovernmental Europe, the enlargement to third countries, etc. As a matter of fact, every attempt to "Europeanize" higher education sounded like a daunting task, since higher education policy was among the domains the member states retained responsibility for, as it interacted with academic institutions that were well known for their claim to intellectual autonomy and with governments that regarded education as a key element of national sovereignty.

Long hampered by the Gaullist opposition, the institute owed its creation in 1972 to the renewed interest in European cooperation in higher education that followed the student protest movements of 1968 and the challenge posed by the high-tech education developed in the United States and Japan. An original and atypical organization, the European University Institute (EUI) was at pains in its early years to define its academic profile and its relations with the Community bodies, before the revision of its convention in 1992 gave it a more clearly "European" character. To distinguish itself from its competitors and to adapt to successive enlargements and the development of post-doctoral studies, the institute has, since the 2000s, with the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Strategy, multiplied the number of interdisciplinary centers and post-doctoral schools.

Apart from the EUI's archives itself, deposited in Florence, the study uses material drawn from national (French, Italian, and German Ministries of Foreign Affairs, French Ministry of Education) and European archives (Historical Archives of the European Union), completed by private sources (Étienne Hirsch and Émile Noël's personal papers).

The European University of Florence: A Controversial Genesis

Contrary to popular belief, higher education was an issue from the Community's earliest days,[1] as it took shape in the event of the "re-launch" of Europe initiated

by the Six European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) member states at the Messina and Venice Conferences (1955–1956). In Messina, Walter Hallstein, German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, proposed a full European university, teaching all disciplines from undergraduate to graduate level, to be fitted into the future European Economic Community (EEC) Treaty.[2] In Hallstein's view, integration ought not to be limited to the economic domain, but should also include some form of cultural dimension: "Europe needed an intellectual homeland able to forge the European consciousness and strengthen it".[3] The European University project was to educate the elite of the upcoming generations in a spirit remote from nationalist views.[4] It should, according to Hallstein, enable European integration to be supplemented "by bringing it from the level of material facts to a higher context".[5] The proposal was conveyed by the German delegation (Alfred Müller-Armack, Carl Ophüls) at the inter-ministerial Committee of Val Duchesse – in charge, under the Presidency of Paul-Henri Spaak – of negotiating and drafting the treaties. To the reformer Müller-Armack, a former economics professor, "a European University would also provide a base for European research which would help overcome the gap with the US and act as a model for innovation", ending German universities' wartime scientific seclusion (Corbett 2005, 26).[6] It cannot, however, be ruled out that through the creation of this university, in fact, the federal government hoped to regain a part of its cultural sovereignty, to the detriment of the regional authorities.

The proposal collided with the French defensive attitude, developed by Maurice Faure and the *Comité à l'Énergie atomique*, who supported the creation of a nuclear science research and training institute, ideally based in Saclay, limited to postgraduate students and to be fitted in the future European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom).[7] In Hallstein and Müller-Armack's initial conception, the projected university was not merely an institution to train nuclear scientists and technicians, as Germany was still lacking an atomic research center (Karlsruhe was just under construction), but a university with a full disciplinary range; it was also to be a direct emanation of the Community.

The compromise found thanks to the mediation of Italy and Benelux resulted, on the eve of the Rome Treaty, in the hybrid project of an "institution of university status" as a subsection to the Joint Nuclear Centre embedded in the Euratom Treaty, but without specifying whether it would be purely nuclear in nature, or whether it would be an institute destined to become the embryo of a larger body. Conceived as a fundamental instrument of integration, the institution, planned in articles 9 and 216 of the treaty would, however, emanate from the Communities ("the way in which it will function should be determined by the Council, acting by qualified majority on a proposal of the Commission") and would educate the elites of the future generations in a European spirit, exempt from nationalist prejudices.[8] The wording was vague to the point of scarcely seeming to commit the governments. From the outset, the prospects for a European University were therefore potentially controversial (Palayret 1996, 49).

During the preparatory discussions in the Council of Ministers during 1958–1960, the German "maximalist" project received diverse support. The Italian government (Gaetano Martino, Amintore Fanfani), which felt it had been disadvantaged in the

allocation of the seats and presidencies of the various Community Institutions, hoped to regain on the cultural level, especially if the university, as hoped, was set in Florence, thanks to the tacit agreement secured from Paris and Bonn.[9] A European University was also perceived as an opportunity to open and modernize a university marked by 20 years of fascist provincialism and conservatism.[10] The European Assembly and its Committee on Scientific Research stressed (Hugo Geiger Report, March 1959) "the capital importance of creation of the University to the formation of a European community". It aroused the irritation of the French government but spurred the Community Executive to go ahead with the project.[11]

The interim committee set up by the European Commission (chaired by the new President of Euratom, Etienne Hirsch) submitted a report in April 1960 that still seems today the founding charter of any real European higher education policy. Among the recommendations concerning the university in a narrow sense were the structure of the future institution, which would cover only certain disciplines (social and human sciences, plus physical sciences), grouped in six departments: history and civilization, law, political and social science, economics plus pure mathematics, and theoretical physics, thus meeting Euratom (and especially French) objectives. Among the reasons put forward by the report for justifying this choice was the fact that while physics and other natural sciences were seen as transnational by nature, social sciences and humanities were described as marked by national traditions. The future university would be structured by department rather than by faculty, so as to ensure interdisciplinarity and the required level and number of students (250 researchers having already completed a university course of at least three years at national level) registered for a two-year postgraduate course, leading to the award of doctor of the European University.[12] As mentioned in his memoirs (Hirsch 1988, 163–164), Hirsch had been converted by the American officials David Lilienthal (chairman of the US Atomic Energy Commission) and Robert Oppenheimer (father of the atom bomb) during a visit paid to Princeton University in June 1959. For the Americans, the idea of an innovative university to teach future EC leaders was the most important strand of the project.[13]

Nevertheless, all attempts to realize the European university were bound to fail, due mainly to its rejection by General de Gaulle and to the drastic opposition of national academic circles. Stubborn defender of the idea of "Europe des Patries", the French government wished to avoid a university institution under community law and was anxious to preserve state prerogatives in the sphere of awarding degrees. In line with the general doctrine laid down by the General, the French negotiators on the council, Roger Seydoux (Director General for Cultural and Technical Affairs at the French Foreign Office) and Maurice Couve de Murville (French Foreign Minister), were anxious to prevent any extension of the Community prerogatives in new fields (such as education and culture) not provided for by the treaties, which risked setting precedents.[14] "*Tout le traité, mais rien que le traité*" was their leitmotiv. At their request, the project was removed from the legal framework of Articles 9 and 216 of the Euratom Treaty to that of Article 235 of the EEC Treaty, providing for additional action "to be decided unanimously".[15] To the French government, the specificity of education and culture (France was at the

time, among the Six, the only country really animated by a will and endowed with a national cultural policy) also required that they were not attached in a subordinate and complementary way to the "economic" aspect of European integration. Along the lines of the project drawn up by Gaston Berger (Director General for Higher Education), Paris was therefore proposing the definition of an appropriate legal and political framework by negotiating a separate intergovernmental agreement that could lead to the creation of a network of universities labelled "European" by a "Higher Education Council". The European University retained value in French eyes only as long as it stayed limited in size and dedicated to areas where it could usefully complement the teaching given in national universities.[16]

Incidentally, de Gaulle was launching the Fouchet Plan, which had an important cultural facet. It was the occasion for the French Head of State to reconsider the question outside the auspices of Euratom and in connection with cultural cooperation among the Six.[17] The Fouchet Plan's study committee on culture, headed by Pierre Pescatore (a former member of the European University Interim Committee), benefited from the outcome of the work done by the Interim Committee but interpreted it broadly to adjust it to the new intergovernmental approach imposed by Paris.[18] In its opposition to the project, France received some support from the Netherlands. The Hague feared the costs incurred by a complete university (estimated at 60–80 million dollars) and recalled the Dutch government's desire to extend university cooperation to other countries, particularly Britain.[19] The Belgians feared the competition that the new university would undoubtedly present for the College of Bruges, which aspired itself to extend its curriculum to the doctorate. As for the Luxembourgers, they aspired to see the future European university set up in the Grand Duchy, invoking the precedent set by the European school created to accommodate the children of Community officials.[20] This proposal was supported by Bonn (and especially Hallstein), eager to concentrate the Community institutions on a single site: Grand Duchy should have the university in exchange for allowing Luxembourg-based ECSC to move to Brussels.[21]

The reluctance of academics was the second obstacle to the European university project. In Germany, higher education was a matter for the Länder. The Länder ministers of culture and representatives of the German rectors' organizations (Prof. Jahrreis from the *Westdeutsch Rektoren Konferenz*, Hess from the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, Scheiber from *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*) strongly opposed the proposals of their ministry of foreign affairs, which appeared as a threat to the autonomy that they had just won back and been guaranteed in the federal order. To most eminent Italian academics, such as the president of *Academia dei Lincei*, Arangio Ruiz, the political scientist Giovanni Sartori, or the physicist Giuliano Toraldo di Francia, a centralized European University seemed "premature" and posed a risk to the universality and freedom of studies and teaching. They were determined to safeguard university autonomy against EC interference (Pasquinucci 2020, 62–64). Hendrick Brugmans, rector of the College of Bruges, stated that the university in Florence ought not to pretend a monopoly over the "European doctorate" and claimed a decentralization of European studies. The concern of German, Italian, and Belgian universities was that the European University

would lack adequate cultural roots to grow, attract the best students, and divert a relevant part of the scarce public funds that they were allocated.[22] They favored an institute reserved for postgraduates and refused the teaching of experimental science in Florence in order to avoid any huge expenditure on laboratories.[23]

It was therefore in an intergovernmental framework that the heads of state and of government discussed the European University issue in Bonn on 18 July 1961. The declaration published at the end of the meeting showed a big shift in European University policy: the main emphasis was placed on cooperation among national universities and to the "European vocation" that could be accorded to them. A European University (downgraded to the level of a "European Institute") would be created by Italy, with the financial and academic participation of the other Community member states, contributing on a voluntary basis. No reference was made any longer to the Community institutions.[24]

The Bonn decisions brought sharp disappointment in Rome, which found itself with the responsibility for relaunching a project it was deeply attached to. In order to implement the mandate conferred on it, the Italian government engaged with the issue internally by adopting in 1963 an Italian law on the setting up of a European University in Florence and securing a building (Villa Tolomei in Marignolle), and externally by intensifying negotiations with its Community partners to flesh out the decisions given at the Bonn Summit through the constitution of an "organizing committee" composed of representatives of the Six and of the three Community institutions, who were invited as observers.[25] Actually, the committee met only once – on 11 and 12 October 1961 – as from the outset, the French delegation had instructions "to stress the Italian nature of the university at the expense of European aspects". France also asked for the Community to be no longer represented at the preparatory meetings.[26] The committee work was suspended without explanation.

The period of stasis the Florence project went through during 1962–1964 can also be explained by the division among the Italian ministries resulting from two contradictory conceptions of the project. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Gaetano Martino, Attilio Cattani, Bruno Bottai) defended the European Institute for Advanced Studies outlined by the organizing committee, while the Minister of Education (Giacinto Bosco) insisted by contrast on a full university, which was to be opened to students from the underdeveloped countries of Africa and South America, in order to satisfy the mayor and the deputy of Florence, Giorgio la Pira and Giuseppe Vedovato, and the Third-Worldist left wing of the Christian democrats. The Italian administration was thinking of a technological university to be founded by ENI (Marcello Boldrini) and other Italian industrialists. The institute, which would be called the "Istituto Mattei", would be opened to students from throughout Europe and the recently independent African countries. It would be planned as a Western counter-model to the "friendship university" in Moscow.[27] Even though Amintore Fanfani succeeded in convincing La Pira to finally give up his project, through its confusion, the Italian government missed the opportunity. After the summer of 1962, the failure of the Fouchet Plan strengthened French reluctance, aggravated by Fanfani's refusal on 25 July to organize a last-chance conference on political union in Rome. De Gaulle then felt that the study

Committee ought no longer to meet (Soutou 1990, 126–143). On 22 January 1963, he and Adenauer signed the Elysée Treaty bilaterally, which, like the Fouchet Plan, had an important educational component (Defrance and Pfeil 2005 28–30).

Towards an Educational Cooperation and the Creation of the European University Institute (1968–1976)

After an interruption due to the "empty chair crisis", the European University project only re-emerged at the summit meeting of The Hague on 1 and 2 December 1969, in which the heads of state and government reaffirmed "their interest in establishing a European University".[28] De Gaulle's resignation on 27 April 1969, the university reforms implemented in several European countries (and especially in France), consecutive to the students' protest movements of 1968, the cross-fertilization required by the fast development of the sciences, and the techniques and the challenge posed by the United States and Japan in this domain, contributed to the desire for dialogue and cooperation in higher education at Community level. This desire was particularly present in the "*loi d'orientation sur l'enseignement supérieur*" promulgated by the French Minister for National Education, Edgar Faure, on 12 November 1968, which stated in its Article 2: "Special links must be established with universities of the member states of the European Economic Community".[29] On the event of the sixth European Conference of Ministers of Education, held in Versailles from 20 to 22 May 1969, Edgar Faure declared himself in favor of a "Europe of Education". Invoking the need to make up for the backlog accumulated towards other states,[30] the French Minister of Education suggested the creation of a "European University Community" and three main fields of action: mobility of teachers and students, creation of a European Information Bank, and of a European Education Office.[31] In this way, the idea of educational cooperation began to circulate in the chancelleries of European countries and, even more urgently, within the individual national university rectors' conferences. At the 4th General Assembly held in Geneva in September 1969, the *Conférence des Recteurs européens* laid down the lines of a new strategy which, while reaffirming the central value of university autonomy, took on for the first time the principles of international cooperation, starting with a greater willingness to consider mutual recognition of university exams, periods of study, and final diplomas (Paoli 2010, 80–81).

    Drawing a lesson from its previous rebuffs, the Rome government this time sought to reach a prior Italo-French understanding. It was a meeting between foreign ministers Maurice Schumann and Aldo Moro in May 1970 that made it possible to re-open the European University dossier. On 13 June, Attilio Cattani (Secretary General of the Farnesina) and Pierre Laurent (Director General for Cultural Relations at the Quai d'Orsay) finalized the agreement outlined at ministerial level. The Italian was conciliatory, manifestly feeling the need to gloss over the details to favor a successful outcome of the project. The Frenchman insisted on three points: the university would have to give real advanced teaching (the French third cycle), it would be reserved to a small number of students/researchers, and it

should have a stable teaching staff, but with a regular turnover. Following the talk, an initiative by the Italian government to call an international conference to turn the Italian project into a project of the Six was contemplated.[32] Two conferences followed in Florence in October 1970 and in Rome in February 1971, on the initiative of the Italian government. With the French still holding out, the Italian brokered a deal: if the French would support the EUI, they would support the "European Centre for the Development of Education" advocated by the Education Minister Olivier Guichard. Recombining an idea consistently upheld by the French, that of intergovernmental cooperation on higher education, the "center" would be in charge of gathering all information on the academic programs, assisting the mobility of professors and students, and enhancing university cooperation throughout the Community.[33]

The Commission was also involved in creating the conditions for a decision. In July 1971, anxious about expanding Community powers before enlargement, Commissioner Altiero Spinelli, backed by the Secretary General Émile Noël, set up an embryonic structure to tackle the education issue inside the European Commission. Two Commission groups on education questions, chaired by Félix-Paul Mercereau (Hirsch's former Chef de cabinet), delivered input for the first meeting of the ministers for education within the council of the Communities, to be held in November 1971 (Pépin 2006, 104–110). It was in that meeting, chaired by the Italian minister of education Ricardo Misasi, that the ministers marked their agreement in principle for the signing by the Six of the convention creating an "European University Institute" (Corbett 2005, 63–75).

The convention, signed in April 1972, led to an Institute for Advanced Studies that in both size and content was more modest than the initial ambitions, as it would no longer have an institutional place within the Communities and would only be reserved for postgraduate studies, delivered in four disciplinary departments: law, economics, political sciences, and history and civilization.[34] It gave the main responsibilities for the institute's functioning to a high council made up of representatives of the contracting governments, and would be financed by member states' contributions, even if Article 19 (2) hypothesized "the alternative of funding by the Community after a transitional period". An academic council, composed of representatives of the professors and of the research students, would have general power in teaching and research programs. A principal (not a rector) chosen by the high council after consultation with the academic council, among personalities from the academic world or the high civil service, would be in charge to represent and administer the institute, acting as a pivot between academic life and the governments of the contracting states. He would be assisted by a secretary general (usually an Italian ambassador or high executive) in performing his organizational and administrative duties.[35] The institute would have the power to confer a doctorate, subject to the "study of the problem of its comparative status in a wider context".[36]

The EUI eventually opened its doors to its first 70 research students in November 1976, at the Badia Fiesolana (initially as a provisory location) in San Domenico di Fiesole. For these researchers, the principle of geographic allocation had been

proportional to the financial contribution of the contracting states and their admission was subject to review of the qualifications obtained at national universities,[37] the criterion of excellence being understood in the sense of the suitability of the candidates' project to the subjects of preference of the professors, as well as in the sense of quality per se.

A Difficult Quest for Identity (1977–1999)

The EUI had, from the outset, been facing the question of its identity and specificity. To sum up: would it be a university for individual doctorate research or an interdisciplinary research institute, would it give priority to research or teaching, to theoretical or policy-oriented research, should it be totally autonomous or should it be called to participate in the Community framework? The three new member states (the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark) had in the meantime applied to join the institute and participate in the work of the preparatory committee set up to put into place the administration, hire a first group of professors,[38] and outline the "academic profile" to be conferred to the new institute.[39] The minutes of the first High Council's meetings show in fact that if the scientific orientation of the EUI was not a contentious issue, national delegates largely limited themselves to confirming the views of the Academic Council.

The financial issues (the award of grants by the contracting states, for instance) and the practice of the official languages gave rise to much more heated debate. In the linguistic field, if the didactic use of English and French was not questioned, the Germans intended to defend their language rights, so much so that the Bundestag went so far as to threaten not to ratify the convention if German was excluded from the working languages. In the end, the four languages of the contracting countries plus English were recognized as official languages on an equal footing, two working languages being chosen on a case-by-case basis according to their suitability for academic work and debates.[40] Also disputed was the suggestion of funding through Community channels, because of the firm opposition maintained by the French delegation.[41] Consequently, it remained to be determined whether and to what extent the Community *could* contribute financially to the management of the institution.[42]

The preparatory committees did their best to organize the start-up of the institute and to guide its first developments, but it soon became clear that the proper features of the institute would only emerge from experience. The first years of operation would make it possible to identify several orientations. At the end of 1977, the Higher Council set up a working party for this purpose. This "profile group", composed of members of the Academic Council and eminent external academics (Professors Dupront, Schneider, Masterson), made an unequivocal diagnosis of the difficulties encountered in the first two years of activity. The confrontation of systems of culture and education that were close in theory but profoundly different in practice had been undervalued; vernacular languages, the diversity of research interests, technical vocabulary, the variety of academic schools of thought, and levels of researchers from a wide variety of systems had resulted in a lack of cohesion and in the departments turning in on themselves.

Oriane Calligaro's study of the early years of the political science and history and civilization departments illustrates the difficulty of establishing a clear and widespread profile: the professors appointed had different research trajectories and a different approach to their discipline. Above all, they did not have the same idea of the connection to be established or not between their scientific activities and a political agenda favorable to European integration (Calligaro and Boncourt 2017). For instance, the three newly appointed SPS professors (Jacques Georgel – France, Hans Daalder – the Netherlands, Maurice Cranston – United Kingdom) had different trajectories and positions in the field of political science. The 20 SPS researchers were spread over 5 seminars that corresponded to 4 orientations: European-style political science, American-style political science, political ideas, and sociology (Calligaro 2017, 74). In the history and civilization department, the choice of Prof. Walter Lipgens, a convinced federalist, and the project of European integration history gave the department a clear Europeanist research agenda (Larat, Mangenot and Schirmann, 2018, 73–98), which soon provoked controversies.[43] While acknowledging the innovative value of the EUI experience, the "Profile Group" also found that the European "in vivo" training was insufficiently assured due to the lack of continuity in the programs, the absence of an organic line of research, and insufficient interdisciplinarity. The addition of individual research was not enough to give the EUI the coherence and physiognomy that would allow it to distinguish itself. Finally, the institute had failed to develop its relations with universities in the member states and with European research in general.[44]

The recommendations of the group, which included the provision of linguistic assistance to researchers, the use of fellows, researchers already qualified for the facilitation of seminars and the creation of a research council, made up of personalities from the academic world or the European institutions, whose role would be to evaluate the research carried out at the institute and to allocate research funds, had beneficial effects. Less welcome were its recommendations for the institute's missions. At the insistence of the Academic Council, which by virtue of the convention had exclusive decision-making power over research programs, the group then chose to direct the EUI towards a universalist research institute, at the expense of the original concept of a European postgraduate university for higher education in the social sciences.[45] By renouncing, in the name of academic freedoms, the objective of the founding fathers, which was nevertheless to contribute to the formation of European elites, the group then took the risk of seeing the institute follow the path of academicism unlikely to distinguish it from other existing research centers.[46] This led the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a part of the press, and the president of the institute, Max Kohnstamm himself, to identify, from the beginning of the 1980s, the lack of clear identity and special contribution of the research it carried out as the reasons for the institute's poor reputation, while uncertainty continued to weigh on the recognition of the PhDs it delivered.[47]

The academic profile was linked to another question that determined the development of the institute, namely its real or supposed independence from the

Community institutions. The answer to this question depended on the nature of the research carried out at the EUI: should it be policy oriented, that is, focusing more specifically on issues directly related to European integration, or to the activity of the Communities? Or, on the contrary, should it be sufficiently universalistic to allow the institute to maintain its character of excellence, safeguarding the autonomy of research and the widest possible recruitment? If the text of the convention placed the institute outside the legal framework of the Communities, an exception, but of importance, concerned its method of financing: Article 19, paragraph 2, in addition to the weighted contributions of the contracting states, stated "the alternative offered by community funding" at the end of a transitional period.[48] During the first years of operation, the advocates of a "commutization" of the institute, in the first place the German, Dutch, and Italian representatives of the High Council, attempted to widen the gap in community budgeting. As early as 1979, President Max Kohnstamm, a convinced European, interpreted the conclusions of the profile report in this sense, indicating the availability of the president of the European Commission, Roy Jenkins, to "Communautariser l'Institut".[49] In 1981, the European Parliament approved the "Schwenke Report", which suggested that the institute be financed directly by the European Communities.[50]

These attempts were opposed by the faculty members and by the French government. The Academic Council considered that such a solution would threaten academic freedoms by turning the institute into a simple "community studies office". Most professors feared that any plans aiming to integrate the EUI into the budget of the Communities would compromise the autonomy of research while hampering the greatest latitude of recruitment. The French government, for its part, remained committed to the national funding and intergovernmental nature of the institute. As stated in a note from the Quai d'Orsay of May 1981, intended for French MPs:

> On the one hand, education and culture are not among the fields covered by the Treaties establishing the Communities. On the other hand, to fully exercise its role, the Institute must not be a mere cultural appendage of the Communities and must retain its independence from them. In this hope, it is necessary to avoid anything that could tend to "communitize" the Institute and restrict its horizon to Community activities.[51]

The proposal put forward by presidents Kohnstamm and Maihoffer for a differentiated solution "where financing by the member states and Community funding coexist" therefore came up with a refusal from the French representative to the High Council, De Nauzelle, who reminded them that France had not changed its position on this point.[52]

The debate on the institute mission continued until the 1990s and the reform enforced by the third EUI's President, Émile Noël. A convinced and influential advocate of the European ideal and of the role that universities should play in teaching and research on European issues (from 1958 to 1986, he had been Secretary General of the

Commission and created in 1989 the Jean Monnet Action, which fostered excellence in teaching and research in EU studies in the field of higher education), Emile Noël, took advantage of an increasingly favorable Community climate to introduce more coherence into the studies programs at the institute, refocusing on European issues and strengthening cooperation with EC institutions. With the signing of the Single Act, even if education was not yet one of the new areas that the treaty embraced, research and technological development were now covered. This breakthrough coincided with the emergence of the major Community programs on education and training: Esprit (IT research and development), Comett (university–enterprise cooperation), and Erasmus (university cooperation and student mobility), which contributed, through academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study, to the development of European cooperation in higher education (Jones 1986, 94–97).[53] A decision of the Court of Justice of 30 May 1989 having definitively established the legal entitlement of the European Commission to intervene in matters of higher education,[54] the declared aim of the Brussels Executive (especially the Commissioner, Peter Sutherland) and of the "Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth" Task Force headed by Hywel Jones – then emancipated from the Directorate for Social Affairs and Employment – was to stimulate a growing European dimension of university cooperation and to avoid fragmentation of programs and initiatives. This strengthening corresponded to the Delors II Commission's desire to make the citizen dimension of European integration more visible within its structure. By adopting, in October 1989, the main objectives of cooperation in the field of education with a view to the opening of the Great Market in November 1993, the ministers of education adopted the guidelines proposed by the Commission.[55]

Building on the recommendations of the "Beyond Maintenance" report developed by a review group on an EUI strategic plan for the coming decade, an intergovernmental conference held in The Hague in March 1992 sanctioned this evolution.[56] In September 1993, ignoring the opposition of the Academic Council, which expressed reluctance to see its scientific activities be connected to a political agenda favorable to European integration, and apprehended the interference of Directorate-General Culture that such an initiative could entail,[57] the delegations adopted a revision of the EUI's convention.

In the amended convention, the role of the Research Council, in charge of assessing the departments' projects, was strengthened. An executive council, composed of heads of departments and centers, would assist the president in the performance of his duties. Above all, the EUI was empowered to set up specialized centers. The *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies* was the first one: under the direction of political scientist Yves Mény, the center drew its funding mainly from the European Commission. It functioned as a *European Policy Unit* and developed, with immediate success, interdisciplinary, comparative, and policy-oriented research on major questions facing Europe.[58] In accordance with Émile Noël's expectations, the creation of the Robert Schuman Centre introduced a specifically European research center to complement the four EUI disciplinary departments (Noël 1989, 73–78).[59]

EUI Tests the Turmoil in Higher Education in the Field of European Studies (2000–2020)

At the turn of the 21st century, the institute faced the new challenges presented by the enlargement to the Central and Eastern European countries and by the Bologna Declaration (1999). From 2000 to 2020, the number of EUI contracting states increased from 12 to 24, with the perspective of a consecutive increase of student-researchers' applications posing a prominent financing problem to the institute, as most of the new entrant states only represented a relative contributory scale due to their lower GNP compared with those of the founding countries. Additionally, in 2020, Brexit has not only affected the institute in financial terms, given the possible reduction in the contracting-state funding stream, but has also created a climate of uncertainty for UK scholars and doctoral students.[60] While the Bologna Process laid down the principles for the convergence of university degrees and curricula, and aims at ensuring qualifications in an ever more European and Global labor market, it has also meant increased competition and "Europeanization" of higher studies. The issues of university funding, the creation of centers of excellence, career attractiveness, or networking became crucial to the future of the EUI and its international standing.

From 2001 onwards, a new strategic report – "Enhancing and Enlarging" – drew the future profile of the institute: the number of student-researchers was limited to 600 (the critical mass of most of North America's leading universities), compensated by the award of a fourth scholarship year and the introduction of a five-year mandatory deadline for the completion of the thesis. Since 2002, the EUI's first year of school has been used as a year of refresher courses, sanctioned by a diploma – the master's degree. This evolution was applied in part by the appeal to external, private, and para-public funds, whose desirable threshold was set at 20% for future years. Consequently, the share of contracting state contributions in the budget has been steadily decreasing since 2005, to only 36.2% of the total in 2020. By contrast, the share of the European Union (EU) (European Research Council, ERC, and DG Education-Culture) (22%) and of private and public foundations (21.7%) in the funding of certain programs or dedicated chairs has increased considerably, from €7.3 million in 2007 to €35.0 million in 2020.[61] The pursuit of external funding has not really become part of the European university culture. As former EUI Principal Yves Mény observed: "We are not in the American situation, where financing takes the form of interest-bearing capital financing. We receive short-term funding with a specific purpose. This is a necessary stimulus, but you cannot become a slave" (quoted in Harguindeguy 2004, 70–71).

To attract the most talented students, meet the high demand generated by the increase in the number of doctors in Europe (more than 70,000 per year), and adapt their training to the new vocational skills required by higher education in the information society and in prospect of the enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe, the institute launched in 2006, on the initiative of President Yves Mény, one of the largest European post-doctoral programs in social sciences: the *Max Weber post-doctoral*

programme. A natural extension of the pre-existing *Jean Monnet Fellowship*, the program aims to provide additional training (pedagogy, publications, networking) to EU postgraduate scholars in order to retain Ph.D. holders attracted by the United States and to offer new career opportunities to researchers from Central and Eastern Europe, thus offering attractive and plausible alternatives to the "brain drain" while making a concrete link to the professorial labor market (Perlini 2014, 128–131).[62] It is funded by the European Commission (DG Education-Culture) and the European Research Council (ERC), a powerful research funding institution created in 2007, which aims to legitimize the EU by no longer making it an object of research and teaching, but by transforming it into the "most competitive and dynamic knowledge economy in the world", as announced in the 2000 Lisbon Strategy. The ERC is therefore still aiming for top-down Europeanization targeting the academic elite, but using the lever of competition to do so. The science it promotes is evaluated and rewarded according to its effectiveness and the social and/or economic utility of its results (Calligaro 2013). The success achieved by the Max Weber program (1,071 applications received for 57 admissions in 2020) demonstrates that the initiative responded to a real need.

In an increasingly competitive environment consequential to the proliferation of American or Asian postgraduate schools, reinforced by the emergence of global rankings of higher education institutions, it was crucial for the EUI to innovate. In regard to this prospect, another center was created in 2016 with the support of the Commission and of the former Italian Prime Minister and European Commissioner, Mario Monti. *The School of Transnational Governance* (STG) provides high-level education and training on transnational governance methods, knowledge, skills, and practice. The school will enable the EUI to build on the research on governance issues that it currently performs by making the methods and results of this research available to policy-makers. It will also allow the EUI to acquire the human resources and expertise necessary to address new subject matters of increased societal importance, such as climate policies, gender issues, or digital governance. The founding of the STG will also contribute to the development at the EUI of a series of competences related to fund raising, marketing, and public relations, skills that are likely to prove more relevant in the future, as the contracting states are increasingly unwilling to invest more in higher education at the European level.

Conclusions

The Treaties of Rome only dealt with education from a marginal point of view: the recognition of the civil effect of diplomas in relation to the admission of the right of establishment and vocational training in the case of the EEC, or the encouragement of research in the case of the EAEC. Given this situation, small countries such as Belgium and Luxembourg believed that it would have been possible to include the education sector in the scope of the Treaties of Rome, interpreted in an extensive manner. Germany would have welcomed a university competence of the Brussels institutions without too much hostility. A Community solution would have corresponded to the European convictions of the federal government, while

at the same time giving it the necessary competence to intervene in one of the few essential sectors that still eluded it, and which was the responsibility of the individual Länder.

France opposed in the strongest possible terms a Community-type solution because it considered it essential to strictly respect the content of the treaties and to avoid setting a precedent by multiplying the derogations and infringements of the primitive treaties, and because of the specificity of education and culture. Cooperation in higher education could be part of the wider framework of relations that united the Six with a view to political union, which the heads of state set as their objective in Bonn in 1961. As a result, setting up a university community was often confused during the negotiations with the establishment of a political institution mandated to regulate the building of transnational European studies on an intergovernmental basis (Berger and Guichard's plans). This resulted in a hybrid convention that could be amended only by a cumbersome procedure, the only points on which it was liable to evolve being the possible creation of new departments, or the accession by new states.

The second obstacle to the European University project was the reluctance of the academic world. Whether it was traditionally or newly autonomous, the university of the 1960s and 1970s intended to assert its independence vis-à-vis its state of siege and a fortiori vis-à-vis international institutions. The university planned by the 1959 Interim Committee was an eminent body but integrated into a vast network of institutes. Nevertheless, academics wanted to see it as an enterprise of excessive centralization. Henri Brugmans summarized this position of reservation by asking: "Does a diverse Europe need a single institution of higher education?"

The EUI is an atypical organization: intergovernmental through its governance and funding, community-based through the policy-oriented research of its centers, and classical university through its departments dedicated to theoretical research, it has struggled for a long time to define its academic profile. If it had become clear to the "founding fathers" that the proposed body should have the task of "contributing, by its activities in the fields of higher education and research, to the development of the cultural and scientific heritage of Europe, as a whole and in its constituent parts",[63] many academics feared that this would tend to put science at the service of a cause, albeit a cause as noble as the European ideal. In fact, the EUI has not become a brains trust or a European Brookings; the variety of backgrounds of its scholars and the autonomy it has enjoyed vis-à-vis the Community institutions ensures its scholarly independence, even if the financing issue raises some doubts in this respect. The institute contributes to the reflection on the European institutions through its expertise and high-quality research. By inviting Europe's key decision-makers to dissert on current European central topics of debate in the framework of the "Jean Monnet lectures", the institute has contributed on several occasions to giving new impetus to the integration process. This was the case with the famous speech made in Florence by Commission President Roy Jenkins on 27 October 1977, which set out the case for Monetary Union,[64] or the one delivered by the MEP Altiero Spinelli on 13 June 1983, on his draft treaty for a EU.[65]

The EUI has increasingly undertaken studies on behalf of the Commission (Report on the Revision of the Treaties in 2000) or for the European Parliament (participation in an EUI Expert Group led by Giuliano Amato in the Convention in 2002). It organizes the State of the Union Conference annually. In 13 years, this conference has become one of the most prominent forums in which to discuss the EU policy agenda and come up with constructive ideas for Europe's future. The event regularly brings together hundreds of academics, policy-makers, diplomats, civil society representatives, and opinion-leaders from all over the world. Although it has now lost some of its initial "competitive edge", the institute has nevertheless managed to clarify its identity and assert its position within the European cultural area. Starting with a team of 10 professors and 70 students in 1976, it became in 2020 under the presidency of Renaud Dehousse a major international doctoral and post-doctoral training institute, with 124 full- or part-time professors, 597 student-researchers, and 91 post-doc fellows. The hundred or so theses defended annually make the EUI the postgraduate training institution that awards the largest number of doctorates in social sciences in Europe.

Notes

1 On the prolegomena of European action in the field of higher education, see the chapters by Maxime Behar on the College of Europe and by Nicolas Stenger on the European Centre for Culture by Denis de Rougement in this volume.

2 Florence, Historical Archives of the European Union (hereafter cited as HAEU), Conférence intergouvernementale: historique des articles 7, 8, 9, 10 et 11 du traité instituant la CEEA (Euratom): centre commun de recherche, CM3 – NEGO, 315, "History of the negotiations" Art. 9 and Inter-governmental Committee set up by the Messina Conference, Reports by Heads of Delegations to the Foreign Ministers, Part 2, Chapter 1, Section 1, undated (December 1956?).

3 Berlin, Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office (hereafter cited as PA/AA), 604, band. 806, Walter Hallstein's Speech to the 2d. Congress of the Cultural Foundation in Milan, 13.12.1958.

4 Koblenz, Bundes Archiv, Hallstein Nachlass (HN), band 215, "Observations on the project for creating a European University presented by Walter Hallstein", undated (spring 1959).

5 The Hague, Dutch Ministry of Education Archives, OKW-HO, 254, vol. 1, Treaty from Prof. Dr. Walter Hallstein on the European University in front of the Europa-Kolleg Hamburg, 18.07.1958.

6 HAEU, Special Council of the EAEC Ministers, CM 1/1958, no. 951, Extract from the minutes of the EEC and EAEC Councils' restricted session in Brussels, 20.05.1958 (Müller-Armack intervention on pages 4–8 and Hallstein on pages 14–16).

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35 HAEU, CM2/1972–1497, Convention on the establishment of a European University Institute, art. 6, 7, 8, 16–18.

36 *Ibid*. Annex of Article 14 of the convention setting up a European University Institute, 28.

37 *Ibid*. Articles 16 and 17 of the convention, 10.

38 HAEU, European University Institute's archives (henceforth EUI or IUE), EUI 14, folder 4, Comité préparatoire "Problème du choix des huit premiers enseignants", 09.05.1973.

39 The Preparatory Committee, restricted to its heads of delegation, appointed Max Kohnstamm as the first principal. Former ECSC Secretary General and Vice-President of the Monnet Action Committee, Kohnstamm chaired the Institut de la Communauté Européenne pour les Études universitaires, in HAEU, Émile Noël collection (henceforth EN) 2174, letter from Emile Noël to Olivier Guichard, French Minister of National Education a/s designation of the Principal of the European University Institute, 14.04.1972.

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44 HAEU, IUE, 247/77 (CA140), Rapport du Groupe de travail « Profil » sur le développement futur de l'Institut, 08.11.1977.

45 Rome, Archives of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (henceforth MAEI) uff. III/83, fasc. Parte generale" Appunto Istituto Universitario Europeo: carateristiche dei futuri indirizzi, 12.04.1978, 45. The note quotes, among other things, the reflection of Prof.

Rosario Romero, who believed that, by following this orientation, the institute would end up by looking like "a European Brookings".

46 HAEU, EUI 330, I primi cinque anni dell'Istituto e alcune considerazione per il suo futuro a cura del Presidente dell'IUE, April 1980, opinion expressed by Sergio Romano, President of the EUI's High Council, in an interview with President Kohnstamm, 09.09.1978.

47 MAEI, uff. III, EUI/83, fasc. "Parte generale": "Appunto", cit. 12.04.1978; *La Nazione* "Ma che deve fare questa università?" 3.02.1971; HAEU, IUE 144/81 (CS72) Note du Président Kohnstamm au Conseil Supérieur, 13.05.1981; HAEU, EUI Bulletin no. 4, Special Number, European Doctorate, 17.06.1977.

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49 Intention corroborated by the proposal to deposit the historical archives of the Communities at the Institute.

50 HAEU, EUI 444, Report by Olaf Schwenke on the European University Institute, 28.09.1981.

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52 HAEU, IUE, 244/79 and 342/81 (CS 88) Proceedings 11th and 18th. Meetings of the High Council: Presentation by the Presidents on the possibilities of financing the Institute through a grant from the European Communities, June 1979 and June 1981.

53 On these programs, see the chapter by Antonio Varsori.

54 Court of Justice of the European Communities, "Erasmus, Commission V. Council, judgment 242/87", Reports of cases 1989, 1425.

55 COM (89) 236 final. Commission memorandum on higher education in the Community, November 1991; C (89) 277/04, conclusions of the Council of Ministers of Education on cooperation and Community policy in the field of education with a view to 1993, 6.10.1989, accessible on the Register of Commission Documents online at: https://ec.eur opa.eu/transparency/documents-register/detail?ref=COM(2021)636&lang=en.

56 On the recommendations of the "Review Group" and the "Beyond Maintenance" report, see HAEU, EUI 883 and EUI 1117, 1991–1992.

57 HAEU, IUE 124/92 (CA 69) add. 2, Notes de séances de la Conférence des représentants des États membres sur la révision de la Convention du 19 avril 1972, 21.03.1992, déclaration du Prof. D'Oliveira; Commission (SG (92) D 31932: Notes de dossier sur la Conférence intergouvernementale de La Haye, 27.03.1992.

58 The ad hoc group set up by the Academic Council, led by profs. d'Olivera and Philips, in defining the missions of the interdisciplinary center, had expressed a twofold concern: to avoid the center to function as a foreign body, cut off from the departments, and to ensure that its activities would be scientific in nature and long term, and not one-off studies on issues influenced by external contractual funding. Some expressed concern that the center, which would concentrate one-fifth of professors and be in a privileged position to raise external funding, would lead to an imbalance in the types of research carried out at the institute.

59 On the intergovernmental conference and its conclusions, see IUE 124/92 (CA 69) add. 1–2, "Conclusions of the Hague Conference of 20.03.1992"; IUE, Decision nb. 2/92 of the High Council of 18 June 1992 on setting up the Robert Schuman Centre; HAEU, EN 1507, Révision de la Convention de creation d'un Institut Universitaire européen, 1991–1992.

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Part II

Europeanizing Education

Organizations, Policies, and Strategies

6 The European Communities/ European Union and the Search for a European Education

Antonio Varsori

Introduction[1]

Culture and education are two different concepts, but they are often closely connected and sometimes they appear to overlap. In the case of the European construction – a complex process whose continuity may be easily contested – in recent times the European Union (EU) institutions have appeared to be interested in asserting the existence of a "European culture", although it is difficult to understand the definite characteristics and frontiers of such a culture. Furthermore, the idea of a common "European culture" seems to contrast with one of the pillars in the EU discourse: "unity in diversity", implying that the member states have different cultural traditions, which is presented as a positive feature. At the same time the EU institutions argue that their member states share – and must share – a set of common values, though they mainly appear to have political and economic characteristics, especially if one takes into consideration the well-known Copenhagen criteria: a Western-style democratic system, a market economy, rule of law, etc. It would be easy to argue that these criteria have been influenced by the political and economic developments that have characterized the post-Cold War period (Varsori 2022). It is also possible to point out that most of these values are not unique and that they are not only parts of a "European culture" or specific "European" political and economic thoughts and values. They are also main features of other Western democracies that are not European, such as the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc., not to mention Britain, Norway, and Switzerland, which are European by geography, but not members of the EU. In fact, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to state that these non-EU nations do not recognize the values of a liberal democratic system, of a market economy and so on. Last but not least, if we think that history and historical experiences are part of the cultural tradition of a people and/or of a state, every EU member state has very different, and often contrasting, historical experiences, sometimes in the very recent past. The most obvious examples are the countries that for about half a century were separated from Western Europe and were labelled as people's democracies and characterized by state-planned economies. These brief, perhaps a bit too obvious, remarks are nevertheless useful in order to argue that "European culture" is a very vague concept, and this uncertain feature appears to be obvious also in the EU policies. So,

if, for example, we take into consideration a well-known and very popular initiative supported by the EU, the "European Capitals of Culture", we may wonder whether the main goal is to discover and to point out the common characteristics of a "European culture" or to favor the improvement of local infrastructures and to give a boost to local tourism.[2] Despite this, some scholars have argued that the idea of a common cultural heritage is regarded as a useful tool in order to promote certain nations' candidature to the European Community: for example, Greece "had" to become a member of the European Community as it was the cradle of "Western civilization" (Poimenidou 2020).

On the contrary, when we deal with education, it seems that this concept is more definite, although is it possible to think of an educational system, especially as far as the field of humanities is concerned, which does not possess at its roots a cultural background that is a mix of different historical experiences, literary and linguistic traditions, ancient and more recent popular customs, etc.? Moreover, when we deal with education, we cannot forget the different characteristics of the EU member states' educational systems, their practical goals, and the connection with different job markets. Last but not least, education is still mainly a national domain and a national concern, which is outside the competences of the EU legislation.

In spite of these considerations, which highlight diversity and complexity, for a long time both culture and education were parts of the European/Europeanist discourse, and they are still issues often debated in Brussels and in Strasbourg. Therefore, the main objective of this brief contribution will be to offer some reply to the following questions: (a) Why were the fields of culture and education regarded as important by some Europeanist leaders? (b) Which were the main goals of the people who advocated for the launching of European policies in these two fields? (c) Which were the main obstacles and contradictions? (d) Were the European institutions successful in favoring a European educational policy based on the concepts of a common European culture?

An Uncertain Beginning

The role of "European culture" as a significant factor in the integration process emerged very early in debates among the advocates of European construction. On the occasion of the Congress of Europe, organized by some Europeanist movements in May 1948 at the Hague, the participants set up three working groups dealing, respectively, with political issues, economy, and culture. In the "cultural committee", chaired by the Spanish scholar Salvador de Madariaga, a leading role was played by two federalists, the French Alexandre Marc and the Swiss Denis de Rougemont (Du Reau 2008). The final document approved by this committee was at the origins of the European Centre for Culture (ECC), which was created in Geneva in 1949. Later on, from the idea of the existence of a European culture emerged an early example of "European" education. In 1950 a representative of the ECC and a militant federalist, the Dutch Hendrik Brugmans, created the College of Europe, an institution located in Bruges, whose main goal was to offer young postgraduate students courses in English and in French dealing with history, politics,

law, and economy related to the European construction and based on the ideal of European federation.[3] For several decades, many former students who had attended the College of Europe became officials in the European institutions or had influential positions in diplomacy, business, etc., thereby concurring with the formation of a Europeanist elite, obviously influenced by the European ideal (Autissier 2009).

The Congress of Europe, in particular its final report, which advocated the creation of a European Assembly, was presented to the governments of the five nations that in March 1948 had signed the Brussels Treaty. The French government suggested that the project worked out by the Congress of Europe would become the object of negotiations, which in May 1949 led to the creation of the Council of Europe (Varsori 1988). In spite of the hopes nurtured by the federalist movements, the Council of Europe was a body devoid of any real power: by the early 1950s the Assembly of the Council of Europe appeared to be a mere "talk shop". As a result, the Strasbourg organization had to focus its attention on issues, which, as we'll see later, were not dealt with by other more efficient and practical European bodies that began to emerge during the 1950s and would become the pillars of the European construction. The diffusion of the "European culture" became a major goal of the Council of Europe, and such a role appeared to be strengthened by the decision taken in 1961 to transfer to the Council of Europe the cultural competences of the Western European Union (WEU), the organization that in 1954 was created by the Paris agreements, due to the reform and the enlargement to West Germany and Italy of the Brussels Treaty, which had already stated the objective of favoring forms of cultural cooperation among the member states. Such a decision led to the creation of the "Council for Cultural Cooperation". It is to be noted that the initiatives of the council dealt more with some aspects of the European educational systems, rather than with the definition and promotion of shared concepts of a "European culture". Consequently, the council launched initiatives that aimed at developing forms of cooperation among different educational systems, such as the exchange of students and teachers and the development of new instruments of teaching ("audio-visual", etc.). It was obvious that the promoters of these projects thought that at the basis of their initiatives there were some common values: faith in Western democracy and the relevance of peace and dialogue among different cultures, so education seemed to become the focus of the Council of Europe's activities in the field of "culture" (Guillen 1997). Although these activities by the Council of Europe must not be undervalued, it would be difficult to argue that these initiatives had a strong impact on the creation of a European "culture" or on the characteristics of national educational systems. On the other hand, the Council of Europe was often regarded as the Cinderella of the European construction, which in the 1950s appeared to follow a very different and more rewarding path: the so-called functionalist approach that led to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and later on to the setting up of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Community for Atomic Energy (EURATOM). Economic and political integration were the main pillars of these Communities, and economic integration was regarded as the most useful instrument through which it would be possible to gradually achieve political integration.

How to Insert "Culture" and "Education" in the European Construction

Economic growth was the main goal of the EEC treaty, though it was also stated that the Economic Community would favor political integration and had some supra-national characteristics. As far as EURATOM was concerned, its main objective was scientific and technological cooperation in the field of nuclear energy. Both treaties did not deal with the issues of culture or education, with a minor exception in the case of the EURATOM treaty, which took into consideration forms of cooperation in scientific research.[4] In fact, though sometimes they belonged to different political "families" – Catholics, liberals, social-democrats – the promoters of the so-called relaunch of Europe shared some common values of a general character, which implied belief in the validity of both "Western" ideals and European civilization. Those values were perceived as the best and more valid features of Europe's history and culture – a sort of heritage of the nineteenth-century Europe's world predominance, now strengthened by the influence of US democratic thought but also by a set of values that were in fierce opposition to the Soviet Union and Communism in the context of the Cold War, a conflict that especially during the 1940s and the 1950s also had strong cultural implications (Scott-Smith and Krabbendam 2003). As far as education was concerned, the nineteenth century's nation-state tradition was still regarded by both political and educational authorities as a national domain, and the most important and effective instrument through which it would be possible to create a politically conscious citizen, loyal to the nation.

In spite of that, very early on, Italy, one of the EEC founding members, put forward a proposal for the creation of a "European university", which would seem destined to reconcile culture and education. In its early stages the proposal was very vague, and it seemed that this future university could focus on "hard sciences", closely related to EURATOM. In fact, it was a pretext rather than a well-defined goal, mainly the consequence of the fact that Italy had not been assigned the seat of a European institution. In the early 1960s, however, Italy's proposal became more defined, and the Italian authorities claimed that in Florence it would be possible to set up a university that would focus on humanities and social sciences. Such a claim was based on the ambition of promoting a "European cultural center", though the characteristics of this "culture" were not clear. It is likely that the main argument was that fifteenth-century Florence had been one of the main centers of humanism and it was possible to argue that humanism was at the origins of modern European culture, closely tied to Roman and Greek traditions. Actually, Italy's main interest was the creation of a European institution to be located on Italian soil, so this proposal was mainly a question of national prestige. However, the Italian government's proposal was rejected by other EEC members, mainly on the basis of reasons related more to educational issues than to the characteristics and goals of a "European culture". De Gaulle's France feared that the proposed European University could become the instrument for creating an elite of future European high officials, loyal to the European Commission and to the concept of a supra-national Europe and hostile to the "Europe des patries". In Germany the local

"states" opposed the idea of a "European university", arguing that it could become a threat to the rights of the "Lander" in the field of higher education. (On the origins and creation of the European University Institute, see Palayret 1996.) As a result, the project for a European University was shelved until the late 1960s. On the other hand, though the EEC was an economic success and it concurred with the phenomenon of Western Europe's "Golden Age", it may be pointed out that during the first decade of its existence it represented only the "Europe of the Six" or "la petite Europe", and that only two relevant European policies were fully implemented: the Customs Union and the Common Agricultural Policy. (On the European integration between the late 1950s and the late 1960s, see Loth 2015.) There was no progress from the political viewpoint and other European policies were either very weak or mere experiments. Last but not least, it is difficult to argue that the EEC had a clear-cut cultural point of reference, though their leaderships recognized the validity of some wide political ideals: Western-style democracy, a mix of market economy and Keynesian economic policies, the creation of welfare state systems, and a strong Atlantic partnership – with the exception of de Gaulle's France.

The social and political movements that emerged in 1968 alongside the decolonization process, the emergence of the oppressed peoples of the "Third World", and the harsh criticisms of consumer society all had a strong impact on Western Europe's political systems and on its social habits and values, especially among intellectuals and the younger generations (on the impact of 1968, see Flores and Gozzini 2018). These phenomena concurred in threatening, sometimes in destroying, relevant and long-standing cultural assumptions on which Europe had based its "identity", that is, the worldwide superiority of "European civilization" (Garavini 2012). The European construction was indirectly influenced by these epochal changes, and the EEC developed new goals and policies. An early consequence was the Hague European summit conference of December 1969 and the bold initiative meant to achieve three important goals – the so-called tryptic: widening, completion, and deepening (Varsori 2011). In the context of this complex process, for the first time the European Community took into consideration, though in an indirect way, the educational issue. As early as the 1950s, the ECSC had already launched initiatives in order to favor forms of vocational training as an instrument to promote new job opportunities for unemployed workers (Mechi 2004). These policies had also been pursued by the EEC, especially in the context of the European social policy and the initiatives of the European Social Fund (ESF). But in the early 1970s the issue of vocational training could not be directed only to unemployed workers, as there was a growing number of young people with high school qualifications who had difficulties in finding a job. It was an economic as well as a social problem, which affected several member states and could be handled more effectively at a Community level. Therefore, the policies dealing with "vocational training" were transformed into initiatives dealing with "Vocational Education and Training" (VET). The implementation of the European Community's directives took place at a national level, although in 1975 the Community created the CEDEFOP, one of the first Community agencies, whose main goals were the study of improvement in the field of VET and offering to the European institutions the outcome of their

researches (Varsori 2004, 2006). Such developments were mainly tied to the need to give practical and effective answers to the transformation of Western economies and of their labor markets, mainly dealing with technical aspects, such as the early spreading of informatization and computer science.

In the 1970s, however, the "Nine" took a decision that, on the contrary, appeared to have some impact on the university system and the cultural background of the European construction. Due to a renewed proposal by the Italian authorities and new negotiations in 1973, the nine member states decided to create in Florence the European University Institute (EUI), which started its activities in 1976.[5] The EUI was not a real university, but rather a research institute, formed by PhD students and organized into four departments: law, economy, politics, and history and civilization. Although the early life of the EUI was not an easy one and its main goals appeared to create experts in the field of social sciences, closely related to the activities of the European institutions, the EUI collaborated in the creation of "European Studies" as autonomous areas of teaching and research at university level. In an indirect way, both the teaching staff and the PhD students of the EUI were usually supporters of the European construction, and for most of them the European Community was not only a political and economic actor, but had its foundations in some definite ideals and in a wider European cultural framework (Palayret 1996).

Great Ambitions and Limited Achievements

In spite of these significant developments, between the late 1970s and the mid-1980s the European Community and their leaders had other more pressing problems to deal with. Once again it was the changing international context that led the European leaders to launch new initiatives that had strong and lasting impacts on the characteristics, goals, and future perspectives of the European construction. Among the most relevant factors of change in the European construction there were the emerging "neo-liberal turn", the need to integrate new candidates in the European Community, and the role played by a generation of EC high officials and national technocrats, strongly committed to the achievement of a supra-national Europe. Once again, the economic factor was regarded as the best tool in order to enhance the integration process. Starting with the "White Book" of the Delors' Commission and the creation of a single unified market, in the late 1980s the European Community pointed out the goal of the initiative titled Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), based on the four mobilities: goods, services, capital, and individuals (Gehler and Loth 2020). As far as the political leaders of the "Twelve" were concerned, it is likely that their attention focused on the "economic" side of the union, an obvious reaction to the early phenomenon of globalization and to the new emerging trends in the international economy and national economic policies. Some EC high officials and some Europeanist technocrats were focusing on the "monetary" side of the union, as it was obvious that a unified single market would work in a more effective way with the creation of a single currency, but that goal had strong political implications, as a single currency would be a fundamental

boost to the creation of a supra-national Europe (Padoa-Schioppa 2004). The fall of the Berlin Wall, the perspective of a quick German reunification, the end of the Communist regime, and the collapse of the Soviet Union favored the reconciliation of economic and political goals, which were accepted by the European political leaderships as the best instruments with which to face a radically changing European and international balance. In this enthusiastic atmosphere of rapid change and new opportunities, some members of the European Commission thought that it was possible to favor the creation of a "European identity"; the role of the younger generation and of the intellectual milieu, as well as higher education, were regarded as vital factors in constructing such an "identity" (Paoli and Varsori 2019). The main instruments in order to achieve this political goal were the "Jean Monnet Action" and the Erasmus program. In the late 1980s such a strategy appeared to be a feasible one; this was also due to a development that had characterized the attitude of both European scholars and the highest authorities of several European universities, who thought that internationalization both in teaching and research would be a vital boost to university activities and initiatives; moreover, the European Community could become a useful source of financial support in a period in which universities needed more and more money for their activities (Paoli 2010, 126–175).

The "Jean Monnet Action" was fundamental in strengthening the field of "European Studies", through the creation of Jean Monnet chairs, courses, and modules in politics, economy, law, and history. Moreover, with a sort of spill-over dynamic, the action – which later would become a more important program – contributed to the emergence of an increasing group of scholars committed to the European ideals, a "lobby" of conscious or unconscious "propagandists" of the European credo, with a relevant influence on generations of European university students (Torquati 2006). Though the financial resources were limited, the creation of Jean Monnet chairs, courses, and modules was also linked to the launching of research projects, which further strengthened the influence of European Studies and favored the creation of degree and MA courses in "European studies" with thousands of enrolled students, who obviously began to regard the European Community's role as part of their cultural and university background. Last but not least, Jean Monnet chairs, courses, and modules were financed also in nations that were not member states; such initiatives transformed these chairs, courses, and modules in some sort of "cultural centers of the EC/EU abroad". As far as the Erasmus program was concerned, the main goal of such an initiative appeared to be an economic one, and that aspect favored the final approval by the political authorities of the member states. In a more integrated economy, due to the creation of the EMU, the future unified market needed university graduates with international experience and the knowledge of some foreign language; in this context, the Erasmus program appeared to be an effective instrument, whose cost was not so relevant for the Community's budget. Actually, in the opinion of both the Commission and some committed Europeanists, the program would favor the creation of future open-minded European citizens, who would regard their identity as belonging to Europe rather than to their nation of domicile (Paoli 2010, 176 ff).

Some Conclusions

The initiatives of the early 1990s were just a starting point. The Maastricht Treaty, the creation of the EU with its ambitious political goals, and the increasing role played by the European Parliament, which appeared to be sensible to the issues of education and culture, led to the launching of other programs and actions, which are now vital aspects of EU policies, especially due to some aspects of the Lisbon Treaty (The European Commission 2006, 203 ff). They are so numerous, from the Marie Sklodowska-Curie postdoctoral fellowships to the "Horizon 2020" program, that it would be difficult to analyze them in detail; this is not the main objective of this contribution. It would be of more interest to give an answer to the questions that have been posed in the introduction. First of all, it is possible to argue that most Europeanist leaders and the European elites were – and are – interested in both promoting the idea of the existence of a European culture and in strengthening the role of the European institutions in the field of education. If a European citizen had to be created, such an individual must have some definite cultural points of reference; moreover, education is the most obvious instrument through which it is possible to spread these cultural elements and to create a European citizen. These goals are not easy to achieve; first of all, culture is a vague and multi-faceted concept, and moreover, its characteristics are largely influenced by local, national, and international factors and dynamics that have experienced important changes in the recent past and will experience further radical changes in the future. For example, the cultural background of Europe's "founding fathers" was largely based on late-nineteenth-century reality and experience, which today would be regarded as no longer valid, if not reactionary – for example, Europe's "civilization role" towards colonial peoples. Moreover, national and local traditions are still very strong; on the other hand, the EU itself favors the concept of "diversity", even at the regional level, for example, through the support to the creation of the Committee of the Regions, and it is well known that some regions fiercely fight in order to defend their local identities. Additionally, the most recent emergence of populist movements points out the cleavage between relevant sectors of EU societies and the European elites, as far as ideals and ways to conceive Europe are concerned (Gilbert and Pasquinucci 2020). Education, however, is still mainly a national domain, although the EU policies have favored some relevant forms of cooperation, especially at the level of higher education. Last but not least, the most recent initiatives by the EU appear to focus mainly on research, especially in the field of hard sciences: the initiative "Horizon 2020", with its huge financial resources, seems to be significant evidence of such a trend. Clearly, it is impossible to forget minor initiatives and sources of financial support, especially due to decisions by the European Parliament, but it would be difficult to argue that they have a strong impact on both the creation of a "European culture" and a leading role by the EU in the organization of the member states' educational systems. Therefore, in spite of the efforts and dreams by Europeanists and the European elites, the EU is still a mainly economic actor with strong political implications but with a marginal influence on both culture and education; as is demonstrated by some chapters in this volume, there are some

interesting experiments that may imply some future development in EU policy towards the issues of education and culture.

Notes

1 The most comprehensive study on this issue is the book by Simone Paoli, *Il sogno di Erasmo. La questione educative nel processo di integrazione europea*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 2010. Of some interest is: The European Commission, *The History of European Cooperation in Education and Training. Europe in the Making. An Example*, Luxembourg, OPOCE, 2006.
2 For further information about the initiative, see: https://culture.ec.europa.eu/policies/culture-in-cities-and-regions/european-capitals-of-culture.
3 On the College of Europe, see its official webpage. Accessed online 19.09.2023: www.coleurope.eu/about-college/history.
4 See, for example, Article 9 of the EURATOM treaty. Accessed online 19.09.2023: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:11957A/TXT&from=IT.
5 On the creation of the European University Institute, see in this volume Chapter 5, by Jean-Marie Palayret.

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7 The Crafting of a European Education Space and Europeanization

The Role of the EU and the OECD

Katja Brøgger and Christian Ydesen

Introduction

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Union (EU) are built on precursor institutions established to maintain peace and support economic integration of the continent in the aftermath of World War II. However, their influence turned out to reach well beyond the original scope. Through their work, and by closely linking education to economic growth, they became some of the most significant actors influencing the crafting of a European education space.[1]

Education came on the agenda of the European Economic Community (the EEC, the precursor to the European Community and, later, the EU) in the 1970s, but it remained a contentious area because of national fears of cross-border effects and that the EEC would develop a new imperialism because of gradual transfer of sovereignty to Brussels (Lawn and Grek 2012). Even today, education remains the legal responsibility of the nation states. Nevertheless, the European Commission exercises great influence on European education policy[2] by using its supporting competences.[3]

For decades the EEC, and later the EU, has formed a partnership with the OECD in the realm of education (Dakowska and Velarde 2018; Grek 2016; Normand 2016). The center of gravity in this partnership has been the connection between economy and education. To pursue this connection, the EU and the OECD have collaborated in terms of data, education statistics, indicators and standards, evidence-based policies, evaluations, and international comparisons. Underpinned by interactions at both the organizational and network levels, these areas are all vital in the construction and shaping of the Europeanization of education. More specifically, the new European education space has been created through extensive educational harmonization, using regulatory technologies such as European qualification frameworks, European standards for quality assurance systems, OECD Economic Surveys, Education at a Glance, and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Brøgger 2019; Lawn 2011; Gornitzka and Stensaker 2014; Brøgger and Madsen 2022). Meanwhile, previous studies on the Bologna Process have shown significant gaps between official reports and the reality of implementation, and documented culture-specific diversifications in the implementation of

the Bologna goals. They have also shown that the ambition to harmonize education in Europe has led to national counter-reactions and opposition against what has been considered a market-oriented approach to higher education, based on Anglo-American standards (Brøgger 2016, 2019; Robertson 2018; Magalhães and Amaral 2009; Lawn and Grek 2012). As pointed out by Grek (2014), European policy actors are faced with strong local pedagogies and traditions, which for some are still seen as the cornerstone of the idea of the nation state itself. In addition, the so-called new nationalisms rising up in opposition to the tightening of the European project in the post-Cold War period (Brøgger 2023) and the multiple crises recently afflicting Europe and the EU, such as the 2008 financial crisis, the migration crisis in 2015, the Brexit referendum in 2016, the COVID-19 pandemic crisis in 2020 and 2021, and most recently the Russian invasion of Ukraine, seem to have influenced the European integration project and may have the power to disintegrate the European education space.

In this way, European education represents an interesting case for exploring how a supranational community may develop in formally unregulated international policy spaces, but also how it may be affected by reawakened nationalist protectionisms and crises. It is the purpose of this chapter to: (1) explore the historical crafting of a European education space in general and the role of the EU–OECD partnership in particular; and (2) add to our knowledge about the trajectories and possible futures of European education, as viewed through the lens of EU–OECD collaboration.

Theory, Methodology, and Chapter Structure

In this chapter, we seek to explore the emergence of a supranational education community through the governance modes used by the European Commission and the OECD. Both the European Commission and the OECD have been successful in influencing a formally unregulated international education policy space.

Taking inspiration from theory on the rise of network governance, which has been thoroughly fleshed out and substantiated in public policy studies (Hwang and Moon 2009; Klijn 2008; Klijn and Koppenjan 2012; Rhodes 2007; Torfing and Marcussen 2007), we treat the EU and the OECD as actors in policy networks by focusing on their capacity building, including their discursive and administrative power. Governance theory offers a fruitful reservoir for investigating the modes of "soft", network-based steering mechanisms that seem to constitute the current conditions for the European education space (Bach *et al.* 2016; Brøgger 2019; Börzel and Heard-Lauréote 2009; Schäfer 2004). Governance embraces government institutions, but refers to the horizontal interactions by which various public (and sometimes also private) actors of government coordinate their interdependencies in order to realize public policies (Klijn and Koppenjan 2012, 594). In this respect, governance denotes the self-regulation of actors within networks: so-called networking. Meanwhile, since governance networks are often facilitated, initiated, and even designed by governing bodies such as the European Commission, the concept also encompasses "network management" or "meta-governance", which

refers to the "governance of (self)-governance" (Klijn and Koppenjan 2012; Torfing and Sørensen 2014; Kooiman 2003). In many ways, European education governance seems to be characterized by this meta-governance, through on one hand the European Commission's coordinating competences operationalized through facilitating network processes and establishing collaborative platforms that enable the Commission to govern (self-)governance across Europe, and on the other hand via the OECD's cognitive and normative governance based on agreed values and underlying epistemological assumptions, such as governing by numbers, governing by comparison, governing by example, governing by "what works", and governing by futures (Zhu *et al*. 2020; Sellar and Lingard 2013; Woodward 2009; Robertson 2022). All these "softer" modes of governance rely on interdependency, self-enrolment (Rhodes 2007), and policy tools such as standardization and benchmarking (Brøgger 2018). In the context of the EU, softer modes of governance are often referred to as the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), which will be elaborated further in the section on the EU.[4] Within the OECD arena, a similar mode of governance is denoted as "multilateral surveillance" (Krejsler 2019).

The chapter draws on research literature, publicly accessible policy documents, and archival sources harvested in the Danish National Archive and the OECD archive in Paris. The Danish National Archive is used as a purposive sample to gain insights into the correspondence surrounding OECD policy instruments with member states. Denmark has a long history of engaging actively in most OECD education programs (Ydesen, 2021). EU treatises, memoranda, whitepapers, and strategies have been located through the EUR-Lex Access to European Union Law and The European Council's online archives. Declarations and communiques related to the Bologna Process have been harvested from the official European Higher Education Area website (www.ehea.eu). The archival OECD documents consist of program descriptions, reports, records, discussion papers, education committee minutes, and country reports. The material has been selected from a database of OECD archival documents, consisting of a sample of some 1,908 documents on various programs and activities in education written between 1961 and 2018. The search criteria in the database have been that "European Union", "Europe", "European", or "European Commission" should occur in the document.

The chapter is structured both chronologically and thematically. The first two sections offer a historically informed introduction to the two organizations and their setup regarding education. The purpose is to provide orientation about the prevalent approaches and understandings of education that have been built into the organizations' policy instruments, and how their respective governance modes have evolved. Based on these findings, the following section explores the key features of the EU–OECD collaboration in education from the 1990s onwards, and their implications in terms of Europeanization processes. The concluding discussion delves into the possibilities and challenges of European education while weighing the explanatory power of the analytical components and elucidating the contributions of the chapter to the research field on education governance in general and Europeanization in particular.

The Emergence of the European Union as an Education Actor

The EEC was established with the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and the EU as we know it today was established with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 (entering into force in 1993). With its supranational features, the EU is generally considered a highly complex political system with a multi-layered political and administrative configuration and a decentralized implementation structure. The center of the EU governance system is the European Commission, assisted by the General Directorates (DG) and a plethora of expert committees (Dakowska 2019a; Krick and Gornitzka 2019; Egeberg 2016). The Commission serves as the EU's executive arm, and it is responsible for drawing up proposals for new European legislation (the right of initiative) and for overseeing member states' compliance with the treaty framework (Egeberg 2016; Bussière *et al*. 2014). Education policy is placed under the DG Education and Culture (EAC) – the Commission department responsible for EU policy on education, culture, youth, languages, and sport. The DG EAC has played a major role in building up an EU knowledge base on education through the development of especially quantitative data used to produce and operationalize indicators for benchmarking, recommendations, guidelines, standards, and, not least, periodic monitoring and evaluation (Brøgger 2019; Grek 2016).

Even though the European Community's concern with education dates back to the very beginnings of the European integration process, the strategic focus on education, in particular higher education, did not gain momentum until the 1990s (Brøgger 2023). By putting forward basic principles for cooperation in education in 1974, the Resolution of the Ministers of Education is widely understood as the beginning of the history of European Community education policy[5] (Neave 1984; Dakowska and Velarde 2018; Grek 2016; Brøgger 2023). By creating a political space for European action within the arena of education policy, the resolution laid the groundwork for what later became the Erasmus exchange program in 1987, and an extensive harmonization of higher education systems across European countries following the Bologna Declaration in 1999 and the Lisbon Agenda in 2000.[6]

By launching the European Single Market and by recognizing education as an area of EU competency, the Maastricht Treaty served as a tightening of the European integration process and a starting signal for cross-border education reforms. In the early days of community cooperation in the 1970s and early 1980s, the European Commission had anchored education in employment and social affairs (Pépin 2006). Together with the Maastricht Treaty, the European Commission's Memorandum on Higher Education from 1991 further stressed that higher education had become part of the European Community's broader agenda on harmonization of economic and social policies (Huisman and Van der Wende 2004). It also showed that harmonization of higher education in Europe had proven critical to the realization of the internal market, since free movement of persons and services depended on the ability to recognize qualifications and diplomas across European borders[7] (Brøgger 2016, 2019; Lawn and Grek 2012). In this way, education became closely connected to the labor market and the economic needs of Europe, links that had already been affirmed at the OECD level and in community

texts by the 1970s (Huisman and Van der Wende 2004; Neave and Maassen 2007; Robertson and Keeling 2008; Brøgger 2016; Dakowska 2019b; Pépin 2007). The memorandum and the treaty were followed by the European Commission's white paper on education and training, teaching, and learning, emphasizing the idea of lifelong learning and thus promoting education as an individual necessity[8] (Grek 2016). Thus, the 1990s constituted the first stages of development of the knowledge society and lifelong learning (Pépin 2006), and the EU began to strongly manifest as an education actor. Meanwhile, extensive transformations and concrete actions would emerge only following the Bologna Declaration in 1999 and the Lisbon European Council in 2000.

In 1999 and 2000, the Bologna Declaration and the Lisbon Agenda ushered in a decade of extensive educational harmonization designed to change the entire architecture and organization of European higher education systems, despite national counter-reactions and opposition, as has already been mentioned in the introduction. The Bologna Declaration closely mirrored the main objectives from the 1991 memorandum. The Bologna Process initiated by the Bologna Declaration was, and still is, an intergovernmental voluntary process, currently involving 48 countries and the European Commission, with the aims of educational harmonization, comparability, mobility, and flexibility (Brøgger 2019). With the Lisbon Agenda, universities also became part of the European agenda, and the EU Lisbon Agenda and the Bologna Process almost converged into one policy framework. The Lisbon Agenda's strategic goal for the EU to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world became a turning point for higher education and research policies and for the establishing of EU power in the field of higher education[9] (Dakowska and Velarde 2018; Brøgger 2016, 2019; Dakowska 2019b; Pépin 2007). In this way, the Commission managed to support its initial ambitions, dating back to the 1970s, to harmonize European education. The Commission's capacity to enroll stakeholders, such as member states, that depend on its financial resources, data, and legitimizing power as part of its meta-governance is of paramount importance to the successful expansion of its competences in the field of higher education (Dakowska and Velarde 2018, 268; Brøgger 2019).

The 2000s became the decade in which the EU refined and cultivated its modus operandi for governing European education through meta-governance, despite its lack of a legal mandate. The subsidiary character of education gave rise to a new mode of governance, the so-called Open Method of Coordination (OMC).[10] The introduction of the OMC prompted a shift in the Commission's role from its right to take the initiative to its right to evaluate and monitor. Some of the instruments involved in this new method of coordination, such as the use of benchmarking, indicators, measurements, and monitoring exercises, also became part of the monitored coordination of the Bologna Process through which the Commission exercises part of its coordinating role within the field of higher education[11] (Radaelli 2009; Dakowska and Velarde 2018; Brøgger 2019; Lawn 2011; Ertl 2006; Dakowska 2019b). European higher education had now arrived center stage for achieving the ambitions of the Single Market through harmonization of

education systems and the complex goal of a unified Europe, and thus became key to combining economic and labor market policy with education and research policy.

Recently, the EU has strengthened its ambition to pursue a united Europe with the "European Universities Initiative" and the new strategy "Towards a European Education Area by 2025". With the "European Universities Initiative", the Commission actively mobilizes the universities by encouraging them to commit to cross-border university alliances, and thereby strengthen European collaboration in higher education (placing the institutions themselves in the driver's seat rather than the nation states). With the European Education Area initiative, sculptured around the establishing of the European *Higher* Education Area, the Commission has expanded the Bologna goals to the entire education system.[12] The strategy of developing the European Education Area ties in with Next Generation EU and the EU's long-term budget for 2021–2027 (European Commission 2020, 1). The ambition is further supported by the European Council's New Strategic Agenda for the EU for 2019–2024, stressing that member states "must step up investment in people's skills and education".[13] In light of this development, the period following 2020 will possibly include a focus on expanding and thus further cultivating the ambition of forging EU unity and integration through education.

In sum, the European Commission has successfully connected education with the economic needs of Europe and labor market demands. In particular, education has played a major role in supporting the realization and maintenance of the internal market. Because of the subsidiarity character of education, the soft power OMC was introduced in order to support reform processes in higher education, which have now been expanded to the remainder of the education system. Coordination supported by "soft" monitoring became the Commission's modus operandi in matters concerning education, a mode of governance that did not compromise domestic policy-making (Brøgger 2019, 2016). The Commission's capacity to enroll member states as part of the Commission's meta-governance remains key in understanding the successful expansion of its competences in the field of higher education.

The Emergence of the OECD as an Education Actor

The OECD was originally established as the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in 1948 to administer the US-financed Marshall Plan for reconstruction of the European continent (Leimgruber and Schmelzer 2017). Education became a solid topic on the OECD agenda shortly after the launch of the Sputnik satellite in 1957 had created shock waves in the Western world (Eide 1990). There was immediate attention to investment in education, education planning, and the increase of engineers and technical personnel. These elements were seen as necessary conditions for winning the space race with the Soviet bloc (Elfert and Ydesen 2023). Nevertheless, Bürgi (2019) has shown that the OECD's predecessor – the OEEC – sparked considerable educational activities under the auspices of the European Productivity Agency (EPA), which essentially sought

to disseminate the American way of doing business to Western Europe by educating change agents and getting involved in management education and vocational education.

The OEEC Committee for Scientific and Technical Personnel (CSTP) launched the Mediterranean Regional Project (MRP) in 1960, and this was continued when the OEEC morphed into the OECD in 1961 (Ydesen and Grek 2019). The aim of the MRP was to draw up "a planning framework for the allocation of resources to education in Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and Yugoslavia in relation to the requirements arising out of economic, demographic, and social development up to 1975" (Lyons 1964, 12). In this sense, the MRP is an early example of Europeanization, because the project worked with indicators establishing comparability between the Southern European countries, assuming that such a comparison would be meaningful.

In the autumn of 1961, the second OECD conference on education was held in Washington, DC. The title of the conference was "Economic Growth and Investment in Education", which is a strong pointer about the OECD approach to education, characterized by a close bond between education and the economy. In 1968, with funding from the Ford Foundation and Royal Dutch Shell, the OECD set up its Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI). The establishment of CERI signaled a clear and unequivocal commitment to working with education, although staff members working on educational matters sometimes still had to argue their relevance in the face of more hardcore economic areas (Papadopoulos 1994).

The OECD underwent significant organizational changes in 1970, allowing it to focus more on the interrelated aspects of economic policy (Spring 2015). In the field of education, the CSTP, founded in 1958 under the OEEC, became the Education Committee. The Education Committee worked in the field of education policy and was populated by officials from member countries, while CERI was an autonomous and academic body dedicated to innovation in education (Vejleskov 1979). Both bodies were part of the Directorate for Scientific Affairs until 1975, when they became part of the Directorate for Social Affairs, Manpower and Education (Morgan 2009; Papadopoulos 1994).

The broader remit of the Education Committee, compared with that of the CSTP, reflected a stronger focus on education, and the role of education was equally expanded, functioning as a bridge between economic and social concerns (Bürgi 2015; Morgan 2009). For instance, OECD programs in education paid close attention to the labor market, the issues of equal access and lifelong learning – or "recurrent education" as it was called in the OECD arena – and the publication of country reports (Papadopoulos 1994).

In the 1960s and 1970s – in keeping with Keynesian theory – the frame of reference among OECD specialists was the state. Key questions that they grappled with related to how states could optimize "manpower" investments to improve economic growth and how mathematical models could be developed to forecast these needs (Lyons 1964). In trying to solve some of these emergent challenges, work began on developing educational indicators. The production of knowledge

around education performance was deemed necessary for conducting valid economic growth forecasts, as well as in guiding governmental decision-making (Resnik 2006).

Around 1980, the OECD began to reorient its center of gravity from the state to the individual, as evidenced by the increase in new public management recommendations. Lundgren contends that, as a general characteristic of this decade, "Education became the arena for consultants with ambitions to increase efficiency and restructure management" (Lundgren 2011, 21). These changes indicate a shift towards a more market-oriented approach to education (Kallo 2020). Recurrent education was still a key focus for the organization, only now with more attention directed specifically towards the individual as the nucleus.

In terms of policies, it is possible to identify a shift from manpower planning and forecasting in the 1960s to a more encompassing approach covering social concerns in the 1970s, before moving to a more hardcore human capital approach in the 1980s (Heynemann 2019). By the mid-1980s, a shift from inputs and processes to output in education was evident. Within CERI, this discursive shift was not easy. CERI came under severe pressure from the United States to develop international comparative output indicators, since studies by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) had shown the United States lagging behind the other participating nations in terms of performance (Morgan 2009). The U.S. Department of Education raised questions about the quality of the indicators hitherto used. Henry *et al*. (2001), drawing on interview data, reveal how President Reagan's administration drove the OECD to launch a program aimed at improving the international indicators of education in order to make transnational comparisons more reliable and valid. Hence, the so-called International Educational Indicators (INES) project was launched in 1988 (Grek and Ydesen 2021).

The end of the Cold War meant that many Western organizations and countries increasingly pursued market-driven economic policies of privatization and governance through incentives. The OECD was no exception. Martens (2007) has argued that there emerged a "comparative turn" around this time. Discursively, education was positioned as an economic production factor tasked with providing human capital to sustain national economic competitiveness in an emerging knowledge economy (Xiaomin and Auld 2020).

In 2011, the OECD Vision Statement was released on the organization's 50th anniversary. With this statement and subsequent programs of the 2010s, the OECD expanded its ambitions in education. This is clearly reflected in the Learning Framework 2030 aiming to develop and improve the practical applicability of the OECD's competence framework. As argued by Xiaomin and Auld (2020), the OECD has taken "a humanitarian turn", which reflects a blend between economic competitiveness and social inclusion. This turn is reflected in PISA's ongoing development to encompass a broader set of skills and competences and "establish [PISA] as a truly global metric" (Xiaomin and Auld 2020, 7). Although the scope has been broadened among OECD policies in education, the cultivation of talent and human capital as a vehicle for providing competencies and skills to the labor market remains a vital purpose of education in the OECD discourse.

In sum, the OECD's approach to education across the five decades covered in this brief historical characteristic indicates a marked consistency in retaining an economic outlook vis-à-vis education. Even so, agendas and priorities have shifted over the decades. These shifts and movements must be understood as a reflection of the OECD's great responsiveness to the needs and ideas of its member states, as well as strategic priorities. Nevertheless, development, progress, and welfare have been recurring points of orientation, as key policy programs have sought to achieve efficiency, optimization, and investment in education, as well as the provision of skills matching identified or projected labor market needs. In terms of governance, the OECD operates with a range of soft governance mechanisms such as data gathering, instrument development, policy evaluation, enrolment and participation in OECD-led programs, and the creation of a space of multilateral surveillance among member and participating states. But the organization also wields a marked meta-governance component vis-à-vis member states and participating economies, due to the organization's symbolic position as the guarantor of having the right tools and solutions for "economies" to be able to adopt the right path of development and prosperity. In education, participation in international large-scale assessment programs has been presented as a guarantee of being on the right track in the global competition race and in terms of education quality assurance (Rasmussen and Ydesen 2020).

The EU–OECD Collaboration in Education

In her empirical work, Grek has described the EU–OECD relationship after 1990 as a case of "alliance-building and a collaboration that would 'gradually strengthen and eventually become the sine qua non for the governing of European education systems'" (Grek 2014, 9). In this section, we will explore key features and actors of the EU–OECD collaboration in education, with a main focus on the 1990s onwards and the implications in terms of Europeanization processes.

A core area in which the EEC – and later the EU – and the OECD have developed collaboration in education is vocational education. The first stepping stone for the collaborative relationship in this area reaches back to the 1960s, when the OECD and the EEC were joint contributors and participants in the Programme Committee of the International Vocational Training Information and Research Centre.[14] The background to the center came from a project jointly carried out by the OEEC/EPA and the International Labour Organization (ILO) during 1955–1956.[15] The center was formally established as part of the 1960 Arrangement between the ILO and the Council of Europe (Gött 2020). The function of the center was to "collect and disseminate information on, and to conduct research into, all aspects of vocational training".[16] The OECD was a proposer of projects for the new center, but refrained from contributing financially. But in a 1962 letter from the center to the OECD it was pointed out that "the OECD has been enjoying the rights of a member without bearing its share of the obligations".[17] In an accompanying letter, OECD officials described the situation as "embarrassing", and the OECD eventually decided to contribute financially with USD 10,000, equaling the contribution of the EEC.

Testifying to the OECD–EEC alignment in the area of vocational education, the two organizations jointly proposed a project for the center about the "influence of technical changes on the job descriptions, training syllabuses, and examination requirements in selected industrial operations". In this sense, the center came to serve as a coordinating and inspirational space where stakeholders – not least international organizations – were invited to particpate and where they could find a forum of collaboration.

As demonstrated by this early start-up example of OECD–EEC collaboration and agenda alignment in education, the collaboration between the two organizations centered on joint concerns and agendas. Both organizations were dedicated to dealing with problems experienced in the shared member states. For instance, in the 1980s a key concern was youth unemployment. The archival sources reveal that Mr. Baroncelli, Directorate General for Employment and Social Affairs in the EEC, participated in the OECD Steering Group on Youth Unemployment under the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee,[18] while the Irish member of the CERI governing board, Mr. Sean MacCartheigh, also served as National Liaison Officer for EEC education projects.[19] In this sense, it is possible to establish connections between the EEC and the OECD at the actor level around a key policy issue. But that does not mean that everything was coordinated and aligned. Clearly, there is also evidence of inter-organizational rivalries in terms of overlaps between programs, and thus also funding. In a 1984 report about the work of OECD–CERI from the Danish member of the CERI board, Professor Hans Vejleskov, to the Danish Ministry of Education, it is stated that "Denmark does not participate in this work [a CERI project entitled 'Cultural-Linguistic Pluralism'] because we find undesirable overlaps with the work taking place in the Council of Europe and the EEC".[20] This point resonates with Grek's analysis of a later period in which she emphasizes how the OECD–EU field has sometimes been, "riddled with internal and external competition for funding, especially in times of reducing national budgets in an era of austerity" (Grek 2014, 11).

The 1990s is a key decennium in the OECD's work and role in education, not least because of the launch of the INES project, which produced the indicator-based annual "Education at a Glance" reports from 1992 onwards and served as the precursor of PISA. As reflected in the conclusions from an INES planning meeting in February 1990, the European Commission took a keen interest in the project. A note from the Secretariat tells us that

> Related activities at the EC and in international educational assessment programs were discussed. Coordination with EC activities in educational statistics is being handled by the OECD Secretariat. Strong interest and support for the INES project continue to be present.
>
> (cited in Grek and Ydesen 2021, 11)

In this sense, we see clear tendencies towards increased collaboration and coordination around education programs and activities between the OECD and the EU,

but the perspective in terms of international organizations was even broader. At the July 1992 meeting of the OECD Education Committee, the year of the Maastricht Treaty and one year after the European Commission's memorandum on higher education, Mr. Tom Alexander, director of CERI, explained that talks had taken place between the OECD Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs (DEELSA), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the European Commission, and the Council of Europe "to ensure that there was appropriate cooperation in the planning and execution of the respective work programmes".[21] One example is the "Schooling for Tomorrow" project run by CERI from the late 1990s, in which the European Commission took part (OECD 2003).

Another key development of the 1990s was UNESCO, OECD, and Eurostat joining forces in collecting data on key aspects of education in 1995 (Elfert and Ydesen 2023).[22] This collaboration managed to explore common definitions, the use of criteria for quality control, and improved data documentation to improve international comparisons of educational statistics. At this point, as previously indicated and elaborated in Chapter 9 of this volume, ambitious plans for a future transformation of the European higher education systems were already part of the European Commission's plan for further supporting the realization of the internal market.

The collaboration between the EU and the OECD seems to have gained further momentum in the 2000s following PISA, the Bologna Process, and the Lisbon Agenda. In the main directions for the "Mandate for OECD education activities over the period 2002–2006" it called for "… specific reference to… UNESCO, Council of Europe, and the EU Commission".[23] And the feelings seem to have been mutual. As explained by a high-level DG EAC policy actor:

> So, around 2003–04, we [OECD and Commission] started becoming far more involved. Meetings all over the world, I don't know how many countries I visited but what is important is that the Commission is there… . The European member states should see that the Commission is there because one of the criticisms of the Commission since all this started was that we didn't take into account all the good work of the OECD. Which was wrong but they said it. The way of showing them was to actually be there – not an empty chair.
>
> (cited in Grek 2014, 9)

An important part of the collaboration between international organizations working in education in the early 2000s seems to have revolved around the development of indicators and the extraction of data. The INES program was a key feature in that respect.[24] Grek and Ydesen (2021, 2) argue that INES "became the flagship international collaborative initiative that directed both minds and datasets towards solidifying a commensurate global education policy field". One of the conclusions of the fifth meeting of the INES strategic management group held in Paris, 17–18 March 2003, was that

> Given recognised institutional obstacles…, INES SMG RECOMMENDED to the Joint Session of CERI Governing Board and the Education Committee (inter alia): that the possibility of soliciting contributions from the EU Commission and other international bodies be pursued.[25]

In a 2007 policy document the mandate of the INES working party was, among other things, described as to "manage the implementation of data collections necessary to support the consolidation and development of indicators, notably the UNESCO/OECD/EU data collection on education systems (in collaboration with UNESCO and Eurostat)"[26]. Grek argues that the DG EAC "found in the OECD not only a great resource of data to govern (which it did not have before), but also a player who would be pushing the Commission's own policy agenda forward, albeit leaving the old subsidiarity rule intact" (Grek 2014, 2).

Another key area for EU–OECD collaborations was the Bologna Process. The OECD seems to have viewed the Bologna Process as an opportunity for collaboration and taking an arbiter's role in the work with transnational qualifications. In the summary record of a 2002 DEELSA session, the Bologna Process was discussed:

> The idea was put forward of creating a Bologna Process on the recognition of non-formal and informal learning. The Secretariat replied that it could explore this with the EC and perhaps CEDEFOP [the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training], as they have previously done work on levels of vocational qualifications.[27]

More specifically, the OECD viewed their competency-based Definition and Selection of Key Competencies curriculum framework (DeSeCo),[28] developed since 1997 (OECD 2005), as something that could "…play a role in facilitating the European Union's new Bologna Process".[29] On occasion, the OECD/CERI also provided stakeholder contributions for discussions relating to the ministerial conferences of the Bologna Process, held every two years. At the Bergen Conference in 2005, OECD/CERI, represented by Tom Schuller, Head of CERI, advocated in favor of granting lifelong learning higher priority in the Bologna Process, and emphasized the need for establishing means by which the progress could be monitored and measured.[30]

Notably, the OECD evaluated its work in education in terms of its ability to engage and even influence the policies of, among others, the European Commission. In the methodology section of the 2010 "In-depth Evaluation of the Education Policy Committee", the evaluation criterion of relevance is defined as "whether a committee is addressing member governments and the European Commission's policy needs and is likely to continue to do so in the medium term", while the evaluation criteria of effectiveness relate to the extent to which a committee's work has had policy impacts and the long-lasting nature of such impacts. This is defined as "whether output results are being widely used and if they are bringing about widespread policy development impacts [and if they are] contributing towards long-lasting changes in member governments' and the European Commission's policy".[31]

In the OECD work program in education in the subsequent years, there is very strong evidence of increasing collaboration between the European Commission and the OECD in numerous areas.[32] Two concrete examples are the Assessment of Learning Outcomes in Higher Education (AHELO) project[33] and the CERI project Social Outcomes of Learning, which was conducted with the European Commission and the World Health Organization (WHO).[34] In her observations about this period of EU–OECD relations, Grek describes the emergence of a new "…policy stage for the EU, as it involved a new way of working in education and training; numbers would come simultaneously to institutionalize and legitimize this European policy space in the making" (Grek 2016, 713). This is not least reflected in the launch of the European Commission's annual report on education – "Education and Training Monitor" – from 2011 onwards.

In October 2013, EU–OECD collaboration entered a new turning point with the formal signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the EU and the Education and Skills Directorate of the OECD.[35] Under the auspices of this formal agreement, cooperation around skills strategies, country analyses, assessments, and surveys, as well as collaboration on joint data collection, was advanced.[36]

It seems that the closer bonds between the two organizations led to considerable financial support from the EU to OECD programs, particularly in the areas of skills for productivity, innovation, and growth. For instance, the summary records of the 90th session of the CERI governing board in 2014 reflect that the European Commission supported the PIAAC (Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies) based project of Education and Skills Online, while the OECD's skills strategy was also offered financial support by the EU. Reflecting on these observations, the minutes from the session state:

> Mr. Risto Raivio (European Commission) expressed particular interest in the project on "How Skills Foster Productivity, Innovation and Growth". This project is closely linked to the debate at the European level on the role of education in growth. Mr. Raivio expressed a wish to collaborate with the OECD on this project, and mentioned that the European Commission would, in principle, be willing to make a voluntary contribution to increase the project's budget back up to the level in the original proposal.[37]

The quote is interesting because it clearly signals coordination and collaboration between the two organizations, underpinned by financial support from the EU to the OECD, but also because it indicates a framing and establishment of connection with the EU policy agenda in education centered on growth. In this respect, the EU has found a very engaged, constructive, and understanding partner in the OECD.

Conclusion

In this concluding discussion we will return to our initially stated purposes of the chapter in order to critically discuss our findings concerning the role of the EU–OECD partnership in the historical crafting of a European education space and

the possible futures of European education, as viewed through the lens of EU–OECD collaboration. Finally, we will offer some reflections on the contributions of the chapter to the research field on education governance in general and Europeanization in particular.

Through our analysis, we have seen a clear historical pattern of a rapprochement between the two organizations, which seems in many ways to be hinging on a realization of the mutual benefits associated with the collaboration enjoyed by both organizations. Since the two organizations to a large extent subscribe to the same paradigm about education as the key provider of innovation, social cohesion, competencies needed in the labor market, and essentially economic growth and competitive gains, it is perhaps not surprising that the EU and the OECD work along the same lines, and with a lot of the same priorities and agendas.

More particularly, we have seen how the European Commission has connected education with the economic needs of Europe and labor market demands through the mechanism of soft monitoring of member states, where technologies like the annual report on education, "Education and Training Monitor", have been important. For the OECD, we have seen the organization's great responsiveness to the needs and strategic priorities of its member states, and with increasing intensity, also the European Commission – for instance in areas such as the realization and maintenance of the internal market and the Bologna Process. After some evidence of inter-organizational struggle in terms of funding and parallel work in the early years, we have seen increasing coordination between the two organizations, and even funding of OECD programs by the European Commission.

The OECD has a long history of serving as an arena where like-minded countries could come together to discuss policy problems and inspire each other to develop policy solutions. Ever since the Cold War, the OECD has been a forum in which agents from Western capitalist states could meet, seek inspiration, and coordinate policies and positions in the wider global – and at the time highly antagonistic – policy space (Schmelzer 2016). As pointed out in a Danish country response to the OECD in 1980, "The OECD is the only organization where all the advanced industrialized countries can cooperate effectively in education and within which such cooperation takes the unique form of relating education to the broader social and economic context" (cited in Ydesen 2021). In more recent decades, the European Commission has been able to draw on OECD data and indicators as vehicles for the promotion of the idea about a European educational policy space while also engaging with the OECD in the very development of data and indicators.

Nevertheless, the two organizations are very different in terms of mandate and authority – the European Commission pursuing its right to evaluate and monitor member states and the OECD with its symbolic capital of guaranteeing economies to be on the right track if they perform well in OECD programs – while their governance mechanisms differ in terms of terminology (OMC (EU) and Multilateral Surveillance (OECD)). But in terms of governance, their modus operandi can be summarized under the headline of meta-governance, where education data, indicators, and statistics offer naturalizations of meaning, orientation, and

direction to actors working to shape education in both local, regional, national, and global contexts. The key point is that the production, standardization, diffusion, and legitimation of policy norms and expertise through collaborative platforms and instruments (e.g., Education at a Glance) create a situation of governance of self-governance. In this sense, the symbiosis between the two organizations lies in the different justifications and legitimations they can provide each other in a shared epistemic and infrastructural modus operandi based on meta-governance and the capacity to enroll stakeholders and member states. Both organizations have contributed profoundly to the creation of a "European education space" characterized by common infrastructural standards, assessment methodologies, and measurement technologies.

Relating to the research fields on education governance in general and Europeanization, our findings very much fall in line with Grek when she emphasizes "the role of data and numbers as the material and digital props supporting the very building of Europe" (Grek 2016, 710). We also recognize the point made by Ozga *et al*. (2011), suggesting that European Commission and OECD recommendations are often received at the national level as homogeneous. The reason is that the two organizations operate within the same paradigm of education, lean on each other's data, and coordinate programs and agendas. It hinges on what has been called network governance in public policy studies.

What is perhaps more surprising is the way that the framing and connection with the EU policy agenda is built into key OECD programs, which means that the European states come to serve as inherent reference societies in many OECD programs. Given that Europe has been a laboratory for the OECD's education programs and initiatives with a global reach, Europeanization thereby also has a distinct global component, where Europe becomes a (subtle) global reference to countries far beyond the borders of Europe. The implication is that there is a geopolitical governance component associated with Europeanization through the EU–OECD partnership. The other side of the coin is that this canonization of Europe – as a constructed entity in education programs and statistics – also works internally in Europe, as the governing of standards, benchmarks, and averages gain symbolic capital from the globality of these very programs. Our historical lens has demonstrated how Southern Europe was the target of development and modernization ideas in the MRP program in the 1960s. Later the turn came to Central and Eastern Europe. In this sense, we might talk about a changing topography of Europeanization – centered on the idea that someone needs to be remodeled in someone else's image – cementing how ideas about modernization and development shaped around a notion of Europe as an entity is at the very core of Europeanization.

Notes

1 The notion of a "European education space" indicates a European space of education characterized by common *infrastructural standards* (such as qualification frameworks and mobility schemes), *assessment methodologies* (such as PISA), and *measurement*

technologies (such as Bologna implementation reports). For a critical discussion of "European education space", see Varsori's chapter in this volume.

2 The notion of the "European education policy" covers both "soft" and mobilizing policies initiated directly by the European Commission, such as the European Universities Initiative and reform processes within the framework of the intergovernmental Bologna Process.

3 EUR-Lex. Document 02016E/TXT-20200301. Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). 01.03.2020. Article 6.

4 European Council Conclusions, Lisbon European Council 23–24.03.2000, Presidency Conclusions. Accessed online 19.09.2023: www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21038/lisbon-european-council-presidency-conclusions.pdf

5 EUR-Lex. Document 41974X0820. OJ C 98, 20.8.1974, 2. European Council. Resolution of the Ministers of Education, meeting within the Council, 6.06.1974, on cooperation in the field of education.

6 EUR-Lex. Document 41974X0820. OJ C 98, 20.8.1974, 2. European Council. Resolution of the Ministers of Education, meeting within the Council, 6.06.1974, on cooperation in the field of education. Item II.

7 EUR-Lex. Document 51991DC0349. European Commission. 1991. COM (91) 349 Final: Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community, Brussels, 5.11.1991.

8 EUR-Lex. Document 51995DC0590. White Paper on education and training: Teaching and learning towards the learning society. COM_1995_0590_FINAL. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

9 European Council Conclusions, Lisbon European Council 23–24.03.2000, Presidency Conclusions. Accessed online 19.09.2023: www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21038/lisbon-european-council-presidency-conclusions.pdf

10 *Ibid*.

11 *Ibid*.; European Parliamentary Research Service. 5.11.2014. "The Open Method of Coordination" Martina Prpic, Members' Research Service.

12 EUR-Lex. Document 52017DC0673. COM/2017/0673 final. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions. Strengthening European Identity through Education and Culture. The European Commission's Contribution to the Leaders' Meeting in Gothenburg, 17.11.2017; EUR-Lex. Document 52020DC0625. COM/2020/625 final. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions on achieving the European Education Area by 2025.

13 European Council. 2019. "A new Strategic Agenda 2019–2024", 4. Accessed online 19.09.2023:   www.consilium.europa.eu/media/39914/a-new-strategic-agenda-2019-2024.pdf

14 Danish National Archive (DNA), Department of Education, 3. Afdeling, Det Internationale Kontor/Sager vedr. Internationale Organisationer/OE 2 1965–9 1968, letter from the OECD council "OECD Participation in the work of the Programme Committee of the International Vocational Training Information and Research Centre", 25.06.1962.

15 *Ibid*.

16 *Ibid*.

17 *Ibid*., p. 4.

18 DNA, Department of Education, 3. Afdeling, Det Internationale Kontor/1981–1987 Journalsager Internationale sager, journalgruppe 8/1983_8 36 04 3_8 42 04 1, Summary record of the MAS Steering Group on Youth Unemployment Fourth Meeting, sent to SVUA [*Sekretariatet vedrørende uddannelsesmæssige foranstaltninger mod arbejdsløsheden*] with note, 03.02.1982.

19 DNA, Department of Education, 3. Afdeling, Det Internationale Kontor/1981–1987 Journalsager Internationale sager, journalgruppe 8, 1982_8 41 24 1_8 42 04 1, Appointment of Members of the Governing Board of CERI, 06.04.1982.

20 DNA, Department of Education, 3. Afdeling, Det Internationale Kontor/1981–1987 Journalsager Internationale sager, journalgruppe 8, 1982_8 41 24 1_8 42 04 1, Arbejdet i OECD/CERI, 06.04.1982. "Danmark deltager ikke i dette arbejde, fordi vi finder nogle uheldige overlap med arbejdet som finder sted i regi af Europarådet og EF".

21 OECD archive, DEELSA/ED/M(92)2, Education Committee. Summary record of the 48th session, p. 3. The EEC representative present at meeting was Mr. Giuseppe Massangioli from the EEC Task Force Education, 31.07.1992.

22 The objective of the joint UNESCO-UIS/OECD/EUROSTAT (UOE) data collection on education statistics was to provide internationally comparable data on key aspects of formal education systems, especially on the participation and completion of education programs, as well as the cost and types of resources dedicated to education.

23 OECD Archive, DEELSA/ED/CERI/CD(2001)4, Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs, Education Committee, Governing board of the CERI, summary record of the 67th session of the education committee and the 64th session of the CERI governing board, 6.

24 The INES program was transferred to the Education Policy Committee in 2007 and reinstated in CERI in 2012.

25 OECD Archive, EDU/INES/SMG/M(2003)1, Conclusions of the fifth meeting of the INES strategic management group, Paris, 17–18.03.2003.

26 OECD Archive, EDU/EDPC(2007)35, Outstanding issues related to the work on special needs and the implemenation of governance arrangements for indicators of educational systems (INES), 7.

27 OECD Archive, DEELSA/ED/M(2002)1, Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs, Education Committee, summary record of the 69th session, 8.

28 The DeSeCo project was developed by the OECD between 1997 and 2003 with an aim of providing theoretical and conceptual foundations for identifying the competencies needed for a successful life and a well-functioning society, and this later fed into the Education and Skills 2030 project.

29 OECD Archive, DEELSA/ED/M(2002)1, Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs, Education Committee, summary record of 69th session, 7.

30 The European Higher Education Area online archive (www.ehea.info): 2005 Bergen WG2 – CERI/OECD. Stakeholder contributions. Ministerial conference Bergen 2005. Retrieved from: http://ehea.info/page-ministerial-conference-bergen-2005

31 OECD Archive, C(2010)149, In-depth Evaluation of the Education Policy Committee, 73f.

32 See, for example, the Secretary General's Proposed Programme of Work and Budget 2003/04, EDU/CERI/CD(2003)5; EDU Programme of Work and Budget 2009–2010, EDU-2008-6; and Prioritisation of the 2015–16 OECD Education Work Programme, EDU-2014-2.

33 In 2009, the European Commission participated in the 6th session of the OECD Education Policy Committee, where the relationship between the AHELO feasibility study and the European multi-dimensional transparency project was discussed. Both organizations

noted that the two projects were complementary, and "requested that the close association between the two projects should be maintained and extended, including through financial support from the European Commission". OECD Archive, EDU/EDPC/M(2009)2, Draft Summary Record of the 6th Session of the Education Policy Committee.

34 OECD Archive, Proposed Output Result Monitoring Fact Sheet: CERI project update, EDU CERI CD RD 2007, 5.
35 OECD Archive, Summary Record of the 88th Session of the CERI Governing Board, EDU/CERI/CD/M(2013)1.
36 OECD Archive, Summary Record of the 89th Session of the CERI Governing Board, EDU/CERI/CD/M(2013)2.
37 OECD Archive, Summary Record of the 90th Session of the CERI Governing Board, EDU/CERI/CD/M(2014)1, 8–9.

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8 Non-Formal Education and Learning in Europe

The Role of the Council of Europe

Howard Williamson

Preface

As Europe experiences its worst conflict, following the invasion by Russia of Ukraine in February 2022, since the Second World War, causing the collapse of so much of the work of the Council of Europe – which immediately suspended the Russian Federation from its membership, and from which Russia subsequently withdrew, in the middle of March 2022 – and deep questions concerning peace and security in Europe, the revision of this paper could not, arguably, be more timely. It was drafted towards the end of 2021 to illustrate how the "non-formal" educational work of the Council of Europe Youth Department had promoted deep learning within and around the themes of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, holding out a promise for the sustainability of young people's civic and political engagement anchored on intercultural tolerance and understanding. On the very day that Russian troops crossed the border into Ukraine, a small group of "alumni" – researchers, trainers, advisers – from over the 50 years of the Youth Department's existence gathered in Strasbourg to consider how to maintain a momentum for human rights and related learning in Europe that suddenly appeared to have stalled. Indeed, a year later, for only the fourth time since its foundation, Council of Europe heads of state and government met in Reykjavík, Iceland, to reassert its role and values (Reykjavík Summit of the Council of Europe 2023).

Introduction

It is not easy to articulate the rhyme and reason for what is differentially known as "non-formal education" or "non-formal learning". Beyond schooling and formal education, a plethora of activities are promoted in a multiplicity of contexts, all of which claim to be advancing knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and critical understanding of a range of issues through "experiential learning" and through "reflective practice". I myself have argued in recent years that we should adopt the more cumbersome terminology of "non-formal education and learning" in order to capture the spectrum of activities, some of which embody more didactic elements of classical teaching and some of which lean firmly towards the active learning that characterizes "community education".[1]

This chapter focuses on just one such context, that of the Council of Europe Youth Department, and a relatively narrow cluster of issues framed around the trilogy of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. Invariably, its range of practices draws from across the spectrum of non-formal education and learning. Those practices themselves, through its own institutional work program and through partnerships with others, span, inter alia, publications, "training the trainers" courses, long-term training courses for young people, campaigns, youth policy reviews and advisory missions, symposia, events, expert groups, quality recognition procedures, task and finish groups, and mobility projects. In order to illustrate some of the more concrete infrastructure that has derived from its philosophical origins, the chapter considers those practices with which the author has most familiarity. It should be said, however, that *all* practices developed by the Council of Europe Youth Department are informed by a mission to strengthen access to youth rights, deepen youth knowledge, and broaden youth participation. They are grounded in the principles of distinction, mutual respect and trust, inclusiveness, sustained commitment, participation, equity, transparency, and collaboration. These are now enshrined in the Council of Europe Youth Sector Strategy 2030 (Council of Europe 2020).

An Overview

Throughout the 20th century and into the current century, there has been an inexorable and incremental interest and commitment to broadening and deepening learning environments for young people – through both the "pushes" of intellectual and pedagogical thinking and the "pulls" of youthful demands – in order to strengthen both personal development and participation and democratic engagement and renewal. The work of the Council of Europe generally, and specifically through its Youth Department, has been at the heart of cultivating such evolution.

In 1968, Danny Cohn-Bendit (Danny Le Rouge) was the firebrand poster boy of "les évènements", the street disturbances in Paris (and elsewhere) that brought students and workers together to demand greater say in political and civic life, which seemed to them to be disproportionately and unjustly controlled by an older generation firmly set in its own ways. Forty-five years later, in May 2013, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, by then a respected and respectable German MEP representing the Greens, gave the keynote speech at the 25th anniversary of JUGEND für Europa, the German national agency for the European Union (EU) youth programs, delivering and supporting a range of projects and initiatives developed by, with, and for young people. As the funding for such programs has steadily increased in the 21st century, it is useful to consider what has taken place in between, since those brief, incendiary days in May 1968.

The Council of Europe, one of the oldest and largest of the European institutions, was established in 1949, in the aftermath of the Second World War. Its core mission is to promote human rights, democracy, and the rule of law; each of its member states (now 46 countries) have signed up to the European Convention on Human Rights. Indeed, its best known "instrument" is the European Court of Human

Rights. However, since its foundation, the work of the Council of Europe has extended in many directions: in support of minority groups, the fight against racism and discrimination, intercultural learning, freedom of expression, gender equality and – of relevance to this chapter – young people, youth voice, and participation, and what, today, should probably be called "non-formal education and learning".

A platform for education and learning within the Council of Europe, the Youth Department commenced in 1972 when it opened its European Youth Centre in Strasbourg and appointed a director, Ragnar Sem, and its first educational adviser (called a tutor at the time), Peter Lauritzen, who played a key role in a plethora of developments across the realms of policy, research, and practice in the youth sector right through until shortly before his untimely death in 2007 (see Ohana and Rothemund 2008). The expressed purpose of the first European Youth Centre (there is now another one, in Budapest), enshrined in its 1972 statute, was to "give young people a hand in the building of Europe" (Ohana and Rothemund 2008, 395). Lauritzen's early role and responsibility was to prepare, run, and evaluate what were known as "study sessions" – week-long educational seminars on topics determined by international non-governmental youth organizations as relevant for their ongoing work. With others, he was also instrumental in shaping a "co-management" system that engaged non-governmental youth stakeholders in determining the program for youth at the European Youth Centre. This approach was recently endorsed in the Council of Europe Secretary General's 2021 Annual Report, when she noted that while a variety of forms of youth participation in decision-making were generally quite similar in their effectiveness, "the highest ranked form remains that of 'co-management and co-production', suggesting that this 'could be important for the design of the post-pandemic recovery measures'" (Secretary General of the Council of Europe 2021, 143).

From the start, through the 1970s and 1980s, the Youth Department pioneered new participative and experiential approaches to learning and "teaching" on a European scale. And as "Europe" enlarged following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, these models of training and youth engagement forged by the Council of Europe were not only extended and developed by the institution itself but also embraced by its new member states. Lithuania, for example, adopted the co-management system for a while at least (see Council of Europe 2003), one of very few nation states ever to have done so, though others have recently started to explore versions of this approach to securing the voice and perspectives of young people in decision-making on matters that affect their lives, a fundamental principle of Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Over these years, this youth participation imperative has been broadened and deepened, extending across a diversity of policy domains (not just education but also health and housing, for example) and well beyond the formal definition of a "child" (up to the age of 18 years) into the multiple definitions of "youth" and "young adulthood", which now sometimes reach into the thirties (see Crowley and Moxon 2017).

Throughout the 1990s, the Council of Europe youth directorate placed great store, among a diversity of innovations and initiatives, on its distinctive long-term training courses (LTTCs) that were designed to embed what might be called "deep

learning" in its participants, who often became lifetime ambassadors for the process, frequently amending them within the resources available for delivery in their own countries without explicit acknowledgement of their origins, but nonetheless ensuring the reach of elements of the principles and practice of the Council of Europe to all corners of Europe. Indeed, just three days after the "9/11" attacks in the United States, Lauritzen made perhaps the speech of his life at a gathering of European level youth work trainers, in Brugge, Belgium. It was not recorded, and so the following is written from the author's own recollections. As participants pondered on the implications of 9/11 for their work, Lauritzen was insistent that "Europe" was not a concept concerned with borders, countries, faiths, or politics, but a place committed to particular values – not only the guiding and governing ideals of the Council of Europe but also a wider canvas of obligations regarding rights, tolerance and understanding, and participation. These are inalienable and enduring principles that shape non-formal education and learning within the Council of Europe, most recently harnessed within the Council of Europe youth sector strategy 2030: including mutual respect and trust, inclusiveness, sustained commitment, participation, equity, transparency, and collaboration (Council of Europe 2020). Each decade has, incrementally, added a cluster of buzzwords and phrases to the youth sector's lexicon of activities: networking, quality standards, cooperation, synergies, and lobbying in the 1990s; youth policy development, youth participation and active citizenship, human rights education, intercultural dialogue, and social cohesion in the 2000s (Ohana and Rothemund 2008, 14–15). All remain pertinent to this day.

This chapter critically reflects on what might be called the "Europeanization" of youth work throughout the member states of the Council of Europe (which includes all member states of the EU), the significant steps forward, and some of the obstacles and opposition still at play.

The First 30 Years – 1972–2001

Ohana and Rothemund refer to the 1970s as the "pioneering" years, reporting that they were dedicated to strengthening the European youth structures and their international equivalents, which were quite rare at the time and, back then, had little access to intergovernmental institutions. Emancipation, liberation, and anti-capitalism were the leading concepts of that period. These were reflected in the programs of the European Youth Foundation and the European Youth Centre, which served as the space for heated political discussions that resulted in numerous political declarations. The demands towards the European institutions were clear: young people required access and structures for participation (Ohana and Rothemund 2008, 13).

The staple provisions by the Youth Directorate were "study sessions" and "long-term training courses" (known as LTTCs). The former focused on a specific theme drawn from a broad menu designed to empower young people, sometimes provided for specific segments of (usually "organized") youth, such as young farmers or young politicians, and sometimes catering for more mixed groups in

order to exchange a range of experiences and perspectives. The LTTCs – bringing young people from diverse non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and from all over Europe – were anchored within a process of deep learning through an initial residential experience, then perhaps projects, but certainly some application of that initial learning "back home", and then a second residential experience to reflect on perspectives and achievements. In their different ways, both delivered what would now be called "immersive" and "blended" learning – combining some classical didactic lectures with projects, challenges, debates, and group work. Both were intensive and demanding, proclaimed to be "transformative" in their intention and design, and usually experienced as such. Whatever other diversities were present and represented among participating young people in these study sessions and training courses, there were always the diversities of geography, culture, and language. Those involved discovered shared agendas and aspirations, as young Europeans, from within their previous worlds of difference (see also Stenger, this volume).

Many years later, around the turn of the millennium, Peter Lauritzen – together with his co-author, Irena Guidikova, whom he had appointed as a research officer in the youth directorate in the 1990s – crystallized the thinking he had first formulated as long ago as 1965 (his "eggs in a pan" thesis),[2] arguing that as the nation states of Europe merged together, they could no longer individually make and shape their young people; on the contrary, they argued, it was young people who needed to be enabled and empowered to make and shape Europe (Lauritzen and Guidikova 2003). Lauritzen's own definition of youth work has stood the test of time: "The main objective of youth work is to provide opportunities for young people to shape their own futures" (Ohana and Rothemund 2008, 369). To that end, the "youth work" of the Council of Europe had its part to play and, for Lauritzen and his colleagues in the Youth Department, a critical contribution to make. This was, of course, especially true as the 1980s unfolded, during which time some of the guiding imperatives of global solidarity and intercultural learning played out within the youth sector (see Williamson and Basarab 2019) as a result of stronger connections both between "North" and "South" and between "East" and "West", culminating at the end of the decade with the momentous fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent expansion of the "European" project (see also Gray, this volume). Youth work and youth research (see Williamson, forthcoming), with various links already established with NGOs and research institutes behind the "Iron Curtain", was well placed to take a wider European project forward, though it would be another six years before a second European Youth Centre was opened, in Budapest in December 1995 (see Ohana 2006).

Towards the turn of the millennium, although "study sessions" and "LTTCs" remained at the heart of the Youth Department's activities, its work with young people encapsulated an increasingly diverse range of capacity building and campaigning initiatives. These included starting to set standards for youth policy development; building cooperation both within the youth sector and between governments on questions of youth policy; the *All Different All Equal* campaign of 1995; and specific pedagogical approaches to human rights.

Such practices diversified further, as the Council of Europe youth directorate joined forces with the European Commission to establish, in 1998, the "Youth Partnership" (formally, the Partnership Between the European Commission and the Council of Europe in the Field of Youth), with an initial responsibility for training European level "youth workers", and setting stronger links with European youth research networks, in order both to strengthen knowledge about young people in Europe and to attempt some "succession planning" by supporting young(er) youth researchers in motivating them to play their part in the European project – in a context where academic careers were rarely enhanced through commitments in that direction. Three "young researchers" seminars were held in Budapest between 1999 and 2001, in collaboration with the International Sociological Association (youth) Research Committee 34.

Consolidation and Development; the New Millennium

After nearly 30 years of evolution, the youth work of the Council of Europe had both established itself and was seeking to both consolidate its sphere of influence and to diversify and develop further. The turn of the millennium heralded something of a step change in the place of what was still variably called non-formal education or non-formal learning within both policy and practice at a European, and sometimes at a national, level. Moreover, its membership had expanded dramatically throughout the 1990s, almost doubling in size; by 2001, of its 46 members, only 4 (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Monaco, and Montenegro) were yet to join. The Youth Department now faced greater challenges promoting its particular activities and methodologies within this "new" Europe (though see Cuvelier, this volume).

Some foundation stones for new trajectories had already been put in place. The Council of Europe had commenced its international reviews of national youth policies, starting with Finland in 1997. There was initially no specific blueprint for these reviews, though that evolved over time. The methodology was innovative in a variety of ways, with an international team casting a "stranger's eye" over national youth policy, providing constructive criticism and innovative ideas to the host country and, in turn, drawing lessons from the host country to share with the international community. Over 20 years, 21 countries, spread geographically throughout Europe, requested such a review. The reviews captured both the political rhetoric that surrounds youth policy and the ways in which young people experienced it, contributing to strengthening the hand of youth organizations in playing their part in informing youth policy development and implementation in the future. Three "synthesis reports" of the reviews were produced, demonstrating the issues that require robust attention and debate (see Williamson 2002, 2008, 2017).

One year later, the Youth Partnership (see earlier) embarked on its inaugural program, the preparation of the "ATTE" (Advanced Training the Trainers in Europe) long-term training course. Its aspiration was to produce a multiplier effect – to cascade a particular way of learning and training to young people at national and local levels.

Additionally, in 2001, the European Commission embarked on its first foray into *policy* in the youth sector, when it launched its White Paper on Youth (European Commission 2001b), with a focus on youth participation, youth information, voluntary activities, and a greater understanding of youth. In the previous year, as part of its preparations for the white paper, it had convened the first gathering of scholars involved in youth *research* in Europe, drawn significantly from researchers who had been part of a somewhat ad hoc network organized through the Council of Europe.

These markers are significant because they signaled the beginning of what is sometimes referred to as the "magic triangle" (Zentner 2016), gradually bringing together research, policy, and practice in the youth sector, thereby strengthening the dialogues and networks in which young people engaged for their own personal development and for their peers throughout Europe (see Milmeister and Williamson 2006).

All of this broadened and deepened the learning context for young people, *outside of formal education* (see also Remes and Burton, this volume). By the 2000s, this range of policy and practice was designed to support quite explicitly the strengthening of a European identity and young people's identification with Europe (a point made, too, by Varsori, this volume). Indeed, the Council of Europe started to run training courses on "European citizenship", a term that had not even been permitted just a few years before, when the European Commission conducted a research project, in 1997, on "citizenship with a European dimension" (European Commission 1998).

The learning context was indeed a *pot pourri* of ideas and methodologies, yet it was also a platform for advancing the cause and case of experiential learning. This had long been advocated in the non-formal education sector, particularly through Kolb's writing on learning styles and experiential learning theory (see Kolb 1984), yet it had hitherto secured limited traction outside of maverick initiatives and "progressive" education. Now it was coming to be embedded within the institutional mission of certainly the Council of Europe youth directorate and probably the European Commission's youth unit. This was the launch pad for both execution and experimentation.

The Youth Directorate (later Department) of the Council of Europe continued to run its LTTCs and various campaigns (such as another *All Different All Equal* campaign in 2005/6, and a lengthy *No Hate Speech* campaign from 2013), and sustained its "youth policy reviews" until 2016, but a great deal more activity proliferated, including publications, advisory missions, and a host more initiatives. The Youth Partnership was soon charged with adding youth research and European–Mediterranean cooperation to its portfolio, and has subsequently become the hub for youth knowledge development and research on youth policy and youth work. The European Commission has moved well beyond the youth mobility programs it established as long ago as 1987/1988 to conduct its own research into youth work and to construct a youth policy framework of its own, first in 2009 and subsequently in 2017. Almost in parallel, the Council of Europe launched its youth policy agendas in 2008 and 2020.

Over this period, there has been a plethora of active learning initiatives orchestrated by the thinking of the Council of Europe Youth Department and, increasingly, also promoted and supported through the resources of the European Commission – these include training kits (T-kits), publications, a living library, campaigns, study sessions, training courses, expert group meetings, and the ubiquitous, ongoing, and almost legendary human rights education program. This chapter cannot address all of these and will focus on four initiatives connected to them that, arguably, exemplify the contribution that has been made to education and learning at a European level and in the interests of a diverse, peaceful, and united Europe. They have been selected because they are initiatives that are most familiar to the author.

Youth Policy Development at a European Level

The Council of Europe international reviews of youth policy, as it was noted earlier, spanned almost 20 years and covered 21 countries. They embraced a range of issues, both those considered important to the Council of Europe and those considered to be priorities by the host countries. There were always debates as to whether policy domains such as family policy, social protection, or criminal justice were legitimate areas for comment by the Council of Europe, which sought to focus primarily on issues related to its core mission of human rights and democracy; only through rigorous testing of these boundaries was it eventually concluded that the paramount focus of any future reviews should be on the following six themes: participation, information, access to rights, social inclusion, youth work, and mobility. The methodology of the reviews evolved over time, but the overarching purpose remained the same: to share international perspectives with the host country, to share host nation practice with the international community and, steadily, to construct some guidelines – *not* a blueprint – for effective opportunity-focused youth policy that might be applied throughout Europe.

Of most significance for this chapter is the fact that the reviews explored both formal and non-formal education and learning provision in each country, often noting that traditional curricula in schooling appeared to be trapping young people in classical academic frameworks of learning that paid little attention to a changing Europe, one in which young people were needing to build more autonomous directions in their lives, what eminent sociologists have sometimes referred to as "choice biographies" (Giddens 1991). The escape route that did support those new directions was often through the work of youth organizations, youth projects, and youth work, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. Appreciation of the value-based and methodological ideas of the Council of Europe and the youth programs of the European Commission was often palpable. The youth policy reviews revealed deep curiosity in what, to many countries in both Eastern and Western Europe, were innovative and challenging ideas, especially with regard to reforming learning pathways in education, training, and employment, though also in areas such as health care and criminal justice (where the idea of youth voice and participation was often non-existent). The recommendations of the reviews often met,

however, with cultural and political barriers, over and above the routine resources and infrastructure limitations. Nevertheless, at minimum, they provided encouragement and renewed motivation to those already practicing more progressive and inclusive methods for engaging young people in labor markets, public policy, civil society, and transnational exchanges.

Training the Trainers in the Youth Sector

As noted previously, the partnership between the Council of Europe and the European Commission in the field of youth was forged and formalized in 1998. The initial focus was on youth worker training and curriculum development. This led to the development and implementation of the ATTE course: *Advanced Training the Trainers in Europe*. Drawing on over 20 years of "non-formal" education and training within the Council of Europe and over a decade of youth programs supported by the European Commission, the ATTE consolidated, over two years, both the content and the methods that characterized these approaches to learning outside of formal settings.

The ATTE course was both ahead of and in tune with the times. Both the Council of Europe and the European Commission were now preoccupied with ideas around lifelong learning and active citizenship. For the Council of Europe, this had been a slow burner; for the Commission, a sequence of Eurobarometer survey data suggested that citizens in general, as well as young people, had limited knowledge and understanding of the EU, nor did they appear to have the skills required for living in an integrated Europe (European Commission 1998). There was particular concern about intergenerational solidarity and youth political participation (see Forbrig 2005): "rekindling young people's sense of belonging and engagement in the societies in which they live is an urgent task" (European Commission 1998, 8). Shortly after the conclusion of the ATTE course in 2003, the two institutions issued a joint working paper presenting a common position on education, learning, and training in the youth sector as an integral part of voluntary and civil society activities (European Commission/Council of Europe 2004). The working paper also advocated, within the concept of lifelong learning, closer connections with formal education, vocational education and training, and adult and community education (see Chisholm and Hoskins 2005). The ATTE course was but one initiative that had drawn both inspiration and resources from almost parallel developments in both thinking about lifelong learning and ideas within the youth sector (see European Commission 2000, 2001a, 2001b) at the turn of the millennium.

The ATTE course was followed with a similar initiative, this time labelled TALE (*Training for Advanced Learning in Europe*), the evaluation of which ("A TALE Unfolded", by the late David Jenkins), somewhat paradoxically given that the main judge, Bob Stake, had once co-authored a book entitled *Telling Tales* (see Abna 1999), was awarded the 2011 Outstanding Evaluation Award by the American Evaluation Association. This certainly put non-formal approaches to learning and training on the radar of those involved, globally, in educational administration,

curriculum development, and assessment. Further, it paved the way for a significant contribution, not least through the imaginative thinking of David Jenkins himself, to the development of the hybrid and pioneering pilot Master's program in European Youth Studies (MA-EYS) – see later.

A Case Study of Learning Beyond the Classroom

The "youth sector" across Europe was largely unrecognized and uncharted territory that had not only to be created but also mapped. The pioneers on this terrain were not only progressive bureaucrats ensconced in the European institutions and academics sacrificing conventional career paths to professorial status (though many eventually achieved this) but also those who abandoned classical youth work or other occupational trajectories to adopt adventurous and innovative approaches to training. Some benefited from the ATTE and TALE courses (see earlier) and others learned from those who had been participants. A group of the early training pioneers developed what was reported as the "Madzinga" program of intercultural tolerance and understanding through experiential learning and outdoor education (Williamson and Taylor 2005). The detailed account of this training course (Williamson and Taylor 2005) leaves few stones unturned as it reports the meticulous planning entailed and the way the long-term training course was experienced by participants, trainers, and the researcher himself.

Arguably of greatest importance for this chapter is to communicate the sophistication of the learning objectives at stake and at play. It is perhaps often assumed that tasks are set, groups engage, and experiences are reflected upon. Yet Madzinga reveals the intensity and diversity of the education and learning taking place, which was not just "non-formal". The threads of the course incorporated five strands: theories and concepts, personal development, professional skills (methods and activities), project development, and intercultural learning (see Williamson and Taylor 2005, 18). Though conducted almost entirely outdoors, there were significant elements that comprised traditional didactic education as well as, as one might have anticipated, large chunks of the day that required active learning.

Though the skeleton program had been shaped in advance, revisions were made to content, balance, and process each day, as the six trainers themselves reflected each evening on how each participant and the 30 participants in general had responded to expectations during the day. This fine tuning often went on well into the night, as thought was given to how to engage particular individuals more creatively and constructively. It was rarely possible to predict how much time would be required to "exhaust" particular elements of the program, whether "lectures" from a trainer followed by questions and discussions, group tasks followed by individual and collective reflections, or individual exercises that were then shared with the rest of the group. The layers and levels of learning were complex; their depth of penetration in the minds of each participant was revealed to some extent when they themselves had to apply that learning on a training day for youth workers from the local community.

A Case Study of Higher Education and Learning Beyond the Lecture Theatre

As the first decade of the millennium drew to a close, the infrastructure planning for a master's degree in European Youth Studies had also almost been completed, though a detailed curriculum still had to be written. The MA-EYS had initially been mooted at the close of the ATTE course in 2003, with the aspiration of both bringing together the "magic triangle" (Zentner 2016) and melding classical higher education study with best practice in non-formal education and learning, as well as training. Planning for, presentation of, and securing resources for a pilot program was many years in the making: the eventual framework included 11 universities dotted across Europe, more "satellite" universities as partial partners, and the Youth Partnership, with significant funding from the European Commission and both material and pedagogical support from the Council of Europe (planning meetings were held at the European Youth Centre in Strasbourg, and the mid-course residential was held at the European Youth Centre in Budapest).

The vision was strikingly ambitious, with "architecture" that included theoretical, practical, and policy modules, a curriculum that combined students and resources in myriad ways and required multiple forms of engagement as both individuals and in groups, and modes of assessment that ranged from self-evaluation and reflection through different media to an extended project essay that was part fieldwork study and part academic thesis. The final portfolio of participants' work was "examined" by members of the core course team. There was the idea of a transnational semester where participants would follow two relevant modules at another university and immerse themselves in a side of the triangle that was not their previous experience; policy-makers would do youth work or research; researchers would shadow the civil service or support the implementation of a youth project; practitioners would get a taste of policy-making or turn their hand at research. The participants were carefully selected from across Europe for their diversity of knowledge and experience (and prior qualifications), although critically there were equal numbers from each corner of the triangle. In all, 30 people took part – a critical number that allowed for multiple combinations: 3×10, 10×3, 5×6, 6×5, 15×2, 2×15. One of three areas of inquiry was explored by groups from each corner of the triangle: education and employment; housing and welfare; leisure and culture. However, although this was the primary thread of their learning journey, many other activities in the course were grouped in different ways, ensuring that each participant engaged in a variety of ways with all other participants on the course.

It was an immensely complex exercise that demanded intricate curriculum planning, with careful instructions for each time phase – attention to task, collaboration, and assessment. "Students" (co-learners) worked together, virtually, in different combinations for six weeks, before converging physically for a week of site visits, lectures, and discussion. They then had to work alone to draw together their learning into a composite portfolio.

It was a pilot course, and only the most innovative dimensions of the course were tested. Yet it was immensely pioneering, pushing at the boundaries of both

established practice (and expectations) in universities, local and national government, and training and practice programs used in work with young people. Regrettably, it failed to take root, despite its stellar rating by external assessors for the Erasmus Mundus funding program. Bureaucratic intransigence by some of Europe's higher education institutions, coupled with the financial crash and a greater risk aversity to investment experimentation, saw to that.

Reflection

Given that reflection is an essential and integral element in the cycle of non-formal education and learning (see Kolb 1984), it seems appropriate to bring this chapter to a close with some reflections on how this approach to learning and thinking has increasingly made its mark on young, and now older, Europeans.

First, it should be acknowledged and accepted that perhaps the time was right. Though development was extremely patchy, and some regimes (public authorities and educational institutions) were stubbornly sticking to their old pedagogies, there were at least pockets of interest in more self-directed and collaborative learning, both within formal education and in the community.

Whether or not the ground is ripe for sowing new seeds still requires those seeds to be sown (see also Palayret, this volume). Within the Council of Europe itself, and within its orbit, there was – second – a small group of individuals, both '68-ers whose world view was shaped by "les évènements" of 1968, and '89-ers whose world view was shaped by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the apparent collapse of Communism (see Fukuyama 1992), who were willing to put conventional career paths on hold in order to pursue a "dream of Europe", even if that dream may now be under threat (see Mak 2021). They came from all corners of the so-called magic triangle of research, policy, and practice in the youth sector, as well as from all parts of Europe[3] and, slowly over five decades, built a body of knowledge and understanding, methodology, and credibility that, hitherto, had not existed.

Third, at least some of those (quite a few) who participated in what might be called the "first generation" of European-level provision in the youth sector – the research networks, the training courses, the expert groups, the symposia – went on to occupy more senior and influential positions across a range of spheres, both within and beyond the youth sector. They took with them a set of ideas and values about what counted as learning and how it might be done. They advanced more hybrid forms of education and learning through research collaboration, policy dialogue, and strategic partnerships. In short, they have promoted interdisciplinarity and comparative engagement throughout the youth sector, on some of the burning (and learning) overarching issues facing democracy and belonging in Europe: participation, information, volunteering, digitalization, social inclusion, access to rights, youth work, and mobility (see Basarab and Williamson 2021).

Some of this work is now firmly established, such as the human rights education program developed by the Council of Europe and anchored with the much-lauded resource *Compass*, which has now been translated into over 30 languages and "has

played an essential role in shaping rights-based approaches to youth policy and youth work" (see Brander *et al*. 2002, 2023).

Other work has been more of a slow burner, such as the gradual advocacy and recognition of "youth work", culminating in a formal resolution by the Council of the EU, in 2020, to support a European Youth Work Agenda,[4] an idea first mooted in the Council of Europe's 2017 *Recommendation on Youth Work*[5] but systematically promoted over the previous decade through both a long-term study of the history of youth work in Europe (Coussée *et al*. 2009) and (at the time) two European Youth Work Conventions. The first, under the auspices of the EU, celebrated the diversity of youth work in Europe.[6] The second, under the auspices of the Council of Europe, confirmed the common ground of youth work, that, in all its forms, it was concerned both with securing and supporting *space* for young people's voice and autonomy, and with supporting young people's positive and purposeful transitions to the next steps and stages in their lives.[7] The third European Youth Work Convention, held virtually in 2020, put some flesh on the bones of the Bonn Process, as the European Youth Work Agenda has been named, for development and implementation by member states. The final declaration was called *Signposts for the Future*.[8]

There are many more examples of such European-level transnational initiatives that have created far greater flexibility and fluidity in approaches to education and learning, across spheres way beyond traditional schooling curricula and classroom methodologies. Learning mobility (Kristensen 2019) and intercultural dialogue have been the watchwords behind much of this work, with participants from all corners of Europe exchanging views, experience, and knowledge from their cultural contexts in order to build best, or better, practice through learning from others. This has never been about constructing a European blueprint or prescription for action at national or local levels, but rather a recognition that everyone has a unique story to tell, and that "Europe" will be developed positively through hearing them. In that respect, the philosophy is little more than an amplification of a small training course, in which all voices matter and everyone has an equal contribution to make. Those courses are, in effect, symbolic representations of a particular democratic and rights-based vision and version of Europe, with the hope that the participants will be its ambassadors in the future.

Conclusion

This chapter was first drafted not long after the expression of a shared commitment between the European Commission and the Council of Europe, in December 2020, to advance a "European youth work agenda". *Signposts for the Future*, the Final Declaration of the 3rd European Youth Work Convention, highlighted eight trajectories that might strengthen a common vision for youth work throughout Europe, despite some very different histories (see Verschelden *et al.* 2009).

The youth sector of the Council of Europe, and its broad educational mission, has been guided by a Youth Department that celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2022. Over half a century, it has both cemented some sustaining structures and

advocated evolution and flexibility, as the wider world has changed and new issues and challenges have arisen. It has necessarily adapted its working methods and focal concerns, and adopted new partnerships and programs, as it has taken note of the social, cultural, economic, and political developments affecting young people throughout Europe.

The formal education systems of Europe have often been stubbornly defended by national authorities behind principles of subsidiarity, and of course for many other reasons, despite EU aspirations to establish a common European Education Area by 2025 within which "learning, studying, and doing research would not be hampered by borders" (see European Education and Culture Executive Agency, Eurydice 2018). There has been a great deal of rhetoric about the multi-dimensional and transnational characteristics of modern Europe in support of such a vision, yet it is apparent that reverse trends are often also at play.

In contrast, the non-formal education and learning policy and practice developed and implemented by the Council of Europe Youth Directorate (latterly Department) has moved quietly forward. This chapter has drawn brief and different examples of the nature of that progress: The Council of Europe international reviews of national youth policies, the early training courses for European-level youth work trainers, the *Madzinga* intercultural learning course through outdoor education, and the pilot course for the Master's in European Youth Studies. In different ways, all invoked innovative methodologies and hybrid "curricula" to pursue their multiple objectives. These were invariably framed within making the familiar strange and applying a "stranger's eye" to routine practice, both bringing personal experiences to the European table and taking from that European table ideas and practices considered worth experimenting with "back home". And, through that process, and its recording in reports, books, and training manuals for wider dissemination and use, a European compendium of excellence in the field of non-formal education and learning has been compiled, drawing theoretical and empirical material from Portugal to Finland, and from Iceland to Azerbaijan (Basarab and Williamson 2021). Though not without its challenges, there has therefore been a remarkable and indeed sometimes transformational evolution of non-formal education and learning that has traversed and transcended the borders and boundaries of Europe's member states.

Notes

1 See www.youtube.com/watch?v=fUT2KqlMAGA. I was asked to produce this short video – Non-Formal Education and Learning – at the request of World Scouting, for the 1st World Non-Formal Education Conference, held in Brazil in December 2019.

2 Lauritzen argued that the task the younger generation has set itself is to turn the citizens of the Common Market (the European Economic Community) into committed Europeans. He illustrated his perspective on European integration through the image and idea that six eggs forming an omelet in a pan can no longer be separated.

3 I have in mind, here, for example, the late Peter Lauritzen in a pivotal and coordinating role, the late Ola Stafseng (Professor of Education at the University of Oslo), the late Lynne Chisholm (who, inter alia, worked at the European Commission and became Professor of Educational Sciences at the University of Innsbruck), Henrick Otten (Germany), Hans-Joachim Schild

(first Head of the Youth Partnership), Jan Vanhee (Flemish Government), Miriam Teuma (Maltese Youth Agency), Yael Ohana (educational adviser), Mark Taylor (trainer), Siyka Kovacheva (University of Plovdiv, Bulgaria), Helena Helve (University of Helsinki), Andreas Karsten (youthpolicy.org), Antje Rothemund (now Head of the Youth Department of the Council of Europe), Marta Medlinska (ATTE participant, and Youth Partnership), Paul Kloosterman (trainer). I could name more, and these names are simply illustrative.

4 "Resolutions of the Council of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States Meeting Within the Council on the Framework for Establishing a European Youth Work Agenda". *Official Journal of the European Union*, C 415/1, 01.12.2022. Accessed online 19.09.2023: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=uris erv:OJ.C_.2020.415.01.0001.01.ENG.

5 Recommendation CM/Rec(2017)4 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on youth work, adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 31 May 2017 at the 1287th meeting of Ministers' Deputies, 31.05.2017. https://rm.coe.int/1680717e78.

6 Declaration of the 1st European Youth Work Convention. Ghent, Belgium, 07–10.07.2010. Accessed online 19.09.2023: https://pjp-eu.coe.int/documents/42128013/47262202/Decl aration/2f264232-7324-41e4-8bb6-404c75ee5b62

7 Declaration of the 2nd European Youth Work Convention, Making a World of Difference. Brussels, 27–30.04.2015. Accessed online 19.09.2023: https://pjp-eu.coe.int/documents/ 42128013/47262187/The+2nd+European+Youth+Work+Declaration_FINAL.pdf/cc602 b1d-6efc-46d9-80ec-5ca57c35eb85.

8 Accessed online 19.09.2023: https://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/recognit ion-resources/-/asset_publisher/llpkrN7I27by/content/-2020-3rd-european-youth-work-convention-final-declaration

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9 The European Centre for Higher Education

The Receptacle of a Will for a Pan-European Higher Education?

Stéphane Cuvelier

Introduction

"As a European center, its works will fit into the context of cooperation – limited in geographical extent but of great political significance – which we hope to see developing more and more among the states of Europe".[1] Those words were used by the chief executive of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), René Maheu, in his inaugural speech, to describe one of the motives for the creation of a "European center for higher education" (CEPES).[2] Inaugurated on 21 September 1972, the CEPES was located in Bucharest.

The "geographical extent" that Maheu described as limiting is specific to the intergovernmental organization and set up by Resolution 5.61 of the thirteenth session of UNESCO's General Conference (1964)[3] (Goy 1974), which gathered together 30 states. Nine of them were members of the Warsaw Pact,[4] 12 were members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization,[5] and 6 others had neutral status.[6] To these states were added the non-aligned Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Spain – then close to the United States – and the principality of Monaco. As a consequence of the Wallerstein Doctrine, The German Democratic Republic was not recognized as a state and therefore could not be a member. Furthermore, Salazar's Portugal was excluded in 1972, following the request of African states and in response to the colonial policy that it carried out. Similar to the formula employed by President Charles de Gaulle in 1959, according to which Europe spread "from the Atlantic to the Urals", in 1964, the Europe region ended in Vladivostok. Therefore, the expression "geographical extent", and thus the UNESCO Europe region, leads us to qualify our study space as "pan-European", understood as covering the entire continent and going beyond the ideological opposition caused by the bipolar competition that was the Cold War.

Within this space, especially in cultural policy, under the aegis of UNESCO, a process of Europeanization was gradually carried out, bringing together countries as much in the West as to the East of the Iron Curtain. From 1956 onwards a meeting of the national commissions of the member states was held, alternately, in a city of socialist Europe or in a city of one of the liberal democracies.[7] Furthermore, one year after the foundation of a European Coordination Centre for Social Science Research and Documentation in Vienna (Kott 2021, 60), the

organization opened an International Planning Institute in Paris in 1963. This was the outcome of discussions begun the previous year between governmental representatives, including those of the Soviet Union and France.[8]

At the end of the 1960s, some states were especially active in this rapprochement of a bilateral nature. Two major examples are Charles de Gaulle's journeys – to the Soviet Union in 1966, to Poland in 1967, and to Romania the following year, responding to an invitation from Nicolae Ceaușescu – and the policy of opening up to the Western states, led by Bucharest in this epoch. At this time, Romania and France pursued an original foreign policy, which sought to move away from the orbit of one of the two superpowers – Moscow and Washington – without becoming completely independent. The former expressed its desire for autonomy, both in terms of internal and external policy, when the then leader, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, set out the so-called declaration of April 1964. For the latter, 1966 and its withdrawal from the integrated command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization constituted the culmination of a series of decisions taken during the terms of office of Charles de Gaulle, illustrating a French desire to distance itself as much as possible from its American ally. Finally, on the global scale, the rapprochement was also observable. Indeed, eight European countries,[9] during the twentieth conference of the United Nations Organization in 1965,[10] agreed on adopting a resolution on Europe, which called for good neighborly relations between all European nations.

Throughout Europe, actions in education cooperation were carried out. Within the European Community (Paoli and Ruppen Coutaz 2020), the European Cultural Convention must be mentioned. Signed in 1954, it originally gathered together several member states of the Council of Europe. November 1959[11] marked the first conference of the European Ministers of Education.[12] In 1968, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development created the "Centre for the Research and Innovation of Education"[13] (Laderriere 1980). Similarly, in June 1972, European socialist states set up the foundations of a higher education community through the signature of the Prague Convention (Jablonska-Skinder and Frost-Smith 1987). However, it was not managed by an intergovernmental organization as such.[14] Thus, during the Cold War, policies of cooperation on a European scale – but confined to the blocs – came into being.

This article asks to what extent the CEPES, as a branch of UNESCO in the Europe region, constituted the laboratory of a pan-Europeanization of higher education, in a context of rapprochement between the states of both "blocs". To answer this question, we will begin by analyzing two major meetings around higher education that emerged from the end of the 1960s among the member states of the Europe region, under the aegis of UNESCO, and then we will examine the influence that France and Socialist Romania could have had on UNESCO. A second part will question the debates that UNESCO initiated with the main European actors of higher education concerning the creation of its European Centre project. This will lead us to a third part, which will look at the first years of CEPES and will try to highlight the notion of trying to create a pan-European network of higher education. Our research is similar to those studies conducted by Barrows on the same subject (1992, 2017), but it differs from them in the sources it mobilizes.

More globally, it is part of a historiography of the Cold War, which, by highlighting the process of bi- or multilateral rapprochement initiated by the European capitals, opens the Iron Curtain (Romano 2021; Mikkonen and Koivunen 2015). From its sources, from the archives of UNESCO, but also from those of the French authorities and those of socialist Romania, this study offers an unprecedented confrontation and connection of viewpoints between these three actors.

Provoking the Debate: A Pan-European Dialogue Despite Political Vicissitudes (1967–1973)

At the fourteenth session of the General Conference of UNESCO (1966), the idea of preparing a meeting about higher education was put forward by the delegates of member states. Resolution 1.11 authorized the executive chief to "organize in Europe a regional conference on problems related to higher education".[15] This formulation was concretized in April 1967, with the announcement of a conference of ministers of the European member states on access to higher education for the end of November. The meeting, which for the first time since 1945 would gather the ministerial representatives of a divided Europe, was preceded by a session of European experts charged with preparing it. Chaired by the Romanian Vice-Minister of Education and former professor, Jean Livescu, it was composed of ten members,[16] each of them representing a state of the European region. Prior to the meeting, the invited delegations submitted a collection of descriptive and statistical data[17] regarding access to higher education. The notion of higher education was described as the whole of:

> Types of education (academic, professional, technical, pedagogical, etc.) which are dispensed in institutions such as universities, university colleges, colleges of "liberal arts", technological institutes and normal school – where the habitual age of admission is around eighteen and whom the teaching allows to get a diploma well defined (grade, degree, or higher education diploma).[18]

Gathered from 25 to 27 November 1967 in Vienna, 28[19] member states were represented. During these two days, two groups were formed. While the first focused on a somewhat sociological approach to access higher education, the second concentrated on the correlation between higher education and society. Within these groups, the Western European delegations dialogued with their counterparts from the East, as well as those from the neutral states, which allowed for the emergence of a duality between educational systems from each part of Europe. One of the topics discussed at the conference was the continued increase in the number of new students throughout all of the member states. Each chancellery sought to pursue a planning education policy. A dichotomy appeared around how each state dealt with it. Some perceived education planning as a restrictive setting, since it put quotas of pupils and students in the remit of a general development plan, in contrast to those who used it as a prospective goal. The wish to multiply student exchanges was also expressed. In order to do this, member states highlighted the importance

of a system of equivalences of diplomas at the end of secondary education and the mutual recognition of academic education certificates. The discussions as a whole reflected the desire for a pan-European dialogue about the subject of higher education. The first was to set up a European standard norm to collect "data specific to higher education". The second was to unify the data into a documentation system. The last one was the wish to adopt a system of cooperation, working on the European scale, the purpose of which would be to "allow comparative studies and to coordinate research".[20] Using a wish carried by 17 delegations,[21] the Vienna Conference encouraged member states to promote activities intended to develop European cooperation in the domain of education, particularly higher education, as well as to promote the "exchange of experience data concerning the development of higher education".[22] UNESCO was asked to:

> Carry out, in close collaboration with the European member states […] methodological studies and to make recommendations on the collection of internationally comparable data and the standardization of education statistics, terminology, and definitions in matters concerning access to higher education.[23]

At the end of that meeting, delegations recommended the organization of another conference of the European universities' rectors. Romania offered to host it for the year 1969.

Invited by the director-general to lunch at UNESCO headquarters, in June 1969,[24] Edgar Faure[25] had the opportunity to hear his interlocutor return to two suggestions he had made a month earlier, on 20 May 1969, during the Conference of European Ministers of Education[26] (on this issue, see Chapter 5, of this book, by Jean-Marie Palayret). During his opening speech at the conference, Edgar Faure, then French minister of education, proposed to his counterparts to "[c]reate facilities of circulation […] by facilitating [the] teachers and [the] students to circulate, to go to make years of studies or teaching in the various European nations", while advancing his wish that "a student can soon obtain a diploma after having spent a year of studies in one country or in another…".[27] The audience's attention was then drawn to "the creation of a 'European information bank', a European body to which researchers, teachers, and students from all countries could have access". This "organization […] would be a European Office of Education".[28] The missions that Edgar Faure assigned to it at the time can be summarized as follows: (1) the development of information relating to pedagogy, its science and techniques, and their mutual dissemination; (2) the elaboration of a European teacher status; (3) to reflect on the student's university curriculum; (4) to decide, for the whole of Europe, on teaching programs and the educational system. At the end of his speech, the Frenchman returned to another wish he had presented on 16 October 1968. He had stated that he wanted "to arrive at a kind of European university federation, with a wide opening to countries other than those of the Common Market".[29]

These proposals were taken up again by Maheu, on 27 June, in front of Jean Fernand-Laurent, representative of France to UNESCO.[30] René Maheu conveyed his interest in Faure's proposals to Fernand-Laurent,[31] and insisted on his desire to

see them included in the future UNESCO program. A major obstacle, however, was that these proposals had not been included in a document such as the "Suggestions of France for the program and budget of UNESCO for 1970–1971". In the end, it was Maheu himself who suggested that an addendum to the proposals was the way to make Faure's two recommendations official.[32]

At the same time, the soon to be CEPES project was also actively supported by Romania, a UNESCO member since 1956 and represented for a little over a decade by the same delegate: Valentin Lipatti (on this issue, see:Bădescu, Corbu, and Lipatti, 2016, 27—41) A professor by training and a specialist in literature, he mainly made his career representing Romania in international bodies. Having been the secretariat's director of the National Commission of the Romanian People's Republic for UNESCO[33] at least since 1958, he became a member of the Romanian national commission's Executive Council from 1962 to 1968 (Maliţa 2002, 17), while also serving as permanent ambassador from November 1964[34] to October 1971.[35] In 1971, during the study session related to the modalities of the future center's setting up, in front of academics from 17 countries,[36] he would argue for the center to be established in Bucharest, as desired by his government[37](Barrows 2017, .75).

During the Lipatti period, the country ran numerous meetings related to Europe, both regional and global. In 1962, the Romanian commission "considered that one of the priorities that shaped its activity could now be that of regional activities".[38] Thus, in five years, at its instigation, a meeting of Balkan studies was held (July 1962), followed by the creation of the international association of Southern-Eastern European studies (1963), and the inter-regional conference of Istanbul (1967), which gathered together national commissions of the Balkan region and those of Scandinavia. Supporting the cooperation inside the Europe region was thus one of the aspects of the activity led by the Romania Commission at UNESCO and coordinated by the foreign ministry.[39]

Having tended to favor the action of small countries of Europe and having given "high priority to the establishment of a climate of peace, security, and cooperation in Europe",[40] Romanian policy had been praised by René Maheu during the meeting he had with Nicolae Ceauşescu in June 1968. The Frenchman remarked that following the Vienna Conference, the "[development of the cooperation in Europe] [was] in a great measure due to the Romanian delegation which [was] in the avant-garde".[41] He then expressed his belief "that the Romanian delegation [could] be considered as a pilot delegation at UNESCO because it promoted three strong ideas, [the first among which] was European cooperation".[42]

Three years after the Vienna Conference, a new meeting, which Romania had offered to host, took place. Whereas in the Austrian capital the meeting had been attended by ministers of education, this time, in Bucharest, it was actors somewhat closer to the subject that UNESCO invited: the rectors of universities and other institutions of higher education. The first to gather rectors of both "blocs", this conference was organized by the University of Bucharest between 22 and 26 April 1970.[43] Among the 50 invited universities, 32 were part of the Western bloc and 18 were from the Eastern bloc.[44] Forty-three of them[45] were present, which shows

the interest European universities had in this project. The Romanian hosts and the Romanian UNESCO secretariat offered to explore the possibility of expanding the cooperation between European universities.[46] For this purpose, a working document focusing on the relation between universities and cooperation in the Europe region[47] had been prepared. At the end of the conference, the delegations unanimously highlighted the "pressing necessity of a closer and more systematic cooperation between the European universities".[48] This wish had two aims. The first fitted into the context of *Détente*, while the second responded to the ambitions to create a Europe of higher education. They were expressed as follows:

1) promoting the idea of comprehension and harmony between peoples, in order to contribute to their security and to peace;
2) to increase the efficacy of research and higher education by exchanges of data […], common research programs between two or several universities, sharing the costs of expensive scientific equipment, as well as student exchanges (doctoral students, doctorate, intern assistants, etc.), professors, and specialists.[49]

Thus, in a climate of *Détente*, René Maheu's UNESCO succeeded in bringing together representatives of governments on both sides of the Berlin Wall and in drawing them towards the subject of higher education, making it a pan-European theme. This project was particularly promoted by both Paris and Bucharest, and we will see later that it led to debates between the countries concerned, marked by vicissitudes.

The Debates Surrounding the Creation of CEPES

On 15 March 1971, UNESCO sent an information note[50] to different actors, such as European national commissions, European regional organizations, other non-governmental ones, some specialized United Nations' agencies, and universities. Through the national commissions, it was distributed to local universities.[51] This document was a synthesis of the discussions that took place between UNESCO's General Secretariat and higher education experts. The primary objective stated was to "contribute to the quantitative and qualitative development of higher education […] by promoting the exchange of experiences, stimulating innovation, organizing or strengthening contacts […] between institutions in different countries". To this end, an important part of the center's program had to be the collection, analysis, and dissemination of documentation related to higher education. This documentation had to be made accessible, preserved within a library, and disseminated through periodic newsletters or by holding seminars or expert meetings. The note also foresaw the possibility for the future center to offer contracts and grants. It was planned that the center would work on a series of nine themes, ranging from the administration of higher education institutions to the sociological study of the university, the relationship between teaching and research, institutional planning and national planning, teaching methods, techniques, etc.

In these projections there was a second part: a series of questions for the recipients. These reflect a certain prudence that recognized higher education as an object of national sovereignty. The first point questioned the willingness of the UNESCO Secretariat to ensure that the center would not only deal with universities but with the entirety of higher education. Another was the area in which the center could collect and disseminate its information. The secretariat asked whether the center could go beyond the subject of pedagogy. Finally, the note raised the possibility of giving the center the role of coordinator of educational content, such as curriculum development and textbooks. When reading their answers, divergences about the usefulness of the project and its roles appeared between the actors on both sides of Europe. While the CEPES project aroused some optimism on the part of Eastern European representatives, their Western counterparts were somewhat cautious. One example is the French national commission.[52] Although they were in accordance with the project of creating the center, its representatives seemed to confer on it a somewhat limited significance. They drew UNESCO's attention to the fact that it should focus on fields such as promotion of studies and research as much as academic cooperation.[53] For them, its activities and studies should not be universal, on the European scale, but rather must take into account the particularities of each state's members.[54] While Geneva University considered the project suitable,[55] the University of Lausanne did not deem the creation of the center urgent.[56] A similar view was expressed by the experts of the Luxembourg Ministry of Education.[57] The education committee of the British national commission was extremely skeptical.[58] Its representatives reiterated the same doubts expressed a year earlier.[59] Their lack of certitude was based on the fact that the project would have simply reproduced what other institutions had already done.[60] Moreover, for the Swiss University of Basel,[61] an instrumentalization of the center by politics was seen as a possible risk. Thus, some Western European states showed limited enthusiasm about the future CEPES.

In contrast, the socialist countries approved of it, especially those conducting a policy of autonomy vis-à-vis Moscow. Socialist Hungary had accepted the creation of the center during the Vienna Conference,[62] and the Romanians were delighted to see the project as a means "to set up […] inter-university or individual rapports". They considered the "promotion, of inter-university mobility, of student exchanges, of professors and researchers […] are at least important to collect and transmit data".[63]

Beyond the intra-European divergences, it should be noted that the American delegation intended to delay this pan-European initiative. This intention manifested itself during the sixteenth UNESCO General Conference in November 1970. As Yves Brunsvick, Secretary General of the Commission of the French Republic at UNESCO, recalled, the United States repeated here "the efforts made to delay" the Vienna Conference of 1967.[64] This attitude that Washington decided to adopt at UNESCO in 1967 could be correlated with the deterioration of relations between the US administration and the Europe of Six (Guay 2012, 37), related to the refusal to grant membership to the United Kingdom. Indeed, in 1967, the United Kingdom – a close partner of the United States– applied for membership for the

second time, and Charles de Gaulle's France responded unfavorably. The French president made his choice public, during a conference broadcast on television on the last day of the Vienna Conference. This refusal probably caused Washington to delay the Vienna meeting and therefore to slow down the CEPES project, which was supported by France.

During the same general conference, through the voice of its delegate, Ternov, the vice-rector of Moscow University, the Soviet Union submitted that its authorities could make Moscow a host city.[65] Three months later, during the meeting of the Council of the International Association of Universities (UNESCO headquarters, Paris, 22–24 February 1971), his proposal was reiterated.[66] On the other side, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, and the United Kingdom objected to the center being established anywhere but in the Paris headquarters. This could illustrate a manifestation of anti-communism, which, Barrows notes, was within UNESCO[67] (Barrows 2017, 77). Austria expressed its willingness to host the center in its capital (Barrows 2017, 74).[68] It would have been the second UNESCO center located in Vienna, joining the European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences (Kott 2021, 60). As early as November 1970,[69] socialist Romania also expressed its intention to see CEPES located in its capital, in Bucharest University.[70] This proposal can be seen as a new manifestation of Romania's desire to promote its policy of understanding at the European level. UNESCO chose Bucharest as the host city. For France and for socialist Romania, CEPES was a calculated interest. For the former, it could have been a way to strengthen the position of French as a language of communication and diffusion in Europe, ahead of English[71] (Barrows, 2017, 71). For the latter, it was a tool to legitimize its status as an active player on the European scene and conduct a foreign policy that was turned away as much as possible from that of the Kremlin. This was all the more so since, from the mid-1960s, Romania led a policy of openness towards the liberal democracies, before its authorities pursued a voluntary policy regarding the process of cooperation and security at the European level (Filip and Stanescu 1998, Stanciu 2021).

The First Years of Operation at CEPES: Navigating a Strong Spirit of Initiative and Constraints

Six years after Vienna, in the wake of a meeting organized by UNESCO in June 1972 (Kott 2021, 104), and in addition to the opening of a conference on security and cooperation in Europe in Helsinki, a second conference of education ministers of European member states was held in Bucharest in November 1973. In preparation, a meeting had been held at UNESCO headquarters, on 5 September 1973. On this occasion, a working document aiming to serve as a basis for studying some of the points included in the provisional agenda was edited.[72] Besides themes such as the mobility of students and professors and the exchange of data and experiences about what was being carried out elsewhere in Europe, the idea of a certain European community of education arose. Indeed, it was suggested that

international cooperation in Europe [could] offer the means to avoid costly double utilization, to concentrate education and research resources […], for the benefit of a larger group of states, and finally to tend towards a certain complementarity of higher education institutions, allowing the optimal use of resources available to European scale or to all European countries.[73]

The Bucharest meeting was the scene where political differences, and especially some statements concerning Eastern Europe, were voiced. René Maheu was the first to express one. His speech given in front of ministerial delegations did not hide his position regarding the shortage of liberty in that region.[74] Thus, the meeting turned into a political scene, in which the internal policies of the East European chancelleries were criticized. For the third time, after 1967 and 1970, the desire of the United States to interfere in this pan-European project brought the Europeans to a new discussion, and it was through the voice of the Belgian delegate, van Ussel, that it was started. He proposed that Canada, but especially his US counterparts, until then both observers, should obtain the status of members of the Europe region in the same way as the other European countries.[75] This position provoked a profound reaction from the French delegation, which was in favor of encouraging the strict respect of the geographical division of the Europe region.[76]

In the presence of the delegations, René Maheu conceptualized an office intrinsically associated with CEPES, whose missions would have been to organize means of cooperation.[77] It would have been an office of European multilateral cooperation.[78] However, that body, which could have been seen as supranational, did not find an echo from either Western or Eastern European members. Faced with rejection, he submitted a profoundly different and formally expressed project: a biennial meeting of the delegations of the member states. Although many Eastern countries, and some of the Western ones, did not reject it, this project caused reluctance from some delegations, such as that of Great Britain[79] and that of certain members of the Europe of Nine, as the Secretary of State for National Education and one of the members of the French delegation, Jacques Limouzy, observed.[80] In addition to having his proposal rejected, Maheu lost no opportunity to express his views on how cooperation could be achieved among the member countries.[81] In this regard, the chief executive sought the support of the French delegation and insisted that his project would not override the views of the member states.[82] The fact that some countries adopted this attitude can be interpreted as an expression of not taking away the national character of education policy.

The budget allocated to CEPES by UNESCO was biennial. For the period 1973–1974, it was \$337,919; for 1975–1976: \$470,000; and for 1977–1978: \$493,500.[83] Personnel costs represented at least one-third of the budget for the period 1973–1974, and a little more than half for the two following periods. This endowment seemed limited and caused the center to be unable to carry out the activities entrusted to it. Cooperation with other organizations was considered as a way to obtain "extra-budgetary sources",[84] as CEPES Director Thomas Keller noted. For example, a project in collaboration with the Council of Europe and the Volkswagen Foundation was planned.[85] This issue of funding for the center seemed to persist

thereafter, as almost ten years later a resolution, adopted at the UNESCO General Conference in Sofia (1986), invited all member states, "to support financially […] the meetings and other activities organized by CEPES…".[86]

Headed by a director and his assistant, originally from two distinct European countries, the CEPES headquarters housed six international employees,[87] paid by UNESCO, and others recruited locally by the Romanian government. In 1977, this team had 23 employees.[88] Appointed by the director-general in November 1972,[89] the first director of CEPES was the former head of the Swedish Ministry of Higher Education, Erik Manfred Ribbing. Under his leadership, assisted by his deputy, the Romanian D. Vaidu, the first year of CEPES appeared to UNESCO to have some difficulties.[90] This led the organization to send observers on at least three occasions, between March and October 1973. While the first visit (16–18 March 1973) concluded in a rather reassuring manner – UNESCO's envoy to Bucharest, J. Hermann, noted a "lack of practice in working procedures…",[91] the next one (June 7–8) pointed out shortcomings in the administrative and financial management and proposed that an "expert" be delegated, in order to avoid unpleasant problems.[92] The last mission took place in October 1973. Its report was more alarmist. L. S. Atanassian, its author, noted a lack of coordination, particularly between the director of CEPES and its vice-director, as well as a need to standardize[93] the relationship between the two officers themselves or between the director and other members of CEPES. The note was concluded by calling Ribbing a "weak administrator" who "needs a lot of help".[94] In the face of these difficulties, which did not seem to be unknown to the member states, the French delegation commented on the planned visit of Ribbing to Paris in June 1974, announcing a visit whose purpose was to make CEPES known to the universities, if not "its existence",[95] and the need to make the center's activities dynamic; this was prescribed successively during three meetings. Finally, the French Louis Zieglé succeeded Ribbing on 26 August 1974.[96] When he took office, the documentation available was not sufficient, in terms of the missions and level of expertise, for the center's staff to be able to ensure the study of higher education data.[97] Despite these beginnings, the official confidence of socialist Romania in the activities of CEPES seemed not to have waned.

The second session of the Consultative Committee of CEPES (Bucharest, 9–11 December 1974) was marked by the observation by some participants that the center had a slow beginning, lacked initiative, and had few results.[98] During a following colloquium attended by 21 higher education officials from the Ministries of Education (28–30 May 1975, CEPES headquarters),[99] the fields of activity of the center were specified and its tasks properly defined. At the third session of the Advisory Committee (December 1975), the programs were restructured into four areas:[100] (1) documentation, (2) information, (3) liaison, and (4) "exchanges on specific topics". Requested during the second session of the Advisory Committee (9–11 December 1974),[101] a colloquium organized by CEPES, from 28 to 30 May 1975,[102] gathered the heads of higher education of the ministries of national education. On this occasion the decision was taken to constitute a body of liaison officers. As the link between the center and the higher education institutions

they represented,[103] nominated by their own governmental authorities[104] but not remunerated by them,[105] the liaison officers were expected to transmit to the center their country's own data on higher education. These could be political (adoption of new legislation, declarations of government policy, and press releases) as well as technical (statistical reports and main innovations).[106] In May 1976, their first meeting took place in Bucharest. The quality of the work of these experts who, simultaneously, exercised their own professional activity,[107] seemed to vary from state to state.[108] Some of them did not appear to get full access to the materials requested by the CEPES for publication.[109] Their lack of efficiency was raised as early as during their second meeting in 1978, and regularly mentioned in the following ones.[110] They were also invited to contribute to the pan-European bulletin, "Higher Education in Europe". Once again, however, only "a minority"[111] participated. At least until their fifth meeting in 1984, the liaison officers did not meet CEPES' expectations,[112] in particular those calling for more active collaboration.[113]

Finally, an advisory committee was formed so that the director-general of UNESCO would be informed of the plans and activities prepared by CEPES.[114] Eighteen in number, the members, experts in higher education, after having been proposed by their national delegation to UNESCO, were selected by the chief executive based on geographical equity, which considered the states of origin. Each member sat there for a length of four years[115] and had the right to vote.[116] The first meeting of the advisory committee took place in 1974.

Strongly recommended during the second session of the CEPES Advisory Committee (9–11 December 1974),[117] the publication of a bulletin information newsletter on higher education in Europe was carried out the following year.[118] In this first experimental issue, there was a presentation of what was being done in the field of continuing education in Eastern Europe, another on the equivalence of diplomas in the countries of the European Community, as well as notes on higher education in seven countries (Federal Republic of Germany, Canada, Spain, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and the United States). It was in January 1976 that the first issue of the CEPES quarterly newsletter was published, under the name "Higher Education in Europe" (Barrows 2017, 84). This diffusion tool was addressed to the national bodies in charge of higher education as much as to universities themselves, and was written in the three languages used in the center: English, French, and Russian. Initially structured in four parts[119] – data on the policy of higher education, activities of CEPES, a calendar of events, and a bibliography – the bulletin consisted of extracts from other materials and articles written by higher education experts (professors, rectors). The elements were sent by each of the liaison officers to the center, but this collection of data seemed too inefficient, from the first year of the bulletin's elaboration.[120] For the first year, it was forecast to issue 4,000 exemplars, comprised of 2,500 in the first language, 1,000 in the second, and 500 in the third.[121] Sent for free until January 1986,[122] the bulletin appeared in the mid-1980s to find an echo in its institutional objectives[123] beyond Europe, in nearly 80 countries.[124]

In order to conduct studies, CEPES relied on a series of materials, consisting of monographs or periodicals sent by the member states and grouped in a library

and a documentary section, until its merger in 1983.[125] In 1973, 500 books relating to higher education in the Europe region were available. Some of them came from UNESCO's Paris headquarters.[126] Two years later, around 750 books and documents were there.[127] At the beginning of 1977, 3,000 were counted, yet in 1984, this growth did not seem sufficient, with the number of books considered low.[128] The 1980s marked the arrival of automatism, through the proliferation of computers and the beginnings of the Internet. With computing, the number of entries in the data and documentation unity achieved 25,000 in 1986.[129] To acquire those resources, a dedicated but varying budget was allocated. In the 1980s, from an annual figure of 5,000 US dollars a year, the budget was reduced to $3,500,[130] hence there were limited purchases of books and documents.[131] A collaboration with the Central University Library of Bucharest was carried out. Because of the restriction of freedom for Romanian citizens in the 1980s, access to the library was limited to the foreign public[132] (Barrows 2017, 82). The collaboration ended in December 1989, when the Central University Library was burnt down,[133] a few moments after the nearby *Securitate* headquarters had been set on fire.

In addition to the center's internal activities – preparation of the bulletin, analysis, and study of data specific to each of the member states – CEPES organized meetings and symposia. The purpose of these meetings was to stimulate this idea of sustainable pan-European university cooperation and to allow it to be fully grasped by the member states.[134] From 21 to 23 September 1976, a round table was held. Eleven representatives[135] of member states participated. The institutions of the socialist states were the most represented.[136] Professor Gunnar Adler-Karlssow of Rosklide University represented Sweden, Hélène Arhweiler – president of the University of Paris I – represented France, while James A. Perkins – President of the International Council for Educational Development – represented the United States. Starting from the principle of contacts between people, as mentioned in the third basket of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and from the "need for a 'freer flow of ideas and values'",[137] the round table proposed, among other things, "pan-European postgraduate courses […], alternating between Eastern and Western European countries".[138]

On 21 December 1979, 38 member states of the Europe region signed the "Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas, and Degrees concerning Higher Education in the states belonging to the Europe Region". Having originated in a recommendation made nearly a decade earlier, during the fifteenth session of the UNESCO General Conference,[139] and having incited member states to cooperate in the field of higher education, it came into effect on 19 February 1982. The People's Republic of Bulgaria was the first state that ratified it, on 22 April 1981.[140] In September 1984, 18 states had done so – unlike, for instance, France and Romania.[141] The Romanian refusal could have been prompted by the policy of autarky that Bucharest operated at that time in the face of the West. A year later, they were 19[142] and finally, in 1986, Cyprus, the United Kingdom, and Austria also ratified it.[143] Having constituted the theoretical means for students who had studied abroad to make their diplomas recognized in their country, but also to highlight their own skills,[144] it theoretically allowed higher education mobility on a

pan-European scale. As the secretariat of the committee in charge of supervising it,[145] CEPES was intrinsically linked to this convention.

Conclusion

Originating as much in the principles of René Maheu's UNESCO as in a project for a Europe of higher education led by the Frenchman Edgar Faure, at a time when the continent saw the chancelleries of the West and the East cross the Iron Curtain, CEPES was one of these pan-European projects that UNESCO led during the 1960s. The organization was the intermediary that enabled dialogue on the means to build the basis for a pan-European network of higher education connecting ministries, universities, academies, and other places dedicated to higher education.

Not without provoking a temporarily intrusive attitude on the part of the United States, CEPES revealed a certain discord among the member states of the European region. It was especially those of Western Europe who expressed their disagreement with the initial project. The enthusiasm shown by the delegations of the member states hid some divergences, especially about the actor who would coordinate this. It must, moreover, be noticed that UNESCO did not have an altogether absolute role. Maheu's failure in the Bucharest meeting attested to this. If their enthusiasm for the implementation of the project was regularly renewed, the execution of the activities was, on the other hand, limited. CEPES suffered from a lack of material and financial investments.

Having centralized data concerning a national higher education policy sent from all over Europe, CEPES may be considered as a laboratory from which the roots of a Europeanization of higher education gradually grew. But this Europeanization only took place through the exchange of ideas and points of view. What was achieved was not so much human mobility as the diffusion of ideas. The subject of pan-European mobility, regularly mentioned in the recommendations of conferences and meetings, came up against one of the realities of that time: the limitation of individual freedom in Eastern Europe. This question thus remained an ideal. However, those activities seemed to have been a reference point for the authorities of the member states. During the 1986 liaison officers' meeting, the Ukrainian delegate mentioned the project of the reform of the Soviet system of higher education, the main lines of which appeared to be the basis of CEPES' activities.[146] A Belorussian delegate also explained that he had referred to the center in front of the academics of his country.[147]

Notes

1 UNESCO Archives (UNESCOA hereafter), Digital Library, DG/72/18, Address by Mr. René Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO, at the opening of the European Centre for Higher Education, Bucharest, 21.09.1972. Accessed online 20.07.2021: https://unesdoc. unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000001668.

2 This article will use the French acronym, which is short for *Centre européen pour l'enseignement supérieur*.

3 UNESCOA, Digital Library, 1964, 13 C/Resolutions, *Actes de La Conférence Générale, Treizième Session*, Paris, 1964. Accessed online 13.07.2021: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000114581_fre/PDF/114581freo.pdf.multi.nameddest=5.

4 People's Republic of Albania, Socialist Soviet Republic of Belarus, People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Romanian People's Republic, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

5 Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Turkey.

6 Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, Switzerland.

7 Paris, UNESCOA, box X07.21 (498) NC Part II from 1 1 64, DMS/15, memo no, 730, *Rapport du Chef de la Division des Commissions nationales de l'UNESCO*, 25.10.1970, 3. Set up in each member state of this Europe region, a national commission acted as an intermediary between the international organization and the state it represented.

8 International Institute for Education planning. IIEP's 40th anniversary album, 7. Accessed online 09.11.2022: www.iiep.unesco.org/en/institute/iiep-unesco-history-pioneering-institution.

9 Austria, Belgium, People's Republic of Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Turkey.

10 United Nations, Resolution A/RES/2129(XX) 2129, 21.12.1965. Accessed online 10.07.2021: www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/r20_resolutions_table_eng.htm.

11 Council of Europe, Previous Standing Conferences of Ministers of Education. Accessed online 30.03.2021: www.coe.int/en/web/education-minister-conference/previous-conferences.

12 Pierrefitte, Archives nationales (ANF hereafter), box 19920385/11, File "Plénières", UNESCO. ED-73/MINEUROP II/3, *L'enseignement supérieur en Europe. Problèmes et perspectives, Paris, 05.09.1973, Document de travail pour l'étude des points 7, 8 et 9 de l'ordre du jour provisoire de la Conférence des ministres de l'éducation des Etats membres d'Europe*, point 178, 64.

13 *Ibid.*, point 180.

14 *Ibid.*, point 182.

15 UNESCOA, Digital Library, 14 C/Resolutions CFS.67/VII.4/A/F/S/R. Records of the General Conference, 14th session, Paris, 1966, v. 1: Resolutions, point 1.11, b, 19. Accessed online 17.07.2021: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000114048.

16 UNESCOA, Digital Library, MINEUROP/6, Draft of the final report – Conference of Ministers of Education of European Member States on Access to Higher Education, 1967, Introduction. Accessed online 16.07.2021: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000132647.

17 UNESCOA, Digital Library, MINEUROP/3, Factual background document on access to higher education in Europe, 06.10.1967, Paris. Accessed online 17.07.2021: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000132642.

18 *Ibid*.

19 The summary of that conference, which is offered further, emerges from the official report: UNESCOA, Digital Library, MINEUROP/6, P Conference of Ministers of Education of European Member States on Access to Higher Education, 1967.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

21 Polish, Spanish, Romanian, Soviet, Irish, Yugoslav, Western-German, Belgian, Luxembourger, Dutch, British, Swiss, Hungarian, French, Czechoslovakian, Bulgarian, and Austrian.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

23 Translated from French: "*[à] effectuer, en collaboration étroite avec les états membres européens […] des études méthodologiques et à formuler des recommandations sur le rassemblement de données internationalement comparables et sur la normalisation des statistiques, de la terminologie et des définitions en matière d'éducation, pour les questions concernant l'accès à l'enseignement supérieur*". *Ibid.*, p. 9.

24 Nantes, Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (AMAE hereafter), box 14POI1/ 102, [?]8AE/15C/5, letter from Jean Fernand-Laurent to the General Directorate of Scientific and Technical Cultural Relations of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 01.07.1969.

25 The date of the meeting is unknown to us. If it took place after 20 June 1969, Edgar Faure had left his position as Minister of National Education.

26 Nantes, AMAE, box 14POI1/102, [unreadable]8AE/15C/5, Correspondence from Jean Fernand-Laurent to the General Directorate of Scientific and Technical Cultural Relations of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 01.07.1969.

27 "Créer des facilités de circulation […] en permettant à nos enseignants et à nos étudiants de circuler, d'aller faire des années d'études ou d'enseigner dans les divers pays européens..." and: "je souhaite qu'un étudiant puisse bientôt obtenir un diplôme après avoir passé une année d'études dans un pays ou un autre...". ANF, box 20180426/1, *Discours E.Faure, Allocution prononcée par Monsieur Edgar Faure […] à la séance d'ouverture de la VIᵉ Conférence Internationale des Ministres Européens de l'Education*, 20–22.05.1969, p. 10.

28 Translated from French: "Une organisation […] qui serait un office Européen de l'Education". *Ibid.*, p. 11.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

31 Nantes, AMAE, box 14POI1/102, [?]8AE/15C/5, Correspondence from Jean Fernand-Laurent, to the General Directorate of Scientific and Technical Cultural Relations of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 01.07.1969, pp. 1–2.

32 *Ibid.*, 2.

33 Paris, UNESCOA, box 1995, correspondence with Ana Hunwald, 21.06.1958.

34 Paris, UNESCOA, box 273.1996, Romania.

35 Paris, UNESCOA, box X07.21(498)D, DG/8/5/27/2537, Romania. Delegation to UNESCO. Letter from René Maheu to V. Lipatti, 15.11.1971.

36 ANF, box 19920385/11, File "Plénières", UNESCO. ED-73/MINEUROP II/3, *L'enseignement supérieur en Europe. Problèmes et perspectives, Paris, 05.09.1973, Document de travail pour l'étude des points 7, 8 et 9 de l'ordre du jour provisoire de la Conférence des ministres de l'éducation des Etats membres d'Europe*, p. 63.

37 Nantes, AMAE, box 14 POI 1/102, *Rapport sur les modalités d'établissement d'un Center européen d'enseignement supérieur de l'UNESCO et sur la réunion d'un groupe d'experts chargé de les étudier*, Paris, 27.09–01.10.1971, p. 1.

38 UNESCOA, box 1995, *Propositions concernant le programme et le budget pour 1965– 1966*, letter from P. Macovei, Adjunct at the Foreign Ministry of Romania, to René Maheu, 29.12.1962.

39 Paris, UNESCO, box X07.21(498)NC. Part II from 1164. BMS/CONF.1/31. 17.11.69, pp. 1–2.

40 Paris, UNESCO, box X07.21(498)NC Part II from 1164. BMS/CONF.1/31, *Rapport de la Commission nationale roumaine pour l'UNESCO*, 17.11.1969, p. 2.

41 National archives of Romania, box 3285. CC AL PCR RELAȚII EXTERNE, 1966– 1981, file 1983. *Steneograma primirii de către tovarășul Nicolae Ceaușescu, a lui René*

Maheu... 04.07.1968. "*[...] dezvoltarea cooperării în Europa este în plină desfăşurarea şi acest lucru se datorează în mare măsura delegaţiei române care s-a aflat în avangarda*" [our own translation].

42 *Ibid.* "*Cred că delegaţia română poate fi considerată ca o delegaţie pilot la UNESCO pentru ca s-a făcut promotoare de trei idei forţă: prima este coopera europeană [...]*".

43 Nantes, AMAE, box 14 POI 1/102, no. 230/DC, Memo of Pierre Pelen, French Ambassador in Romania to the Department of Cultural, Scientific, and Technical Relations, 20.05.1970.

44 Nantes, AMAE, box 14 POI 1/102, no. 555, appendix attached to a letter from the UNESCO French delegation, 24.11.1969.

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Ibid.*

47 Nantes, AMAE, box 14 POI 1/102. *Rencontre des universités européennes*, Bucharest, 22–28.04.1970.

48 *Ibid.*

49 Translated from French: "[…] promouvoir l'idée de compréhension et d'entente entre les peuples, en vue de contribuer à leur sécurité et à la paix; promouvoir l'efficacité de la recherche et de l'enseignement supérieur par des échanges d'informations […], de programmes de recherches communs, la réalisation à plusieurs d'équipements coûteux, ainsi que par des échanges d'étudiants avancés (doctorants, troisième cycle, assistants stagiaires, etc.), d'enseignants ou de spécialistes". *Ibid.*

50 UNESCOA, Digital Library, 1971 ED/WS/217, *Note d'information sur le projet de création d'un Centre européen d'enseignement supérieur*, 15.03.1971. Accessed online 17.07.2021: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000000555.

51 Nantes, AMAE, box 14 POI 1/102, folder 2, *Center européen d'enseignement supérieur, Réunion des experts sur les modalités d'établissement d'un centre européen d'enseignement supérieur*, Paris, 27/09-01.10.1971. *Étude de justification provisoire sur l'établissement d'un Centre européen d'enseignement supérieur*.

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53 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

55 Paris, UNESCOA, CEPES 378 A01 CEPES part 1 up to 31 1274. C.N.421.04 TB/tm. Letter from Bernard Ducret to the Swiss National Commission for UNESCO, 28.05.1971.

56 Paris, UNESCOA, box CEPES 378 A01 CEPES part 1 up to 311274. Lausanne University's reply expressed by the representative of the Swiss National Commission to Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, 29.06.1971.

57 Paris, UNESCOA, box CEPES 378 A01 CEPES part 1 up to 311274, Reply of the Luxembourgish National Commission of cooperation with UNESCO to Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, 13.08.1971.

58 Paris, UNESCOA, box CEPES 378 A01 CEPES part 1 up to 311274, H.L. Elvin's letter, Chairman of the Education Advisory Committee, United Kingdom National Committee for UNESCO, 29.09.1971.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

60 *Ibid.*

61 Paris, UNESCOA, box CEPES 378 A01 CEPES part 1 up to 311274, F. Rintelen, Basel University Rector to the Swiss national commission for UNESCO, 10.06.1971.

62 Paris, UNESCOA, box CEPES 378 A01 CEPES part 1 up to 311274. Sandor Malter's reply, General Secretary of the National Hungarian Commission for UNESCO to Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, 13.07.1971.

63 Translated from French: "[…] établir […] des rapports inter-universitaires ou individuels" and "[…] la promotion de la mobilité inter-universitaire, des échanges d'étudiants, de professeurs et de chercheurs, semble au moins aussi importante que la collecte et la transmission des informations". Paris, UNESCOA, box CEPES 378 A01 CEPES part 1 up to 311274, no. 116. *Réponse élaborée par le Ministère de l'Enseignement de la République socialiste de Roumanie à Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow*, 07.06.1971, pp. 3–4.

64 AMAE, box 236QO/121, UNESCO. no.° 1360 JK/MAN. *Conférence générale. 16ᵉ session*, 02.07.1970.

65 *Ibid.*

66 ANF, box 1979022/3–1979022/6, Memo from Jean Roche, General Delegate for International University Relations to Jean Pinet, Director in Charge of Universities and Higher Education Institutions, 09.03.1971.

67 UNESCOA, Digital Library, Records of the General Conference, 16th session, Paris, 12.10–14.11.1970, v. 2: Reports; Program Commission, Administrative Commission, Legal Committee", 16 C/Reports, Session 1.24, paragraph 379, 15.03.1971. Accessed online 17.07.2021: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000161041.

68 *Ibid*.

69 Nantes, AMAE, box 14 POI 1/102, folder 2, *Centre européen d'enseignement supérieur, Réunion des experts sur les modalités d'établissement d'un centre européen d'enseignement supérieur*, Paris, 27.09–01.10.1971. *Étude de justification provisoire sur l'établissement d'un Centre européen d'enseignement supérieur*, p. 33.

70 Paris, UNESCOA, box CEPES 378 A01 CEPES part 1 up to 311274, *Note d'information sur le Centre européen pour l'enseignement supérieur à Bucarest*, anonym, non-dated, 3; ANF, box 1979022/3–1979022/6, Memo from Jean Roche, General Delegate for International University Relations to Jean Pinet, Director in Charge of Universities and Higher Education Institutions, 09.03.1971.

71 Paris, AMAE, box 201QO336, no. 1147/OG, Memo by Jean-Marie Le Breton, *chargé d'affaires* of the French Embassy in Bucharest, addressed to the Directorate of Cultural, Scientific, and Technical Relations, CEPES, 19.10.1972, p. 2.

72 ANF, box 19920385/11, File "Plénières", UNESCO. ED-73/MINEUROP II/3, *L'enseignement supérieur en Europe. Problèmes et perspectives*, Paris, 05/09/.1973. *Document de travail pour l'étude des points 7, 8 et 9 de l'ordre du jour provisoire de la Conférence des ministres de l'éducation des Etats membres d'Europe.*

73 Translated from French: "[...]la coopération internationale en Europe peut offrir le moyen d'éviter certains doubles emplois coûteux, de concentrer certains moyens d'enseignement et de recherche […], au profit d'un ensemble plus grand d'Etats, de s'acheminer enfin vers une certaine complémentarité des institutions d'enseignement supérieur, permettant l'utilisation optimale des ressources disponibles à l'échelle de l'Europe ou d'un groupe de pays d'Europe[.]". *Ibid*., p. 61.

74 ANF, box 19920385/11, File "Plénières", UNESCO. ED-73/MINEUROP/II/INF.8, *Allocution de M. René Maheu […] à l'occasion de la Deuxième Conférence des Ministres de l'Éducation des États membres d'Europe*, Bucharest, 02.11.1973, p. 9.

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76 Paris, AMAE, box 248QO/454, Letter of the French delegation to UNESCO 6.12.1973.

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78 ANF, box 19920385/11, File "Plénière", Commission II, handwritten note, 28.11.1973, p. 2.

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81 *Ibid*.

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84 *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

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88 Paris, UNESCOA, box 378A01 CEPES part II from 11175, MEMO/BUC/CEPES/ 3328, Note from Thomas Keller, Director of CEPES to L. S. Atanassian, Section Head, 30.03.1977, p. 5.

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100 *Ibid.*, point 8, point 10.

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102 Paris, UNESCOA, box CEPES LIB 10, Envelope Advisory Committee of CEPES, Bucharest, 10–12.12.1975, 3rd session, ED-75/CONF.501/2, B: *Réunion des*

responsables de l'enseignement supérieur, paragraph 7. *Rapport sur les activités du Cepes en 1975*, paragraph 3, 10.17.1975.

103 *Ibid.,* paragraph 10.

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10 Europeanizing Europe's Education Policy

What Role for Education Trade Unions?

Howard Stevenson

Introduction

It is well understood that although education policy remains a national competence within the European Union (EU), and therefore not an area where the EU can insist on policy initiatives, or even policy directions, it is nevertheless one of the areas of policy where the EU's influence has been most visible (Lawn and Grek 2012, and also Chapter 7 of this book by Brøgger and Ydesen). Some of the earliest and most significant developments in European education policy now have a long-established history (see, e.g., the impact and continued development of the Bologna Process across and beyond the EU), but this has arguably accelerated in the recent period as the EU has committed to the creation of a European Education Area,[1] and education has been seen as central to the post-COVID plans for recovery.[2]

Many of these developments are contested, not least because this is an agenda that brings the work of the European Commission directly into the orbit of member states' responsibilities, and tensions between the two are inevitable as differences about both outcomes and processes need to be negotiated and navigated. The chapters in this volume seek to shed light on this contested process of "Europeanization" in the context of a policy area that highlights all the complexities of the relationship between the EU and member states (but see in particular the opening chapter by Ruppen Coutaz and Paoli, and also Chapter 6 by Varsori).

The specific contribution of this chapter is to focus on the role of education trade unions as key policy actors in the process of "Europeanizing" education policy, recognizing that education trade unions are a heterogenous group reflecting diverse traditions, views, and interests. Education trade unions across Europe have an obvious interest in influencing policy, at the national level but also at the European level, where policy development is of course ultimately enacted in a national context. However, as social partners (representatives of either government, employers, or employees), education trade unions also have a specific role to play in the development of policy in the European context. In this chapter, this issue is explored in the current context through an analysis of the European Semester, which has emerged as having a significant role in relation to both economic governance and social policy coordination (Peña-Casas *et al*., 2015). The chapter concludes with an analysis of key issues facing education trade unions across Europe, and the strategic

choices that may be open to them as they seek to influence education policy at the European level in the future. The focus on education trade unions is significant, as much of the literature that explores European level industrial relations and social dialogue is concerned with the private sector, while studies of the public sector have rarely focused on the education sector (see, e.g., the special issue of *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, edited by Bach and Bordogna 2013b). Given the strategic importance of European level education policy, and the relative strength of the education trade unions, this is an omission this chapter seeks to address.

Social Dialogue, Industrial Relations, and the European Union: The Historical Context

> Social dialogue is a fundamental component of the European social model. It enables the social partners (representatives of management and labor) to contribute actively, including through agreements, to designing European social and employment policy.[3]

In the aforementioned statement, the European Parliament reaffirms its historic commitment to social dialogue as a key element of the EU's distinctive model of a social market economy. The historic basis for this commitment is embedded in the EU's Founding Treaties first established in 1951 (Paris), and revised frequently, but principally in Rome (1957), Maastricht (1992), Nice (2001), and Lisbon (2007). In the post-Lisbon iteration of the founding treaties, Article 152 states: "The Union recognizes and promotes the role of social partners […] It shall facilitate dialogue between the social partners, respecting their autonomy".[4] In many senses, the commitment to social dialogue as a foundational element of the European social model reflects what may be considered as the preferred industrial relations model within the European community, whereby employers, trade unions, and governments work in a social partnership to secure agreement on policy. However, it is important to recognize that industrial relations systems across Europe are extremely diverse and reflect quite distinctive forms of social, political, and industrial governance arrangements. As Hyman has commented, the notion of a "European model" of industrial relations is "rather difficult to imagine, let alone implement" (Hyman 2005, 10). Although many countries across Northern Europe and the Nordic states have a strong tradition of industrial relations systems rooted in social dialogue, this is not a tradition that is experienced widely across Europe, and within Europe, several systems coexist. For example, one report published by the European Commission[5] distinguished between five different models of public sector industrial relations in the EU, including Nordic, *Rechstaat*, Southern European, Central and Eastern European, and United Kingdom. What distinguishes these models is the degree of institutional support for collective bargaining, the levels of union density, the nature of the employment relationship (*Rechstaat* countries typically have civil servant status), and the right/ability to take industrial action.

Despite these differences, and the heterogeneity of systems across the EU, some have argued that there have been efforts to "Europeanize" industrial relations (Smisman 2012), through the promotion of a social partnership between employers and employee organizations as the default model. On this basis, the Commission identifies social dialogue as either bilateral (employers and employees) or trilateral (employers, employees, and government) interactions based on "joint actions", information sharing, consultation, and/or negotiation.[6] These actions are frequently presented together, although clearly the nature of the relationships they are based on can differ significantly. For example, a commitment to "consult" is quite different to a process of good-faith bargaining in which a collective agreement is the outcome. As well as acknowledging the different forms that social dialogue can take, it is also important to recognize the different levels at which it can take place, with the EU seeking to simultaneously exhort member states to promote social dialogue (at national and sector/institution level) while also modelling social dialogue in its own practices. In the latter instance, much of this work is secured through the formation of Sectoral Social Dialogue Committees that "allow social partners to develop joint actions and conduct negotiations on issues of common interest in their sector".[7] For a Sectoral Social Dialogue Committee to be formed, both employers and employees must be organized at the European level, with clear links to social partners at the national level, and with the organizational capacity and legitimacy to be able to negotiate agreements. Periodic studies are undertaken to ensure that social partners in relevant sectors can claim to be representatives of social partners at the national level.

The most recent "representativeness" study into the education sector paints a complex picture for both education trade unions and employers within Europe[8]. For example, within the EU28 as was (current EU27+UK), the study identified no fewer than 202 education trade unions, with density levels (the proportion of the workforce in union membership) typically among the highest in the economy (density levels tend to be highest among schoolteachers, with lower density levels in, e.g., higher education). Most countries within Europe experience complex and diverse forms of multi-unionism, whereby two or more unions operate in broadly the same sectors of education, with reasons for the differences rooted in wider industrial relations cultures but also education-specific histories. In some cases, such as the German union GEW, education trade unions recruit members across all phases of education (early years, schools, technical, higher), and in other cases, membership is confined to specific phases (e.g., the statutory school years, or even a type of school, such as primary schools). In Ireland, for instance, there is a union representing primary school teachers, two unions representing the secondary sector teachers, and a union that represents university workers. Where different unions recruit different types of staff in the same sector this is known as "adjacent unionism", but in many cases, different unions seek to recruit the same type of staff in the same types of institution (known as "competitive unionism"). Where this is the case, different unions may be aligned to different trade union confederations (common in southern European countries such as Italy, Spain, and Portugal), but

in other cases the differences between unions may be less clear and instead rooted in historical and political differences that are not immediately apparent (with examples across the United Kingdom).

The 2020 "Representativeness" study into the education sector also revealed a similarly complex picture in relation to the employers' side, with 145 employer organizations identified in the EU28, representing a complex mix of organizations. Many employing organizations are ministries in central government, but this is not necessarily the case where local and regional bodies may be the employer. In some cases, public sector bodies have employers' organizations that are not part of the central or local state, but rather they are organizations technically separate from the state. In such cases, interesting tensions can develop, because although the employers' organization is the technical employer of labor, it often has little control over funding and may not be involved in negotiating the agreements that determine pay. Another obvious distinction is between the employers who only represent public sector organizations, and those who represent the private sector (in many cases representing both).

Both trade unions and employers' groups are represented within the EU by their respective European-level organizations – the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE) and the European Federation of Education Employers (EFEE). ETUCE exists first and foremost as the regional structure of the regional body representing Europe within the global education union confederation Education International (EI), which was formed in 1993 and has member organizations in 178 countries and territories around the world. ETUCE's history predates the formation of EI, as the organization was formed in 1977, and it did not formally become a fully integrated member of EI until 2010. Given its status, it is perhaps inevitable that its work is shaped heavily by the EU's education policy agenda, but ETUCE's history means that it is by no means defined by the EU. The organization has 127 education trade unions among its membership (representing 11 million workers), spread across 51 countries.

This experience contrasts with EFEE, which has a more recent history that is more obviously tied to the EU, having been established as an organization to act as a social partner in the European context. EFEE was formed in February 2009 and today has 54 member organizations (until Brexit, all being EU member states). It was through the formation of EFEE in 2009 that ETUCE and EFEE were able to make an application to establish a sectoral social dialogue later that year, and in June 2010 the committee for European Sectoral Social Dialogue in Education (ESSDE) was established.

Social dialogue at the European level largely assumes two forms: bipartite discussions between trade unions and employers around agendas and activities that form agreed workplans, and tripartite discussions between trade unions, employers, and the European Commission, in which social partners are able to comment on relevant policy development by the Commission.

Following the establishment of the ESSDE, one of the earliest workplans (2012–2013) set out the basis of the relationship between social partners, and the document articulates the relationships that underpin the European social model:

> It is common ground between the European social partners in Education that the current economic and social situation in Europe remains critical; that Education, Training, and Research must be at the heart of solutions to Europe's difficulties; and that the Education social partners therefore have a joint interest in the safeguarding and promotion of our shared values. The European social partners in Education will consequently continue to keep in close and frequent contact to ensure that where it is appropriate to do so they lobby the Commission and others jointly.[9]

The statement also highlights the complex nature of the bipartite/tripartite discussions that take place between the education trade unions and other social partners. At times the trade unions may be engaged in social dialogue with employers' organizations, where the differences between them are difficult to reconcile. These are the type of employee–employer negotiations that many might consider as the staple of industrial relations. However, in other cases, and in the spirit of social dialogue, trade unions and employers may work together to tackle a common issue and are characterized by a high degree of consensus. In yet other instances, trade unions may find themselves in alliance with employers' organizations, as both work together to influence European Commission policy.

Through European-level social dialogue, ETUCE is able to act as the representative of education trade unions in the EU, and is able to intervene in a wide range of policies. ETUCE has direct or indirect representation on multiple European Commission committees that are involved in developing the EU's policy agenda, including those focused on the development of policy in all phases of education, from early years to higher education (e.g., ETUCE has formal representation in the Bologna Follow-Up Group that acts as the Executive Group overseeing development and implementation of the Bologna Process, initiated in 1999). More recently, ETUCE has been involved in representing education unions on the EU's strategic priorities, including the Green Deal (Koundouri *et al.* 2021), digitalization, and the wider post-pandemic recovery strategy.

Education Trade Unions and European Education Policy: The Case of the European Semester

Following the economic crisis of 2008/2009, the European Commission was forced to reassess its economic governance arrangements, given that the global crisis had hit many EU countries particularly hard, with some countries experiencing extreme difficulties. The result was the development of the European Semester in 2011, which was established principally to monitor the macro-economic performance, and fiscal management policies, of EU member states – in particular, compliance with the requirements of the Stability and Growth Pact (requiring member states to restrict annual public borrowing to 3% of GDP and total debt to 60% of GDP, Armstrong 2012). It was the hard enforcement of these rules in the years after the crisis that drove the austerity agenda that had such a substantial impact on public spending (particularly education) across EU member states. The semester was developed as

a 12-month cycle involving a pan-European macro-economic assessment (initially established as the Annual Growth Survey), followed by detailed assessment of each member state conducted by Commission officials. Initially, some countries sat outside the Semester process if they were subject to financial "special measures". All EU countries are now inside the semester process after Greece was admitted in 2019. The Country Report (published in February each year) provides a thorough overview of each EU member, to which member states respond in the form of a National Reform Programme, submitted to the Commission in May. Following an assessment of this whole process, the Commission publishes a set of Country Specific Recommendations (CSRs) for each member state, to be implemented at national level (Milana, 2020). The semester has evolved continually since it was established, and has developed more recently in response to the impact of the COVID pandemic and the emergence of new initiatives such as the Green Deal.

As indicated, the European Semester was established as a form of economic governance, intended to ensure member state compliance with the EU's financial requirements for "fiscal responsibility". However, the semester quickly developed as much more than a system for policing the fiscal policies of member states, and developed as a system of both economic governance and social policy coordination, in many ways providing a consummate example of the combining of the EU's economic and social goals (Copeland and Daly 2018). This "equilibrium" between economic and social objectives was visible in early iterations of the European Semester, but unbalanced as the impact of the crisis focused concerns on re-establishing economic stability. However, as economic conditions improved (slowly and unevenly), and as the social costs of austerity became more apparent (including those linked to social fracturing and the rise of populist movements rooted in nationalism and xenophobia), so too did the Commission's agenda begin to "rebalance" economic and social priorities. This was most visible in the establishment of the European Pillar of Social Rights (EPSR), as the lodestone for the Commission's new vision for a "social Europe", linked to Commission President Juncker's aspirations for the EU to be rated "Triple A" for its social performance.[10] This commitment to rediscover the EU's social agenda after the years of austerity was reflected in the European Semester in two ways. First, the EPSR was embedded within the semester with the EPSR "scorecard" (a mechanism for reporting member states' performance against key EPSR indicators), reported in the Joint Employment Report (one of the key documents in the semester package) and accompanied by an expectation that areas identified as problematic could result in CSRs on that issue. Second, there was a commitment to "socialize" the semester, with many more CSRs reflecting social goals (Zeitlin and Vanhercke 2018).

This commitment to socialize the semester inevitably emerged in relation to education policy, and the visibility of education policy goals in the semester. Given the semester's role in both economic governance and social policy coordination, education policy had always had a high profile in the semester process as, perhaps uniquely, it integrated the EU's economic and social goals. Education policy was clearly seen as a form of supply-side economic policy, based on the conviction that the development of human capital was key to competitiveness and prosperity in a

hyper-globalized economy, especially given the relatively high costs of labor in Europe. Education policy was also increasingly seen as a way to challenge social fracturing and to develop cohesive communities in a Europe that was becoming increasingly diverse. Education policy was therefore viewed as not only contributing to both economic prosperity and social cohesion, but creating a virtuous circle whereby each reinforced the other. However, Agostini and Natali (2015) have problematized this relationship and argued that it may be more apparent than real.

The emergence of the European Semester represented both a threat and an opportunity for education trade unions in Europe. The most obvious threat was evident in relation to the semester's role as an enforcer of the EU's financial rules (Costamagna 2013). This had been used to reinforce the post-crisis austerity agenda and had been responsible for the dramatic cuts in education budgets that had been experienced across Europe (Stevenson *et al*. 2017). However, less obvious but also threatening was the possibility that education policy was being developed within the Commission in channels where teacher trade unions had traditionally had little presence. The semester as a process is managed by the Commission's secretariat and driven largely by the Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs (DGEcFin), given its focus on economic monitoring. However, it was becoming clear that education had an increasingly prominent role in the process, but education trade unions were not part of the social dialogue structures, as these were not typically discussions that education trade unions had been involved in. Where social dialogue relating to the semester took place, it was largely through the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), as an organization representing all unions. Education trade unions were expected to feed into the social dialogue process via the ETUC, rather than directly as a sectoral confederation.

In contrast, the opportunity for education trade unions was that the semester was a high-level European policy space in which education policy was being discussed, and which afforded possibilities for influence, if education trade unions could find ways to insert themselves into the semester process. In the early stages this may have been more about possibility than reality, but it was clear that the potential existed if education trade unions could exploit it. Furthermore, education trade unions were aided in this process by the European Semester's own role as a promoter of social dialogue, with numerous statements in semester documents referring to the need to strengthen social dialogue (generally, but also within the semester itself), and in some cases some member states receiving CSRs focused on developing social dialogue. This in turn had been reinforced by the launch of "a new start for social dialogue" by Commission President Juncker (European Commission 2016b).[11]

As the significance of the European Semester became more apparent, alongside the prominent role of education policy within it, the ETUCE increased its efforts to ensure it could intervene effectively in the process. One of the earliest manifestations of this was an application to the European Commission to support a project focused on strengthening social dialogue, involving education trade unions at both the European and member state level. The project report confirmed that education policy had a significant, and growing, profile within the European Semester,

reflected in the large number of CSRs with an educational component. The report also highlighted that key opportunities did exist for education trade unions to intervene in the semester process, at both the European and member state level, but that oftentimes education trade unions were frustrated by their inability to have a meaningful impact on the process (Stevenson *et al*. 2017).

At a European level, ETUCE continued to make inputs into the semester process through the ETUC, but it also made direct submissions to the European Commission in the name of ETUCE. Alongside the platforms that existed for sectoral social dialogue then, ETUCE was able to make sustained and serious interventions at the European level. However, it was at the national level where EU education policy development connected with member state enactment, and in many senses, this was the level where most frustration was experienced by education trade unions. What emerged clearly from the project report (and from subsequent studies such as Stevenson *et al*. 2020a) was that the CSRs are not a realistic site of contestation for trade unions. By the time CSRs have been published in draft form (usually in May, and confirmed in July), they have been subject to very high-level political discussion between Commission officials and national politicians. These are not open to negotiation with social partners at this point. Rather, the key points for intervention are when the Commission is collecting data for its country report (in an effort to influence how Commission officials conceive of the issues in the country), or when the national government is drafting its National Reform Programme (i.e., it is developing its policy response to the country report). At these points, there are the possibilities of asserting influence. In the case of the country report, it is the European Commission that is the focus of influence, and in the case of the National Reform Programme, it is the national government (ETUCE 2017).

What emerged from the project report, and what the project sought to change, was that national level education trade unions were often absent from the semester process, neither involved in meetings with the Commission officials who drafted the country report, nor involved in discussing drafts of the National Reform Programme. This was by no means always the case, and there were several examples of where education trade unions were invited to meet Commission officials during their fact-finding visits, or where forums existed for education trade unions to comment on the draft of National Reform Programme. Moreover, as awareness of these issues increased, among all social partners and at both the European and national levels, there was some evidence that education trade unions were being invited to relevant meetings. However, this was more likely at the European level than at the national level, and despite requests from trade unions, the Commission took the view that it was not its role to direct member states to conduct social dialogue relating to the National Reform Programme in any specific way (Stevenson *et al*. 2020a).

In many ways, the experience of the education trade unions in the European Semester process highlights the challenges that face the European education trade union movement as it seeks to influence European education policy, and in turn, influence national implementation of EU agendas. One obvious problem relates to the issue of capacity and resources. There is no doubt that European policy processes are complex and elaborate, and that engaging with these necessitates considerable

resourcing on the part of trade unions. This requires the time of personnel with relevant expertise and authority, but it often requires additional resources such as research capacity. At the European level, ETUCE is able to represent education trade unions effectively because in part this is their primary focus (not exclusively focusing on the EU, because ETUCE's membership extends far beyond this, but ETUCE is a European confederation focused on representing members at the European level). In contrast, ETUCE's member organizations based at national level have to function at multiple levels (national, regional, institutional), as well as undertaking all the functions expected of a trade union (including conducting and supporting members in disputes). Oftentimes this work requires rapid responses, and this can swallow resources. In such circumstances, education trade unions at national level can find it hard to locate, or justify, the level of resources required to meaningfully engage with European processes such as the semester.

The problem of resourcing is compounded when education trade unions are forced to evaluate the investment of resources against the likely benefit to be gained from engagement. Processes such as the European Semester can be labyrinthine in their complexity, and they are notoriously difficult to influence. Even when influence is applied successfully it is often impossible to trace any direct link and make a credible case for causality. This can make justifying the investment of time difficult in an internal political context, where there are many other demands competing for union resources (Stevenson *et al*. 2020a).

In many senses, the frustrations experienced by education trade unions can be attributed to the nature of the power relationship in the process, and the almost exclusive focus of social dialogue on information sharing and consultation. Good faith negotiating, in the form of collective bargaining, is often most valued by trade unions, as the aim of this social dialogue is to generate an outcome that has the formal agreement of both parties, employees and employers. The requirement, or at very least expectation, that a formal agreement is reached impacts the dynamic of the relationship in quite particular ways. It is not an even balance of power, but it may be considered more even. However, collective agreements (the outcome of the negotiating process) are typically restricted to a narrow range of issues relating to the terms and conditions of employment. Wider issues of policy, or indeed central issues such as funding and investment, are typically not the outcome of any formal negotiation, but trade unions are more likely to be involved as parties to a consultation, or as recipients of relevant information. There is no requirement on the part of a government institution (at European, national, or even regional level) to respond positively to interventions made by a trade union in a consultation process. This is often a source of frustration to trade unions, who can feel that consultation processes are tokenistic and too easily ignored. As Sabato *et al*. (2017) argued in their study of social dialogue in the European Semester, trade unions feel "listened to, but not heard".

My argument in this chapter is that the concerns of trade unions about the limitations of consultation as a form of social dialogue are well founded at a theoretical level, and almost certainly that analysis is confirmed through experience, but it is also an over-simplification to argue that negotiation always offers

possibilities that participation in consultations do not. Collective bargaining can generate poor outcomes when a union negotiates from a position of weakness, while consultations can produce good outcomes for trade unions if unions engage from a position of strength and authority. What matters is the relative power of the union, and the strategic decisions taken by trade unions. In the European context this is most critical at the national level, as this is where European education policy is mediated and enacted.

European Education Trade Unions: Assessing Strength and Strategy

The most recent European Commission analysis of trade union strength in the education sector is the Eurofound 2020 Representativeness study.[12] However, the nature of the study is limited, as much of the data (such as membership and density rates) is difficult to collect, while other data (collective bargaining arrangements) are so complex within countries that generic surveys tend to reveal little. A more recent study conducted for ETUCE (Stevenson *et al*. 2020b) is smaller in scale (it is based on survey responses from 62 of ETUCE's member organizations), but it may be more revealing of the actual situation confronting Europe's education trade unions.

In the "*Your Turn*" study, education trade unions were not asked about membership figures directly, given the complexities of securing valid data that can be reliably analyzed. Rather it was accepted (as per the "Representativeness" study) that education trade union density remains relatively high, and that education workers are among the most highly unionized workers of any occupational group (Visser 2019). The "*Your Turn*" survey did ask unions to discuss membership trends, and roughly equal numbers referred to growth and decline. Interestingly, explanations for both growth and decline identified the same factors. Unions identifying concerns pointed to declining membership among young education workers and the difficulties of recruiting precarious workers in the sector (often a growing number of workers, especially in higher education). However, these were also precisely the same issues identified as areas of growth by those unions that reported increasing membership, highlighting the importance of the strategic choices made by trade unions as they seek to assert their power and influence in a changing environment. Union decline is not inevitable, but rather experience varies according to both local circumstances and the agency asserted by individual unions.

Another indicator of union strength may be assumed to be the participation of union members in industrial action, most obviously strike action. Data for strike action in Europe in the recent past points to declining numbers of "days lost" (the term sometimes used to denote strike days), and there is some evidence that education trade unions are part of this pattern of decline. However, Vandaele (2019) reports that many trade unions are resorting to a wider repertoire of actions, as strike action often becomes more difficult to sustain, and this certainly applies to education trade unions, whose role as public sector unions has often encouraged actions focused on developing alliances that seek to shift public opinion. That said, it is clear that education workers remain a formidable force, even when measured

in traditional terms. For example, in 2013, a lockout of Danish teachers resulted in 930,300 "days lost" to industrial action that year, compared with 10,200 across the whole economy the previous year. Similarly, in 2018 in the United Kingdom, strike action was recorded at historically low levels, but 66% of "days lost" that year were in the education sector (mostly in the university sector, in a dispute that was still involving strike action in 2022).[13] What is also noticeable is the number of disputes involving education trade unions in Central and Eastern Europe, where trade unionism has struggled to assert itself in a new form since the collapse of the Soviet system. For example, industrial action was witnessed in Hungary in 2016, Slovenia in 2018, and Czechia, Lithuania, and Poland in 2019 (when a strike by Polish teachers lasted 19 days).

The 2020 Representativeness study sought to present a picture of education trade unions' social dialogue arrangements, but capturing the detail of this was extraordinarily difficult. In the "*Your Turn*" project the research focused on the view of education trade union officials in relation to the effectiveness of social dialogue arrangements, and their satisfaction with them. The data attest to the very uneven experience of social dialogue across Europe (within and beyond the EU). For example, nearly one-third of respondents indicated that collective bargaining arrangements were satisfactory, and a similar figure was reported in relation to participation in consultations relating to education policy. However, in both cases trade union officials reported that arrangements were unsatisfactory (reported by 39% of respondents in relation to collective bargaining, and 37% of respondents in relation to policy consultations). What may also be significant is how these assessments have altered over time. The data confirmed what has been asserted elsewhere (Bach and Bordogna 2013a) – that social dialogue arrangements suffered badly in the period immediately after the economic crisis, when governments and employers sought to circumvent social dialogue in order to impose post-crisis policies. However, the "*Your Turn*" data did suggest that by the time several years had elapsed (about the time of the Juncker "new start" for social dialogue in 2016), there was evidence of some reconstruction of social dialogue processes. Certainly, the views of trade union officials were that satisfaction rates had improved (and levels of dissatisfaction had diminished somewhat). However, this trend appeared to go into reverse during the period of the COVID-19 pandemic with, once again, crisis resulting in the circumvention of established social dialogue procedures. This was by no means universally the case (some countries reported that social dialogue was enhanced as employers sought to win union support for changed working practices and health and safety measures), but it was the clear majority response. Furthermore, this unevenness of experience was amplified when geographical considerations were taken into consideration. For example, countries that reported that social dialogue was enhanced in the pandemic were typically countries where social dialogue was already considered relatively strong (Norway and the Republic of Ireland are cited in the "*Your Turn*" project). Countries that reported particularly negative experiences were the same countries where social dialogue had suffered badly after the economic crisis and has never really recovered. Here, special mention should be made of the Southern European countries (including Italy, Spain, Portugal, and

Greece), where austerity measures were imposed very dramatically, with a similar impact on social dialogue arrangements. The "*Your Turn*" project suggested that in these countries, social dialogue has never really been reconstructed, and this remains a serious problem for education trade unions.

The "*Your Turn*" project was focused on "union renewal", recognizing that education trade unions need to work actively and strategically to maintain their influence at both the European and national level. Education trade unions clearly retain a key role as policy actors not only at the European and national level but crucially at the point where the two intervene. However, this picture is uneven between countries, and is also in flux. There are clearly powerful forces within and outside of national governments that would happily seek to neutralize the role of education trade unions, alongside wider changes in society and the organization of work that can make union organizing difficult. This is why the strategic choices facing unions are so important, which in turn reflect the contexts in which trade unions function.

Industrial relations expert Richard Hyman (2015) identified three possible scenarios for European trade unions, and in many ways, despite the dramatic developments since that time, Hyman's framework of possibilities continues to provide a useful heuristic for thinking about the future of education trade unions in the European context. First, Hyman refers to a "bad to worse" scenario in which the challenges that have faced the European labor movement over a period of at least three decades continue largely unabated. For Hyman, this began with the decline of the postwar social democratic consensus and its associated compromise between capital and labor. Within this scenario, globalization from above, coupled with new public management from below, has squeezed trade union power and constitutes a fundamental realignment in the relationship between capital and labor. For Hyman, this scenario is the most bleak but also the most likely – "The balance of class forces has shifted radically. Extrapolation from the past three decades suggests that the situation will only get worse" (Hyman 2015, 8).

The second possibility that Hyman identifies is what he refers to as "elite reform". This can be presented as a form of push back against the aggressive neoliberalism that Hyman identifies in his first scenario, but one which is largely driven by policy elites. Hyman describes a situation in which elite groups seek "the reconstruction of a social and economic order in which civilized industrial relations can again flourish" (Hyman 2015, 8). In many ways this is consummately reflected in the EU's commitment to a "new start for social dialogue" and the establishment of the European Pillar of Social Rights. Hyman concludes that such developments are important, and may have limited potential, but in the absence of a genuine countervailing force to the power of (globalized) capital it is difficult to see how these types of developments, on their own, will have the impact that some hope for.

Hyman's third possibility, referred to as "a new counter movement", recognizes that the aggressive nature of contemporary capitalism can only be confronted by "mobilisation and struggle" (Hyman 2015, 11) on a much expanded scale. This alone is what is capable of developing the counter-balance to the forces of capital. In many senses it requires the conscious building of union power, which is the focus of the "*Your Turn*" project's call for union renewal. However, Hyman is not

optimistic that such a movement will necessarily emerge. He argues that there are signs of such a movement (or movements), and there are clearly possibilities, but the danger is that the necessary energy will be suffocated by trade union conservatism and a default to privilege the interests of current members (older, more secure) against those of newer and younger members (low paid and typically precarious).

Conclusion

Education policy within the EU, and at the European level, is a significant aspect of the EU's social policy agenda, despite education policy clearly being a national competence and the responsibility of member states. In practice, however, education policy has been an area of social policy where the European Commission has found it relatively easy to develop models of policy coordination across member states, and hence education policy has developed as a significant policy space. In a European context, this has also included a commitment to engage with social partners in the development of education policy through processes of social dialogue. Social dialogue can take multiple forms and needs to be considered at both the European level (involving the European Commission itself as a social partner) and the level of the member state.

Given the focus on the development of education policy at the European level, then it is inevitable that social dialogue has focused more on consultative processes and information sharing, rather than on negotiation and collective bargaining (which are more likely when contractual issues are at stake). In this chapter I have sought to set out the various ways in which social dialogue involving education trade unions is enacted, often through the Education Sectoral Social Dialogue in Education, but also through multiple other forums. Some of this complexity is captured through the example of the European Semester, where education trade unions intervene through their European Confederation both directly and indirectly (through the auspices of the generalist ETUC), but also where the involvement of ETUCE member organizations at national level is critical to ensuring that European level initiatives are mediated at the member state level.

What is clear, however, is that the emphasis on European education policy social dialogue through consultation can often be a source of frustration for education trade unions. Consultation as a political process is not based on a relationship of equals. By their nature, consultative processes do not require the dominant actor in the relationship to come to an agreement with other parties, and hence the opportunities for education trade unions to positively shape policy can be limited. This was evident in studies of the European Semester, where trade unions reported that they were "listened to, but not heard". This in part reflects structural weaknesses in the European trade union movement, which has been badly impacted by long-term declines in density, and the legacy of economic crisis, when governments frequently circumvented social dialogue arrangements in order to impose austerity measures at short notice.

Education trade unions have been insulated, but not immune, to many of the structural problems that have confronted trade unions more generally. Education trade

union membership and density levels continue to be strong in almost all European jurisdictions. However, the need to continually rebuild and renew remains an ever-present imperative. Richard Hyman's analysis presented in this chapter argues that social dialogue can be important, but that it depends ultimately on the power of global capital to cooperate. At times it may be expedient for it to do so, but in times of crisis this cooperation cannot be assumed. Living, as we do, in an age of crises (economic, social, political, public health, environmental), it seems inevitable that the prospects for social dialogue are at best uncertain and unstable. Historic commitments to social partnership are likely to come under increasing strain. European trade unions must ultimately look to build their own power, which in turn allows them to engage in social dialogue from a position of strength. This is the type of union renewal that will support education trade unions to be active and influential policy actors in education policy debates at both the European and national level.

Notes

1 EUR-Lex, Document 32021G0226(01), Official Journal of the European Union, C 66/1, 26.02.2021, Council of the European Union, Council Resolution on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training towards the European Education Area and beyond (2021–2030), p. 1. Accessed online 18.05.2022: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32021G0226(01).

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